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Guide to the Sources

on the Holocaust in Occupied Poland

(Translated, revised and updated edition of the original Polish *Źródła do badań nad zagładą Żydów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich* by Alina Skibińska, Warsaw, 2007)

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List of abbreviations

AAN – Archiwum Akt Nowych (Central Archive of Modern Records)
ABW – Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (Internal Security Agency)
AIPN – Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance)
AJDC – American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
AK – Armia Krajowa (Home Army)
AMIA – Association of Moving Image Archivists
ANK – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archive in Kraków)
AP – Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive)
APW – Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (State Archive in Warsaw)
ARG – Podziemne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego / Archiwum Ringelbluma (Underground Archive of Warsaw Ghetto, Ringelblum Archive)
AW – Agencja Wywiadu (Foreign Intelligence Agency)
BCh – Bataliony Chłopskie (Peasants' Battalions)
BIP – Biuro Informacji i Propagandy (Office of Information and Propaganda) [of ZWZ-AK]
BIPN – *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* (Bulletin of the Institute of National Remembrance)
BN – Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library)
BRD – Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany)
BUJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie (Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków)
BŻIH – *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute)
CAHS – Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
ChGK – Chrezvychaynaya Gosudarstvennaya Komissiya (Extraordinary State Commission) [for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes on Occupied Soviet Territory]
CHC – Central Historical Commission [of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the US Zone]
CKŻP – Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland)
COIA – Centralny Ośrodek Informacji Archiwalnej (Archival Information Centre)
CZA – Central Zionist Archives
CŻKH – Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna (Central Jewish Historical Commission)
DDR – Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic)
DP – Displaced Persons

DR – Delegatura Rządu [na Kraj] (Government Delegation for [occupied] Poland)

FIAF – International Federation of Film Archives

FPO – Fareynikte Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization)

FRG – see BRD

GDR – see DDR

GG – Generalgouvernement (General Government)

GKBZHwP – Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland) [1949-1984]

GKBZpNP IPN – Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation – Institute of National Remembrance) [1991-1999]

HAOP – Hauptamt der Ordnungspolizei (Order Police headquarters)

HIA – Hoover Institution Archives

HIAS – Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society

HPN – Hakirot pishe Hanatzim (Investigations into Nazi Crimes) [Haifa]

HSSPF-Ost – Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Ost (Senior SS and Police Leader in the East)

IDO – Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German Work in the East)

IH PAN – Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences)

IH UW – Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Institute of History at the University of Warsaw)

IPN – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance)

IPN-KŚZpNP – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation) [since 1999]

IZL – Irgun Tzvai Leumi (Jewish Military Organization)

JCIO – Jewish Central Information Office

JNUL – Jewish National and University Library

JUS – Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle für das Generalgouvernement (Central Office for Aid to Jews in the General Government)

KC PZPR – Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party)

KL – Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)

KPON – Komitet Porozumiewawczy Organizacji Niepodległościowych (Committee of Understanding of Independence Organizations)

KRN – Krajowa Rada Narodowa (State National Council)

KWC – Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej (Directorate of Civil Resistance)

MBP – Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (Ministry of Public Security)

MO – Milicja Obywatelska (Civic Militia)

MPiOS – Ministerstwo Pracy i Opieki Społecznej (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare)

MSZ – Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

NDAP – Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych [w Polsce] (Head Office of the State Archives [in Poland])

NLI – National Library of Israel

NRO – Naczelna Rada Opiekuńcza (Supreme Welfare Council)

NSDAP – Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (National Socialist German Workers' Party) [the Nazi Party]

NSZ – Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces)

NTN – Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (Supreme National Tribunal)

NZO – New Zionist Organization

NZW – Narodowy Związek Wojskowy (National Military Union)

OD – Ordnungsdienst (Order Service)

OKW – Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (German Army High Command)

ORT – Obshchestvo Razprostranienia Truda sredi Yevreyev (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training)

OT – Organisation Todt

PAN – Polska Akademia Nauk (Polish Academy of Sciences)

PCK – Polski Czerwony Krzyż (Polish Red Cross)

PKB – Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (National Security Corps)

PKWN – Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego (Polish Committee of National Liberation)

PMAB – Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum)

PMM – Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku (State Museum at Majdanek)

PPR – Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers' Party)

PPS – Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)

PRL – Polska Republika Ludowa (Polish People’s Republic)

PSŻ – Przelozony Starszeństwa Żydów (Head of the Council of Jewish Elders) [Łódź ghetto]

PZPR – Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers’ Party)

RGO – Rada Główna Opiekuńcza (Central Welfare Council)

RKF – Reichskommissariat für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of German Nationhood)

RN – Rada Narodowa (National Council)

ROPWiM – Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walki i Męczeństwa (Council for the Protection of Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom)

RSHA – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Main Security Office)

RuSHA – Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt SS (SS Race and Settlement Main Office)

SD – Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service)

SPP – Studium Polski Podziemnej (Polish Underground Movement Study Trust)

SS – Schutzstaffel (Protection Corps)

SS-WVHA – SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Main Economic and Administrative Department)

SZP – Służba Zwycięstwu Polski (Service for Poland’s Victory)

TOZ – Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia (Health Care Organization)

TSKŻ – Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów w Polsce, (Jewish Social and Cultural Association in Poland)

ULI – Israel Union Catalogue

ULS – Union List of Serials

UNWCC – United Nations War Crimes Commission

USHMM – United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

WSK – Wojskowa Służba Kobiet (Women’s Military Service)

WZO – World Zionist Organization

YV – Yad Vashem

YVA – Yad Vashem Archives

YVS – *Yad Vashem Studies*

ZBoWiD – Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy)

ŻIH – Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma (Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute)

ŻKH – Żydowski Komisja Historyczna (Jewish Historical Commission)

ŻKN – Żydowski Komitet Narodowy (Jewish National Committee)

ŻOB – Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Combat Organization)

ZPP – Związek Patriotów Polskich [w ZSRR] (Union of Polish Patriots [in the USSR])

ŻSS – Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Social Self-Help)

ZWZ – Związek Walki Zbrojnej (Union for Armed Struggle)

ŻZW – Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union)

Preface

This book is a revised and updated version of the 2007 published *Guide* which provided the first overview of sources on the Holocaust in the occupied Polish territories. Published in Polish in 2007, this updated version is the first such guide available in English on the topic. It describes archives and other institutions which hold source materials on the topic both inside Poland and abroad and provides the reader with information about the types of sources and their creators. Until the 2007 *Guide* was written, there was a dearth of basic archival and bibliographic information that would aid orientation in this vast mass of material generated in many different languages and scattered across many archives, museums and libraries throughout the world. The only prior publication of this type is one issued by the Head Office of the State Archives in Poland in 2001, *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce* (Archival Sources for Jewish History in Poland)¹, a part of which addresses the subject of the Holocaust.

This *Guide* was devised as a finding aid for all Holocaust scholars, in particular those just embarking on independent research and study of this subject. It will undoubtedly help them to find their way around the holdings of archives and museums alike, offer them insight into the diversity and uniqueness of the sources, and thus contribute to furthering interdisciplinary study, and encourage people to tackle areas as yet unresearched or insufficiently examined. As the main author of this publication I would be very pleased if it inspired historians, sociologists, psychologists, lawyers, scholars of literature and specialists of other scholarly disciplines to undertake research into the Holocaust. I hope, too, that even those who have long been students of the history of World War II and the Holocaust – many of them authors of outstanding academic works – will find in this volume information that is new to them and could prove useful in their future work. It is designed to aid all those with an interest in identifying and accessing the right archive and the most appropriate sources, though it will not relieve anyone of the necessity of undertaking their own research and laborious, time-consuming archival searches.

The *Guide* falls into two parts. Part I discusses archives and other institutions whose collections include documents relevant to Holocaust research. Most of these are Polish archives and museums,

¹ *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, collective work, scholarly editions. Bolesław Woszczyński and Violetta Urbaniak, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych. Zakład Naukowy Archiwistyki, Warszawa 2001.

but in view of the nature of this field of study it would have been impossible to ignore the most important foreign archives with collections of fundamental significance for research into the World War II period and the Holocaust. Thus, separate chapters look, while not at all, certainly at the most important archives and other institutions in Israel, Germany, the United States of America, and Great Britain.

In Part II the different types of sources are discussed, ordered by the issuer of the files, or by typological similarity. It is not within the remit of this publication to undertake criticism of these sources, though sometimes it was difficult to avoid making a brief comment on the type of documents being discussed and including information on the extent to which they have to date been exploited in the research. In the many footnotes we have attempted to direct readers to the primary literature on a given topic, as well as to source publications and studies. Nevertheless, these do not offer a full overview of the state of the research or a definitive assessment of the achievements of historiography in a given field. The information on databases (see the third part of the 2007 publication) has been included in the texts of Part I. The websites mentioned are not dated in the text or references. They were consulted by the author either in the preparation of the first edition or in the preparation of this English edition.

A brief explanation of the territorial scope of this work, defined as “occupied Poland”, is in order. “Occupied Polish territory” refers to Poland in its prewar borders. However, this Guide discusses archival materials stored in archives in *present-day* Poland, as well as some archives abroad relating to the broad field of study that is the Holocaust. If we reduced the scope to Poland in its September 1939 borders, we would have to exclude some collections from the State Archives in Wrocław, Szczecin and the Institute of National Remembrance, and include archival holdings in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus and Russia. For a long time, access to these archives was either impossible or extremely difficult, and to a certain extent it still is. Among the finding aids available for archival holdings in the East are guides to these archives published in recent years, materials accessible in institutions such as The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and extensive scholarly works based on in-depth searches in those archives that have now been published. Of course, German archives (above all the Bundesarchiv) hold many of the Holocaust-related administrative files on occupied Poland. In practice, then, the materials discussed here reference the Polish lands (in their prewar or postwar boundaries) which found

themselves under German occupation from September 1939 or June 1941 and for which there is archival material held in the institutions profiled in this *Guide*. The vast majority of these materials naturally reference the lands within the borders of the Generalgouvernement (General Government), established in October 1939, but the *Guide* is not restricted to these areas. We took as our guiding principle the assumption that its practical purpose had to take precedence over rigid territorial or chronological criteria.

It is important to add that as well as archival institutions in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus and Russia, some archives in the United States and Great Britain also hold interesting, important materials for Holocaust research. Foremost among these are the National Archives and Records Administration and the YIVO Institute in the United States, and the National Archives in Britain. Both these and other institutions in Western countries have websites that are generally speaking well designed and contain the basic information about their holdings. When looking for suitable materials for a research topic, it is always important to remember that files and other sources on the Holocaust are very diverse and scattered, and finding the right ones may sometimes simply be a question of chance. The reason for this is not only the international reach and character of World War II, but also the postwar emigration of Jews who survived the Holocaust to Palestine, later Israel, and many other countries all over the world. When they left Poland, they took with them their most precious mementoes – documents, photographs, letters, albums and diaries, many of which later found their way into museum and archive collections abroad.

I would like to thank my co-authors, translator and editorial board, whose knowledge and skills broadened considerably the scope of the themes discussed here.

Warsaw, 23 December 2014

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I Archives and Institutions

1 Archives managed by the Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych w Polsce (Head Office of the State Archives in Poland)

This chapter will examine the holdings of selected state archives that contain the most important Holocaust-related materials. Some archives, in particular smaller ones or branch offices, do not have files generated by German administrative offices, institutions or organizations from the Second World War period, or have few such materials (isolated collections or very scattered documents), and these have been passed over (for an example of typical holdings in this kind of archives, see the Łowicz case below). This does not mean that they are not worth consulting, even where documentation on the period of the occupation and history of the extermination of the Jews is scant or secondary, indirect, and generated after the war. The archives in question here are those in Białystok, Bochnia, Bolesławiec, Bydgoszcz, Chełm, Cieszyń, Elbląg (based in Malbork), Elk, Gdynia, Gliwice, Gniezno, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Inowrocław, Jelenia Góra, Kalisz, Kamieniec Ząbkowicki, Konin, Koszalin, Kraśnik, Kutno, Legnica, Leszno, Łęczyca, Łomża, Międzyzdroje, Mława, Nidzica, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ², Olsztyn, Oświęcim, Piła, Płock, Pszczyna, Pultusk, Racibórz, Radzyń Podlaski, Sanok, Sieradz, Słupsk, Stargard Szczeciński, Suwałki, Szczecinek, Tarnów, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Toruń, Włocławek, Zielona Góra, and Żywiec. The holdings concerning the period 1939-1945 in other state archives are discussed on the basis of the author's own research experience, spanning more than a decade, and the publication issued by the NDAP, *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce* (Archival Sources on the History of the Jews in Poland). This book was published as a deliverable of a symposium organized in 1999 by the NDAP on the subject of archival holdings on the history of the Jews in Polish and Israeli archival collections.

The various record groups are indicated and described in very general terms, using abbreviated designations of document types and themes. When planning archival research, the scholar should make use of the information on the holdings of particular archives available in published guides, the most important of which is *Archiwa Państwowe w Polsce. Przewodnik po zasobach*³ (The State Archives in Poland. A Guide to Holdings, further: *Guide to the State Archives*). This contains an extensive

² This archive holds one very interesting record group (RG 691), Zarząd Miejski w Nowym Targu 1919-1945 (City Administration of Nowy Targ 1919-1945), in which scholars will find a large number of documents from the period of the occupation directly concerning the fate of the Jews, including censuses, inventories of Jewish real property, lists of organizations and associations, documents on security and public order, a list of prisoners in the prison alongside the local court of first instance (*Sąd Grodzki*), posters and public announcements.

³ Ed. A. Biernat and A. Laszuk, Warszawa 1998.

bibliography of all the finding aids and studies on the holdings of each archive. This publication has in places become outdated, and for this reason the primary source of information should always be the employees of a given archive and the information on the fonds in the centralized databases accessible online (<http://www.archiwa.gov.pl>):

- **The database “Zespoły archiwalne”**

This is an integrated database containing data from the SEZAM and ZoSiA (Zintegrowany System Informacji Archiwalnej) databases, currently under the joint name “Zespoły archiwalne”. It is connected with the service <http://www.szukajwarchiwach.pl> managed by the National Digital Archives. It offers internet access to profiles of materials and scans of those materials, which may be used free of charge. The search engine “Zespoły archiwalne” contains information on the archival fonds stored in the State Archives and in over a dozen other institutions, including Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk (the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences) in Warsaw and its branch office in Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (BUW, the University of Warsaw Library), Główna Biblioteka Lekarska im. Stanisława Konopki w Warszawie (the Stanisław Konopka Central Medical Library in Warsaw), and Instytut Józefa Piłsudskiego (the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America) and Polski Instytut Naukowy (the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America) in New York. It is updated every year in Centralny Ośrodek Informacji Archiwalnej (COIA, the Archival Information Centre).

The profile of every record group in the database includes the following information: number and name of the record group, originator of the files, start and end dates, size (no. of archival units and linear metres), state of processing (e.g. existing finding aids) and place of storage. The profiles of some record groups are supplemented with a history of their originators, a brief overview of their content, information on the language of the documents, and the conditions of access. If a given record group has an electronic inventory, this is included in the profile. If there are digital copies of documents in a given record group, they are presented on the internet in the form of links in the group’s profile. Archival inventories are furnished with introductions that contain information on the history of the originator of the record group and other documentation, written by employees of the State Archives; the authors’ names are given at the end of each introduction. These texts are protected in law and use of them should not violate the Act of 4 February 1994 on Copyright and Related Rights.

- **Baza o inwentarzach archiwalnych (IZA, Inventories of Archival Fonds)**

This system contains information on files, technical documentation and cartographic materials. In all, it includes the inventories of 19,700 fonds. The database on archival inventories incorporates:

- Inwentarze Zespołów Archiwalnych (IZA, Inventories of archival fonds) from the State Archives and a number of other institutions.
- Inwentarze dokumentacji technicznej (the KITA, or Computer Technical Information database).
- Inwentarze dokumentacji kartograficznej (MAPY, inventories of cartographic materials)

- **Ewidencja ludności w archiwaliach (ELA, archival population records)**

This database constitutes a register of various censuses, including lists, comparisons, records, card files, aside from birth and registry office certificates (see the PRADZIAD database). The information may be searched by criteria including place name, or using a subject classification created specially for this database. ELA does not contain a list of the names featured in the documents or information on specific individuals.

- **Księgi materykalne i stanu cywilnego (PRADZIAD, registry office records and community registers)**

This database contains information on the community registers and registry office records held in all the State Archives and a number of other institutions, as well as the Jewish community and Roman Catholic parish registers held in Urząd Stanu Cywilnego m.st. Warszawy-Archiwum (the Archive of the Warsaw Registry Office, also known as Archiwum zabużańskie, the archive for the region east of the river Bug). The PRADZIAD database does not contain a list of the names featured in the documents or information on specific individuals. The materials are gathered in the database according to a unified model: place name, administrative status, confession/rite, confession (usually only where there were several parishes of the same confession in a single place), type of registry office document, dates, microfilms, information on accessibility of files, location of materials, record group name and number, and comments.

ARCHIWUM AKT NOWYCH W WARSZAWIE (AAN, THE CENTRAL ARCHIVE OF MODERN RECORDS IN WARSAW⁴)

AAN is the largest of the Polish state archives, with some 2,700 fonds. It gathers documents generated in the twentieth century by central authorities and state administrative bodies, the judicature, autonomous central offices, and central political, society, vocational, cultural, educational, economic, and financial and credit institutions, as well as the legacies and papers of major figures, not only from the world of politics, and materials which do not fall within the remit of archives (e.g. Polish files from outside Poland but handed over to Poland). Following the systemic transformation and the winding up of the Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (PZPR, Polish United Workers' Party), the extensive collections of the party archives (until 1989 gathered in the Central Archive of the party's Central Committee [KC PZPR]) passed to the AAN. The holdings of this archive are profiled in an article by Adam Grzegorz Dąbrowski⁵ which profiles the entire collection from the perspective of the history of the Jewish community in Poland; here, we shall be focusing solely on documentation relating to the World War II period. Among the most important record groups on the Holocaust and the war period he counts the files of the Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, 1940-1945 (Government Delegation for Poland, 1940-1945, RG 1325), which is furnished with useful finding aid (made by archivists): alphabetical card indexes on the concentration camps and ghettos for the Jews in the General Government.⁶ In terms of Holocaust research, the most important departments of the Delegation were as follows:

⁴ *Archiwum Akt Nowych. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, compiled by E. Kołodziej, vol. 1-2, Warszawa 2009; *Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, ed. M. Motas, Warszawa 1973; *Centralne Archiwum KC PZPR. Informator*, compiled by A. Janowski, Z. Szczygielski, Warszawa 1978; *Centralne Archiwum KC PZPR. Przewodnik po zasobie akt do 1948 r.*, Warszawa 1989; *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Zakładu Historii Partii przy KC PZPR*, compiled by F. Melcer, ed. A. Janowski, Warszawa 1960.

⁵ A.G. Dąbrowski, "Źródła do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Polsce w zasobie Archiwum Akt Nowych", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, (ed.) B. Woszczyński, V. Urbaniak, Warszawa 2001, pp. 57-70.

⁶ These card indexes cover the ghettos in Belchatów, Bełżec, Bereza Kartuska, Będzin, Biała Podlaska, Białystok, Bliżyn, Bochnia, Bodzentyn, Bogoria, Borszczów, Borysław, Bóbrka, Brody, Brześć, Brzeziny, Brzeżany, Buczacz, Bukaczowce, Busk, Chabielice, Chełm Pomorski, Chełmno, Chmielnik, Choms [unknown location], Chrzanów, Ciechanów, Czepielin, Częstochowa, Czortków, Czyżew Szlachecki, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Dąbie, Dębno, Dęblin, Drohobycz, Ejszyski, Falenica, Gąbin, Głębokie, Gostynin, Grajewo, Grocholice, Grodno, Gródek Jagielloński, Grójec, Hancewice, Hrubieszów, Iwaniska, Izbica, Janowo Poleskie [properly Janów Poleski], Jaremche, Jaryczów Nowy, Jaworów, Jędrzejów, Kalisz, Kałuszyn, Kamionka, Kielce, Kleck, Klimontów, Kłodawa, Kobiel [properly Kolbiel], Kolutski, Koło, Końskie, Końskowola, Koprzywnica, Kopyczyńce, Kosów, Kowno, Koszedory, Kowel, Koźminek, Kraków, Kraśnik, Krzemieniec, Kutno, Lachowice, Legionowo, Lida, Lubaczów, Lublin, Lwów, Łagowo, Łęczna, Łęczno, Łęczycza, Łochów, Łomża, Łosice, Łódź, Łuck, Łuków, Majdan, Miedzeszyn, Mielec, Międzyrzec, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Mińsk, Mir, Mława, Mołodeczno, Mszana Dolna, Niedźwiedzice, Nieśwież, Nowe Miasto, Nowowilejka [properly Nowa Wilejka], Nowy Dwór, Opatów, Opoczno, Opole Lubelskie, Ostrowiec, Ostrów Mazowiecka, Otwock, Ozorków, Ożarów, Pabianice, Pacanów, Parczew, Piaski, Pilica, Pińczów, Pińsk, Pionki, Piotrków, Płońsk, Podhajce, Poniatów [properly Poniatowa], Poniewież, Poznań, Pren [unknown location], Przemyśl, Radom, Radomsko, Radzymin, Radzyń, Raków, Rawa Ruska, Rembertów, Rejowiec, Rohatyn, Równe, Rudka, Rzeszów, Sadowne, Sambor, Sandomierz, Sanniki, Siedlce,

- Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych (Department of Internal Affairs – Security), above all files 26-28, whose content includes the personal files of Jews who collaborated with the Germans, and registration data from the Warsaw ghetto for the years 1941-1943. These are some of the most important documents for anyone researching the Polish Underground State.
- Departament Informacji i Prasy (Department of Information and Press), which covers areas such as radio tapping, reviews of the underground press, and information on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and German propaganda.
- Rada Pomocy Żydom „Żegota” (“Żegota” Council to Aid Jews), documents from 1942-1944, including reports on the organization’s work, on the situation in the ghettos and from liquidation actions, and lists of fighters from the Warsaw Ghetto.

At this point it is also worth mentioning the collections of bills and posters⁷, ephemera, the legal press published in various countries, and underground press (Zbiór prasy konspiracyjnej i powstańczej 1939-1945, RG 1583), including 1282 titles (among them a collection of more than 100 titles that came out in Warsaw during the Warsaw city rising of 1944), published by the Armia Krajowa (AK, Home Army), Armia Ludowa (AL, People’s Army), Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (PPS, Polish Socialist Party), Stronnictwo Narodowe (SN, National Party) and all other political parties and organizations. However, the second most important institution in Poland holding materials from this category is the Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library) in Warsaw.⁸ The AAN also holds some of the files of the Polish Government-in-Exile (Rząd Rzeczypospolitej Polski na Uchodźstwie) 1939-1945, among them those of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, MSZ) and Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (Ministerstwo Pracy i Opieki Społecznej, MPiOS).⁹ These have been profiled by B. Kroll in a separate article.¹⁰ Supplementary to these materials are the

Sieniawa, Skalat, Skarżysko, Skierniewice, Slonim, Sobolew, Sokal, Sokółów, Sompolno, Sosnowiec, Stanisławów, Starachowice, Staszów, Stoczek, Stopnica, Strzemieszyce, Stryj, Suchedniów, Szawle, Szczerców, Szczewe [unknown location], Szydłowiec, Święty Krzyż, Tarnogród, Tarnów, Tluszcz, Tłuste, Tomaszów, Trawniki, Trembowla, Troki, Uhanie [properly Uchanie], Ulita [proper Olita], Ujazd, Wadowice, Warszawa, Węgrów, Wieliczka, Wilejka, Wilno, Włodawa, Włodzimierz Wołyński, Włoszczowa, Wolbrom, Wolkowysk, Wolomin, Woronowo [properly Woronów], Zagórów, Zaklików, Zambrów, Zamość, Zawady, Zawichost, Zbaraż, Zbrów [properly Zborów], Zduńska Wola, Złoczów, Żarki, Żychlin and Żyrardów.

⁷ http://archiwa.gov.pl/galeria.html?catid=201&lang=pl&template=archiwa_edu.

⁸ Many press titles, posters, books and prints of all other types are now accessible online at www.polona.pl.

⁹ The most important archive materials of the Polish Government-in-Exile are held in the Archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, and in the collections of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in Stanford, CA.

¹⁰ B. Kroll, “Akta polskich władz emigracyjnych na Zachodzie z okresu drugiej wojny światowej, przechowywane w Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie”, *Archeion*, 1965, R. XLII.

Akta Ignacego Schwarzbarta¹¹ 1939-1940 (Ignacy Schwarzbart Files, RG 543). Schwarzbart was a member of the Rada Narodowa (National Council) of the Polish Government-in-Exile and the representative of the Jewish minority in that government. This record group comprises all Schwarzbart's files from his time in France in 1939-1940, as well as some sets of his papers from other periods, above all correspondence, notes, press cuttings, and articles written for print; file no. 13 contains official printed matter of the National Council and typescripts of Schwarzbart's speeches. Two important record groups on the Polish armed forces are:

- Armia Krajowa 1942-1945 (AK, the Home Army, RG 1326), files include those of its Jewish Department, which gathered information on the fate of the Jewish population in the Polish lands¹² and served as the basis for the compilation of the "black books of Nazi crimes", and
- Narodowe Sily Zbrojne 1942-1945 (NSZ, the National Armed Forces, RG 1329). This is devoted to the military formation established in September 1942 on the initiative of a number of right-wing underground groups (Narodowy Związek Wojskowy [the National Military Union], Związek Jaszczurczy [the Lizard Union], and others). Pursuant to an agreement signed in March 1944, one faction of the NSZ merged with the AK, while another group, known as Brygada Świętokrzyska (the "Świętokrzyska Brigade"), left Polish territory and, with the acquiescence of the Germans, relocated to Western Europe. Some units of the NSZ remained very active after the war, fighting the new Communist regime. It is charged with a great many anti-Jewish campaigns and provocations both during the occupation and after the war. It published many underground papers, including *Szańiec* (Entrenchment), *Agencja* (Agency) and *Narodowa Agencja Prasowa* (National Press Agency). This archive also holds the files of the Społeczny Komitet Antykomunistyczny ANTYK 1942-1944 (ANTYK Anti-Communist Committee, RG 1346), which include registration information and reports on the situation of the Jews.

As the central repository for files created after 1918, the AAN is in possession of collections of German files as crucial to study of the World War II period as *Regierung des Generalgouvernements*

¹¹ The AAN has only copies; the most important, original materials relating to Ignacy Schwarzbart's work are held in the Yad Vashem archive and in Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN, the Institute of National Remembrance). Cf. D. Stola, *Nadzieja i Zagłada. Ignacy Schwarzbart – żydowski przedstawiciel w Radzie Narodowej RP (1940-1945)*, Warszawa 1995.

¹² There are also sizeable collections of Home Army High Command documents in the archival holdings of the IPN, the Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (Central Military Archives) in Rembertów, and the Studium Polski Podziemnej (Polish Underground Movement Study Trust) in London. Materials of local structures of the AK and other underground formations should also be sought in local state archives and branches or delegations of the IPN.

1939-1945 (the Government of the General Government in Krakow 1939-1945, RG 111¹³), Der Stadthauptmann in Lemberg 1941-1945 (the City Governor in Lwów, RG 540), Reichskommissar für die Behandlung feindlichen Vermögens im GG 1940-1944 (the Commissar for Enemy Property in the GG in Krakow 1940-1944, RG 115), and others (some of which are described in more detail in Part II of this *Guide*). The following groups in the AAN's holdings are also of note to Holocaust scholars: Dzienniki, kroniki i pamiętniki 1939-1945 (Diaries, chronicles and memoirs 1939-1945, RG 1349), including those of Aurelia Wyleżyńska, Zuzanna Rabska, Ludwik Landau, Halina Krahelska, and the "Andrzej" chronicle¹⁴; Zbiór materiałów dotyczących zbrodni hitlerowskich w Polsce 1944-1947 (a collection of materials detailing Nazi crimes in Poland 1944-1947, RG 1348) – materials from Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, GKBZNwP); Obozy koncentracyjne – zbiór akt 1940-1945 (Concentration camps – a collection of files dated 1940-1945, RG 1333), concerning Majdanek, Pawiak, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibór and other camps; Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (Assistance rendered by Poles to the Jewish population during the Nazi occupation, RG 1521) – questionnaires, accounts, memoirs and statements by individuals detailing the types of assistance given (gathered by Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację [ZBoWiD, the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy]); and Zbiór druków niemieckich z lat 1939-1944 (a collection of German printed matter from the years 1939-1944, RG 122). The AAN also holds the files of some of the ministries of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London.¹⁵ The documents in the record group Związek Patriotów Polskich w ZSRR (the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR, ZPP, RG 130) date from the years 1943-1946. Most important of these for the subject of interest here are the files of the Komitet Organizacyjny Żydów Polskich (Polish Jews' Organizational Committee) affiliated to the ZPP from the years 1944-1945, which include minutes of meetings and conferences, documents concerning Jewish writers, biographies and profiles of activists, and information on the situation of the Jews in the USSR. Examples of prewar and postwar documentation will be profiled in a dedicated chapter in Part II of this *Guide*.

¹³ Parts of the surviving Regierung des Generalgouvernements are also held by IPN and Bundesarchiv in Germany.

¹⁴ By Kazimierz Andrzej Gorzkowski (bearer of the Godziemba coat of arms), who ran an underground publishing organization called Godziemba connected to the AK BIP during the war years. Cf. A. Gorzkowski, *Kroniki Andrzeja. Zapiski z podziemia 1939-1941*, ed. Tomasz Szarota, Warszawa 1989.

¹⁵ Informacji i Dokumentacji (Information and Documentation), Administracji Publicznej (Public Administration), Pracy i Opieki Społecznej (Labour and Social Welfare), Prac Kongresowych (Congress Work), Przemysłu (Industry), Handlu i Żeglugi (Commerce and Navigation), Skarbu (Treasury) and Sprawiedliwości (Justice).

As a central archive, the AAN also holds microfilms from foreign collections. Of significance for Holocaust research are microfilmed records from the state administrative offices of the Third Reich from the Bundesarchiv, as well as those of the German military command, the Commander-in-Chief of the SS and the Chief of the German Police, and the ministries and administrative offices of the Third Reich in the National Archives and Records Administration in the USA (the Captured German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, cf. Part II of this *Guide*).

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W BIELSKU BIAŁEJ [ODDZIAŁ AP W KATOWICACH] (STATE ARCHIVE IN BIELSKO BIAŁA, BRANCH OF THE STATE ARCHIVE IN KATOWICE)

There are four record groups of note in the collection of the Bielsko archive. These are as follows:

- Starosta Powiatu Bielskiego 1939-1945 (Der Landrat des Kreises Bielitz, Bielsko County Governor 1939-1945, RG 4), in which most of the materials relate to passports of labourers employed at I.G. Farben Auschwitz, and to cross-border traffic; it also holds circulars and orders regarding the Jews, correspondence connected with Jewish families leaving the country (1940-1941), permits to conduct petty trade, and inventories of the landowners and land seized for the needs of the camp in Oświęcim;
- Więzienie Sądu Krajowego w Bielsku 1941-1945 (Landesgerichtsgefängnis Bielitz, Prison of the Regional Court in Bielsko 1941-1945, RG 295) – all that has been preserved are 27 criminal case files, including the files of two people sentenced for contact with KL Auschwitz internees;
- Spółka Gruntowa dla Prowincji Górnośląskiej z o.o. w Katowicach, Oddział w Bielsku (Grundstücksgesellschaft für die Provinz Oberschlesien m.b.H. Leitstelle Kattowitz Zweigstelle Bielitz, Real Estate Company for the Province of Upper Silesia with limited liability, Head Office in Katowice, Bielsko Branch, RG 186). Institutions called “Spółki Gruntowe przy Głównym Urzędzie Powierniczym Wschód z ograniczoną odpowiedzialnością” (Grundstücksgesellschaften m.b.H. bei der Haupttreuhandstelle-Ost, Land Companies affiliated to the Main Trustee Office for the East) were set up in 1940 to function as administrators for apartments, plots of land and other pieces of land expropriated – confiscated – by the occupying forces. One of the competences of these companies was valuation of confiscated properties. The scale on which this company operated covered the Bielsko, Żywiec, Zator, Oświęcim and Wadowice counties. This record group comprises over 2,600 files concerning confiscations of property belonging to residents of eastern Upper Silesia, including a

great many Jews and inhabitants of villages in which land was requisitioned for the construction of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp complex.

- Sąd Obwodowy w Bielsku 1939-1945 (Amtsgericht Bielitz, Local Court in Bielsko 1939-1945, RG 80), which contains documents relating to the confiscation in 1940 of several dozen Bielsko businesses and firms whose proprietors were Jews.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W CZĘSTOCHOWIE (STATE ARCHIVE IN CZĘSTOCHOWA)

A brief article has been written on the collections of the archive in Częstochowa by Przemysław Snoch.¹⁶ The most valuable materials from the wartime period are held in Akta miasta Częstochowy z lat 1304-1945 (Files of the city of Częstochowa, RG 1), and they include various statistical data and reports, lists of enterprises, registers of Jews resettled from other towns in the years 1940-1941, permits for relocation to Krakow, a list of passes permitting Jews to leave the ghetto in the years 1941-1942, matters related to Kennkarten (identity cards), lists of births, marriages and deaths, and payrolls for Jews for the year 1942 and the attendant correspondence regarding employment of Jews. Starostwo Miejskie w Częstochowie 1939-1945 (Stadthauptmannschaft Tschenstochau, Office of the Częstochowa City Governor, RG 4) contains information on the establishment of the ghetto, the burning of the synagogue, the devastation of the cemetery, the confiscation of the property of the Ezra women's society, the activities of the Rada Starszych (Council of Elders) and the Służba Porządkowa (Ordnungsdienst, Jewish Order Service), and resettlements. In Niemiecki Zakład Karny w Częstochowie z lat 1939-1944 (Deutscher Strafanstalt Tschenstochau, German Penitentiary in Częstochowa, RG 47) there are several dozen personal files of people of Jewish origin sentenced for various "crimes" to death, imprisonment or internment in a concentration camp. Zbiór afiszy i druków z terenu Częstochowy (Collection of bills and prints, RG 59) is a record group that has not yet been processed and is therefore still inaccessible, but has very valuable content. Biuro Dewizowe w Częstochowie 1939-1945 (Devisenauskunftsstelle Tschenstochau, Currency Office in Częstochowa, RG 315) holds correspondence concerning Jewish businesses under trustee administration and requests for permission for money orders for the needy. Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy 1940-1945 (Polish Welfare Committee, RG 15) has correspondence on matters relating

¹⁶ P. Snoch, "Materiały do dziejów Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Częstochowie," [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 109-115.

to aid for Jews. Sąd Obwodowy w Dobrodzieniu do 1945 (Amtsgericht Guttentag, Local Court in Dobrodzień to 1945, RG 584) has two files of documents on cases of resignations from confessional community organizations.

The relative paucity of holdings from the war years renders postwar materials all the more important. These include Zarząd Miejski i Miejska Rada Narodowa w Częstochowie z lat 1945-1950 (Municipal Board and City National Council in Częstochowa, RG 2), in which holdings include situation reports, registration of associations, files on war crimes, matters relating to war graves¹⁷, and cases connected with real estate ownership; Starostwo Powiatowe Częstochowskie 1945-1950 (Częstochowa County Governor's Office) and Rejonowy Urząd Likwidacyjny w Częstochowie 1949-1951 (Regional Liquidation Office in Częstochowa).

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W GDAŃSKU (STATE ARCHIVE IN GDAŃSK)¹⁸

Sources on the history of the Jews have been discussed by Aniela Przywuska and Aleksandra Skibicka in a dedicated article.¹⁹ A few record groups dating from the World War II period have been preserved, and their contents are crucial to study of the extermination of the Jews in the city of Gdańsk and across the Eastern Pomerania region.²⁰ None of the documentation of any of the Jewish community organizations that existed in this area has survived. According to the authors of the above mentioned article, "at the end of 1942 some 2,000 packages of files relating to the Jews were relocated to Hochwalde for protection from Allied air raids. We still do not know, however, whether Judaica from Eastern Pomerania were among them, or where the above mentioned archive materials are currently stored."²¹ The following are some of the most important record groups: Namiestnik Rzeszy Okręgu Gdańsk-Prusy Zachodnie (Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen, Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia, RG 263) – matters connected with real estate and confiscated Jewish property, and orders concerning treatment of the Jews; Wyższy Dowódca SS i Policji Okręgu Gdańsk-Prusy Zachodnie 1939-1945 (Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer Danzig-Westpreußen, Senior SS and Police Leader Danzig-West Prussia, RG 265) – documents concerning confiscation of Jewish property and

¹⁷ The Polish expression "grobownictwo" is used extensively in documents created after the war and refers to war graves situated outside designated cemeteries, and exhumations.

¹⁸ See: *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku. Przewodnik po zasobie do 1945 r.*, compiled by Cz. Biernat, Warszawa – Łódź 1992.

¹⁹ A. Przywuska, A. Skibicka, "Źródła do historii Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Gdańsku", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 127-154.

²⁰ Cf. also T. Musiał, *Staatsarchive im Dritten Reich. Zur Geschichte des staatlichen Archivwesens in Deutschland 1933-1945*, Potsdam 1996.

²¹ A. Przywuska, A. Skibicka, *Źródła do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., p. 135.

cemeteries; Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód, Urząd Powierniczy Gdańsk-Prusy Zachodnie 1939-1945 (Haupttreuhandstelle-Ost, Treuhandstelle Danzig-Westpreußen; Main Trustee Office for the East, Trustee Office for Danzig-West Prussia, RG 264) – concerns confiscations of property belonging to Jewish companies in Gdynia, Kościerzyna, Tczew, Kartuzy, Wejherowo and Starogard Gdański. The files of various towns, including Elbląg, Gdańsk, Gniew, Kościerzyna, Malbork, Nowy Staw, Sopot, Starogard Gdański, Sztum and Tczew contain various, for the most part small quantities of materials on the fate of the Jews during the war, such as statistics, inventories, lists of residents, rescindments of their citizenship, and confiscations of property. In Kolekcja pomorskich planów i map (Collection of Pomeranian plans and maps, RG 1126), under file no. 38/382, there is a photograph album from the island Wyspa Spichrzów [Speicherinsel] in Gdańsk, where in 1939 the Germans set up a ghetto for the Jewish population. There are also isolated files from the war years and the postwar period in other record groups. In Wyższy Sąd Krajowy w Gdańsku 1866-1945 (Oberlandesgericht Danzig, Higher Regional Court in Gdańsk, RG 96), for instance, there is a file containing the text of the Act on the Protection of German Blood passed by the Senate of the Free City of Gdańsk (file no. 96/85), and an inventory of Jewish property on the territory of the city of Gdańsk from the year 1939 (file no. 3071).

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W GRODZISKU MAZOWIECKIM [ODDZIAŁ AP W WARSZAWIE] (STATE ARCHIVE IN GRODZISK MAZOWIECKI [BRANCH OF THE STATE ARCHIVE IN WARSAW])

The Archive in Grodzisk is a branch of the State Archive in Warsaw, and among its holdings there is a wealth of documentation on the southern regions of the Mazowieckie voivodship. Recently it also came into possession of record groups from the liquidated archives in Góra Kalwaria, Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki and Żyrardów. Record groups generated by municipal and commune authorities and courts have been preserved to a certain extent, but there is no documentation in this archive generated by German administrative or police authorities. The record groups of at least nine towns are worthy of research:

- Akta miasta Pruszkowa (Files of the town of Pruszków, RG 87) – the partially preserved files of the Zarząd Komisaryczny Nieruchomości Żydowskich miasta Pruszkowa (Jewish Real Estate Trustee Administration Board of the town of Pruszków) dating from 1941-1944; also a list of real estate owned by Jews; summary population censuses of Pruszków; lists of abandoned real estate; and registered address ledgers for some real estate, for periods including the occupation;

- Akta miasta Żyrardowa (Files of the town of Żyrardów, RG 2) – including a census of the Jewish population of Żyrardów before and after the war; registered address ledgers for some real estate;
- Akta miasta Grodziska Mazowieckiego (Files of the town of Grodzisk Mazowiecki, RG 36) – a list of farms owned by Jews; German public announcements and ordinances affecting or concerning Jews; documents of the Zarząd Komisaryczny Nieruchomościami Żydowskimi (Jewish Real Estate Trustee Administration Board); a list of names of Jews assigned for forced labour; files on specific real estate owned by Jews; personal files of some people from Grodzisk, among them Bernard Kampelmacher, later a cooperator with Oneg Shabat in the Warsaw ghetto;
- Akta miasta Góra Kalwaria (Files of the town of Góra Kalwaria, RG 1343) – above all postwar documentation regarding Jewish real estate;
- Akta miasta Grójca²² (Files of the town of Grójec, RG 1365) – cases of forced labour, execution of fines and other dues; files containing records and inspection reports on population movements; business, revenue and currency matters; correspondence regarding expulsion of the Jews and confiscations of their real estate; files on apartment and house searches and sanitation issues; statistics; lists of Jewish shops, industrial plants and farms; German propaganda documents;
- Akta miasta Sochaczewa (Files of the town of Sochaczew, RG 90) – documents of Sochaczew town governor's office, including lists of shops owned by Jews; ordinances from the period of the occupation concerning or affecting Jews, including some concerning the establishment of a Jewish quarter in January 1941; correspondence of the Judenrat concerning forced labour and food ration cards; lists of Jews by labour details;
- Akta miasta Piaseczna (Files of the town of Piaseczno, RG 1404) – German circulars and orders; files on social welfare; correspondence in connection with the establishment of the ghetto in Piaseczno; lists of real estate owned by Jews; population records; goods confiscated from Jewish shops;
- Akta miasta Mogielnicy (Files of the town of Mogielnica, RG 1405) – correspondence with parties including the Judenrat; cases concerning real estate;

²² Cf. *Żydzi w Grójeckiem. Słownik. Historia. Kultura. Gospodarka*, ed. Z. Szelaż, Grójec 2007; K. Panz, "Losy żydowskich mieszkańców Grójca – historia Zagłady. Między pamięcią a zapomnieniem", Master's thesis dated 2006, defended at the University of Warsaw, Faculty of Applied Social Sciences and Resocialization, Institute of Applied Social Sciences; eadem, "Zagłada sztetl Grice", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2007, no. 3, pp. 15-41.

- Akta miasta Skierniewice (Files of the town of Skierniewice, RG 894) – forced labour; correspondence with the Rada Żydowska (Judenrat, Jewish Council) regarding the establishment of the ghetto (1940); a list of names of wealthier Jews; postwar documents on issues including property rights cases;
- Akta miasta Rawy Mazowieckiej (Files of the town of Rawa Mazowiecka, RG 1022) – lists of commercial and artisan enterprises including the addresses and names of their proprietors; postwar documents on the synagogues and the cemetery.

Among the record groups comprising files of commune offices, there are materials connected with the extermination of the Jews in the files of the following commune offices: Korabiewice, Zaborów, Żyrardów-Wiskitki, and Jeziorna – chiefly cases related to population records, property rights, forced labour, and official correspondence in connection with German ordinances. Other record groups are: Ubezpieczalnia społeczna w Żyrardowie (The social insurance institution in Żyrardów, RG 105) – lists of employment levels in the Jewish community organizations in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Skierniewice, Sochaczew and other towns; and Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Rawie Mazowieckiej (Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Rawa Mazowiecka, RG 1029) – postwar witness statements by Polish witnesses to events connected with the extermination of the Jews in the surrounding localities, above all Biała Rawska and Rawa Mazowiecka; also questionnaires connected with the register of locations and facts about the crimes.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W KATOWICACH (STATE ARCHIVE IN KATOWICE)

The materials relating to the Jewish population in the vast holdings of this archive have been profiled by Michał Mączka.²³ From the period of World War II there are files generated by both the German administration and police, and cities, courts, county governors' offices, and other bodies. The most important and extensive is certainly Rejencja Katowicka 1939-1945²⁴ (Regierung Kattowitz, Katowice Regional Administration, RG 119) – these files contain large quantities of information on the fate of the Jews, such as statistics; public identification (oznakowanie); special transportation regulations; forced labour; the prescript to add the first names Israel and Sara; matters connected with the

²³ M. Mączka, "Materiały dotyczące ludności żydowskiej w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego w Katowicach", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 163-180.

²⁴ The territory of the Regional Administration covered the following autonomous cities: Bytom, Katowice, Gliwice, Królewska Huta (Chorzów), Sosnowiec and Zabrze, and the counties of Będzin, Bytom and Tarnowskie Góry, Bielsko, Cieszyn, Chrzanów, Gliwice, Katowice, Pszczyna, Rybnik, Żywiec and Olkusz.

ghettos in Sosnowiec, Będzin, Dąbrowa and Czeladź; expropriation and administration of Jewish property (assets, land, businesses); Jewish cemeteries; and police documents and reports on the action to “cleanse the lands of the Region of Jews” and many others. Another very important collection is Akta miasta Sosnowca 1902-1945 (Files of the city of Sosnowiec, RG 776), which comprises notices and orders concerning and affecting Jews and their resettlement from Sosnowiec, as well as matters such as forced labour for the Zarząd Miejski (Municipal Administration), liquidation of businesses (the files of businesses closed down in various sectors), the organization of the ghetto in Sosnowiec and its expansion (including maps, plans and records), economic activity on the part of Jews in the ghetto, levies imposed on the Jewish community organization and Jewish businesses, lists of names of Jews in Sosnowiec and Będzin, orders following the liquidation of the ghetto (including lists of evacuated streets and houses), materials on the trustee administration board, and many other documents permitting extremely detailed research into the history of the Jews under the German occupation in this region. Analogous documents and materials supplementary to the issues discussed above are to be found in the well preserved files Akta Prezydenta Policji w Sosnowcu 1939-1945 (Der Polizeipräsident in Sosnowitz, President of the Police in Sosnowiec, RG 807) – these include extensive statistical and demographic data, and documents on religious matters such as the fate of the cemetery, as well as an accurate list of Jewish prayer houses, forced labour, the introduction of the curfew, correspondence regarding arrests and deportations of Jews to the camps, lists of the names of those arrested in the Sosnowiec and Będzin ghettos, a map of the Czeladź ghetto, documents regarding the liquidation of the ghetto in August 1943, and police situation reports. In the Katowice archive there are a large number of collections that contain documents from the period of the occupation (or concerning that period) concerning the fate of the Jews. For obvious reasons it would be impossible to profile all these collections, so only the most important are listed below:

- Akta miasta Będzin (Files of the city of Będzin, RG 773) – circulars, public announcements and bill posters, and correspondence concerning Jews; lists of names of Jews; inventories of firms; matters connected with real estate under trustee administration;
- Starosta Powiatu Będzińskiego 1939-1945 (Der Landrat des Kreises Bendsburg, Będzin County Governor, RG 771) – arrest warrants for wanted people, among them Jews; applications from Jews for permission to trade and run businesses; orders restricting their economic activity; an alphabetical list of the Jews in Będzin from 1942;

- Starostwo w Zawierciu 1939-1945 (Landratsamt Wartenau, Zawiercie County Governor's Office, RG 881) – named passes from 1941 for Jews from various cities allowing them to travel.

A large amount of documentation has been preserved concerning property owned by Jews: its registration, confiscation orders and trustee administration. These are to be found in the above collections as well as in a number of others:

- Zarząd Prowincjonalny Górnego Śląska w Katowicach 1942-1945 (Provinzialverwaltung Oberschlesien in Kattowitz, Provincial Authorities for Upper Silesia in Katowice, RG 118) – this administrative office covered the Katowice and Opole administrative districts, and a few files contain documents concerning confiscations of private assets of Jews;
- Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód; Urząd Powierniczy w Katowicach 1939-1945²⁵ (Haupttreuhandstelle Ost Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, Main Trustee Office for the East, Trustee Office in Katowice, RG 124);
- Spółka Gruntowa Prowincji Górnego Śląska z o.o. – Kierownictwo w Katowicach 1942-1945 (Grundstücksgesellschaft für die Provinz Oberschlesien m.b.H – Leitstelle Kattowitz, Real Estate Company for the Province of Upper Silesia with limited liability, Head Office in Katowice, RG 383);
- Bank Drezdeński. Filia w Katowicach 1907-1945 (Dresdner Bank. Filiale Kattowitz, Dresden Bank, Katowice Branch, RG 320) – files include information on accounts belonging to Jews, reports on liquidation of Polish and Jewish economic institutions, information on Jewish firms under German trustee administration, information on liquidation and expropriation of assets in Jewish accounts, and files of firms employing Jews, including those in the ghetto in Sosnowiec;
- Naczelne Prezydium w Katowicach 1941-1945 (Oberpräsidium Kattowitz, Supreme Presidium in Katowice, RG 117) – general orders regarding confiscations and sales of assets belonging to enemies of the Reich, and files of specific firms whose assets were confiscated. A few collections of court and public prosecutors' files have also been preserved in AP Katowice; of particular note are the files of Sąd Specjalny w Katowicach 1939-1945 (Sondergericht Kattowitz, Special Court in Katowice, RG 134) – the files of the criminal cases investigated by the court refer to common offences and those committed in violation of German war legislation, including theft, fencing, illegal slaughter (including ritual slaughter for the needs of the Jewish community), crimes

²⁵ J. Jaros, "Grabież mienia Żydów przez władze hitlerowskie w świetle akt Urzędu Powierniczego w Katowicach", *BŻIH*, 1961, no. 38, pp. 105-117.

defined as defiling the German race (Rassenschande), possession of firearms, listening to the radio, and other misdemeanours; these files include several dozen criminal cases against Jews in the Silesia region.

- One fascinating collection, which is also the most important record group for study of the history of the ghettos in Upper Silesia and the Dąbrowa Basin, is that containing the partly preserved files (52 items) of the Rada Starszych Żydowskiej Gminy Wyznaniowej w Dąbrowie Górniczej 1939-1943 (Komitee der Jüdischen Kultusgemeinde in Dombrowa, Committee of the Jewish Community Organization in Dąbrowa, RG 1600). This community fell within the remit of the headquarters of Jewish community organizations in Sosnowiec. This record group contains information about the organization of the communities, reports on the work of the financial and social welfare divisions of the organization, various compilations of statistics and budgets, lists of names of people working in the Jewish community organizations, and materials on employment and work among the Jews.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W KIELCACH²⁶ (STATE ARCHIVE IN KIELCE)

The holdings of the Kielce archive and its branches²⁷ have been profiled by Roman Guldon²⁸ and again by the same author with Łukasz Guldon.²⁹ As in other archives, most materials relating to the fate of the Jewish population during the occupation are to be found in the files of cities, communes, counties, courts, and prisons. Akta miasta Kielc (Files of the city of Kielce, held in AP w Kielcach, RG 122) and Akta miasta Sandomierz (Files of the town of Sandomierz, held in AP w Sandomierzu, RG 111) contain German orders from the years 1941-1942 (concerning resettlements and confiscation of property). There are also documents of a similar character in the files of the towns of Jędrzejów (RG 1657), Starachowice (RG 2684) and Rozwadów³⁰, and in those of the communes of Duraczów³¹ and Odrowąż³². These are lists of real estate owned by Jews and documents concerning its reassignment to members of the “Aryan” population. Akta miasta Sandomierz also contain “orders issued by the Office of the Opatów County Governor regarding resettlement and

²⁶ *Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach i jego oddziały w Jędrzejowie, Pińczowie i Starachowicach. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, collective work under S. Marcinkowski, Warszawa-Łódź 1993; see also the part of this chapter devoted to Archiwum Państwowe w Sandomierzu (State Archive in Sandomierz).

²⁷ In recent years the branches in Pińczów, Jędrzejów and Starachowice have been closed down and their files relocated to Kielce.

²⁸ R. Guldon, “Źródła do historii Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Kielcach”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 181-192.

²⁹ R. Guldon, Ł. Guldon, “Akta z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej w archiwach państwowych województwa świętokrzyskiego”, *Almanach Historyczny*, 2001, vol. 3.

³⁰ AP w Sandomierzu (State Archive in Sandomierz), RG 523.

³¹ AP w Kielcach, RG 524.

³² AP w Kielcach, RG 530.

registration of the Jewish population from the years 1941-1942, correspondence with the Jewish community organization regarding housing and occupancy of shop premises, and evictions”³³, as well as lists of the Jews resident there (1941) and their identity documents.

Akta miasta Końskie (Files of the town of Końskie, RG 519) also contain the registers of 1,179 Jews resettled there in 1940. These include numerous and detailed data: given name, surname, parents' given names, date of birth, marital status, age, address, vocation, date of arrival, and previous address.³⁴ In Akta miasta Stalowej Woli³⁵ there is a list of the Jews being held in the labour camp there in 1942. Personal files of Jewish prisoners from the years 1939-1944 have also been preserved (in the collections of the prisons in Kielce³⁶ and Sandomierz³⁷).

ARCHIWUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE (THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE IN KRAKOW)³⁸

The archival holdings relating to the history of the Jews have been profiled by three authors: Magdalena Marosz, Jadwiga Szyposz and Franciszek Zacny.³⁹ From the World War II period we have a few relatively well preserved collections which offer information for scholars of the Jewish population in the Kazimierz quarter of the city and in the ghetto in the Podgórze quarter. Foremost among these are the files Akta Starosty miasta Krakowa⁴⁰ (Der Stadthauptmann der Stadt Krakau, Governor of the City of Krakow) from the years 1939-1945 – German ordinances; bill posters and public announcements; printed propaganda material; documents of trustee administrative boards and concerning Jewish property and confiscations of such property; materials concerning the liquidation of Jewish organizations and associations; documents directly concerning the history of the ghetto, including a collection of 157 original photographs taken during the resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto; population records; residence documents and records; and many others. Another very

³³ R. Guldon, “Źródła do historii Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Kielcach”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., p. 187.

³⁴ These addresses are from several different cities, among them Łódź, Gniezno, Przedbórz, Gowarczów, Opoczno, Kraków, Bydgoszcz and Kalisz.

³⁵ AP w Sandomierzu, RG 524.

³⁶ AP w Kielcach, RG 186.

³⁷ AP w Sandomierzu, RG 141.

³⁸ *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym [Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie]*, compiled by S. Mika and J. Stoksik, with A. Litewka, Z. Homecka and H. Zającowa, Kraków 1978; A. Kielbicka, *Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie 1951-1980*, Warszawa – Łódź 1989.

³⁹ M. Marosz, J. Szyposz, F. Zacny, “Materiały dotyczące dziejów Żydów przechowywane w Archiwum Państwowym w Krakowie”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 197-208.

⁴⁰ Part of the collection Akta miasta Krakowa 1300-1945 (Files of the city of Krakow, RG 33).

important collection kept in the Krakow archive is Izba Zdrowia w GG 1939-1945⁴¹ (Gesundheitskammer, Chamber of Health in the General Government, RG 1578) – here there are various circulars and ordinances related to the functioning of the health service, and personal questionnaires containing very detailed personal data and photographs of people of several professions (doctors, dentists, dental technicians, midwives, nurses), including several thousand questionnaires of people of Jewish descent from the district of Galicia (their questionnaires were stamped with a star of David or the word “Jude”), as well as lists of Jewish doctors from various places in the GG. In the collection with the working name Akta poniemieckie 1941-1945 (Former German files, RG 1576) there are holdings including documents of the Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Mutual Welfare Aid), a file containing documents of the Rada Żydowska w Krzeszowicach (Judenrat Kressendorf, Jewish Council in Krzeszowice)⁴² – including lists of people sent to perform forced labour, and personal data questionnaires of Jews resident in Krakow (Fragebogenlisten 1939-1945), containing extensive personal details. Akta miasta Wieliczki (Files of the town of Wieliczka, RG 117) contain lists of the real estate on particular streets, dating from March 1941, together with the details of owners and tenants (a very large number of them Jews); some sheets bear the annotation “Jewish home” in German and in red pencil. In addition to these, there are applications and permits for Jews to move into the ghetto in Wieliczka, and residence registration questionnaires for around 1,400 people. One important collection – for obvious reasons – is Urząd Dystryktu Krakowskiego 1939-1945 (Amt des Distrikts Krakau, Krakow District Office, RG 208) – the files chiefly concern matters related to passports (including those of Jews) and confiscation of property; they also hold personal files of Jews from Nowy Targ (1940-1942) and lists of Jews from a number of locations in Nowy Targ county.⁴³ The collection Starosta powiatowy w Krakowie 1940-1945 (Kreishauptmann Krakau-Land, Krakow County Governor, RG 219) also holds correspondence relating to property owned by Jews from Bochnia. Other little known materials⁴⁴ in the Krakow archive include questionnaires filled in by Jews from the GG entitled to receive social benefits in the years 1940-1941 – in all, these questionnaires originate from 134 Jewish communities in several different counties. This collection is a part of the office of the Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna w Krakowie (Jewish Social Self-Help in Krakow, RG 2125). As the majority

⁴¹ Analogous documents, almost 5,500 personal questionnaires, ca. 600 of them concerning Jews, are held in AP Warszawa, Izba Zdrowia w Warszawie (Gesundheitskammer Warschau, Chamber of Health in Warsaw, RG 497).

⁴² The files were handed over in 1977 by Główna Komisja Badań Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (GKBZHwP, the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland).

⁴³ Czarny Dunajec, Czorsztyn, Dębno, Kluszkowce, Łopuszna, Maniowy, Sromowce Wyżne, Szlembark.

⁴⁴ In Oddział II (Department II) on Grodzka Street; the record group has no number, 64 archival units.

of the questionnaires bear the stamps of the various Jewish community organizations, this record group is an interesting collection of stamps and signatures of the councils of Jewish community organizations from the period of the occupation.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W LESZNO (STATE ARCHIVE IN LESZNO)⁴⁵

As in other smaller archives, in Leszno the most important collections for study of the history of the Holocaust are the files of towns and communes, and of these in particular:

- Akta miasta Jutrosin (Files of the town of Jutrosin, RG 17) – expulsions of Poles and Jews from the Wartheland, notifications of deaths of Jewish prisoners (most of whom had come from the ghetto in Łódź) in the camp Judenlager Paulseck from the years 1942-1943;
- Akta miasta Krzywiń (Files of the town of Krzywiń, RG 20) – a list of expropriated assets;
- Akta miasta Leszno (Files of the town of Leszno, RG 21) – including documentation of the large synagogue in Leszno and a list of the war losses of the Jewish community;
- Akta miasta Miejska Górka (Files of the town of Miejska Górka, RG 22) – circulars and orders regarding Jews in hiding, Gestapo arrest warrants, and a list of “harmful and undesirable” books;
- Akta miasta Rawicz (Files of the town of Rawicz, RG 27) – materials concerning resettlements and mixed marriages, confiscations of furniture belonging to Poles and Jews, lists of names of prisoner transports to various camps, the conversion of the synagogue in Rawicz into a cinema in 1940.

Among the files of communes, two collections are of note:

- Akta gminy Osieczna (Files of the commune of Osieczna, RG 54) – forms referring to Polish and Jewish assets confiscated or under administration;
- Akta gminy Rydzyna (Files of the commune of Rydzyna, RG 55) – cases concerning forced labourers, a list of residents of Rydzyna by nationality (1941 and 1943), various statistical information, lists of Jews from the camp in Kłoda (Judenarbeitslager Roden b. Reisen) dating from 1942, and copies of entries in the land register concerning the Jewish synagogue and cemetery.

⁴⁵ *Archiwum Państwowe w Lesznie. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, compiled by B. Ratajewska and M. Kapala, Warszawa 2005.

Also of great interest is the collection Spółka Zarządzająca Skonfiskowanymi Gruntami, Oddział w Lesznie (Grundstücksgesellschaft der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost m.b.H. Zweigstelle Lissa, Land Company affiliated to the Main Trustee Office for the East with limited liability, Leszno Branch Office, RG 153)⁴⁶ – this contains files concerning confiscated land assets (with and without buildings) previously owned by Poles and Jews, as well as highly accurate lists of all real estate in Leszno, and other documents and legal files on property and property confiscations.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W LUBLINIE (STATE ARCHIVE IN LUBLIN)⁴⁷

The holdings of significance for the study of the history of the Jews in this city and region have been profiled in an article by Józef Kus and Maria Trojanowska.⁴⁸ The extant documents are of German, Polish and Jewish provenance. Among them are the following:

- Urząd Okręgu [Dystryktu] Lubelskiego (Amt des Distrikts Lublin, Lublin District Office, RG 498), which holds a large quantity of documents of Referat do spraw żydowskich (Referat Judenfragen, Office for Jewish affairs, units 270-809) and Wydział administracji i pracy (Abteilung Innere Verwaltung und Abteilung Arbeit, Department of Administration and Labour), including lists of transports. These reference Lublin and many other places in the district, including Bilgoraj, Krasnystaw, Puławy, Radzyń and Zamość.
- Centrala Przesiedleńcza Policji Bezpieczeństwa, Ekspozytura w Zamościu 1942-1944 (Der Chef der Sipo und des SD – Umwandererzentralstelle Posen, Zweigstelle Zamosc, Security Police Central Resettlement Office, Zamość Branch, RG 513).
- Centralny Zarząd Budowlany Oddziałów Wojskowych i Policji w Lublinie 1940-1944 (Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Lublin, Central Construction Board for the Waffen-SS and Police in Lublin, RG 516).
- Starostwo Powiatowe Lubelskie 1939-1944 (Kreishauptmann Lublin-Land, Office of the Lublin County Governor, RG 501) – approx. 117 items directly related to the extermination of the

⁴⁶ Cf. analogous collection in AP Bielsko Biala: Spółka Gruntowa dla Prowincji Górnośląskiej z o.o. w Katowicach Oddział w Bielsku.

⁴⁷ *Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie. Informator-spis zespołów*, compiled by W. Podnieśńska with S. Janicki and J. Kus, Lublin 1992; *Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie i jego Oddziały w Chełmie, Kraśniku i Radzyńiu Podlaskim. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, collective work, ed. F. Cieślak and M. Trojanowska, Lublin 1997; *Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie. Dzieje i zasób. Zbiór artykułów przygotowanych na jubileusz 85-lecia*, collective work, Warszawa 2003.

⁴⁸ J. Kus, M. Trojanowska, “Źródła do dziejów Żydów od XVI do XX w. w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Lublinie”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 213-224.

Jews; information on the ghettos, resettlements, property confiscations, issue of identity documents, and a list of names of Jews condemned to death for leaving the ghetto.

- Polizei-Bataillon Zamość (Zamość Police Battalion, RG 515);
- Starostwo Miejskie w Lublinie 1939-1944 (Der Stadthauptmannschaft in Lublin, Office of the Lublin City Governor, RG 499).
- Komendant Policji Bezpieczeństwa i Służby Bezpieczeństwa w Lublinie (Der Kommandeur der Sipo und SD, Commander of the Security Police and Security Service, RG 511).
- Zbiór afiszów i druków ulotnych (Collection of German bills and printed ephemera, RG 632).

Of the collections of files generated by Jewish institutions and organizations it is important to mention the relatively well preserved files of the Rada Żydowska w Lublinie 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Lublin, RG 891) – here there are documents including circulars and public announcements; minutes of meetings; reports on the work of the council to the German authorities; personal materials; documents on financial and economic matters, forced labour, aid to children, the poor and the needy; and lists of populations, resettled people, those employed in the labour camp at Lipowa Street, and the deceased. These files have enabled the history of the ghetto in Lublin to be relatively well researched.⁴⁹ Vestiges of the files of the Rada Żydowska w Biskupicach 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Biskupice, RG 618/1) have also been preserved – a small section of the book of minutes of its meetings, lists of council members, correspondence, and a list of the population; likewise for the Rada Żydowska w Zamościu 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Zamość, RG 618/2) – notices and announcements, lists of population and of real estate, and other documents.

The most important collections of Polish provenance are as follows: Akta miasta Lublina z lat 1939-1944 (RG 22) – materials concerning the establishment of the ghetto, “lists of deaths” among the Jews, and forced labour, and also large numbers of residential registration ledgers; Akta miasta Lubartowa z lat 1945-1950 (Files of the town of Lubartów, RG 43), containing a list of the Jewish population as of 25 November 1939 as well as occupation orders, and lists of movable property and real estate.

⁴⁹ Cf. N. Blumental, *Documents from Lublin Ghetto. Judenrat without Direction*, Jerusalem 1967; T. Radzik, *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta*, Lublin 1999; idem, *Zagłada lubelskiego getta*, Lublin 2007.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W ŁODZI (STATE ARCHIVE IN ŁÓDŹ)⁵⁰

The holdings of this archive have been profiled in detail by Julian Baranowski.⁵¹ The Łódź archive is the sixth-biggest in Poland and has very extensive collections on both the history of the Jews in the Polish lands and the history of the Łódź ghetto. Of greatest significance among the material dating from the period of the occupation are the two vast collections generated by the Jewish and German administrations of the ghetto. The first is Przełożony Starszeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkim, known as Archiwum Rumkowskiego (the Rumkowski Archive) 1939-1945 (Der Älteste der Juden in Getto Litzmannstadt, Head of the Jewish Council in the Łódź Ghetto, RG 278). This collection, which numbers almost 2,500 items, documents all aspects of the fate of the Jews in the Łódź ghetto, because the administration of the Judenrat (Jewish Council) was very highly developed (it employed over 10,000 people) and generated vast quantities of documents, which, fortunately, have survived.

The inventory to the Rumkowski Archive comprises an extensive preface that offers good insight into the ghetto offices, and a body of archives categorized by department and section. These materials will be described in greater detail in Part II of this *Guide*. Among them is a large collection of original contact sheets of photographs taken by Mordko Mendl Grossman and Henryk Ross, photographers officially employed by the Judenrat. Aside from the strictly official documentation, there is also a set of *Biuletyny Kroniki Codziennej* (Daily Chronicle Bulletins, 1941-1944), commissioned by the Judenrat, as well as literary reportage articles, a full set of circulars and public announcements, the texts of Chaim Rumkowski's speeches, the residence registration ledgers for ghetto residents, lists of the Jews from Western Europe resettled to Litzmannstadt, around 1,500 labour record books, various graphic materials produced by the Department of Statistics, transport lists of Jews sent to the death camp in Chelmno nad Nerem, and many other things. An equally large and important collection is the German Zarząd Getta (Gettoverwaltung, Ghetto authorities), part of the larger collection Akta miasta Łodzi 1775-1945 (Files of the city of Łódź, RG 221). Taken together, the two collections (Archiwum Rumkowskiego and Gettoverwaltung) come to over 100 linear metres of files. The Gettoverwaltung documents are correspondence with the Judenrat on all manner of subjects related to the ghetto, and correspondence with German government offices and companies regarding the ghetto's manufacturing output, employment of Jews in labour camps, looting of their property – on matters of this nature reports were submitted by the Kripo (the German criminal

⁵⁰ *Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, collective work, ed. M. Bandurka, Warszawa 1998.

⁵¹ J. Baranowski, "Źródła do dziejów Żydów w łódzkim zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Łodzi", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 225-239; idem, "Materiały źródłowe do martyrologii i zagłady Żydów z getta łódzkiego w Archiwum Państwowym w Łodzi", [in:] *Judaica łódzkie*, ed. M. Budziarek, Łódź 1994.

police, which had a police station inside the ghetto). There is also a wealth of valuable material in Wydział Ogólny Zarządu Miejskiego w Łodzi (Allgemeine Verwaltung Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt, General Administration of the Łódź City Authorities) – above all minutes of meetings of the Rada Miejska (City Council) devoted to the Łódź ghetto. These were attended by the highest-ranking German officials of the Wartheland region. In Wydział Zdrowia Zarządu Miejskiego w Łodzi (Gesundheitsamt Stadtverwaltung Litzmannstadt, Department of Health of the Łódź City Authorities) statistical reports have been preserved detailing the mortality of various national groups, including the Jews, as well as the results of race research conducted by the Oddział Rasy i Dziedziczenia (Rasse- und Erbe Abteilung, Section for Race and Inheritance).

Another extremely important collection is Policja Kryminalna w Łodzi, Komisariat w Getcie 1940-1945 (Kriminalkommissariat Getto, Criminal Police in Łódź, Police Station in the Ghetto, RG 203); these records contain data on mortality, arrests, smuggling, shootings, confiscations of property, suicides, and moods among the Jewish populace. Other noteworthy collections are Sąd Specjalny w Łodzi 1939-1945 (Sondergericht, Special Court, RG 196); Zakłady Karne w Łodzi 1939-1945 (Penitentiaries in Łódź, RG 198) and Zakład Karny w Sieradzu (Penitentiary in Sieradz, RG 200); Centrala Przesiedleńcza w Poznaniu, Oddział Łódź 1939-1945 (Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und SD Umwandererzentralstelle Posen – Dienststelle Litzmannstadt, Security Police Central Resettlement Office in Poznań, Łódź Branch Office, RG 206); Rewizyjne i Powiernicze Biuro „Ruteg” (Revisions- und Treuhandbüro „Ruteg“ in Litzmannstadt, “Ruteg” Revision and Trustee Office, RG 895) – files on takeovers of Polish and Jewish firms by trusteeships (Treuhänder); Szef Zarządu Cywilnego Okręgu Wojskowego przy 8 Armii 1939 (Chef der Zivilverwaltung beim Armee-Oberkommando 8, Head of the Civilian Administration of the Eighth Army High Command, RG 175). There is a need for research into the files of other towns also stored in AP Łódź, e.g. Pabianice, Tuszyn, Zgierz, Łask, Aleksandrów Łódzki, Konstantynów Łódzki. The archive in Łódź is also in possession of the most complete collection of the official German daily newspaper of the war years, *Lodz̋er Zeitung*, later renamed *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, which contains a vast amount of information and data on the ghetto.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W ŁOWICZU [ODDZIAŁ AP W WARSZAWIE] (STATE ARCHIVE IN ŁOWICZ [BRANCH OF THE STATE ARCHIVE IN WARSAW])

The archive in Łowicz is among the smaller branch archives, which for obvious reasons have far less extensive holdings than the large central archives in possession of the files of the highest-level institutions and offices in a given region. Nonetheless, it is worth paying attention to a few record groups in which materials concerning the fate of the Jews have been preserved. There is documentation of a similar kind in other branch archives whose holdings are not discussed in this *Guide*. In Akta miasta Łowicza (Files of the town of Łowicz, RG 7) there is information on forced labour among Jewish artisans in the years 1940-1942, including in the local labour centre established specifically for this purpose, the Dom Pracy (Labour House, call no. 3045, 3046, 3052), as well as a list of Jews dating from 1940 (call no. 3060) and documents referring to confiscations of industrial plants owned by Jews. There is also one file of similar documents surviving in connection with Bank Spółdzielczy z o.o. from the years 1941-1943 (Cooperative Bank with limited liability, RG 304), which was owned by Jews, as well as correspondence and other documentation dating from the period 1939-1941 gathered under the heading “Sprawa kredytów żydowskich” (The question of Jewish loans) in the collection Komunalna Kasa Oszczędności powiatu łowickiego 1937-1950 (Łowicz County Communal Savings Bank, RG 3, file no. 75). Other documents from the war years worthy of attention are the personal files of political prisoners held in Łowicz Prison: Więzienie w Łowiczu (Prison in Łowicz, RG 30), some of whom were of Jewish descent. Then there are materials connected with registry files: birth, marriage and death certificates and their regeneration after the war, as well as court documents on cases of restitution of property lost during the war. These materials are to be found in the collections Akta Stanu Cywilnego Bolimowskiego Bożniczego Okręgu w Bolimowie 1889-1941 (Registry Files of the Bolimów Synagogue District in Bolimów, RG 295), Akta Stanu Cywilnego dla wyznań niechrześcijańskich gminy Łyszkowice 1918-1940 (Registry Files for non-Christian confessions in the commune of Łyszkowice, RG 305), and Sąd Grodzki w Łowiczu 1945-1950 (Court of the first instance in Łowicz, RG 287).

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W OPOLU (STATE ARCHIVE IN OPOLE)⁵²

Some information on the holdings of this archive may be found in the article by Barbara Sypko and Aneta Malik.⁵³ A few collections have survived that contain documents of use for research into the

⁵² “Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Wojewódzkiego Archiwum Państwowego w Opolu i archiwów podległych”, compiled by S. Czech and R. Demin, *Kwartalnik Nauczyciela Opolskiego*, 1977, vol. 76, no. 4 (insert).

fate of the Jews in these lands (the city of Opole and Opole Silesia) in the period 1933-1939, i.e. after Hitler's rise to power and before the outbreak of World War II to the end of the war. These are as follows:

- Rejencja Opolska 1816-1945 (Regierung Oppeln, Opole Regional Administration, RG 1191), which comprises extensive correspondence in connection with the destruction and liquidation of synagogues during the Kristallnacht, 9-10 November 1938, and other antisemitic incidents; documents of the Związek Żydów Polskich (Union of Polish Jews) and other materials (file with the call no. 1963, Wydział I [Department I]);
- Naczelne Prezydium Prowincji Górnośląskiej w Opolu 1844-1941 (Oberpräsidium der Provinz Oberschlesien Oppeln, Supreme Presidium of the Province of Upper Silesia, RG 1) – correspondence relating to discrimination of the Jews before the war, which took the form of boycotts of shops and artisan workshops and denial of access to education for children;
- Urząd do Spraw Mniejszości w Opolu 1922-1937 (Minderheitsamt Oppeln, Minorities Office in Opole, RG 47) – similar issues.

Also of significance are the files of the cities, which also contain similar materials – above all Akta miasta Opola 1322-1945 (Magistrat Oppeln, Files of the city of Opole, RG 22) – documents related to Jewish property and Jewish cemeteries, checks on the “Aryan” descent of residents of Opole (“Familienforschung”, “Family investigations”, file no. 1207) – and the files of the Landratsämter (county governors’ offices), e.g. Landratsamt Oppeln, Office of the Opole County Governor, RG 2) – documentation on Jewish organizations, real properties and businesses (file no. 677); Landratsamt Leobschuetz (Office of Głubczyce County Governor, RG 1802) – files entitled “Judensachen” (“Jewish affairs”, e.g. file no. 889) and “Rassenforschung” (“Race investigations”, call no. 359), which contain correspondence in connection with anthropological investigations in these regions.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W OTWOCKU [ODDZIAŁ AP W WARSZAWIE] (STATE ARCHIVE IN OTWOCK [BRANCH OF THE STATE ARCHIVE IN WARSAW])

As in most of the smaller archives, the most important files here are those of the town and commune offices, and a few other collections. For these regions, those are, of course, Akta miasta

⁵³ B. Sypko and A. Malik, “Źródła do historii Żydów zachowane w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Opolu”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 251-254.

Otwocka 1916-1949 (Files of the town of Otwock, RG 1) – among the documents preserved here are regulations and general orders concerning matters such as forced labour and resettlement of the Jews, taxes, materials connected with the expropriation of Jewish real estate in the “Aryan” quarter by a special administrative office, and many documents related to statistics, population records and control, lists of real properties, a personnel list of the Getto-Polizei and instructions for it, and a range of official letters and correspondence on matters concerning the Jews of Otwock. The body of material is relatively extensive and thus sufficient to reconstruct the history of the Otwock ghetto.⁵⁴ Also worthy of interest are Akta miasta Rembertowa (Files of the town of Rembertów, RG 11) – preserved in this collection are general administrative documents, tribute payment collection ledgers for the years 1940-1941, which contain the names of Jews, and lists of people owning real estate in Rembertów in the years 1940-1941; and Akta miasta Kałuszyna (Files of the town of Kałuszyn, RG 52) – social welfare cases, and general matters connected with the situation of the Jews and real properties belonging to them.

Noteworthy among the commune files are those of communes in the county of Mińsk Mazowiecki: Chrościce, Iwowe, Jeruzal, Kuflew, Latowicz, Mińsk Mazowiecki, Rudzienko and Siennica (RG 53, 115, 15, 116, 111, 10, 13, 12) – these above all contain statistical data, records and control of population movements, descriptions of abandoned real estate previously owned by Jews, lists of commercial and artisan businesses, and orders and public announcements issued by county governors and concerning or affecting Jews and other residents. Files of analogous provenance have also been preserved for communes in Garwolin county: those of Górzno, Irena, Łaskarzew-Osada, Łaskarzew Wieś, Miastków Kościelny, Osieck, Podlęż, Ryki, Sobolew, Stężycza, Trojanów, Ułęż and Wilga (RG 118, 77, 284, 38, 39, 143, 140, 55, 221, 79, 54, 56, 36). Finally, it is worth mentioning three more collections, two of them related to the fates of real estate and movable property belonging to Jews: Komisaryczny Zarząd Zabezpieczenia Nieruchomości w Mińsku Mazowieckim (Trustee Administration Board for the Security of Real Property in Mińsk Mazowiecki, RG 64), where cash ledgers and the tenant records for particular properties have been preserved; and Komisaryczny Zarząd Zabezpieczenia Nieruchomości w Falenicy (Trustee Administration Board for the Security of Real Estate in Falenica, RG 104) – here documentation of estates belonging to Jews, an alphabetical list of owners and lessees of real estate, tenant records, and postwar documentation on postwar compulsory possession orders and takeovers of real estate. The third of these collections in the

⁵⁴ Cf. S. Szymańska, *Ludność żydowska w Otwocku w okresie drugiej wojny światowej*, Warszawa 2002.

Otwock archive is Komisja Klimatyczna Uzdrowiska Otwocka (Otwock Health Spa Committee, RG 2), which holds documents including lists of Polish Jews resettled from Germany in 1939 and resident at that time in Otwock.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W PIOTRKOWIE TRYBUNALSKIM (STATE ARCHIVE IN PIOTRKÓW TRYBUNALSKI)⁵⁵

These archival holdings have been profiled very briefly in an article by Krzysztof Urzędowski.⁵⁶ Though this archive is not a central one, its holdings are particularly interesting in view of the fact that it was in Piotrków that the Germans established the first ghetto in the Polish lands, and a large number of documents concerning its history have been preserved in the record group Akta miasta Piotrkowa – Komisarz i Zarząd miasta Piotrkowa 1939-1945 (Files of the town of Piotrków – Commissar and Administration of the town of Piotrków, RG 9). In addition to documents generated by the German administration, this collection also contains files of the Rada Starszych Gminy Żydowskiej (Committee of Elders of the Jewish Community). The documentation contained in this collection is extremely extensive and concerns all aspects of the daily life of the Jews under the German occupation of the town, their internal organization, and their attrition and exploitation through forced labour.⁵⁷ In Akta miasta Radomska (Files of the town of Radomsko, RG 103) there are lists of the personal identification documents issued to Jews in the years 1939-1940, as well as registration and residence registration documents from specific properties, house residence registration ledgers for the years 1931-1943, and registers of houses by street. Also worthy of note are the following record groups: Wydział Powiatowy w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim (County Department in Piotrków Trybunalski, RG 2) many documents and information on the state of health of the Jews during the occupation and the struggle with infectious diseases; the personal details of Jewish physicians; correspondence concerning social welfare, sanitation issues, Jewish cemeteries and burial of the dead; and many other statistical and personal data; Akta stanu cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Piotrkowie (Registry Files of the Synagogue District in Piotrków, RG 333) – duplicates of birth, marriage and death certificates issued in Piotrków for the years 1938-1942. In the collections

⁵⁵ *Archiwum Państwowe w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, compiled by A. Piasta, P. Zawilski, P. Głowacki, Warszawa 2004.

⁵⁶ K. Urzędowski, “Źródła do historii Żydów w Polsce w Archiwum Państwowym w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 255-258.

⁵⁷ Cf. K. Urzędowski, “Żydzi piotrkowscy – w 55 rocznicę likwidacji getta”, *Archeion*, 1998, vol. 99, pp. 369-371; Giladi Ben, *Oponieść o jednym mieście*, ed. Anna Rzędowska, Piotrków Trybunalski 2010.

of the various communes within Piotrków county, e.g. Gorzkowice, Kamieńsk, Łęczno, Krzyżanów and Radomsko for the years 1939-1944 (RG 20, 23, 27, 28, 949), a diverse range of documents have been preserved containing personal data of Jews from the period of the occupation (e.g. records and inspection reports on population movements), as well as correspondence of Jewish Councils, on sanitation and order issues, compulsory tribute payments from Jews, lists of real estate owned by Jews, documents from the commune prison in Gorzkowice and many others. Among the holdings in Zbiór planów i druków ulotnych (Collection of plans and ephemera, RG 190) there is a map of Ghetto Stadt Petrikau from the years 1940-1941.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W POZNANIU (STATE ARCHIVE IN POZNAN)⁵⁸

The holdings of this archive have been profiled in detail by Jadwiga Miedzianowska.⁵⁹ While there is fairly extensive material relating to the extermination of the Jews in these lands, it is scattered over several different collections, e.g. Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań X 1939-I 1945 (Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland Posen, Reich Governor in the Warta Land-Poznań region, RG 299) contains various statistical data on the Jewish population for the years 1939, 1942-1943, and information on the ghettos in Kutno, Włocławek (Leslau), Brzeziny (Löwenstadt), Łódź (Litzmannstadt), Wielun (Welun) and Pabianice (Pabianitz), and on labour camps and the fates of Jewish assets. Other important collections are as follows:

- Rejencja w Poznaniu 1939-1945 (Regierung Posen, Poznań Regional Administration, RG 300) – costs of transporting prisoners from the various districts;
- Samorząd Okręgowy w Poznaniu 1939-1945 (Gauselbstverwaltung Posen, Regional Gau Government, RG 301) – files on Jewish community assets;
- Szef Zarządu Cywilnego w Poznaniu przy Dowódcy Okręgu Wojskowego w Poznaniu 1939-1944 (Chef der Zivilverwaltung beim Oberbefehlshaber im Militärbezirk Posen, Head of the Civilian Administration under the Commander-in-Chief of the Poznań Military District, RG 298) – reports, death sentences, various orders from the authorities;

⁵⁸ *Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Poznania i województwa poznańskiego oraz jego archiwa terenowe. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, ed. Cz. Skopowski, Warszawa 1969; *Wykaz zespołów akt w archiwach na terenie Wielkopolski*, Poznań 1976; *Spis zespołów. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym [Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu]*, compiled by J. Miedzianowska, Poznań 1995.

⁵⁹ J. Miedzianowska, “Źródła do dziejów Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Poznaniu”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 269-291.

The files of some police forces have also been preserved, e.g. in the collection Prezydium Policji w Poznaniu 1939-1945 (Polizeipräsidium Posen, Police Presidium in Poznań, RG 1026) – instructions and orders concerning actions against the Jews; in the collections Tajna Policja Państwowa w Poznaniu 1939-1945 (Geheime Staatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle Posen, Gestapo Branch Office in Poznań, RG 1023) and Dowódca Policji Porządkowej w Poznaniu 1939-1945 (Der Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei Posen, Commander of the Order Police in Poznań, RG 1008) – general information and documents concerning German anti-Jewish policy (ordinances and orders); Sztab Osiedleńczy SS w Poznaniu 1939-1944 (SS Ansiedlungsstab Posen, SS Settlement Headquarters in Poznań, RG 304) – lists of resettled populations, statistical data, correspondence on matters connected with resettlement. In addition, a few files of local government offices have also survived: 17 collections of military police files (żandarmeria, Gendarmerie⁶⁰, RG 1016-1022, 1231-1239) containing lists of names of Jews, statistical data, arrest warrants for escaped Jews, and forced labour matters; and 24 collections of county governors' offices (landratur, Landratsamt⁶¹, RG 447-469), covering matters connected with resettlement, arrests, tribute payments, confiscations of property, and labour camps, as well as camps connected with the construction of the Berlin-Poznań-Lwów motorway⁶² (Judenautobahnanlage). The town files hold very little material on the Holocaust; the largest quantity is in Akta miasta Buk (Files of the town of Buk, RG 4377) – about the camp for Jews in Otusz (Ger. Otusch), as well as data on population size, expropriation of Jewish property, and assorted reports.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W PRZEMYŚLU (STATE ARCHIVE IN PRZEMYŚL)⁶³

The holdings of this archive have been profiled in an article by Jacek Krochmal.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, very few documents from the period of the occupation are extant. Those that are include records of Starosta powiatowy w Sanoku (Der Kreishauptmann in Sanok, Sanok County Governor, RG 24), which contains anti-Jewish orders, propaganda pamphlets and public announcements regarding

⁶⁰ For the following cities and their surrounding areas: Bolewice [near Grodzisk], Grodzisk Wielkopolski, Jarocin, Kalisz, Kępno, Kościan, Leszno, Oborniki, Murowana Goślina, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Poznań, Rawicz, Szamotuły, Śrem, Środa, Koło, Wolsztyn, Wągrowiec.

⁶¹ Międzychód, Gostyń, Grodzisk, Jarocin, Kalisz, Kempno/Kępno, Chodzież, Koło, Konin, Kościan, Krotoszyn, Leszno, Nowy Tomyśl, Oborniki, Ostrów, Poznań, Rawicz, Czarnków, Śrem, Środa, Turek, Wolsztyn, Września.

⁶² There is an exhibition on these camps and the exploitation of forced labourers in the construction of the motorway at the Museum of Martyrdom in Żabikowo near Poznań. Cf. also A. Ziolkowska, *Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej (1941-1943)*, Poznań 2005.

⁶³ *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, compiled by Z. Konieczny, A. Fenczak, M. Osiadacz, Przemyśl 1983; *Spis zespołów całkowicie opracowanych w Archiwum Państwowym w Przemyślu*, ed. J. Kosakowska-Góral, Przemyśl 1996.

⁶⁴ J. Krochmal, "Źródła do dziejów Żydów w archiwach Przemyśla", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 293-312.

confiscation of property, and lists of Jewish registry books from several locations (Lesko, Sanok, Ustrzyki Dolne). In Akta miasta Przemyśla and Akta miasta Przeworska (Files of the towns of Przemyśl and Przeworsk, RG 129 and 137) there are materials on the establishment of the ghettos and Jewish community assets, population records (in Przeworsk), correspondence regarding the Jews, German orders, and a list of administrators of the assets of the Jewish community in Przemyśl, as well as a summary list of the Jews in Przeworsk from 1940 to February 1942. For Przeworsk there is also a file entitled “Administracja majątkiem żydowskim” (Administration of former Jewish assets), which contains lists of large numbers of businesses, houses and other real estate. As the author of the above mentioned article stresses, given such poorly preserved archival material, eyewitness accounts and interviews take on especial importance.⁶⁵

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W RADOMIU (STATE ARCHIVE IN RADOM)⁶⁶

The archival material on the history of the Jews held in Radom has been profiled by Sebastian Piątkowski.⁶⁷ As in other local archives, the extant holdings are very meagre and scattered. Among the files of German provenance there is Gubernator Dystryktu Radomskiego 1939-1945 (Der Gouverneur des Distrikts Radom, Radom District Governor, RG 209) – a small number of files on the deportation of the Jews to labour camps in the Lublin region, and correspondence regarding the labour conditions in those camps, as well as payrolls of Jews forcibly employed in Radom, and reports on the activities of various organizations. The collection Starosta Powiatowy w Radomiu 1939-1944 (Kreishauptmann Radom-Land, Radom County Governor, RG 208) includes the texts of various anti-Jewish ordinances and public announcements; the same type of material is held in Zbiór plakatów, afiszów i druków ulotnych z lat 1939-1945 (Collection of bills, posters and printed ephemera, RG 1192). Among the most valuable collections in Radom are the files of the Naczelna Rada Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej Dystryktu Radomskiego – Dział Dowodów Osobistych 1941-1942 (Der Ober-Ältestenrat der jüdischen Bevölkerung des Distrikts Radom im Radom, Supreme Council of the Jewish Population in the Radom District – Personal Identification Division, RG 387).

⁶⁵ Cf. *Pamiętam każdy dzień... Losy Żydów przemyskich podczas II wojny światowej*, ed. J.J. Hartman and J. Krochmal, Przemyśl 2001.

⁶⁶ *Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym*, collective work, ed. H. Kisiel, Warszawa 1996; *Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu. Spis zespołów według stanu na dzień 31 grudnia 1999 roku*, compiled by M. Comber and S. Piątkowski, Radom 2000.

⁶⁷ S. Piątkowski, “Źródła do dziejów ludności żydowskiej w XVII-XX w. w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Radomiu”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 313-328.

This is a collection of several thousand applications by Radom Jews for identity documents, which contains a vast quantity of personal data, as well as the photographs submitted for the issue of these Kennkarten. Of similar potential (mass personal data) are the files of around 500 Jewish labourers employed in the Bata footwear factory, which now form the collection Radomskie Zakłady Obuwia 1941-1959 (Radom Footwear Works, RG 344). There are also personal files of Jews (over 2,000) held in the collection Więzienie Radomskie 1939-1945 (Radom Prison, RG 417); this record group also contains the personal files of Poles punished for offering assistance to Jews in hiding. Documents containing death sentences meted out to Jews for leaving the Jewish quarter (ghetto) are held in the collection Prokuratura przy Sądzie Specjalnym w Radomiu 1939-1944 (Staatsanwaltschaft beim Sondergericht in Radom, Public Prosecutor at the Special Court in Radom, RG 399). Important material for research concerning the Radom district is scattered throughout the files of various towns and communes, among them Skaryszew, Radom, Białobrzegi and Kozienice.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W RZESZOWIE (STATE ARCHIVE IN RZESZÓW)⁶⁸

The holdings of the Rzeszów archive have been profiled in an article by Grzegorz Zamoyski.⁶⁹ Within the archive there is an Ośrodek Badań Historii Żydów (Jewish History Research Centre)⁷⁰, although for the period of the occupation almost no collections of German or Jewish provenance have been preserved. Of immense interest, however, and well represented, are town files, of which there are 17 in the State Archive in Rzeszów. Among the most important for this subject area are Akta miasta Rzeszowa (Files of the town of Rzeszów, RG 1), which contain items including German bills and public announcements; information on the establishment of the ghetto and forced labour for Jews; confiscations of property and its administration; death sentences; lists of deceased Jews for the years 1935-1942; an incomplete list of the Jews of Mielec (1941); lists of licences issued and tribute payments by residents in the years 1941-1943; registers of houses and lists of names of the tenants of various real properties; records of personal identity documents issued; alphabetical card files on population movements⁷¹; and the originals of labour record cards (Arbeitskarten). In Akta miasta Głogowa Małopolskiego (Files of the town of Głogów Małopolski, RG 397) there are

⁶⁸ *Informator archiwalny [Archiwum Państwowego w Rzeszowie]*, compiled by J. Basta and D. Byszuk, Rzeszów 1998.

⁶⁹ G. Zamoyski, "Źródła do dziejów Żydów w aktach miast w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Rzeszowie", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 329-344.

⁷⁰ J. Basta, "Rzeszowski ośrodek badania historii Żydów w Polsce", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 555-570.

⁷¹ The card files on population movements in Rzeszów date from the period 1934-1944 and comprise very detailed information on whole families, such as emigration of particular family members. The State Archive in Rzeszów has developed an electronic database of these card files, which includes the names of around 14,000 Jews of Rzeszów.

documents concerning the fates of Jewish assets; in Akta miasta Tyczyn (Files of the town of Tyczyn, RG 255) there are also various scattered materials on Jewish assets – registers of taxes, businesses closed down, residents, and various fees and fines; in Akta miasta Błażowej (Files of the town of Błażowa, RG 71) lists of artisans, punishments for violating regulations imposed under the occupation, sanitation issues, and business closures; and orders concerning the census of Jews and their assets; and Akta miasta Łańcuta (Files of the town of Łańcut, RG 29) contain similar materials – lists of Jewish assets, houses and apartments, confiscated furniture, the issue of the liquidation of the cemetery, and materials on other Jewish community assets (the synagogue, bathhouse and other buildings).

Research would be worthwhile into the collection Sąd Niemiecki w Rzeszowie z lat 1940-1944 (Das Deutsche Gericht in Reichshof, German Court in Rzeszów, RG 434), which contains criminal cases, among them cases involving aid to and concealing Jews, and into that of Sąd Specjalny Niemiecki w Rzeszowie 1939-1944 (Sondergericht in Reichshof, German Special Court in Rzeszów, RG 26) – analogous criminal cases. Noteworthy among the court files are the collections of courts of the first instance, large numbers of which have been preserved, e.g. those in Rzeszów (RG 1245), Tyczyn (RG 973) and Ropczyce (RG 980), which above all contain inheritance case documents. Further, in the collection Urząd Metrykalny Izraelicki w Rzeszowie 1842-1942 (Israelite Registry Office in Rzeszów, RG 533) there are records and registry files from the years of the occupation: marriage certificates (Trauungsscheine), birth certificates, death certificates, as well as various other certificates, personal identity documents, residence registration documents, etc. There are similar materials from the occupation period in the files of Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w Czudcu 1922-1942 (Jewish Community in Czudec, RG 736) – in addition to registry files, there are also minutes of meetings of the Jewish Council dating from 1940, records including numbers of Jews before the war and in May 1940, number of people resettled, the community budget, other economic and business matters, social welfare, lists of people paying subscriptions to the community organization, the cash ledger, insurance documents for the bathhouse and synagogue, correspondence with the Joint and the Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (ŻSS, Jewish Self-Help), orders issued by the German authorities, lists of forced labourers, lists of Jews receiving aid, and the Księga Protokołów Czynności Zarządu Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Czudcu 1934-1942 (Czudec Jewish Community Board Action Reports Book). The Rzeszów archive also holds one collection of the Rada Żydowska w Rozwadowie from 1941 (Jewish Council in Rozwadow, RG 1399) and materials

from the Urząd Metrykalny Żydowski w Dębicy from the years 1942-1945 (Jewish Registry Office in Dębica, RG 882) – the files contain an index of names and 14 notebooks of deaths in the towns of Dębica, Pilzno, Brzostek, Jodłowa, Mielec, Ropczyce, Jasło, Sędziszów and Krosno.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W SANDOMIERZU [ODDZIAŁ AP W KIELCACH] (STATE ARCHIVE IN SANDOMIERZ [BRANCH OF THE STATE ARCHIVE IN KIELCE])

Research in the Sandomierz archive should focus on the files of certain towns, communes, courts and prisons. In Akta miasta Rozwadowa (Files of the town of Rozwadów, RG 523) there is a breakdown of the assets belonging to Jews (1941), rent and apartment ledgers, a register of abandoned real estate, and a ledger in which are recorded expropriations of former Jewish assets. Akta miasta Opatowa (Files of the town of Opatów, RG 6) contain lists of Jewish proprietors of buildings (1940), forms for personal identity documents, and lists of people arrested; Akta miasta Stalowej Woli (Files of the town of Stalowa Wola, RG 524) hold reports on population movements, orders issued by the occupying powers, a list of Jews in the camp in Stalowa Wola (August 1943), and registers of Kennkarten. The files of some communes contain very similar documents: police surveillance of Jews, lists of real property owners, lists of former Jewish houses and documents concerning synagogues, lists of Jews in a given commune, and various other documents connected with instances of persecution. There are materials on matters of this nature in the files of the communes of Ćmielów, Klimontów, Kunów, Koprzywnica, Nietulisko and Tarnobrzeg. Two court collections have survived: Sąd Grodzki w Klimontowie (Court of the first instance in Klimontów, RG 133) and Sąd Grodzki w Staszowie (Court of the first instance in Staszów, RG 226); these cover similar cases, regarding inheritances and property rights. In the collection Więzienie w Sandomierzu (Prison in Sandomierz, RG 141) there are more than 2,000 personal files of prisoners, most of them Jews, dating from the war up to 1943.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W SIEDLCACH (STATE ARCHIVE IN SIEDLCE)⁷²

These holdings have been described in an article by Grzegorz Welik and Wanda Więch-Tchórzewska.⁷³ No collections generated by the occupying German authorities have survived in the

⁷² *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym [Archiwum Państwowego w Siedlcach]*, compiled by J. Kuligowski and W. Więch-Tchórzewska, Siedlce 1999.

⁷³ G. Welik, W. Więch-Tchórzewska, “Źródła do dziejów Żydów w Archiwum Państwowym w Siedlcach”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 345-352; cf. Kopówka Edward, *Żydzi w Siedlcach 1850-1945*, Siedlce 2009.

Siedlce archive. The only collection containing announcements, ordinances and other legal instruments affecting Jews is Zbiór afiszy okupacyjnych dla powiatu sokołowsko-podlaskiego (Collection of bills from the occupation for the Sokołów Podlaski county, RG 718) – in all, around 90 documents of this type, some of which concerned Jews and the ghettos established in this region. Materials connected with the fates of the Jewish population are scattered across a large number of collections of towns and communes. Among the most important are:

- Akta miasta Siedlce 1891-1950 (Files of the town of Siedlce, RG 36) – materials relating to supplies, resettlement of the Jews into the ghetto, a list of the Polish and Jewish populations dating from November 1940, and other documents, e.g. orders issued by the mayor;
- Akta miasta Węgrowa (Files of the town of Węgrów, RG 253) – general information on the situation of the Jews during the occupation, orders and circulars, tribute payment collection ledgers for the years 1940-1941 (in which the address is recorded alongside the name) and 1941-1942 (in this section there is an alphabetical list of the Jews of Węgrów).

There are also scattered materials in the files of the communes within particular counties, above all Węgrów, Sokołów Podlaski and Siedlce. These include German ordinances, statistical data on numbers of Jews, ledgers listing the level and collection records of tribute payments and various taxes, sanitation and supply matters, and lists of the Jews resident in the communes of Łysów, Sinolęka and Chruszczewka.

There is a similar type of documentation in the collections of the commune administrations in Dąbie, Łuków, Tuchowicz and Celiny. A very interesting, large, yet to date little explored group of collections is that of Sądy grodzkie (Courts of the first instance, in Sokołów Podlaski, Żelechów, Garwolin, Adamów, Łuków, Sobolew and Siedlce), which includes cases from the war years and the postwar period. Three important but as yet largely unpenetrated collections are the following:

- Akta Sądu Okręgowego w Siedlcach 1939-1944 (Files of the County Court in Siedlce), which contain inheritance proceedings, contracts, and other materials, most of them connected with real estate, other assets, and sale or inheritance thereof;
- Akta Sędziego Śledczego przy Sądzie Okręgowym w Siedlcach 1940-1944 (Files of the Investigating Judge at the County Court in Siedlce);
- The tens of thousands of files of Prokuratura Sądu Okręgowego w Siedlcach 1917-1946 (Public Prosecutor at the County Court in Siedlce). Supplementary to these court files are the land

registry books dating from the early nineteenth century to 1990, which have survived in great number (almost 15,000). These documents facilitate research into property ownership issues, confiscations of Jews' assets, and issues of violation of the law during the occupation and after the war.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the only collection of files of the Jewish community in this archive: Żydowska Gmina Wyznaniowa w Siedlcach (Jewish Religious Community in Siedlce, RG 334, 2 archive units), which contains eight entries of birth, marriage and death certificates from the years 1941-1942.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W SZCZECINIE (STATE ARCHIVE IN SZCZECIN)⁷⁴

The materials on the history of the Jews in the Szczecin archive have been profiled in two articles, that by Paweł Gut, Jerzy Grzelak and Jan Macholak⁷⁵, and that by Bogdan Frankiewicz⁷⁶. This archive holds a number of very interesting collections of German provenance:

- Prezydium Policji w Szczecinie (Polizeipräsidium Stettin, Police Presidium in Szczecin, RG 93), where there are Kennkarten of Pomeranian Jews arrested in the years 1939-1940, issues connected with employment of Jews, and Gestapo reports;
- Rejencja Szczecińska (Regierungspräsident Stettin, Szczecin Regional Administration, RG 92) – of greatest significance are the files of the Wydział Prezydialny (Presidium Department), and within these issues connected with supervision of communes, the ruin of Jewish trade, anti-Jewish demonstrations, looting of property, arrests, and name changes;
- Naczelne Prezydium Prowincji Pomorskiej (Oberpräsidium von Pommern in Stettin, Supreme Presidium of the Province of Pomerania in Szczecin, RG 73) – files connected with the expropriation of the Jewish population. Among the town files, Akta miasta Myśliborza (Magistrat Soldin, Files of the town of Myślibórz, RG 210) contain a wealth of very interesting material about antisemitic excesses, propaganda and German policy – above all for the prewar period – and passport-related affairs. It is important to point out that after the war Szczecin was one of the most

⁷⁴ *Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym. Akta do 1945 roku*, collective work, ed. R. Gaziński, P. Gust, M. Szukała, Warszawa-Szczecin 2002.

⁷⁵ P. Gut, J. Grzelak, J. Macholak, "Materiały źródłowe do historii Żydów przechowywane w Archiwum Państwowym w Szczecinie", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 365-375.

⁷⁶ B. Frankiewicz, "Źródła do dziejów Żydów na Pomorzu Zachodnim w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie", *Szczeciński Informator Archiwalny*, 1997, no. 11, pp. 81-85.

important centres of new Jewish settlement, and thus research into postwar archivalia is also vital for study of the history of Polish-Jewish relations and the consequences of the Holocaust.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W WARSZAWIE (STATE ARCHIVE IN WARSAW)⁷⁷

The sources for the history of the Jewish community in the Warsaw archive [formerly known as the Archiwum państwowe miasta stołecznego Warszawa or APmstW – State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw] have been profiled by Marta Jaszczyńska⁷⁸ and Danuta Skorwider, and those for the history of the Jews in northern Mazovia by Janusz Szczepański⁷⁹.

The two most important collections for the study of the history of the Warsaw ghetto dating from the occupation are Przewodniczący Rady Żydowskiej w Warszawie 1940-1942 (Der Obmann des Judenrates in Warschau 1940-1942, Chairman of the Jewish Council in Warsaw, RG 483) and Urząd Szefa Okręgu Warszawskiego. Komisarz dla Żydowskiej Dzielnicy Mieszkaniowej w Warszawie. Placówka Transferu w Warszawie 1939-1945 (Amt des Gouverneurs Distrikts Warschau. Der Kommissar für den Jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau. Transferstelle Warschau 1939-1945; Office of the Warsaw District Governor. Commissar for the Jewish Residential Quarter in Warsaw. Transfer Agency in Warsaw, RG 482). The first of the above mentioned collections comprises the only 2,000 or so pages of documentation extant from the huge office of the Warsaw Judenrat. These include above all statistical data and reports for the German authorities, as well as matters connected with health, taxes, forced labour in camps, and the Służba Porządkowa (OD, Ordnungsdienst, Ghetto Police). This collection is furnished with an inventory and a preface by Jolanta Adamska. Analogous documents are held in the collection Urząd Szefa Okręgu Warszawskiego (Amt des Gouverneurs des Distrikts Warschau, Office of the Warsaw District Governor). Both these collections are described in greater detail in Part II of this *Guide*. Supplementary to them is the sub-collection Dowódca SS i Policji Okręgu Warszawskiego (SS and Police Commander for the Warsaw District), which contains the files of investigations against people concealing their Jewish roots and

⁷⁷ *Informator Archiwum Państwowego m.st. Warszawy (historia, wykaz zespołów)*, compiled by J. Kazimierski, D. Skorwider, A. Wróblewski, Warszawa 1992.

⁷⁸ M. Jaszczyńska, “Źródła do dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Warszawie w XIX i XX w. w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego m.st. Warszawy” and D. Skorwider, “Źródła do historii Żydów na terenie Mazowsza Północnego w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego m.st. Warszawy”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 393-405 and 401-405.

⁷⁹ J. Szczepański, “Źródła archiwalne do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej Mazowsza Północnego w XIX-XX w. (do 1939 r.)”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 407-422.

German officials charged with abuse of their positions in connection with their functions in the ghetto (illegal trade and other financial transactions, and assistance to Jews in escaping). Information and documents on the Warsaw ghetto are also held in the collection *Starostwo Miejskie w Warszawie 1939-1944* (*Stadthauptmannschaft Warschau*, Office of the Warsaw City Governor, RG 485) – birth and death statistics, weekly reports of the chairman of the *Judenrat* (1941), the dispute over the boundaries of the ghetto, forced labour, Jewish mutual aid, the fight against typhus, applications for passes, and cases of illegal trade and smuggling. Moreover, almost 15 linear metres of files of the *Starostwo Powiatowe Warszawskie 1939-1945* (*Kreishauptmannschaft Warschau-Land*, Office of the Warsaw County Governor, RG 486) have survived, relating to all kinds of administrative matters in the county, including those concerning Jews living there, e.g. forced labour and confiscations of their property. Among the few surviving files of county governors' offices (*starostwa*, *Kreishauptmannschaften*) in the Warsaw District held in the State Archive in Warsaw are those of *Starostwo Powiatowe w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej 1939-1945* (*Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów*, Office of the Ostrów Mazowiecka County Governor, RG 489) – materials on the staging of an anti-Jewish exhibition in the counties, guidelines for expropriation of Jewish assets, reports on the activities of the trustee administration boards, etc. Also worthy of note are two collections of files of the “granatowa policja” (“Blaue Polizei”, “[Dark] Blue Police”, the Polish police force in the General Government): *Komenda Policji Polskiej „Obwód Praga” 1939-1944* (Polish Police Headquarters, Praga Borough, RG 1710) – including reports of detainments of Jews on the “Aryan side”; and *XV Komisariat Policji Polskiej m.st. Warszawy 1939-1944* (15th Polish Police Station in the Capital City of Warsaw, RG 1711) – including registers of crimes committed (also by Jews) in 1940, inquiries undertaken in connection with them, and inspections of investigations in various cases. Other extremely interesting collections are those of the courts and prisons, in particular *Sąd Okręgowy w Warszawie 1917-1944* (County Court in Warsaw, RG 639) – the case files of several dozen civil cases relating to property issues, debts, compensations, auctions, and appointments of court administrators in cases of the absence of proprietors; and *Więzienie Karne Warszawa Mokotów 1916-1944* (Warsaw Mokotów Criminal Prison, RG 657), running to around 50 linear metres, which contains several thousand personal files of Jews convicted of various occupation crimes, such as being outside the ghetto illegally, not wearing the armband with the Star of David, illegal trade and smuggling, theft, forgery, and similar cases. This record group is of unparalleled significance in view of the excellent state of preservation of the files, and their completeness. Jews and other prisoners held in Mokotów jail were tried by *Sąd Niemiecki 1940-1944* (*Deutsches Gericht*, German Court, RG 1207) – this

collection contains the files of several dozen cases brought against Jews during the war for violating regulations imposed by the occupying authorities. The German Court also pursued some cases that were in progress in the years 1931-1939 before Polish courts – Sąd Grodzki (the court of first instance) and Sąd Okręgowy (county court) in Warsaw. The Warsaw archive also holds a collection of the German Sąd Specjalny 1942-1944 (Sondergericht Warschau, Warsaw Special Court, RG 643) and of the Prokuratura (public prosecutor) at that court 1940-1944 (Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Sondergericht Warschau, RG 1601).⁸⁰

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE WE WROCŁAWIU (STATE ARCHIVE IN WROCŁAW)⁸¹

These holdings are discussed in the article by Mieczysława Chmielewska.⁸² There are a few extant record groups from the period of the occupation, some of which are inaccessible due to serious flood damage to the archive during the 1997 flood. The most important collection for research into the extermination of the Jews is Rejencja Wrocławska (Regierung Breslau, Wrocław Regional Administration, RG 172) – prewar issues, such as mixed marriages; Jewish assets (regulations, correspondence, lists of assets earmarked for “Aryanization”, lists of artisan workshops, and lists of land and plots belonging to Jews); regulations on arresting Jews of Polish descent; the activities and liquidation of Jewish organizations; correspondence of Wrocław Jewish community organizations on many different matters; regulations regarding changing Jewish names; applications for “award of German blood” to children from mixed marriages; official decisions on “degree of Jewish descent”; applications for permission to conclude marriages; certificates of morality issued by the police; correspondence on race policy issues; medical forms regarding sterilization; materials on Max Silberberg, one of the biggest art collectors in Wrocław, including an inventory detailing the estimated value of his seized collection; information on Jews’ bank accounts and on seizures of homes; sale contracts for Jewish assets; and correspondence with banks. Next is Urząd Skarbowy Prowincji Dolnośląskiej we Wrocławiu 1919-1945 (Oberfinanzpräsident Niederschlesien, Lower Silesian Provincial Revenue Office in Wrocław, RG 246) – the files of the Division for Confiscation

⁸⁰ Cf. J. Grabowski, „Ja tego Żyda znam!”. *Szantażowanie Żydów w Warszawie, 1939-1943*, Warszawa 2004.

⁸¹ *Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym do 1945 roku*, ed. A. Dereń and R. Żerelik, Wrocław 1996.

⁸² M. Chmielewska, “Judaica w zbiorach AP we Wrocławiu”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 425-433.

of Jewish Assets⁸³ contain lists of the Jews living in the region, correspondence, and the personal files of families whose property was confiscated (along with a great deal of information and other documents on this matter). Other important collections include:

- Naczelne Prezydium Prowincji Śląskiej we Wrocławiu 1939-1945 (Oberpräsidium der Provinz Schlesien in Breslau, Supreme Presidium of the Province of Silesia in Wrocław, RG 170) – correspondence regarding name changes, police supervision, and propaganda material;
- Wydział Samorządowy Prowincji Śląskiej 1939-1945 (Provinzialverwaltung von Schlesien in Breslau, Provincial Government Department in Silesia, RG 171), which includes propaganda material;
- Zarząd Policji w Polanicy Zdroju (Police Board in Polanica Zdrój, RG 1133) – orders issued by the authorities regarding foreigners and Jews, issue of passports to Jews, orders, and lists of Jews issued with Kennkarten, correspondence in various matters affecting and concerning Jews;
- Bank Drezdeński, Filia we Wrocławiu 1933-1944 (Dresdner Bank in Breslau 1933-1944, Dresden Bank, Wrocław Branch, RG 315), including orders regarding accounts belonging to Jews;
- Akta miasta Wrocławia (Files of the city of Wrocław, RG 28) – mayoral speeches, propaganda materials, matters connected with Jewish schools and the seizure of museum holdings from the foundation administrating the home of Prof. Niesser, a professor of medicine (“Haus Niesser Verwaltung”), and the matters of the creation of a Jewish museum in the years 1928-1935 (“Jüdisches Museum”), the removal of the commemorative plaque from the house of Ferdinand Lassalle, and others;
- Akta miasta Kłodzka (Files of the town of Kłodzko, RG 21) – correspondence with the secret police on matters such as employment of foreigners in Jewish homes, “race control”, liquidation of shops, and name changes, the ban on Polish Jews in the town, and many others.

In Wrocław, as in Szczecin, there are considerable quantities of archive materials of value for research into the lives of the Jewish population of Poland after the war, above all the files of the Wojewódzki Komitet Żydów na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1949 (Voivodship Committee of Jews in Lower Silesia, RG 415).

⁸³ Cf. F. Połomski, “Holocaust we Wrocławiu i na Dolnym Śląsku (1941-1944) w świetle dokumentów administracji skarbowej”, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1986, R. XVIII, no. 3-4, pp. 235-248.

ARCHIWUM PAŃSTWOWE W ZAMOŚCIU (STATE ARCHIVE IN ZAMOŚĆ)⁸⁴

A very cursory review of the archival material on the history of the Jews has been made by Gertruda Sowińska.⁸⁵ Few documents from the occupation period have survived, and those that have are scattered across the files of the towns and communes as well as several other collections. These include Zbiór akt dr. Janusza Petera (Collection of files of Dr Janusz Peter, RG 192), documents amassed by the man whose functions included that of founder of Muzeum Regionalne w Tomaszowie Lubelskim (the Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski) – above all, this collection includes reminiscences and accounts about the partisan and resistance movements in the Zamość region; Zbiór afiszów, ogłoszeń i druków ulotnych (Collections of bill posters, notices and printed ephemera, RG 215) – public announcements on the subject of forced labour for the Jews, the obligation to register, restrictions on places of residence, and assorted propaganda leaflets; Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Lublinie. Delegatura w Zamościu 1965-1971 (County Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Lublin. Zamość branch office, RG 212) – including witness interrogation records regarding many events connected with the extermination of the Jews; and Ubezpieczalnia Społeczna w Zamościu 1924-1950 (Social Insurance Institution in Zamość, RG 14) – insurance institution documents rare in Polish collections providing evidence of employment of Jews: named notifications and labour record cards for the area covered by a given Arbeitsamt (Labour Office), as well as a range of circulars and correspondence on Jewish-related matters dating from 1940-1942. Akta miasta Zamościa (Files of the town of Zamość, RG 25) holds an inventory of real-estate owners in the town (including former Jewish estate taken over by others) for the years 1940-1941; in Akta gminy Izbica (Files of the commune of Izbica, RG 28) an inventory of the names of the Jews resident there has been preserved (1940), along with lists of buildings; in Akta gminy Krasnystaw (Files of the commune of Krasnystaw, RG 29) there are lists of Jews by age and profession (1939-1940), death certificates from German camps, and descriptions of real estate formerly owned by murdered Jews; and in Akta gminy Wysokie (Files of the commune of Wysokie, RG 71) there is a file entitled “Jewish affairs” dating to 1940-1942. As in other smaller archives, in Zamość also, files generated after the war are of especial importance for Holocaust research; these include a variety of accounts, witness testimonies, and questionnaires.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Archiwum Państwowe w Zamościu. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*, compiled by L. Wysznińska, Warszawa 2003.

⁸⁵ G. Sowińska, “Źródła do dziejów Żydów w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego w Zamościu”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 435-439.

⁸⁶ Cf. G. Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu*, Lublin 2005.

2. The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute

The Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma (ŻIH, Jewish Historical Institute) is an institution that was formally founded in 1947 following the restructuring of the Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna (CŻKH, Central Jewish Historical Commission)⁸⁷, a department of the Centralny Komitet Żydów Polskich (CKŻP, Central Committee of the Jews in Poland). Since its foundation, its seat has been the building of the prewar Instytut Nauk Judaistycznych (Institute for Judaic Studies) at 5 Tłomackie Street in Warsaw.⁸⁸ The first director of ŻIH was Nachman Blumental, who was succeeded in 1949 by Bernard (Ber) Mark. Subsequent directors included Szymon Datner, Artur Eisenbach, Maurycy Horn, Feliks Tych and Eleonora Bergman. Since 2011 the function of director of ŻIH has been held by Paweł Śpiwak. Although ŻIH took possession of the entirety of the legacy and assets (collections) of the CŻKH, today the purpose of its work is slightly different than it was all those years ago, when its primary aim and mission was to amass evidence of the unprecedented crime that was the extermination of the Jews in Poland.

In the very first weeks of the existence of the Jewish Committee in Lublin, work began on gathering *Relacje z Zagłady* (Holocaust Survivor Testimonies, RG 301) from survivors and witnesses to those events. This task was entrusted to its Komisja Historyczna (Historical Commission), whose inaugural session was held on 29 August 1944. This collection is now one of the most precious archival collections on the Holocaust in the world, alongside the collection of the Podziemne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego. Archiwum Ringelbluma (Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto: the Ringelblum Archives, abbrev. ARG, Ring. I and Ring. II), which has been inscribed on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. In that period the Historical Commission drew up and published a number of instruction booklets on how such accounts were to be gathered.⁸⁹ In the autumn of 1944 the Związek Literatów, Dziennikarzy i Artystów Żydowskich w Polsce (Union of Jewish Writers, Journalists and Artists in Poland), an organization founded after the war, was invited to cooperate in this process, and this was the origin of the CŻKH, which was headed by Dr Filip

⁸⁷ Cf. *35 lat działalności Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce Ludowej. Dzieje Instytutu i jego zbiory*, Warszawa 1980; *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 50 lat działalności. Materiały z konferencji jubileuszowej*, Warszawa 1996; Z. Hoffman, "Archiwum ŻIH w Polsce", *BŻIH*, no. 4, 1979, pp. 101-114.

⁸⁸ *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny. Przewodnik*, ed. F. Tych, E. Bergman, J. Hensel, Warszawa 2003; *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma*, Warszawa 2013.

⁸⁹ *Instrukcje dla zbierania materiałów historycznych z okresu okupacji niemieckiej. Zeszyt 1*, Łódź 1945; *Instrukcje dla zbierania materiałów etnograficznych z okresu okupacji niemieckiej. Zeszyt 2*, Łódź 1945; *Instrukcje dla badania przeżyć dzieci żydowskich w okresie okupacji niemieckiej. Zeszyt 3*, Łódź 1945.

Friedman⁹⁰. In March 1945 the commission was relocated to Łódź and a number of local branches were established.⁹¹ The library, main archive, and artistic, ethnographic and iconographic collections which form the core of the present-day ŻIH Archive (AŻIH), Museum and Library were also moved to Łódź. The Dział Dokumentacji Zabytków (Historical Documentation Department), founded and run to this day by Jan Jagielski, collects all kinds of information and material connected with Jewish life in Poland, including photographs (both archival and contemporary), films, and documentation relating to synagogues and cemeteries. Until 1968 AŻIH held two huge archival collections found in Łódź and relating to the history of the Łódź ghetto: Gettoverwaltung (the German ghetto authorities) and Der Älteste der Juden in Getto Litzmannstadt, known as Archiwum Rumkowskiego (the Rumkowski Archive, the Jewish ghetto administration). Today, both these record groups form part of the holdings of AP w Łodzi (the State Archive in Łódź).

Since its foundation the institution has collected original files generated by both legal and illegal institutions operating during the occupation, as well as memoirs, daily newspapers, maps, printed sheets, posters, bills, leaflets and flyers, autonomous publications, photographs, and other written documents, objects, artworks, and Judaica, i.e. items of religious cult. The Historical Commission conducted its own scholarly research and prepared source publications, historical studies and other pieces (e.g. expert opinions for courts). A complete list of the CŻKH's publications in the 1940s is included in the Bibliography at the end of the *Guide*.

In addition to conducting its own archival and scientific activity, the CŻKH also acted as an expert authority for other state bodies engaged in gathering evidence of crimes, investigating them, and passing sentences. Foremost among these was the Main Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland (GKBZNwP). The CŻKH also prepared material for the Nuremberg Trials. Aside from the Archive, whose holdings will be profiled below, other departments at ŻIH relevant for Holocaust research are the Library, which is at present in possession of around 70,000 volumes and is one of the largest in Europe⁹², and the Museum⁹³, which has holdings including historic relics from

⁹⁰ R. Stauber, "Philip Friedman and the Beginning of Holocaust Studies", [in:] *Holocaust Historiography in Context: Emergence, Challenges, Polemics and Achievements*, ed. D. Bankier, D. Michman, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2008, pp. 83-102.

⁹¹ Cf. *Wstęp do Inwentarza Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów w Polsce (1944-1947). Archiwa Wojewódzkich Komisji Historycznych (od X 1947 Delegatur ŻIH): Katowice, Kraków, Warszawa, Wrocław (1945-1950)*, compiled by M. Natkowska, Warszawa 2006 [typescript].

⁹² Cf. M. Barcikowska, M. Bendowska, "Zbiory Biblioteki ŻIH i ich historia", [in:] *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny. 50 lat działalności*, op. cit., pp. 64-72.

the period of the occupation, most numerous among them items from the Łódź and Warsaw ghettos.⁹⁴ In addition to Judaica, the Library has also amassed some 2,000 volumes of German propaganda printed materials from the years 1930-1945, as well as around 130 memorial books⁹⁵, a very valuable and exceptional category of source for Holocaust research. A list of these books is given in the Bibliography in this *Guide*. The Library has catalogued collections in Yiddish and Hebrew, and also collects press cuttings on a broad area of Jewish subjects (since 2005 in digitized form). It also has a card file referencing articles on some 2,000 individuals especially distinguished in their contribution to Jewish life. The Library catalogue is accessible on-line on the ŻIH website.⁹⁶

In addition to research projects, the Institute is also engaged in publishing. Since 1949 it has published the regular periodical *Biuletyn ŻIH* (since 2000 as *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*⁹⁷), and in the years 1948-1994 a (mostly irregular) journal, *Bleter far Geshikhte* (Pages of History), was published in Yiddish. The archival holdings of ŻIH today may be divided into a number of categories:

- Collections and files generated before 1939,
- Collections from the period of the occupation, 1939-1945,
- Collections from the postwar period, including above all the files of the CKŻP and other Jewish institutions, parties and organizations,
- Legacies and papers (private collections).

Given the purpose of this publication, it would be expedient to list here the most important record groups from the war years (most of them will also be profiled in Part II of the *Guide*):

- Karty Zgonu Żydów z Getta Warszawskiego 1939, 1941 r.⁹⁸ (Index Cards on deaths of Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto: 28,650 pages, index of names and geographical locations) – incorporated into the record group Judenraty, Jud. Warszawski RG 221, file no. 16 Index Cards on deaths – 1 item, 2.0 linear metres.

⁹³ Cf. M. Sieramska, “Muzeum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego – zbiory i działalność”, [in:] *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny. 50 lat działalności*, op. cit., pp. 57-63; *Muzeum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego. Zbiory artystyczne*, Warszawa 1995.

⁹⁴ Material relics from the war connected with the extermination of the Jews will be discussed in Part II of the *Guide*.

⁹⁵ Books published for the most part after World War II by the Jewish communities of the cities and towns of prewar Poland, usually in Yiddish or Hebrew, hence their customary names: *yizkor-bukh* or *sefer zikaron* (book of memory).

⁹⁶ <http://library.jhi.pl/F?RN=479811342>.

⁹⁷ No. 3 (199), from September 2001, contains “Bibliografia zawartości BŻIH za lata 1950-2000”, by M. Czajka.

⁹⁸ This record group contains 10,056 Index Cards on deaths. The scans of these records are accessible on the internet at the Central Jewish Library (Centralna Biblioteka Judaistyczna): <http://cbj.jhi.pl/collections/504441>.

- Podziemne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego, Archiwum Ringelbluma, 1940-1943 (Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto: the Ringelblum Archives) – RG Ring I, Ring II, 2,063 items, 14.0 linear metres.
- Zbiór materiałów do dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Łodzi 1939-1944 (Collection of materials on the history of the Jewish population of Łódź), including a list of schoolchildren in the ghetto from 1940 (1,740 names) – RG 205, 610 items, 10.0 linear metres.
- Podziemne Archiwum Getta Białostockiego, 1941-1943 [1945] (Underground Archive of the Białystok Ghetto; includes accounts recorded after the war) – RG 204, 96 items, 1.0 linear metres.
- American Joint Distribution Committee 1939-1941 – RG 210, 761 items, 6.0 linear metres.
- Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe Jüdisches Hilfskomitee, Jewish Social Self-Help) 1940-1942 [1944] – RG 211, 1470 items, 16.0 linear metres.
- Vorstand der Jüdischen Interessenvertretung in Bendsburg, 1939-1943 (Representation of the Jewish Population in Będzin); full index of names (around 15,000 names) – RG 212, 24 items, 0.5 linear metres.
- Rada Starszych w Częstochowie 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Częstochowa) – RG 213, 108 items, 2.5 linear metres.
- Jüdische Gemeinde in Krakau 1939-1941 (Jewish Council in Krakow), which includes: Protokoły podań o ausweisy lipiec-sierpień 1940 r. (Ausweis application forms July-August 1940; 19,905 forms); Ausweisy Żydów krakowskich (Ausweise of Krakow Jews, 361 sheets); Odpisy kennkart Żydów krakowskich (Official copies of Kennkarten of Krakow Jews; 1912 copies); Karty ubiegających się o pozostanie w getcie krakowskim (Card file of people applying to remain in the Krakow ghetto) – RG 218, 75 items, 20.0 linear metres.
- Rada Żydowska we Lwowie. Zbiór dokumentów dotyczących Getta Lwowskiego (Teka Lwowska) 1941-1942 (Jewish Council in Lwów. Collection of documents on the Lwów Ghetto (The Lwów File) – RG 229, 25 items, 0.5 linear metres.
- Związek Towarzystw Opieki nad Dziećmi i Sierotami „Centos” w Getcie Warszawskim 1941-1942 (“Centos” Associations for the Care of Orphans in the Warsaw Ghetto) – RG 200, 27 items, 0.1 linear metres.
- Der Stadthauptmann der Stadt Krakau 1939-1944 (Krakow City Governor) – RG 228, 135 items, 2.0 linear metres.

- Gesundheitskammer im Generalgouvernement 1940-1943 (Chamber of Health in the GG). Registration forms of Jewish physicians⁹⁹ – RG 251, 7 items, 0.15 linear metres.
- Zbiór dokumentów z obozów hitlerowskich 1939-1945 (Collection of documents from Nazi camps) – RG 209, 316 items, 2.0 linear metres.
- Kartoteka Więźniów Obozu Hasag-Pelcery w Częstochowie 1943-1945 (Card File of Prisoners in the Hasag-Pelcery Camp in Częstochowa; 4,736 cards) – RG 207, 1 item, 2.0 linear metres.
- Kartoteka Jeńców Wojennych – Żydów z obozu w Lublinie przy ul. Lipowej 4, 1939-1941 (Card File of Jewish Prisoners of War from the camp at 4 Lipowa Street in Lublin; 2,978 cards) – Judenrat Lubelski, RG 253, file no. 3, 74 items, 4.0 linear metres.
- Rada Żydowska w Białej Podlaskiej. Biuro Meldunkowe w Białej Podlaskiej. Karty ludności żydowskiej wysiedlonej do Międzyrzecza Podlaskiego 1942 (Jewish Council in Biała Podlaska. Residence Registration Office in Biała Podlaska. Registration cards of the Jews displaced to Międzyrzec Podlaski; 2,844 papers) – RG 244, 1 item, 1.0 linear metres.
- Dokumenty Zarządu Powierniczego (Treuhandverwaltung) w dystrykcie lubelskim GG – kartoteka skonfiskowanych majątków, 1940-1944 (Documents of the Trustee Board in the Lublin district of the GG – card file of confiscated assets; 2,903 sheets) – Judenrat Lublin, RG 253, file no. 2, 1 item, 1.0 linear metres.
- Zarząd Miejski w Lublinie, Wydział Opieki i Zdrowia. Ośrodek Opieki nr 2. Kartoteka zmarłych Żydów z informacją o pozostawionym majątku, 21 XI 1941 – 11 XII 1941, (Municipal Board in Lublin, Department of Welfare and Health. Welfare Centre No. 2. Card files of deceased Jews with information on their remaining assets; 93 sheets) – Judenrat Lublin, RG 253, file no. 6.
- Zbiór dokumentów niemieckich władz okupacyjnych 1939-1944 (Collection of documents issued by the German occupying authorities) – RG 233, 157 items, 1.5 linear metres.
- Obwieszczenia i zarządzenia władz okupacyjnych 1939-1945 (Public announcements and orders issued by the occupying authorities) – RG 241, 606 items, 1.5 linear metres.
- Zbiór planów i map 1922-1990 (Collection of plans and maps, including the period of World War II) – RG 245, 1226 items, 0.5 linear metres.

⁹⁹ There are also registration forms for Jewish physicians in ANK and AP Warsaw (RG Gesundheitskammer), and in the IPN archive.

- Zbiór dokumentów konspiracyjnych, w tym prasa [varia okupacyjne] (Collection of clandestine documents, including press [occupation miscellanea]) – RG 230, 165 items, 1.2 linear metres.
- Luźne dokumenty życia społecznego (w tym antysemitica) 1939-1944, po 1945 r. [zespół otwarty] (Random documents concerning social history, including antisemitic materials 1939-1944 and after 1945 [open collection]) – RG 248 and 399, 2 and 4 items, 0.5 and 0.2 linear metres.
- Kolekcja Hersza Wassera 1939-1946 ze zbiorów YIVO w Nowym Jorku (Collection of Hersz Wasser from the collections of YIVO in New York; 3 rolls of microfilm) – call no. M/235.
- Zbiór relacji Żydów Ocalałych z Zagłady (Collection of Holocaust Survivor Testimonies)¹⁰⁰ – RG 301, 7,196 items, 23.0 linear metres.
- Zbiór pamiątek Żydów Ocalałych z Zagłady (Collection of memoirs of Holocaust Survivors)¹⁰¹ – RG 302, 344 items, 10.0 linear metres.

I would like to draw attention to the diversity of the original files and copies grouped together in the collection entitled “Collection of clandestine documents, including press [occupation miscellanea] 1939-1945”, including documents from the Warsaw city rising of 1944. It also includes underground occupation-era press publications, such as *Biuletyn Informacyjny AK* and press publications in Yiddish, as well as song lyrics, poems and anecdotes from the occupation, propaganda flyers and appeals, the 1943 typescript of Zofia Kossak-Szczucka’s article “Jesteś katolikiem... jakim?” (What kind of Catholic are you?), Maria Kann’s “Na oczach świata” (Before the world’s eyes), Bund and PPR (Polish Workers’ Party) materials from the period of the occupation, materials on the “Żegota” Council to Aid Jews such as minutes of meetings, reports and correspondences, postwar memoirs, copies of documents generated by the ANTYK Anti-Communist Committee) such as a card file of Communists and intelligence operational notes and reports, reports by the Delegatura Rządu na Kraj (Government Delegation for Poland) from various areas, and others.

¹⁰⁰ This record group has a seven-volume inventory: *Relacje z Zagłady. Inwentarz. Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue*, vol. I-VII, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Warszawa 1998-2011. The descriptions of every testimony (in Polish and English) include basic information on their content, as well as a list of place names mentioned and the names of the key individuals mentioned in the testimonies. Each volume has an index of geographical and personal names.

¹⁰¹ The record group has an inventory published in Polish and English: Michał Czajka, *Inwentarz zbioru pamiątek (Archivum ŻIH, zespół 302). Memoirs Collection Catalogue (Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 302)*, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Warszawa 2007.

Among the most valuable postwar collections is the very well preserved body of files from various departments of the CKŻP – RG 303, 6,493 items, 180.0 linear metres. The CKŻP was the only postwar organization that represented the full spectrum of interests of the Polish Jews who had survived the Holocaust. These files are divided into sub-collections by their department of origin: Prezydium i Sekretariat (Presidium and Secretariat, 278 items); Organizacyjny i Kontroli (Organization and Control, 147 items); Ewidencji i Statystyki (Records and Statistics, 1,465 items) – which includes: Karty rejestracyjne Żydów Ocalałych z Zagłady (Registration cards of Jewish Survivors of the Holocaust, ca. 250,000 cards), Księgi ewidencyjne sporządzone w Komitecie Żydowskim w Lublinie (Record books compiled by the Jewish Committee in Lublin), Karty rejestracyjne Żydów repatriowanych ze Lwowa (Registration cards of Jews repatriated from Lwów), Karty rejestracyjne sporządzone w Komitecie Żydowskim w Warszawie (Registration cards filled in at the Jewish Committee in Warsaw, 31,056 cards), and Karty rejestracyjne sporządzone w komitetach żydowskich w Łodzi i Gliwicach (Registration cards completed at the Jewish committees in Łódź and Gliwice, 8,209 cards); Wydział Kultury i Propagandy (Department of Culture and Propaganda, 248 items); Finansowy (Finance, 261 items); Opieki Społecznej (Social Welfare, 582 items); Prawny (Legal, 197 items); Produkttywizacji¹⁰² (Productivity improvement, 183 items); Centralna Komisja Specjalna (Central Special Commission, 74 items); Młodzieżowy (Youth, 180 items); Oświaty (Education, 1,880 items) – includes the papers of children in orphanages (819 papers), a children's card file (7,000 cards) and summer camp forms; Wydział Repatriacji (Repatriation Department, 67 items); Emigracji (Emigration Department, 648 items); Budowlany (Building Department, 42 items); Ziomkostw ("Landsmanshaftn" Department, 165 items) and Personalny (Personnel, 186 items). These are profiled in slightly more detail in Part II of this *Guide*.

A separate collection is Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna przy CKŻP 1944-1947 (Central Jewish Historical Commission affiliated to the CKŻP) – RG 303/XX (692 items); there are also others from the postwar period, among them Wojewódzki Komitet Żydowski w Warszawie 1945-1949 (Provincial Jewish Committee in Warsaw) – RG 352 (118 items); Wojewódzki Komitet Żydowski w Lublinie (Provincial Jewish Committee in Lublin) – RG 355 (46 item) Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 1947 (Jewish Historical Institute, open collection, in-house archive) – RG 310 (1,200 items, 30 linear metres); Sąd Społeczny (Obywatelski) przy CKŻP 1945-1949 (People's Court affiliated to the CKŻP) – RG 313 (146 items, 3 linear metres); Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia 1945-

¹⁰² Oppenheim Izrael, *The Struggle of Jewish Youth for Productivization: The Zionist Youth Movement in Poland*, Boulder 1989.

1949 (TOZ, Health Care Organization) – RG 324, (2,122 items, 25 linear metres); Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krzewienia Sztuk Pięknych 1946-1950 (Jewish Society for the Cultivation of the Fine Arts) – RG 361 (54 items, 0.5 linear metres); Związek Żydów Byłych Uczestników Walki Zbrojnej z Faszyzmem (Związek Partyzantów Żydów) (The Union of Jews-Former Participants in Military Combat against Nazism, the Union of Jews-Partisans) 1944-1949 – RG 318 (78 items, 1.0 linear metres); Hebrajskie Stowarzyszenie Pomocy Imigrantom (HIAS, Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society) 1945-1949 – RG 351 (486 items, 8.0 linear metres); and Organizacja Rozwoju Twórczości Przemysłowej, Rzemieślniczej i Rolniczej wśród Ludności Żydowskiej (ORT¹⁰³, Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) [1927-1937] and 1945-1949 – RG 309 (1,063 items, 15 linear metres).

The holdings of ŻIH also include the files of the following parties and organizations: Ikhud, Poalei Zion, Left Poalei Zion, the Bund and Cukunft, Hashomer Hatzair, Hitachdut, Dror (and Dror-Borokhov Yugent), Hanoar Hatzioni Akiba, Hehalutz (Pionier), Gordonia, Vizo, Żydowski Klub Sportowy Makabi (the Maccabee Jewish Sports Club), Keren Kayemet le-Israel (the Jewish National Fund), Keren Hayesod (the Foundation Fund), and Tarbut. Komitet Opiekuńczy Kursów Szkolnych i Szkoła Hebrajska im. Chaima Nachmana Bialika (The School Courses Supervisory Committee and the Chaim Nachman Bialik Hebrew School) – RG 333 (Zionist Organizations) and 334 (Bund and Cukunft) (in total 851 items and 10.5 linear metres).

In addition to the above, the following are also held in AŻIH: *Biuletyn Żydowskiej Agencji Prasowej* z lat 1944-1949 (the Jewish Press Agency Bulletin), Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Polsce 1949-1992 (the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith in Poland), Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów w Polsce 1951-1961 (TSKŻ, the Jewish Social and Cultural Association in Poland), Zbiór utworów literackich 1939-1960 (Collection of literary works, RG 226, 510 items, 3.5 linear metres), and Akta wniosków o tytuł Sprawiedliwy wśród Narodów Świata złożony w polskiej sekcji Yad Vashem 1979-2004 (Files of applications for the title of Righteous among the Nations of the World submitted to the Polish section of Yad Vashem, RG 349, 222 items, 15 linear metres). Most important collections of legacies in the context of Holocaust research are those of Tatiana Berensztajn (Berenstein), Szymon Datner, Artur Eisenbach, Bernard (Ber) Mark, Salo Fiszgrund,

¹⁰³ Obshchestvo Razprostraneniya Truda sredi Yevreyev.

Szymon Zachariasz, the collection of the Halperson family (photographs, and letters from the Holocaust), that of the family of Dawid Naimark, and that of Irena Sendlerowa.

Interesting prewar documents for Holocaust scholars are those that shed light on contexts, causes (e.g. prewar antisemitism, relations with the local population), and the scale of the crime perpetrated (the history of Jewish communities, their population sizes, the scale of emigration from Poland). The holdings here also include the files of large Jewish communities beyond the borders of either present-day or prewar Poland, e.g. Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin (Jewish Community in Berlin) – RG 101, Židovska Naboženska obec v Praze (Jewish Community in Prague) – RG 102, Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien (Jewish Community in Vienna) – RG 103, Synagogen Gemeinde zu Breslau (Jewish Community in Wrocław) – RG 105, Gminy Żydowskie Prowincji Śląskiej (Jewish Communities of the Province of Silesia) – RG 106, and Synagogen Gemeinde Gleiwitz (Jewish Community Gliwice) – RG 112. The files of some communities within Poland have also been preserved, among them Verband der Synagogen Gemeinde im Regierungsbezirk Bromberg (Union of Jewish Communities in the Bydgoszcz Area, RG 104), in Krakow (RG 107), Krakow–Podgórze (RG 109), Żychlin (RG 111), Łódź¹⁰⁴ (RG 135), Tarnopol (RG 110), Warsaw (RG 199) and Włocławek (RG 113). In addition to these there are also Żydowskie stowarzyszenia krakowskie (Krakow Jewish associations, RG 108); birth, marriage and death registration files from some locations, e.g. Działoszyce, Kutno, Szydłów, Wyszaków, Zaręby Kościelne and Złoczów; Biuro Adresowe miasta Częstochowy – kwestionariusze do dowodów osobistych (Address Office of the City of Częstochowa – forms for personal identity cards, RG 115); and Kolekcja przedwojennych polskich paszportów żydowskich emigrantów do Palestyny, zdeponowanych w polskim konsulacie w Hajfie¹⁰⁵ (Collection of prewar Polish passports of Jewish émigrés to Palestine deposited with the Polish consulate in Haifa, RG 123). AŻIH also collects Master's and doctoral theses defended both before and after World War II. Of particular value is the collection of 64 Master's theses by students of the Instytut Nauk Judaistycznych (Institute of Judaic Studies) defended at the University of Warsaw in the 1930s. In many cases, the archival materials on which these studies were based are no longer extant.

¹⁰⁴ A large collection of files of Łódzka Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska (the Łódź Jewish Community) from the years 1885-1939 is held in AP Łódź (RG 228).

¹⁰⁵ Note that before the war, passports were issued for entire families collectively, hence many of them contain group photographs of all the people to whom they applied.

At present the AŻIH collections are well organized and many of them are furnished with very detailed inventories that include indexes of personal and geographical names; this is particularly true of the files of the various departments of the CKŻP. ŻIH has also published a new, very detailed inventory of the Ringelblum Archive, by Tadeusz Epsztein.¹⁰⁶ In addition to an extensive preface, it also includes indexes of geographical and personal names. The majority of record groups dating from the World War II period and the CKŻP files have been microfilmed or digitized, and are available for use in this form at AŻIH. Since 2014 the Central Jewish Library (Centralna Biblioteka Judaistyczna, CBJ) has had a website, on which ŻIH plans to release successive parts of its collections in digital form.¹⁰⁷ The inventories of numerous of its record groups are already accessible in electronic form (as PDF files) on the ŻIH website.¹⁰⁸ Some of the (mass) data from the collections and card files have been entered into electronic databases that are accessible on site at the Archive. All the databases mentioned here are available exclusively on site at AŻIH with the assistance of its archivists. A central, integrated database of the personal data held in the indexed archive materials (982,173 records) is constantly being updated.

- **Biuro meldunkowe miasta Częstochowy (City of Częstochowa registration office), 1936-1938**

4,122 records. Includes the following information on the Jewish residents of Częstochowa registered as permanent residents with the city's registration office: gender, information as to whether the document bears a photograph, surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, profession, place of residence, address, community membership.

- **Kartoteka uczniów szkół gminy żydowskiej w Berlinie (Card file of pupils of Jewish community schools in Berlin), 1927-1938**

1,187 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name.

- **Księgi zapowiedzi i ślubów gminy żydowskiej i Izraelitów Postępowych w Krakowie (Ledger of banns and weddings in the Jewish and Progressive Israelite community in Krakow), 1892-1939**

23,141 records and the following information: year, certificate number, surname of the betrothed,

¹⁰⁶ T. Epsztein, *Inwentarz Archiwum Ringelbluma*, Warszawa 2011; see also the English edition: *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes-Ringelblum Archive. Catalog and Guide*, ed. by Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epsztein, introduction by Samuel D. Kassow, Indiana University Press 2009.

¹⁰⁷ <http://cbj.jhi.pl/>.

¹⁰⁸ http://www.jhi.pl/archiwum/zbiory_archiwum.

given name, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name. The ledger itself contains information that has not been entered in the database: address, profession, information on parents (e.g. whether still alive), age, marital status (e.g. widow, divorced).

- **Księga metrykalna z Wyszkowa (Register of births, marriages and deaths in Wyszków), 1879-1880, 1889-1890, 1908-1920**

219 records; the following information: year, surname, given name, maiden name, gender, age, marital status, place of abode, date of death, place of death, address where death occurred, date of document, cause of death.

- **Księga metrykalna z Zniesienia (dzielnica Lwowa) (Register of births, marriages and deaths in Zniesienie, a district of Lwów), 1914**

209 records; the following information: year, surname, given name, maiden name, gender, age, marital status, place of abode, date of death, place of death, address where death occurred, date of document, cause of death.

- **Paszporty palestyńskie (Palestinian passports), 1930-1939**

3,747 passports, 5,198 records (database includes all those listed in the passports); information on people whose passports for emigration to Palestine are still extant and are kept at AŻIH. On reaching their destination, people migrating to Palestine permanently had to surrender these passports to the Polish Consulate. Some of the passports were issued to whole families, and in these cases they contained information on all those individuals and a group photograph of them. The database includes the following information: surname, given name, place of birth, year of birth, marital status, profession, and address prior to departure.

- **Kartoteka ludności żydowskiej Gliwic (Card file of the Jewish population of Gliwice), 1933-1942, the reason for its creation is not known**

3,356 records; information: surname, maiden name, given name, date of birth, place of birth, notes.

- **Karty zgonów z getta warszawskiego (Death records from the Warsaw ghetto), dates: Sept.-Dec. 1939 and 1941**

10,056 records; the information on the death records that have been preserved is in very poor condition (partially burned). The database contains the following information entered from the record cards: file no., surname, given names, year of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, place of residence, date of death, death record card no., marital status, profession, citizenship, cause of death, co-attendant illnesses, physician's name. Not all entries on the death record cards were filled in.

- **Transporty Żydów z getta w Białej Podlaskiej do getta w Międzyrzecu Podlaskim w listopadzie 1942 r. (Transports of Jews from the ghetto in Biała Podlaska to the ghetto in Międzyrzec Podlaski in November 1942)**

2,844 records (concerning approx. 4,500 people) and the following personal details: file no., surname, given names, parents' given names, mother's maiden name, date of birth, place of birth.

- **Podania o ausweisy Żydów z Łęczycy, czerwiec 1941 r. (Applications for Ausweise by Jews from Łęczycze, June 1941)**

90 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, spouse's details, parents' given names, marital status.

- **Podania o ausweisy Żydów z Krakowa, lipiec-sierpień 1940 r. (Applications for Ausweise by Jews from Krakow, July-August 1940)**

19,904 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, marital status, address, notes.

- **Ausweisy Żydów krakowskich (unieważnione) (Ausweise of Jews from Krakow [annulled]), 10.08.1940–19.12.1940**

361 records; information contained: surname, given name, date of birth, date of issue, Ausweis no., notes.

- **Karty Żydów ubiegających się o pozostanie w getcie krakowskim, marzec 1941 r. (Cards of Jews applying to stay in the Krakow ghetto, March 1941)**

16,189 records; information: surname, given name, maiden name, date of birth, place of birth, address of apartment being left, new address, marital status, no. of children, notes.

- **Kennkarty Żydów z Krakowa (Kennkarten of Jews from Krakow, official copies from AN Krakow)**

10,912 records; information: Kennkarte no., surname, given name, maiden name, date of birth, place of birth, marital status, current address, previous address, head of the family, spouse's details, children, notes.

- **Informacje osobowe o Żydach z Krakowa (również przesiedlonych do okolicznych miast) (Personal data on Jews from Krakow [including those resettled to nearby towns]), information from files in the Stadthauptmann record group in AŻIH, RG 228**

78,169 records; information: surname, given name, address, date of birth, new address.

- **Gmina żydowska w Kamieńsku k/Piotrkowa (Jewish community in Kamieński near Piotrków), 1939-1940. Applications for personal ID, mostly with photographs**

81 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, marital status, profession.

- **Kartoteka jeńców wojennych obozu w Lublinie, ul. Lipowa 7 (Card file of POWs in Lublin, 7 Lipowa Street), 1939-1941, file no. 208**

2,974 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name and maiden name, notes.

- **Kartoteka więźniów obozu Hasag-Pelcery w Częstochowie (Card file of prisoners in the Hasag-Pelcery camp in Częstochowa), 1943-1945**

4,736 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, address before 01.09.1939, where from, notes.

- **Spis Żydów zamieszkałych w getcie w Kutnie, z dnia 29 VII 1941 r. (List of Jews resident in the ghetto in Kutno, as at 29 July 1941, RG Obozy, file no. 209/157)**

6,604 records; information: given name, surname, profession, date of birth, place of birth, previous place of residence, notes.

- **Kartoteka Żydów starających się o wyjazd (Card file of Jews applying to emigrate), forms in French, 1939-1941; it is not known which institution compiled the card file**

108 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, country of emigration, country of origin, file no., notes.

- **Kartoteka uczniów z getta łódzkiego (Card file of schoolchildren from the Łódź ghetto), 1941, (from the RG Zbiór materiałów do dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Łodzi 1939-1944, file no. 323)**

2,397 records; information: surname, given names, date of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, notes.

- **Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce, Kartoteka Centralna (KC) Żydów Ocalałych z Zagłady (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland [CKŻP], Central Card File [KC] of the Jews Who Survived the Holocaust), 1944-1950**

298,213 records; contains information transferred from the registration cards compiled after the war by the CKŻP Records and Statistics Department (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki). The cards list 17 items: surnames (changes of surname) and given names, date and place of birth, given names and surnames of parents, residential address before 1939, changes of address during the war, current address, education, profession, how the subject survived the war, information on forms of repression experienced during the war, means of survival during the war, information on

documents possessed, relatives in Poland and abroad, name of committee where subject was registered, date of registration and signature. In practice many of the boxes were not filled in.

- **Wojewódzki Komitet Żydów w Lublinie (Provincial Committee of Jews in Lublin), 1944-50**

Approx. 6,298 records; contains personal data from the card file of surviving Jews who registered in Lublin after the war. Some of those registered there did not live in Lublin after the war, however; 13 people gave a Warsaw address, for instance. The database contains the following information: card number, surname, given name, year of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, means of survival, profession, date of registration, place of registration, postwar address, notes.

- **Wojewódzki Komitet Żydów z Łodzi (Provincial Committee of Jews from Łódź), 1944-1950**

8,210 records; information from the card file of surviving Jews who registered in Łódź after the war. Some of those registered there did not live in Łódź after the war, however; the database contains information on Jews who took up residence in Gliwice and Warsaw after the war, for instance.

- **Wojewódzki Komitet Żydów w Warszawie (Provincial Committee of Jews in Warsaw), 1944-1950**

31,189 records; contains information from the card file of surviving Jews who registered in Warsaw after the war. A considerable proportion of those registered there did not live in Warsaw after the war, however (only 15,270 people gave a Warsaw address). The database contains the following information: card no., surname, given names, date of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, address in 1939, places stayed during the war, means of survival, name changes after the war, profession, date of registration, place of registration, address after the war.

- **Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce 1944-1950, Wydział Oświaty. Kartoteka dzieci objętych opieką (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland 1944-1950, Education Department. Card file of children in care)**

30,240 records; information on children who survived the Holocaust and were in the care of the Education Department after the war. The database includes data from a wide range of Education Department documents, including a card file with the file no. 303/IX/649 (which is accessible also in a separate database) and a card file with the file no. 303/IX/86 (780 cards), which in addition to personal information on the child also includes a photograph. The following personal information was entered into the database: gender, surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, place of residence in 1939, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, family status, places stayed during the war, means of survival, status of the child, change of name during the war, place of residence after the war, name of guardian, address of guardian, people searching for the

child. An original card in card file 303/IX/86, in addition to the above information, also includes: life events with particular focus on the war years, assessment of mental development (school knowledge, skills/talents, interests, level of intelligence), character (attributes, behaviour, and attitude toward peers, carers and teachers), profession of parents and information as to whether they were alive, institutions in which the child had spent time, benefits received, general assessment of health.

- **Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce 1944-50, Wydział Oświaty. Karty kolonijne dla dzieci skierowanych na kolonie przez Centralną Komisję Kolonijną CKŻP (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland 1944-1950, Education Department. Summer camp cards of children sent on summer camp by the CKŻP Central Summer Camp Commission), file no. 303/IX/649**

2,189 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth, address, information as to whether parents were alive and who was bringing the child up, where the child had been during the war and occupation, notes.

- **Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce 1944-50, Wydział Młodzieżowy. Kartoteka Domów Młodzieży z następujących miast (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland 1944-1950, Youth Department. Card file of Youth Homes from the following towns): Bielsko, Dzierżoniów, Gliwice, Kraków, Łódź, Szczecin, Wałbrzych, Warszawa (Warsaw), Wrocław**

516 records; information: surname, given names, maiden name, other surname, date of birth, place of birth, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, where the youth had been during the war, notes. The cards also contain a brief description of the individual.

- **Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce 1944-50, Wydział Emigracyjny (Central Committee of the Jews in Poland 1944-1950, Emigration Department)**

7,359 records and personal details of people applying to emigrate abroad, whose applications are furnished with a photograph. The database includes the following data: given name, surname, date of birth, place of birth.

- **Powojenna kartoteka Żydów ocalałych i urodzonych we Lwowie (Postwar card file of surviving Jews born in Lwów), file no. 303/V/711**

623 records; information: surname, given name, date of birth, place of birth. The cards also include the following information not entered into the database: profession, address in 1939, where the individual spent the occupation, and current address.

- **Cmentarz żydowski w Warszawie (Jewish cemetery in Warsaw)**

10,165 records; information on tombstones that were to be removed ca. 1970 pursuant to Warsaw Conservator of Monuments documentation. This documentation was drawn up in view of the

construction of the expressway planned at the time. Information: section no., grave no., gender, surname, given name, mother's maiden name, place of birth of the deceased, father's given name, mother's given name, Hebrew date of death, age, date of death, profession, notes.

- **Cmentarz żydowski w Cosel koło Wrocławia, koniec XIX w. do około 1930 r. (Jewish cemetery in Cosel near Wrocław, end of the 19th c. – ca. 1930)**

Database contains 623 records; information: date, date of acceptance of matzevah design, place of burial, gender, surname, given name, maiden name, date of birth, date of death, name of person commissioning the matzevah, surname and given name of the stonemason, other names, notes.

3. Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation)

The history of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) and its current archival holdings may be divided into a number of periods, from 1944, when the Komisja Polsko-Radziecka (Polish-Soviet Commission) was appointed to investigate the crimes committed in the Majdanek and Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camps, until 1998, when the current Institute of National Remembrance was brought into being by the Act of 18 December. From 1945 it operated as the Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni (Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes), whose name was altered several times in response to the nuances of the political situation in postwar Poland.

The reasons for the decision to appoint the Main Commission in 1945 were not only the necessity for immediate investigation of the crimes committed in the camps on Polish territory, but also the need for institutional cooperation with the Polska Misja Wojskowa (the Polish Military Mission) affiliated to the Allied Control Council for Germany, the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) in London, and other international organizations and institutions. Before long, the need also arose for preparation of materials for the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, as well as documents and evidence of crimes for the purpose of extraditing to Poland criminals from beyond its borders. As a result of this work, more than 5,000 people of German descent stood trial in Poland.¹⁰⁹

The Act of 1998 (with subsequent amendments) significantly broadened the competencies of the IPN and obligated it to accept large bodies of archival holdings from other archives and state institutions. In addition to investigating crimes committed during World War II and communist crimes, the IPN is responsible for:

“1) the recording, collecting, storing, processing, securing, making available and publishing of the documents of the state security authorities, produced and accumulated from July 22, 1944 until July

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Cz. Pilichowski, “Badanie i ściganie zbrodni hitlerowskich w latach 1945-1975”, *Biuletyn GKBZHWP*, 1975, vol. XXVI, pp. III-XV; E. Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946-1950*, Part I-II, Warszawa 1991-1992.

31, 1990, as well as the documents of the security authorities of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union relating to:

- a)
 - the Nazi crimes,
 - the communist crimes,
 - other crimes against peace, humanity or war crimes, perpetrated on persons of Polish nationality or Polish citizens of other nationalities between September 1, 1939 until July 31, 1990,
 - b) other politically motivated reprisals, instigated by the officers of the Polish law enforcement agencies or the judiciary or persons acting on their order which were disclosed in the contents of the rulings made on the strength of the Act, dated February 23, 1991, on considering as invalid the rulings made in the cases of persons oppressed for their activities for the cause of an independent Polish State (Journal of Laws No. 34, section 149, with later amendments),
 - c) the actions of the state security authorities described in art. 5;
- 2) the procedure for the prosecution of the crimes specified in point 1, letter a;
- 3) the protection of the personal data of the people referred to in the documents collected in the archive of the Institute of National Remembrance.
- 4) performing activities in the field of public education”.¹¹⁰

The head office of the IPN is located in Warsaw. There are also eleven Branch Offices¹¹¹, established in the cities where Courts of Appeal are located, and seven Delegations¹¹² throughout Poland. The IPN at present comprises four departments: Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (the Commission for Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation), Biuro Edukacji Publicznej (the Public Education Office), Biuro Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów (the Office for Preservation and Dissemination of Archival Records) and Biuro Lustracyjne (the Vetting Office).¹¹³ Its archival holdings may be divided into three categories: an archive accessible to scholars; case files, which comprise the inhouse archive of the Prosecution Commission and are inaccessible

¹¹⁰ The Act of IPN dated 18 December 1998, Chapter 1: <http://ipn.gov.pl/en/about-the-institute/documents/institute-documents/the-act-on-the-institute-of-national-remembrance>.

¹¹¹ I.e. Białystok, Gdańsk, Katowice, Krakow, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław.

¹¹² I.e. Bydgoszcz, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Kielce, Koszalin, Olsztyn, Opole, Radom.

¹¹³ Since 2000 annual reports on its work are submitted to and accessible in the IPN library and online: <http://ipn.gov.pl/o-ipn/informacje-o-dzialalnosci-ipn>.

for academic research purposes as long as the cases are open; and restricted documents containing classified information. The latter are accessible only by holders of special authorizations; they are above all materials generated by the Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (ABW, Internal Security Agency) and the Agencja Wywiadu (AW, Foreign Intelligence Agency). The history of the work of the IPN and its predecessors, the Main Commissions, has been addressed in a number of publications, which should be consulted for more detailed information on its vast archival holdings.¹¹⁴

The present IPN-KŚZpNP took over the archival materials amassed over the more than fifty years of operation of the Main Commission for Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation. This is a specialist body of documents on Nazi crimes committed chiefly in the Polish occupied territories. In addition to this, several dozen linear kilometres of files from other archives have also been transferred to the IPN.¹¹⁵ In all, the IPN's archival holdings from the years 1939-1989 run to 80,771 linear metres of files (as at 31 December 2004), comprising several thousand fonds, record groups, and collections¹¹⁶, separate collections of “mechanical (audiovisual) documentation” – film footage, photographs and microfilms, as well as secondary material generated by archivists as finding aids – card files organized by personal names or subject, lists of the documents in certain files (e.g. *Dziennik Hansa Franka* [the Diary of Hans Frank], *Proces Josefa Bühlera* [Trial of Josef Bühler], *Procesy przed Amerykańskim Trybunałem Wojskowym* [Trials before the American Military Tribunal]), indexes of personal names¹¹⁷, geographical names¹¹⁸ and documents¹¹⁹, as well as themed

¹¹⁴ Cf. Cz. Pilichowski, “Badanie i ściganie zbrodni hitlerowskich w latach 1945-1974”, *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*, 1975, vol. XXVI, pp. III-XV; B. Kucharczyk, “Działalność informacyjna IPN-KŚZpNP w okresie od 1 lipca 2000 r. do 30 czerwca 2002 r.”, Master's thesis accessible in the Biblioteka Instytutu Informacji Naukowej i Studiów Bibliologicznych UW (Library of the Institute of Information and Book Studies at the University of Warsaw).

¹¹⁵ “Sto kilometrów teczek. O Archiwach IPN z Bernadettą Gronek i Leszkiem Postołowiczem rozmawiają Krzysztof Persak i Barbara Polak”, *BŻIH*, 2002, no. 4 (15), pp. 4-21.

¹¹⁶ The part of the IPN archive taken over from the GKBZpNP constitutes some 900 collections, in all around 2,500 linear metres of files.

¹¹⁷ Indexes by person are available for the files on criminal trials arising as a result of the “August Decree” [see note 24] and the trials of Albert Forster (Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy [Supreme National Tribunal, NTN]) (including an index of victims) and Artur Greiser, and the files of the American Military Tribunal. There is also a list of “August trials” pertaining to crimes committed in the eastern territories now beyond Poland's eastern border, compiled by Elżbieta Kobierska-Motas in 1963, a list of people sentenced to death in the years 1944-1966, and a list of personal names in the “Badawczo-dokumentacyjne” (BD) (Records of investigation and documentation of the Main Commission).

¹¹⁸ For the files from the trials of Ludwig Fischer and Artur Greiser, and the investigation in connection with the Albert Forster case.

¹¹⁹ For the files from the NTN and the American Military Tribunal.

finding aids.¹²⁰ The files received from the former Main Commission are better processed than documentation accepted in recent years; most of the collections are furnished with electronic inventories available in the IPN reading rooms. For a number of years now the IPN has been implementing a programme entitled “Cyfrowe archiwum” (Digital archive) – an integrated database that is held in the institute’s archives. Also accessible on the IPN’s website is a database (incomplete, successively being supplemented) entitled “Żydzi polscy i Żydzi w Polsce. Katalog materiałów archiwalnych z zasobu IPN”¹²¹ (Polish Jews and Jews in Poland. Catalogue of archival materials from the IPN’s holding).

This contains information on materials on this subject amassed in the IPN archive in Warsaw and in 13 of its branches and delegations. These are for the most part materials from investigations into crimes from the World War II period and postwar files of Sądy Grodzkie (courts of the first instance) of cases of declaration of death in absentia, but not only those. The commentary accompanying this database mentions materials generated by the postwar security services and their invigilation of Jewish communities: “Relatively few documents of this type have been preserved from the period 1945-1956. Those that have for the most part concern Zionist organisations and parties and the socialist Bund party. The security authorities gathered information on initiatives existing with the purpose of organising mass and individual emigration of Jews, which took place on an informal basis. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that until 1949 such activity was largely conducted with the knowledge and tacit consent of state agencies of the People’s Republic of Poland, among them the Ministry of Public Security (MBP). Materials of this type are held in greatest quantity in the Wrocław and Szczecin branches of the IPN. In the 1960s the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW) issued provincial structures of the Służba Bezpieczeństwa (SB, Security Service) with a mandate to monitor gradually more closely branches of the Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów (TSKŻ, Jewish Social and Cultural Association), religious congregations subordinate to the Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego (Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith), the Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (ŻIH, Jewish Historical Institute) and the Państwowy Teatr Żydowski (State Jewish Theatre). The apogee of this campaign came in the years 1967-1969. Some ‘object cases’ were pursued by the SB until the end of the 1980s. Aside from the documentation of operations conducted ‘into the Zionist issue’ in the 1960s, files of people applying to emigrate to Israel were gathered separately. The largest

¹²⁰ E.g. for the files from the trial of Albert Forster before the NTN.

¹²¹ <http://ipn.gov.pl/buiad/pomoce-archiwalne/zydzi-polscy-i-zydzi-w-polsce>.

collections of materials illustrating the ‘anti-Zionist’ activities of the SB in the period when the MSW was run by Mieczysław Moczar may be found in IPN holdings in Gdańsk, Katowice, Kielce, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław.”

“Access is permitted to files at the IPN on the basis of the justified request made in writing by the interested party. Access by scholars to finding aids and records may be restricted on legal grounds – protection of classified information, personal data, or personal assets. Access to documents is possible in reading rooms, which are separate for unclassified and classified files. (...) Every release of archival material is registered in the records by an IPN employee. Moreover, every item (usually constituting a document folder) contains an information sheet on which details of its releases are entered. (...) Searches in unprocessed record groups are conducted by IPN employees.”¹²² In 2014 the IPN launched a “Centrum udzielania informacji o ofiarach II wojny światowej”¹²³ (World War II victim information centre), in which its archivists accept applications for searches in the IPN’s archival holding and above all its vast electronic databases and card files.

In all certainty, the most important of the IPN’s materials for Holocaust research are those of the archival documents in the holdings taken over from the former Main Commission as well as from County and City Commissions and generated by Nazi government offices, organizations and structures between September 1939 and 8 May 1945, and by institutions, public prosecutors’ offices and courts appointed after 22 July 1944 to prosecute Nazi criminals and research the crimes perpetrated by them. Some of the ‘former German’ files were passed on to the GKBZpNP by the MSW Archive in the 1980s. In the IPN archive it is worth perusing the full list of 933 record groups taken over by the IPN from the former Main Commission. The archival holdings of the IPN are profiled below by provenance, i.e. by the body that generated the files, though it may also be categorized as proposed by Mieczysław Motas¹²⁴ as follows:

I Publications of the Main Commission,

II Archival records:

1) evidence,

¹²² J. Kuligowski, “Archiwa IPN”, *BIPN* no. 4 (15), 2002, pp. 25-26.

¹²³ http://ipn.gov.pl/_data/assets/pdf_file/0009/127935/Centrum-Informacji-o-Ofiarach-II-Ws24-04-2014.pdf.

¹²⁴ M. Motas, “Judaika w zbiorach b. Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 469-476.

- 2) investigation files,
- 3) court files,

III Mechanical documentation:

- 1) photographs,
- 2) microfilms of inhouse files,
- 3) photocopies,
- 4) microfilms of files stored in other institutions,
- 5) films,

IV Secondary documentation:

- 1) personal card files of Nazi criminals,
- 2) card files by theme,

V Press documentation,

VI Library.

FILES OF NAZI ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES include Rząd GG¹²⁵ (Government of the GG – 9,438 items), including the files of its Secretariat of State and the following departments: internal affairs, health, finance, justice, the economy, food and agriculture, forestry, labour, propaganda, science and education, railways, and the postal service; the district offices (Amt des Distrikts) of Distrikt Galizien (District of Galicia, the files of the departments of justice, internal affairs, the economy, science, finance, and personal matters), Distrikt Krakau (District of Krakow, the files of the departments of the presidium, the economy, food and agriculture, construction, health, and labour – concerning transports of labourers to Germany), Distrikt Lublin (District of Lublin, the files of the departments of internal affairs, justice, the economy, food and agriculture, employment, propaganda, education, finance, personal affairs, and the presidium), Distrikt Radom (District of Radom, the files of the departments of internal affairs, justice, the economy, food and agriculture, labour, construction, price control, forestry, finance and the presidium) and Distrikt Warschau (District of Warsaw, files of the head of the office, the department of internal affairs, the spatial planning office, the departments of justice, finance, and food and agriculture, and a list of telephone numbers); and Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty-Poznań X 1939-I 1945 (Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland-Posen, Reich Governor in the Warta Land-Poznań

¹²⁵ The other part of this collection is in the Warsaw archive AAN (Central Archives of Modern Records).

region ¹²⁶) and the collections of some county governors' offices and county governors (Kreishauptmann), e.g. Lublin, Zamość, Busko, Jędrzejów, Kielce, Radom.

FILES OF THE SS AND POLICE include the collections: Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer im GG (Senior SS and Police Leader in the GG), Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer im Distrikt Krakau (Senior SS and Police Leader in the Krakow District; files contain correspondences concerning the submission of reports on the situation in Warsaw in August 1944, awards of decorations, and card files of police officers), im Distrikt Lublin (in the Lublin District), im Distrikt Radom (in the Radom District) and subordinate stations, Der Polizeipräsident in Posen (President of the Police in Poznań), Der Chef der Sipo und des SD Umwandererzentralstelle Posen (Security Police Central Resettlement Office in Poznań), Dienststelle Litzmannstadt (Branch Office in Łódź); and a collection of applications for decoration by SS and police officers distinguished in their criminal activity in the Polish territories. Other holdings include Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für Distrikt Warschau (The Commander of the Security Police and Security Service for the Warsaw District) ¹²⁷, Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD für den Distrikt Lublin (The Commander of the Security Police and Security Service for the Lublin District) ¹²⁸, and the files of many of the military police posts throughout the GG and the lands annexed to the Reich. ¹²⁹ We must also mention here the original occupation-era card files passed on to the GKBZpNP by the MSW in the 1980s, among them the card files of members of the SS, SA and Wehrmacht. Other files (or information about archival holdings) were also transferred to the GKBZpNP archive from state administrative offices in subsequent years; a list of these is to be found in the article by M. Motas. ¹³⁰

FILES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS include the following record groups:

¹²⁶ Files concerning the administration of the region, confiscations of Polish and Jewish property, the activities of German institutions and associations, German settlement and resettlement of Germans, resettlement of the Polish population, confessional matters, parish rolls, matters connected with church assets, and a list of Poles, Jews and Russians executed by firing squad in the years 1939-1945; other files from this fonds are stored in AP w Poznaniu (State Archive in Poznań), RG 299.

¹²⁷ A collection of various files, including 255 anonymous denunciations to the German authorities dating from 1940-1941, cf. B. Engelking, *„Szanowny panie gisto”*. *Donosy do władz niemieckich w Warszawie i okolicach w latach 1940-1941*, Warszawa 2003.

¹²⁸ Personnel files of the Commander of the Security Police, lists of wanted Poles apprehended and shot by the Schupo (Defence Police) and other police formations, and files on matters of police accommodation and administrative affairs of local stations.

¹²⁹ For instance posts in the Warsaw District (e.g. Żyrardów), Poznań and many counties in the Poznań region, Wolsztyn, Kościan, Białogard, and other places.

¹³⁰ M. Motas, “Informacja o nabytkach archiwalnych Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (1989-1991)”, *Biuletyn GKBZpNP*, 1992, pp. 164-175.

NSDAP – Arbeitsbereich GG (National Socialist German Workers' Party – Department of Operations in the GG), NSDAP – Distriktsstandortführung: Galizien, Krakau, Radom, Warschau (NSDAP District Branch Leadership for Galicia, Krakow, Radom and Warsaw, and the Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth); and the card files of the members of these organizations.

FILES OF CONCENTRATION AND EXTERMINATION CAMPS AND PRISONS

include the following collections:

Ob. – Obozy (Camps)¹³¹ (collection profiled in more detail in Part II of this *Guide*): the concentration camps KL Buchenwald, KL Dachau, KL Flossenbürg, KL Gross-Rosen, KL Mittelbau-Dora, KL Mauthausen, KL Neuengamme and KL Ravensbrück; Deutsches Zuchthaus Neu Wiśnicz (the German prison in Nowy Wiśnicz), Deutsche Strafanstalt Reichshof (the German Penitentiary in Rzeszów), Deutsche Strafanstalt Tarnów (the German Penitentiary in Tarnów) and Untersuchungshaftanstalt Posen (Remand Prison in Poznań).¹³² Also the following prison files from the years 1944-1956: Centralne Więzienie Obóz Pracy Gęsia (Central Prison Labour Camp Gęsia, known as Gęsiówka), Centralne Więzienie Warszawa I Mokotów (Central Prison for Warsaw I Mokotów, Rakowiecka Street), Centralne Więzienie Warszawa II (Central Prison for Warsaw II, Anielewicza Street), Więzienie Warszawa Służewiec Obóz Pracy III (Warsaw Służewiec Prison Labour Camp III), Centralne Więzienie Warszawa-Praga (Central Prison for Warsaw Praga, 11 Listopada Street), Zakład Karny w Siedlcach (Penitentiary in Siedlce), Areszt Śledczy w Puławach, Ostrołęce, Działdowie, Grodzisku (Remand Cells in Puławki, Ostrołęka, Działdowo and Grodzisk). Among those held in these prisons were war criminals incarcerated pursuant to the August Decree of 1944.

FILES OF GERMAN COURTS AND PUBLIC PROSECUTORS' OFFICES include Oberlandesgericht Posen (Higher Regional Court in Poznań) and the special courts (Sondergericht: Kielce, Kraków, Warsaw) in the territories annexed to the Reich and in the GG, and local courts (Amtsgerichte) in the Third Reich.

¹³¹ These materials reference many camps, prisons and ghettos in the Polish territories and the lands that were part of or occupied by the Third Reich (including Belżec, Majdanek, Chelmno nad Nerem, Łambinowice, Sobibór, Auschwitz, Płaszów, Pustków, Stutthof, Szepietów, Przemyśl, Treblinka, Gross-Rosen, Zamość, and Limanowa [ghetto]).

¹³² Very numerous materials from German prisons in the years 1939-1945 are held in the Polish State Archives. For the most part these are personal files or card files of prisoners that include their personal data, reasons for imprisonment, and sentences given, or information on release or execution of death sentences.

FILES OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS include those of Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit¹³³ (Institute for German Work in the East in Krakow¹³⁴).

PAPERS OF NAZI ACTIVISTS include the diary of Hans Frank and the archive of Artur Greiser.

COLLECTION OF BILLS AND POSTERS is a large collection comprising ephemera of all sorts, including flyers, most of them from the GG.

FILES OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES AND FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS include copies of the records:

- the United Nations War Crimes Commission
- the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, which tried the leading officials in the Third Reich¹³⁵ responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity. These files contain documents of the defence, witness testimonies, closing speeches by the prosecutors, the pro se representations of certain defendants, the sentences, and press reports on executions.
- the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, containing the files of 12 trials: the Doctors' Trial; the Milch Trial (trial of Erhard Milch, Air Inspector General and Field Marshal in the Luftwaffe); the Judges' Trial; the Pohl Trial (trial of Oswald Pohl and the SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt [SS-WVHA, SS Main Economic and Administrative Department] in Berlin, the Flick Trial (trial of Friedrich Flick); the IG Farben Trial, the Hostages Trial (the "Southeast Case" of the generals who led the Balkans Campaign), the RuSHA (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt SS, the SS Race and Settlement Main Office) and RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Reich Main Security Office) Trial; the Einsatzgruppen (SS death squads) Trial; the Krupp Trial; the Wilhelmstrasse Trial (trial of senior officials from the Auswärtiges Amt [Foreign Ministry]); and the High Command Trial (trial of senior officers in the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht [OKW, German Army High Command]).

¹³³ The collection includes the files of the Sektion für Rasse- und Volkstumforschung (Section for Race and Ethnicity Research), the history section, and the histories of various places.

¹³⁴ Most of the IDO files are in Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (the Jagiellonian University Archive), and some are in IPN and in Berlin (Bundesarchiv), cf. A. Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Kraków 1940-1945*, Warszawa 2002.

¹³⁵ The defendants: A. Seyss-Inquart, C. Neurath, A. Speer, J. von Ribbentrop, F. von Papen, B. Schirach, W. Funk, K. Doenitz, A. Jodl, F. Sauckel, A. Rosenberg, E. Räder, H. Fritzsche, E. Kaltenbrunner, J. Streicher, and W. Frick.

- other foreign tribunals and courts: the US Military Government Court (the trial of the staff of KL Dachau and KL Buchenwald); the British Military Court (the trial of the staff of Ravensbrück); Das Oberste Gericht der DDR (Supreme Court of the GDR: the trial of Hans Globke); the British War Crimes Trials (the trial of Fritz Erich von Manstein); and the Jerusalem District Court (the trial of Adolf Eichmann).

FILES CONNECTED WITH RESEARCH INTO NAZI CRIMES generated by specially appointed institutions and offices include the collections of the following:

Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych Rządu RP w Londynie – Biuro do Spraw Zbrodni Wojennych w Londynie (Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London, Office for War Crimes Affairs in London) and Delegat Polski do Komisji Narodów Zjednoczonych do Spraw Zbrodni Wojennych (UNWCC) (the Polish Delegate to the UN War Crimes Commission). In the 1940s and 1950s the following commissions operated, and their documentary legacy is accessible today in AIPN: Komisja do Badania Zbrodni Niemiecko-Hitlerowskich w Oświęcimiu 1945 (Commission for the Investigation of German-Hitlerite Crimes in Oświęcim), Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce 1945-1968 (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland), Okręgowe Komisje Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (District Commissions for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes) in Bydgoszcz (1945-1949), Częstochowa (1945-1951), Gdańsk (1945-1951), Krakow (1945-1954), Lublin (1944-1949), Łódź (1945-1949), Poznań (1945-1949), Radom (1945-1949), Siedlce (1945-1950), Warszawa (1945-1950) and Wrocław (1945-1949). One member of the Main Commission extremely distinguished in his service was Professor Jan Sehn, and his own files and work, too, are of interest to Holocaust scholars.

The collections of documents amassed by the GKBZHwP and its provincial commissions are of immense interest to Holocaust scholars. They contain a variety of heterogeneous material that would evade general classification; e.g. among the files of Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Lublinie (District Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Lublin) there are materials such as: Zamordowanie 100 Żydów w Turobinie (the murder of 100 Jews in Turobin, file 84), Masowy mord na Żydach w Annopolu nad Wisłą (the mass murder of Jews in Annopol on the Vistula, file 89), Pobyt Żydów z getta warszawskiego w getcie w Kraśniku (the time spent by Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in the ghetto in Kraśnik, file 92), Wymordowanie Żydów w Lublinie (the murder of the Jews in Lublin, file 116), Zbrodnie popełnione na cmentarzu żydowskim we

Włodawie (crimes committed in the Jewish cemetery in Włodawa, file 151), Korespondencja w sprawie losu Żydów w Szczepieszynie (correspondence regarding the fate of the Jews in Szczepieszyn, file 162), Zbrodnie popełnione na terenie województwa lubelskiego – kwestionariusz o egzekucjach i grobach masowych (crimes committed in the Lublin voivodship – questionnaire on executions and mass graves, file 165). At this point it is necessary to stress that each of the IPN Branch Offices has its own archives whose holdings are not discussed in this article; they comprise largely the files of investigations conducted by the prosecutors within a given commission. Another collection worthy of note is BD (Records of investigation and documentation), which numbers more than 7,000 personal files of Nazi criminals arranged in non-alphabetical order.

COURT CASES ARISING PURSUANT TO THE AUGUST DECREE (OF 31 AUG. 1944¹³⁶), also known as “sierpniówki” (“August trials”) constitute a separate and very large group of files, which will be profiled in somewhat more detail in Part II of this *Guide*, like the “August prosecutor records”. Among the trial records is documentation relating to seven cases brought before the Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (NTN, Supreme National Tribunal) against senior civil servants in the German administration in occupied Poland; these files, too, will be addressed in Part II. At this point it is worth mentioning the “security service files”: files generated after the war, until as recently as 1989, by various state bodies (the security services and citizens’ militia) with the purpose of monitoring individuals or circles. Among those who were of interest to the security services were many suspects, defendants, victims and witnesses of events during the war; such files may also be found in the IPN archive (AIPN).¹³⁷

EVIDENTIARY DOCUMENTATION comprises above all collections of files from German wartime and occupation-era institutions (some of which form an integral part of trial case files),

¹³⁶ August Decree of 31 August 1944: “Dekret o wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy winnych zabójstw i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego,” (Decree on the punishment of fascist Nazi criminals guilty of murders and persecution of the civilian population and prisoners of war, and for traitors of the Polish nation) Dziennik Ustaw 4 (1944), item 27. The uniform version after the introduction of a number of amendments was printed in Dziennik Ustaw 69 (1946), item 377. This was the first legal act in the area of penal law promulgated by the Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego (PKWN, Polish Committee of National Liberation), and one of the first of this type of legal act anywhere. This decree provided a legal foundation for the punishment of war crimes, and collaboration with the enemy, crimes against humanity, and crimes against peace (i.e. participation in criminal organizations) committed between 1 September 1939 and 9 May 1945.

¹³⁷ *Wokół teczek bezpieki – zagadnienia metodologiczno-źródłoznawcze*, ed. F. Musiał, IPN-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Kraków 2006.

reports by senior SS and police officers, and official ledgers. Suffice it here to mention the most important:

- Tagebuch von Hans Frank (Diary of Hans Frank), comprising 39 books – departmental meetings, working meetings and speeches by the governor, government meetings, a list of the contents of the diary for the years 1940-1944,¹³⁸
- Evidentiary documents from trials before the NTN,
- Report by Jürgen Stroop, who was responsible for the deportation of Jews to Treblinka and the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto,¹³⁹
- Report by Friedrich Katzmann on the final solution of the Jewish question in the district of Galicia,¹⁴⁰
- Files of the Geheime Staatspolizei. Polizeistelle Zichenau (Gestapo [Secret State Police] in Ciechanów) and Łódź. The Ciechanów Gestapo files comprise the personal files of people arrested by the Gestapo for crossing the border illegally, sabotage, economic crimes, escape from their place of forced labour and incarceration in a corrective labour camp, and the files of people suspected of underground activity.

COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS¹⁴¹, which contains around 68,000 photographs and 141 albums, most of them unique, is of great value. They include photographs from ghettos and camps; photographs of executions, suppression actions, street round-ups, resettlements, and military action; portraits of Nazi officials of all ranks and levels; and many others. An overall profile of this collection is included in Part II of this *Guide*, in the chapter on iconography. AIPN also has a collection of microfilms and photocopies of foreign records, maps and plans (including those of many prisons and camps), and bills, posters and announcements.

¹³⁸ Cf. *Dziennik Hansa Franka*, Warszawa 1956; W. Präg, W. Jacobmeyer, *Das Diensttagebuch des Deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939-1945*, Stuttgart 1975.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Raport Jürgena Stroopa*, Warszawa 1958; a new edition of the report has been prepared by Andrzej Żbikowski and was published by the IPN in 2009; it is also available online: http://pamiec.pl/ftp/ilustracje/Raport_STROOPA.pdf.

¹⁴⁰ Katzmann Friedrich, *Rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej w Dystrykcie Galicja. Lösung der Judenfrage im Distrikt Galizien*, ed. A. Żbikowski, IPN, Warszawa 2001.

¹⁴¹ Cf. T. Stempowski, K.W. Ślusarski, „Wydzielony zbiór fotografii bylej Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu”, *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2013, no. 6, pp.171-203; P. Chojnacki, K. W. Ślusarski, „Zbiór fotograficzny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej i jego cechy specyficzne”, *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2009, no. 2, pp. 159-194.

FILES OF CASES CONDUCTED BY THE MAIN COMMISSION, designated Ds. (dokumenty śledcze, investigation files) and Kpp. (krajowa pomoc prawna, legal aid) are worthy of particular note, as they contain data on people¹⁴² and institutions operating in Polish territory during the occupation. These materials have been renumbered within the archive of the IPN and its branches, but the computer database contains information on both its new and old file numbers. They include information as vital to the study of the extermination of the Jews in the Polish lands as investigations into the former extermination camps in Belżec, Treblinka, Sobibór and Chelmno nad Nerem.

The archival holdings of the IPN also include a collection called Zbiór “Z”, which comprises a diverse range of files collected by the GKBZHWP in Poland in the course of its work and not classified into other files. Among the papers it contains are documents concerning the liquidation of the ghettos in Warsaw and Łódź, the extermination of the Jews in Galicia, executions of Jews by firing squad by Einsatzkommando Tilsit, and many others. Following an intense reordering campaign of the files received from the Main Commission, the files from Zbiór “Z” now have new numbers, and materials on particular issues and places are profiled in the computer database that is accessible in the IPN’s reading rooms.

The Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation took possession of a huge collection of personal and thematic card files numbering some 2,500,000 cards, created as a result of research conducted in the archival holdings of the GKBZHWP, all the state archives managed by the Head Office of the State Archives, and separate archives of political parties, the Church, the Jewish Historical Institute, and museums and similar institutions. The personal cards, which are in alphabetical order, contain the names of around 1,000,000 Nazis and include basic biographical information and data on their ranks, the positions they held, and the criminal acts perpetrated by them, including an indication of the sources of this information (call numbers). The personal card files of the staff of Nazi offices and institutions run to over 500,000 cards, while the thematic card file, which functions as a subject index of the contents of the files, comprises more than 600,000 cards organized by subject area. This index includes information on the structure and activities of the civilian administration, the SS, the Gestapo and

¹⁴² E.g. the investigations into Franz Stangl, the commandant of the extermination camp Treblinka II, and Gustav Wagner and Hubert Gomerski from the extermination camp in Sobibór.

other police formations, the crimes of the Wehrmacht and the Luftwaffe, crimes of the Nazi judicial system, crimes committed by corporations and company groups, and Nazi population and economic policy.

It holds source information on the criminal activities of the occupying powers in respect of the Polish intelligentsia and culture, crimes against children and young people, prisoners of war, and members of the resistance movement. The information it contains helps to establish easily and quickly what archival material could prove useful in researching specific issues, and in investigations conducted by the Central Commission. These card files are not accessible by external scholars, however; they serve as an internal aid for IPN archivists and prosecutors from the Commission for Prosecution.

It is also worth mentioning the publications of the former Main Commission, as the body of its published works is sizeable, but little used by external historians. Some of them are undoubtedly outdated, or were written to political commission, but others are still of great informative value.¹⁴³ Available in this archive is “Wykaz Informacji Wewnętrznej”, which is a list (in the form of a typescript) of the 126 publications of the GKBZpNP released in the years 1966-1997, most of which deal with issues relating to prosecution and punishment of crimes against humanity and war crimes.¹⁴⁴ A bibliography of previous publications by the Main Commission was compiled by Stanisław Kania and published as a volume in its own right.¹⁴⁵ A comparable item that came out in 1979 was “Wykaz zespołów i zbiorów przechowywanych w Archiwum GKBZHWP. Stan na dzień 31 XII 1978” by Maria Bukowska and Michalina Wysocka. An important series in this respect is “Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939-1945” (Register of sites and facts of crimes committed by the Hitlerite occupier in the Polish lands in the years 1939-1945), a series comprising several dozen volumes ordered by voivodship. This publication is based on sources including data from a questionnaire conducted among courts of the first instance throughout the country in 1946.

¹⁴³ Cf. J. Frieske, *Materiały do bibliografii okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce. Piśmiennictwo polskie za lata 1944-1968*, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce. Informacja wewnętrzna nr 46, Warszawa 1978.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. W. Bielawski, Cz. Pilichowski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzieloną Żydom*, Warszawa 1981.

¹⁴⁵ S. Kania, *Publikacje Głównej Komisji BZHWP 1945-1978*, Warszawa 1980.

In the period 1946-1998 a periodical was published entitled *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, which was superseded by *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Pismo Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* (since 2002) and *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* (no longer published). The first issue of *Biuletyn GKBZH w Polsce* (in two volumes) covered all the camps – extermination camps, concentration camps and labour camps. The materials published in it were syntheses of the results of court investigations undertaken immediately after the end of the war, e.g. the investigation of Judge Władysław Bednarz from the District Court in Łódź into the extermination camp in Chelmno nad Nerem. Today the documentation from these investigations is of fundamental value to our knowledge of the Nazi extermination camps, as it includes evidentiary material and witness testimonies that could only be gathered in that period.

4. The Archives of Memorial Museums

From four of the extermination camps on Polish territory (within Poland's pre-1939 borders) – Chelmno nad Nerem, Bełżec, Sobibór and Treblinka – virtually none of the original camp administrative documentation has survived, because as the Germans liquidated those camps they also meticulously destroyed the traces of their activities. Research into the history of those places and their victims can therefore be based only on documents either indirectly related or generated only after the war, and on extant material evidence of those crimes. The museums that stand on the sites of these former Nazi camps do not have archives in the narrowest meaning of the word (though they do all conduct research and educational work), and for that reason this chapter addresses the archival holdings of four concentration camps, two of which – Auschwitz and Majdanek – also operated as extermination camps. The sources used in research into the extermination camps are discussed in scholarly studies, the most important of which are cited in the Bibliography at the end of the *Guide*.

PAŃSTWOWE MUZEUM AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU W OŚWIĘCIMIU (PMAB, AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU STATE MUSEUM IN OŚWIĘCIM)

The museum in Oświęcim was founded pursuant to the Act of 2 July 1947¹⁴⁶, although a group of former prisoners had already started to take care of the former camp site and the structures remaining there of their own volition the previous spring (the camp had been liberated by the Red Army on 27 January 1945). The most important task was to secure evidence of the crimes. In the initial months following the liberation, chaos reigned on the site of the camp; piles of bodies lay everywhere, and several thousand seriously sick prisoners in need of immediate care were still at the site.¹⁴⁷ Red Army soldiers and members of the Soviet investigation commission were also stationed there, and German soldiers taken prisoner of war were being held in the buildings of Auschwitz I. In these difficult conditions the extensive site was not secured appropriately against thieves and “hyenas” – people who dug up the mass graves in search of gold and other valuables. These were crimes committed on the sites of all the former concentration and extermination camps in the initial years after the war.

¹⁴⁶ Ustawa o upamiętnieniu męczeństwa narodu polskiego i innych narodów w Oświęcimiu (Act on commemoration of the martyrdom of the Polish nation and other nations in Auschwitz, Dziennik Ustaw [Dz. U., Official Legislation Gazette], no. 52, item 265), pp. 826-827.

¹⁴⁷ There were some 7,000 prisoners still at the site of the camp when it was liberated.

The Auschwitz Museum was officially opened on 14 June 1947, shortly before the above mentioned act was published. Even before that time, however, former prisoners (who later became the first employees of the museum) had been giving visitors tours of the former KL Auschwitz site. Among them were Tadeusz Wąsowicz, Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Kazimierz Smoleń, Wincenty Hein, Franciszek Targosz, Tadeusz Szymański and Jerzy Brandhuber.¹⁴⁸ From the first, a priority was to recover German documents from the camp chancellery that had been scattered all over the site – on rubbish heaps, in ovens, and in toilets. Some of the camp documentation was confiscated illegally by the Russians, and some of those documents remain in Russian archives to this day.¹⁴⁹ Some materials were gathered by the Komisja dla Badania Zbrodni Niemiecko-Hitlerowskich w Oświęcimiu (Commission to Investigate the German-Nazi Crimes in Oświęcim, known as the Komisja Oświęcimska, or Oświęcim Commission) and subsequently passed on to the Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Krakowie (District Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Krakow)¹⁵⁰, while other documents were collected by the Krakow branch of Polski Czerwony Krzyż (PCK, Polish Red Cross). It was only the establishment of the museum archives in 1957 and the commencement of professional scholarly research by employees of the Auschwitz State Museum that permitted the systematic collation of original documents or their copies, and secondary sources, e.g. witness testimonies and interviews. The holdings of the Oświęcim archives have been profiled in two articles, by Anna Palarczykowa and Jadwiga Kulesza¹⁵¹, and interested scholars should consult these for more detailed information. Information on the archive holdings is also available on the PMAB website.¹⁵² Files from only a few of the six departments of the camp chancellery have been preserved, as before commencing the final evacuation of the camp, the Germans gave orders to have all the documentation and photographs burned. Only the haste in which this campaign was conducted and the deliberate actions of the prisoners engaged in the task made the preservation of some of the files possible.¹⁵³ The salvaged German documentation, which was secured by the public

¹⁴⁸ Cf. J. Huener, “Państwowe Muzeum Oświęcim-Brzezinka w latach 1945-1946”, *Pro Memoria. Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2007, no. 27, pp. 9-19; Jacek Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć...? Idea założenia Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w świetle prasy polskiej w latach 1945-1948*, Oświęcim 2007.

¹⁴⁹ In 1945 a Soviet Extraordinary State Commission for Investigating the Crimes of the German Fascist Aggressors operated on the site of the former camp.

¹⁵⁰ Both these commissions were charged with preparing evidential materials for the NTN (Supreme National Tribunal) trial of members of the KL Auschwitz staff.

¹⁵¹ A. Palarczykowa, “Władze hitlerowskiego obozu koncentracyjnego w Oświęcimiu, ich kancelarie i pozostała po nich spuścizna aktowa”, *Archeion*, 1964, vol. 40, pp. 227-249; Jadwiga Kulesza, “Archiwalia z Auschwitz”, *Pro Memoria. Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2007, no. 27, pp. 49-56.

¹⁵² <http://en.auschwitz.org>.

¹⁵³ On 17 January 1945 the first “death marches” set off, evacuating some 70,000 prisoners; on 21-26 January the Germans blew up the gas chambers and crematoria in Birkenau.

prosecutor, Dr Jan Sehn, refers virtually exclusively to the original camp – Auschwitz I (which occupied the buildings of a former army barracks). The Auschwitz camp was composed of three main parts: Auschwitz I (the Stammlager), Auschwitz II – Birkenau (*de facto* an extermination camp) and Auschwitz III – Monowitz (a sub-camp in Monowice, also known as Buna), but the camp complex as a whole comprised a total of 47 sub-camps and external labour kommandos (group of people selected for a specific task, which spent the day working outside the actual camp site).

Some 1,100,000 European Jews from Hungary, Poland, France, the Netherlands, Greece, Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, Belgium and many other countries¹⁵⁴, as well as many prisoners of other nationalities and Soviet prisoners of war, perished in KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. From 1942 the Birkenau camp operated as an extermination camp. In spite of the destruction, the documentation from KL Auschwitz-Birkenau constitutes one of the best preserved bodies of camp files, running to more than 200 linear metres of original documents. The surviving materials have been divided into the following collections (all files are ordered by issuer):

- Akta Oddziału I – Kommandantur (Files from Department I – camp commandant's office): orders (more than 230), files relating to the SS (around 3 linear metres of personnel files), files concerning prisoners (mail, releases, escapes – including telegrams sent after escaped prisoners).
- Akta Oddziału II – Politische Abteilung (Files from Department II – Political Dept.)¹⁵⁵, the camp Gestapo: transport lists dating from 1941 and the lists of some transports of Jews from 1942 (Zuganglisten – arrivals lists) – around 3 linear metres, prisoners' personal files (Häftlingspersonalbogen) – around 3 linear metres, personal files of Soviet POWs (48) and Greek Jews, records of deaths (Sterbebücher) – 46 volumes, and disciplinary reports on “crimes” committed by prisoners.
- Akta Oddziału III – Schutzhaftlagerführung (Files from Department III – camp director): a few of the main record books (including two books from the Roma family camp), the record book for the penal company, the bunker record book, the card files for Soviet POWs (around 3.5 linear metres), two volumes of the Stärkebuch (the records of the daily counts), the main Nummerbuch

¹⁵⁴ F. Piper, “Rola KL Auschwitz w realizacji hitlerowskiego planu zagłady Żydów”, *Pro Memoria. Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2006, no. 25, pp. 3-13.

¹⁵⁵ The Political Dept. kept all the lists of transports of Jews issued by RSHA B4 (the office of Adolf Eichmann) and of the crematorium section; they were all burned.

(book of numbers), two record books for Blocks 16 and 4, a card file for prisoners in Block 11, and punishment reports.

- Akta Oddziału IIIa – Arbeitseinsatz (Files from Department IIIa – labour details): correspondence (3 binders, in all 391 items, dating from 1943) – chiefly detailing prisoner handovers, lists – i.e. daily breakdowns of numbers of prisoners in labour commandos (including around 200 breakdowns from the women's camp in Birkenau); in light of the original breakdowns for various periods (daily, weekly, monthly, etc.), the preserved documentation represents a very small fraction, though it does offer a certain insight into the nature of employment (which included experimentation), prisoner numbers, and the places they worked.
- Akta Oddziału IV – Verwaltung (Files from Department IV – administration): food ration cards for the SS officers, orders for the workshops, authorizations for transportation, orders for wood and coke for the crematoria, and blank forms and other printed materials (in all around 2.5 linear metres).
- Akta Oddziału V – Standortarzt (Files from Department V – camp doctor): various documents, including lists of patient names, patient histories, hospital ledgers, lists of medications, and reports to the Political Department on the removal of gold dentures and on cremation of bodies.
- Akta Oddziału VI – Truppenbetreuung (Files from Department VI – Troop Supplies): no files have been preserved.
- Akta Oddziału VII – Landwirtschaft (Files from Department VII – Farm): 1 binder of correspondence (in the village of Rajsko there were gardens and an experimental cultivation programme of the plant kok-saghyz for an ersatz rubber supply).
- Akta Centralnego Zarządu Budowlanego Formacji Wojskowej SS i Policji w Oświęcimiu (Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS u. Polizei, Auschwitz O/S, Files of the Central Construction Board of the Waffen-SS and Police in Oświęcim) – 248 volumes: this office was subordinate not to the camp administration but to the WVHA¹⁵⁶, which was established to plan and carry out the extension of the camp and the crematoria. Many of the plans for barracks, buildings, crematoria and gas chambers, as well as plans for further projects have been preserved, as have lists of prisoners employed, correspondences, and stamps. Many of the Construction Board files (around 60%) are now in Moscow archives (the originals) and in the PMAB Archive (copies).

¹⁵⁶ SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Economic and Administration Main Office), headed by Oswald Pohl.

- Akta Instytutu Higieny (SS Hygiene Institute Auschwitz, Bakteriologische Untersuchungsstelle Süd-Ost): chiefly results of analyses performed for the SS hospital and for camp prisoners (in all, including correspondences, around 8.5 linear metres, 64 volumes).
- Akta podobozów oświęcimskich (Files from Auschwitz sub-camps, including those in Brzeszcze, Jaworzno, Trzebionka and Goleszów): letters written by prisoner labourers and official letters from the camp doctor; these materials have survived in very poor condition (in all approx. 4 linear metres).
- Bilety kolejowe Żydów z Grecji (Train tickets of Jews from Greece).
- Wspomnienia (Memoirs) – 251 volumes; 1,446 separate texts, approx. 56,000 pages.
- Oświadczenia (Accounts) – 161 volumes; around 3,500 statements by former prisoners, forced labourers and local residents, approx. 30,348 pages.
- Ankiety (Questionnaires) – 192 volumes (filled in by former prisoners, approx. 20,000 pages).
- Ankiety tematyczne (Themed questionnaires disseminated among former prisoners by Stanisław Kłodziński for the periodical *Przegląd Lekarski* (27 volumes, 7,901 pages).
- Kampfgruppe Auschwitz – original files of the camp resistance movement, including notes passed to prisoners by members of the Polish underground formation Armia Krajowa (AK, Home Army) and other people, e.g. J. Światłoch, A. Banaś, S. Kłodziński and J. Cyrankiewicz, as well as reports written by prisoners who escaped (Tabeau, Wetzler, Vrba, Chybiński, Rosin-Mordowicz) – 40 volumes.
- “Bürgermeister der Stadt Auschwitz 1940-1945” (Files from the record group “Mayor of Oświęcim 1940-1945”).
- Spuścizny po byłych więźniach (Letters and papers of former prisoners): miscellaneous documents donated by former prisoners themselves or their families, including letters from the camp, postcards, telegrams, notifications of death, death certificates, other certificates, lists of items left in deposit, notifications of parcels, premium bonds, certificates of release, notes, and photographs.

The PMAB archival holdings also include case files (for the most part copies) from the trials of camp staff members held in Polish and German courts, and microfilm copies of documents held in foreign archives; in all around 800,000 frames. Besides recordings of around 2,000 interviews with former prisoners, there is also a collection of feature films and documentaries, and a very extensive

photographic archive. The museum also has a vast number of items salvaged from the camp, and other exhibits connected with the camp and its functioning. These will be profiled as a group in Part II of the *Guide* (Chapter 13). On a final note, it is worth stressing that documentation held in Russian archives has been partially copied and is accessible in this form at PMAB.¹⁵⁷ The museum library has a specialist collection (currently in excess of 30,000 volumes), including – aside from maps, atlases and encyclopedias – special collections of books and periodicals published in the Third Reich. In 2006 the museum opened an International Center for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust.

The collections of the museum's archive are constantly being expanded, chiefly through the efforts of the Biuro ds. Współpracy z Byłymi Więźniami (Bureau for Cooperation with Former Prisoners), which gathers a full range of information on former prisoners. Prisoner data is currently being entered into a centralized computer database, Repozytorium Cyfrowe (Digital Repository). The most important databases being created by PMAB are as follows:

- Repozytorium Cyfrowe Muzeum (the Digital Repository), a project aiming to enter into a single, unified database all information on former prisoners irrespective of source. At present some 650,000 records have been entered into the database from original SS documents (70 fonds of former camp documents), including:
 - 28,000 records of data from Häftlings-Personal-Kartei KL Mauthausen,
 - 24,000 records from the card file Lagerschreibstube KL Mauthausen,
 - 30,000 records of data referring to various photographs,
 - over 13,000 records from the hospital ledger from Block 28,
 - over 25,000 records from the Monowitz hospital ledgers,
 - over 31,000 records from the Roentgen (x-ray) ledgers.

In the future a full database will permit rapid access to, and statistical processing and analysis of information:

¹⁵⁷ There are two such archives: the Russian State Military and Historical Archive in Moscow, where the files of the SS-Zentralbauleitung are held in Fonds 502, and the Museum of Military Medicine in Saint Petersburg, which holds a variety of photographs and documents, including the diary of Zalman Gradowski.

- Online database containing source data on the victims of the camp). Information may be sought in this database by: given name, surname, occupation, camp number, date of birth, place of birth, and place of residence. The data available here come from just two of the scores of archival fonds that exist: the Death Books and the records ledgers from the Sinti and Roma camp. This means that there is online information on former prisoners for around 180,000 of those who perished in the camp. The fuller database on former prisoners, which has not been made available online, is still under construction by PMAB archivists. For more accurate information, contact the Office for Information on Former Prisoners at the museum.
- A database of death certificates, compiled on the basis of preserved Death Books (Totenbücher) of prisoners at KL Auschwitz. In 46 volumes of file, the Politische Abteilung (the Political Dept., the camp Gestapo) recorded the deaths of almost 69,000 registered prisoners between 29 July 1941 and 31 Dec. 1943. For this reason the database does not include the names of most of the Jews deported to KL Auschwitz, who arrived at the camp in mass transports and for the most part underwent selection at once and were sent to their deaths. Where a death certificate does exist, it includes the following information: certificate number, date of issue, given name and surname, religion, place of residence, date of death, time of death, place of death (always Kasernenstrasse [“Barracks Street”] Auschwitz, not the camp), date and place of birth, father’s given name and surname, mother’s given name and surname, spouse’s given name and surname, name of the doctor confirming the death, date, signature, and cause of death (fictional).

PAŃSTWOWE MUZEUM NA MAJDANKU W LUBLINIE (PMM, STATE MUSEUM AT MAJDANEK IN LUBLIN)

The camp at Majdanek was liberated by the Red Army on 23 July 1944. The camp staff fled in haste the previous day. Before their escape, they did their best to destroy the evidence of their crimes – they set fire to the crematorium, and attempted to destroy the documentation in the main camp chancellery, which, fortunately, only partly succeeded. In the first few months after liberation, much destruction was wrought¹⁵⁸, both by the local populace (part of the site was completely unguarded) and by Polish and Soviet troops stationed there. The camp was used as a military barracks and as holding accommodation for German prisoners of war, and in subsequent months also for captured

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Z. Wóycicka, *Przerwana żałoba. Spory wokół pamięci i upamiętniania nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych i zagłady 1944-1950*, Warszawa 2009, English edition: *Arrested Mourning. Memory of the Nazi camps in Poland 1944-1950*, Frankfurt am Main 2013.

soldiers of the Home Army and Bataliony Chłopskie (BCh, Peasants' Battalions, another Polish armed resistance formation). The date generally accepted as the museum's foundation is 16 November 1944, although this was not confirmed in the form of any legal documents or decisions by legislative authorities.¹⁵⁹ Not until three years later, on 2 July 1947, was an act passed analogous to the Auschwitz Museum foundation act: Ustawa o upamiętnieniu męczeństwa Narodu Polskiego i innych Narodów na Majdanku (Act on Commemoration of the Martyrdom of the Polish Nation and other Nations at Majdanek). The museum at Majdanek was the first museum in Europe operating on the site of a former concentration camp. Much earlier still, in August 1944, a Polsko-Sowiecka Komisja do Zbadania Zbrodni Niemieckich Popelnionych na Majdanku (Polish-Soviet Commission to Investigate the German Crimes Committed at Majdanek) was appointed. This operated until October 1944, and today its files are held in Russian archives.

The museum began to gather documents relating to Majdanek concentration camp from its very inception; on this basis, a card file containing the names of prisoners was opened that same year and is still being updated. "The greatest discovery came slightly later, in May 1948, when information from former prisoners led to the excavation and recovery of documents that in July 1944, on the orders of the camp authorities, had been thrown into a pit, set alight, and then covered in earth."¹⁶⁰ At present the archival holdings at Majdanek run to some 180 linear metres of files, including around 37.4 linear metres from the period of the war. Anyone wishing to use the archival materials at Majdanek should first study the most recent finding aid, *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*¹⁶¹, which contains extensive detailed information on each of the fonds, often down to descriptions of individual archival units. PMM archival holdings may be divided into the following groups¹⁶²:

I KL Lublin Administration 1941-1944: the original documents from the camp – 18.5 linear metres (318 items, around 17,000 pages). This is the most important collection of original files for research into the history of the camp at Majdanek. These are divided as follows:

- Ia – Abteilung I – Kommandantur KL Lublin (Camp commandant's office) – 8 volumes.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. J. Kielboń, E. Balawejder, *Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku w latach 1944-1947. Wybór dokumentów*, Lublin 2004, pp. 8-9.

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 21.

¹⁶¹ Anna Wójcik, *Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku*, Lublin 2012.

¹⁶² Cf. J. Kielboń, "Warsztat naukowy Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku", *Zeszyty Majdanek*, 1995, vol. XVI, pp. 71-89; F. Marcinkówna, J. Marszałek, "Akta Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku", *Archeion*, 1962, R. XXXVII, pp. 207-228; T. Mencil, "Dokumenty zbrodni i męczeństwa w obozie na Majdanku", [in:] *Majdanek 1941-1944*, collective work, ed. T. Mencil, Lublin 1991, pp. 5-17.

- Ib – Abteilung II – Politische Abteilung (Political Section) – 23 volumes, 17 of which are prisoners' personal files.
- Ic – Abteilung III – Schutzhaftlager (Prisoners' camp) – 59 volumes, 39 of which are "Detailed daily reports on prisoner employment" from 1942-1944.
- Id – Abteilung IV – Verwaltung (Administration) – 172 volumes, 96 of which constitute the card file of the "Effektenkammer" ("Personal effects room"), and 31 a money register. Among the materials in this section is the Death Book for 1942, which has been published.¹⁶³
- Ie – Abteilung V – SS-Lagerarzt (Camp doctor) – 6 volumes.
- If – SS-Totenkopf Sturmbann (Guard staff) – 50 volumes.

These materials are of fundamental significance because they include (fragmentarily preserved) orders issued by the commandant's office, prisoner numbers, notifications of transports, notifications of deaths, transport lists, card files for clothing, money and professions, lists of labour details and prisoners who died in the camp, lists of prisoners employed in the Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke GmbH Werk Lublin (German Armaments Factory, Lublin Plant) at Lipowa Street in Lublin, documents providing evidence of orders of Zyklon B, documents concerning looting of prisoners' property, correspondences providing evidence of contacts with commercial companies in the Third Reich, reports on camp staffing numbers, and SS officers' personnel files.

II Aktion Reinhardt: Dowódca SS i Policji Okręgu Lubelskiego. Główny Wydział Akcji Reinhardt (SS- und Polizeiführer des Distrikts Lublin. Hauptabteilung Einsatz Reinhardt, SS and Police Leader for the Lublin District. Central Department for Aktion Reinhardt) – documents from the warehouses at 27 Chopina Street in Lublin 1942-1944 – 14 volumes (ca. 900 sheets). These are materials relating to looted Jewish property, e.g. receipts for crates of money and valuables, copies of bills for items sold, requests for items from the warehouses, lists of clothes, receipts for various institutions, and lists of names of Jewish guards.

III Private documents of camp personnel and German soldiers 1939-1944 – personal identification documents, correspondence, and calendars – 3 volumes.

IV Archive of prisoner organizations (resistance movement, mutual aid, etc.) 1943-1944 – e.g. notes, lists of prisoners' names, and documents referencing aid offered – 108 volumes.

V Private documents of former Majdanek prisoners – 57 volumes (ca. 1,800 sheets) – personal identity documents, passports, membership ID for various organizations, certificates, birth

¹⁶³ *Księga zmarłych więźniów. Majdanek 1942*, ed. J. Kielboń, K. Tarkowski, Lublin 2004.

certificates, labour time sheets, notebooks, diaries, books, commercial papers, memoirs, correspondences with family, photograph albums, and others.

VI External registers, e.g. files from Parafia św. Pawła (Parish of St Paul) in Lublin regarding deaths of prisoners, and others – 60 volumes (ca. 3 linear metres).

VII Memoirs, accounts and testimonies – ca. 25,000 sheets (ca. 1,300 texts) and questionnaires (ca. 12,500).¹⁶⁴

VIII Magnetic tape recordings (prisoners' memoirs, broadcasts, ceremonies) – 547 recordings (308 cassettes).¹⁶⁵

IX Plans of the concentration camp in Lublin (55) and plans of the museum from 1944-2000 (112).

X Documents of Towarzystwo Opieki nad Majdankiem 1945-1990 (Society for the Protection of Majdanek) – ca. 13 linear metres, including 609 category “A” files.

XI Documents of the Polish Red Cross, Lublin Area 1939-1948 – 142 volumes (over 19,000 sheets, 9.5 linear metres) – documents have survived from the Biuro Informacyjne (Information Bureau), Wydział Opieki (Care Department) and Wydział Sanitarny (Sanitation Department).

XII Files of the Home Army cell Centralna Opieka Podziemna „OPUS” 1943-1944 (“OPUS” Central Underground Welfare) – 21 volumes (ca. 1,000 sheets, 0.6 linear metres).

XIII Wojskowa Służba Kobiet 1942-1944 (WSK, Women's Military Service) – 6 volumes (0.1 linear metres).¹⁶⁶

XIV Collection of studies on the camp at Majdanek and the Lublin region in the years of the Nazi occupation – studies concerning former prisoners and others (in total 398 files).

XV Collection of public announcements and printed ephemera – 10 volumes.

XVI Collection of materials on the Nazi prison in Lublin Castle 1939-1944 – 16 volumes.

XVII Collection of photographs – ca. 5,411.¹⁶⁷

XVIII Collection of microfilms from other Polish and foreign archives and the museum's own files – ca. 450,000 frames.

¹⁶⁴ *Przewodnik po zbiorze relacji i pamiętników znajdujących się w zasobie Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku*, ed. M. Grudzińska, A. Wójcik, Lublin 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Marta Grudzińska, “Zbiór „nagrania audio” w zasobie Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku”, *Zeszyty Majdanek*, 2011, vol. XXV, pp. 273-280.

¹⁶⁶ The Women's Military Service (WSK) was formed by an order of General Stefan Rowecki “Grot”, as an auxiliary squad of the Home Army (AK). Its objective was to prepare women for work in the underground movement, mainly in the health service, telecommunications, defence and firefighting, and in the back offices.

¹⁶⁷ K. Tarkowski, “Kolekcje fotografii i planów w Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku dotyczące obozu koncentracyjnego KL Lublin”, *Zeszyty Majdanek*, 1997, vol. XVIII, pp. 75-84.

XIX Collection of photocopies of documents relating to Majdanek and various issues connected with the occupation in the Lublin region (2,093 files, ca. 23 linear metres).

XX Court files – 35 files from the trials of Majdanek staff (copies).

XXI Documents relating to former political prisoners in Lublin Castle and “Pod zegarem” (“The Clock”) (ca. 10 linear metres).

XXII Video recordings of interviews, broadcasts, ceremonies, etc. – including 308 cassettes holding 164 interviews with former prisoners.¹⁶⁸

XXIII The NKVD camp at Majdanek – 21 volumes.

XXIV Legacies and papers of former prisoners of Majdanek, e.g. Halina Birenbaum, Czesław Kulesza, Danuta Brzosko-Mędryk, Krystyna Tarasiewicz and others – 55 files, 0.55 linear metres.

XXV Polish-Soviet Commission to Investigate the German Crimes Committed at Majdanek 1944-1947 – 5 files.

XXVI Collection of materials and documents concerning the extermination camp in Belżec 1940-1943 – 29 files. In 2004 the Muzeum – Miejsce Pamięci w Belżcu (MMPB, Museum – Memorial Site in Belżec)¹⁶⁹, a branch of the PMM, was opened. In response to the opening of the museum in Belżec, documents began to flow in, most of them referencing victims of the camp. Several hundred questionnaires and over a hundred accounts were gathered, and used as the basis for a commemorative album publication.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, the archive’s holdings also include the Archive of the State Museum at Majdanek – 2,360 volumes (53 linear metres of category “A” files).

A very detailed examination of the material on the fate of the Jews at Majdanek is to be found in an article by the long-term director of the PMM Archive, Janina Kielboń.¹⁷¹ The first studies on this subject were written by Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski¹⁷², and the most recent by Tomasz Kranz¹⁷³. The camp at Majdanek, which in the nomenclature of the day was in fact called KL Lublin,

¹⁶⁸ B. Siwek-Ciupak, “Kolekcja nagrań wideo z relacjami b. więźniów Majdanka”, *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 2008, vol. XXIV, pp. 263-269.

¹⁶⁹ www.belzec.eu.

¹⁷⁰ Ewa Koper, *Każda ofiara ma imię. Every victim has a name*, Lublin 2014.

¹⁷¹ J. Kielboń, “Dokumenty dotyczące Żydów w Archiwum Państwowym Muzeum na Majdanku”, *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1997, vol. XVIII, pp. 63-74.

¹⁷² T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, “Żydzi w obozie koncentracyjnym Majdanek 1941-1944”, *BŻIH*, 1966, no. 58, pp. 3-52.

¹⁷³ T. Kranz, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym na Majdanku*, Lublin 2007.

was neither a labour camp¹⁷⁴ nor a death camp in the strict sense of the word – it was both, and played an important role in the plan to exterminate the Jews of the GG, otherwise known under the cryptonym Aktion Reinhardt.¹⁷⁵ Tomasz Kranz maintains that there is no way of establishing with any exactitude the number of Jews murdered at Majdanek, but his research represents a fundamental revision of previous estimates, and suggests that there were around 60,000 such victims.¹⁷⁶ Among them there were Jews from the ghettos in Lublin, Warsaw, Białystok, other ghettos in the Lublin District, and others from Slovakia, Bohemia and Moravia, Austria, Germany, France (the camp in Drancy), the Netherlands, Greece, and others of unestablished origins who were deported to Majdanek from other camps.

The first work on the computer databases at PMM was begun in 1992. In 1996, in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen, the Cleo program was launched. Today, the information from the databases created using this system has been relocated to Access databases. PMM has several separate databases, for each record group in its archive, containing information from individual documents, and the file numbers. A single, unified database, the “Kartoteka główna” (main card file) brings together all the information on former Majdanek prisoners to be found in the archival documents – given name, surname, date and place of birth, date of internment in the camp, camp number, and fate: information about transport, date and circumstances of death, release from the camp, escape, etc. This database is a work in progress, and at present contains data on well over ten thousand former prisoners. The computer databases are used by PMM and are currently not accessible by scholars.

PAŃSTWOWE MUZEUM STUTTHOF W SZTUTOWIE (STUTTHOF MUSEUM IN SZTUTOWO)

Muzeum Stutthof (Stutthof Museum) was established pursuant to a resolution by Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Gdańsku (Presidium of the Voivodship National Council in Gdańsk) dated 13 March 1962, on the initiative of Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walki i Męczeństwa

¹⁷⁴ KL Lublin only administered six sub-camps and did not supply its affiliates with labour; the camps were the labour camp in Lublin at Lipowa Street, the labour camp in Lublin at Chelmska Street (on the site of the former Lubelska Street), Bliżyn, Radom, Budzyń, and KL Warschau. There were also a number of other labour details, e.g. Trawniki, Piaski, Chelm.

¹⁷⁵ T. Kranz, “Obóz koncentracyjny na Majdanku a «akcja Reinhardt»”, [in:] *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, ed. D. Libionka, Warszawa 2004, pp. 233-247.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, pp. 71-76.

(ROPWiM, Council for the Protection of Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom). The museum's archival resources have been profiled in an article by Agnieszka Chyrek, which is unfortunately available only as a typescript¹⁷⁷; the history of the camp itself has been outlined by Mirosław Gliński¹⁷⁸.

As in other camps, here too the Germans attempted to destroy or move documentation directly before the evacuation of the camp in January 1945. This resulted in the burning of some of the files of the political department and the hospital; others were packed up and taken away, but the camp's SS staff jettisoned them in the course of their panic-stricken flight; they were found in the spring of 1945 in a ditch near Lębork by Red Army soldiers, and handed over to the Polish Red Cross. They later found their way into Archiwum GKBZH (Archive of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes) in Warsaw, where they lay, untouched, until 1965. One of the reasons the museum was established was to gather and compile documentation relating to the camp. In addition to original administrative files (some 95% of the surviving documentation is held in the museum), the archive today is also in possession of a considerable body of materials obtained from former prisoners and their families. Its holdings comprise around 125 linear metres of files ordered into 68 record groups, which are classified into five main groups: Konzentrationslager Stutthof (Stutthof concentration camp), Ankiety byłych więźniów (Questionnaires filled in by former prisoners), Dokumentacja byłych więźniów (Documentation relating to former prisoners), Zbiory (Collections), and Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and memoirs). All the camp files have been microfilmed¹⁷⁹, and a considerable proportion of the prisoner data has been entered into an electronic database. There are documents relating to the extermination of the Jews in KL Stutthof in all the categories of files listed below, and the most extensive monograph on the subject is that written by Danuta Drywa and published in 2001.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ A. Chyrek, "Informator o zasobie archiwalnym Muzeum Stutthof", Sztutowo 2003 [typescript]; J. Grabowska, "Kształtowanie się zasobu archiwalnego Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof w Sztutowie i sposoby jego zabezpieczenia" [typescript]; K. Giergielewicz, J. Grabowska, "Kształtowanie się zasobu archiwalnego Muzeum Stutthof i jego wykorzystanie" [typescript].

¹⁷⁸ M. Gliński, "Organizacja obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (1 września 1939 – 9 maja 1945)", *Zeszyty Muzeum Sztutthof*, 1979, no. 3, pp. 19-27.

¹⁷⁹ A full set of the microfilms is held in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive in Washington, D.C.

¹⁸⁰ D. Drywa, *Zagłada Żydów w obozie koncentracyjnym Stutthof (wrzesień 1939 – maj 1945)*, Gdańsk 2001 (English translation: Danuta Drywa, *The extermination of Jews in Stutthof concentration camp*, Gdańsk 2004).

The collection Konzentrationslager Stutthof numbers around 67,000 items (approx. 116 linear metres); almost all of them are original documents. This material is ordered to reflect the administrative structure of the camp as recreated:

- Wydział I Komendantura [Kommandantur] (I – Commandant’s Office) – 1,426 items; orders issued by the camp commandant, staff personnel files (card files containing the personal data of the SS officers), documentation from the guard house, correspondences, and a very valuable photograph album commemorating the visit of Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler to the camp on 23 November 1941.
- Wydział II Polityczny [Politische Abteilung] (II – Political Department) – 67 items; correspondence concerning transports of inmates arriving from places including Pawiak prison in Warsaw, and prisoners leaving the camp; also transport lists containing the names of 36,966 prisoners; one book of prisoner deaths from 1944 has also been preserved, as have records for several years containing a total of 32,000 names. A separate group of files comprises the personal questionnaires of internees of various nationalities from 1944.
- Wydział III Obóz [Schutzhaftlager] (III – Camp) – 66,162 items and 35 items; the files in this section reference the conditions in which the prisoners lived (food, barracks) and their employment. The main body of documentation in this section is composed of internees’ personal files, most of which have been preserved in their original folders. It also includes part of a list of female Jewish prisoners from Blocks 17, 18 and 19, and reports on prisoner numbers dating from 1945.
- Wydział IV Administracyjno-Gospodarczy [Verwaltung] (IV – Administration) – 95 items; this department took care of maintenance and administrative matters in the camp (the warehouses, kitchen and gardens). Surviving documentation includes military personnel payrolls, correspondences concerning remuneration for inmates’ labour, and deliveries to the camp of various equipment and food. A separate and important group of archival material comprises documents relating to items looted from deceased prisoners (including money).
- Wydział V Lekarz obozu [Lagerarzt] (V – Camp doctor) – 38 items; reports from the years 1940-1944 on numbers of prisoners in the hospital, and other documents relating to sick and deceased prisoners.
- Wydział VI Szkolenie załogi [Schulung] (VI Training) – 1 item; training materials, general orders and instructions.

- Zakłady gospodarcze SS Bauleitung (Maintenance workshop) – 4 items; a ledger containing technical details of the camp, as well as a variety of reports for Deutsche Ausrüstungswerke (DAW, German Armaments Works).
- Dokumentacja byłych więźniów (Documentation of former prisoners) – 487 items; legal correspondences (cards and letters from the camp written on special forms, and incoming correspondences to prisoners), illegal correspondences (notes), materials of the camp resistance movement (poems, songs, prayers, drawings), other materials (e.g. birth certificates, membership ID for various organizations).
- Ankiety byłych więźniów (Questionnaires filled in by former prisoners) – around 10,000 questionnaires filled in in the years 1962-1972. The questions in the questionnaire are connected with personal data, the reasons for and circumstances of the person's detention, their time in the camp, their fellow prisoners, staff, and the evacuation.
- Relacje i wspomnienia (Accounts and memoirs) – some 1,000 statements gathered in the form of written records, tape recordings, or film footage. Among the material amassed there are statements by former Jewish prisoners.
- Zbiory (Collections) – 400 items on a diverse range of themes, divided into the following groups: Wolne Miasto Gdańsk (the Free City of Gdańsk), Ruch oporu (the resistance movement), Okupacja hitlerowska (the Nazi occupation), II wojna światowa (World War II), Stutthof (200 items), Inne obozy koncentracyjne i zagłady (other concentration and extermination camps, 72 items), Inne obozy i więzienia (other camps and prisons), Procesy zbrodniarzy hitlerowskich (trials of Nazi criminals), Pomorze Gdańskie – okres powojenny (Gdańsk Pomerania – the postwar period).

Scholars researching the history of this camp and the fates of its inmates may seek other information in the files of trials before Polish and German courts, including Sąd Specjalny Karny w Gdańsku (Special Criminal Court in Gdańsk, 1946), Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (District Court in Gdańsk, 1947 and 1953), Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu (District Court in Toruń, 1949), and courts in Hamburg, Bochum and Tübingen. A total of 72 SS officers and female guards from among the 3,000 or so camp staff were ultimately convicted. Auxiliary evidential materials are gathered in the files of investigations conducted by Judge Antoni Zacharasiewicz of the GKBZNwP.

MUZEUM GROSS-ROSEN W ROGOŹNICY-WAŁBRZYCHU (GROSS-ROSEN MUSEUM IN ROGOŹNICA)

Initially, at the point of its establishment in 1940, the camp in Gross-Rosen was a branch of KL Sachsenhausen, founded to exploit local deposits of granite. From 1 May 1941 Arbeitslager Gross-Rosen was an autonomous concentration camp with its own network of 77 dependant sub-camps across Lower Silesia. This was one of the harshest of the labour camps, where prisoners were employed on particularly hard tasks, among them the construction of an underground complex intended as the headquarters of the supreme command of the Third Reich in the Owl Mountains. Some 125,000 prisoners passed through the camp and its sub-camps, and the number of lives they claimed was probably in the region of 40,000, among whom the largest single group was Jews from various different countries. The museum that is the custodian of the former site of the camp and the quarries¹⁸¹ was founded in 1983 by the Minister of Culture and Art; it is now a local-authority funded institution. Its archive comprises above all secondary documentation in the form of copies (microfilms, photocopies, scans) from other archives, at present some 10,000 items. Among its original documents there are books of deaths, transport and evacuation lists, some 3,000 letters from the camp, and over 600 photographs. It sources other materials through painstaking research in the archives of the Polish Red Cross, the IPN, the State Archives, and the archives of other museums of martyrdom. At its foundation, a questionnaire was composed for former prisoners for the purpose of gathering and supplementing their biographical details. The museum also records eye-witness accounts and interviews on audio and video tape. All information on ex-prisoners is entered into a centralized computer database, which holds the names of more than 100,000 prisoners. A database of those who perished in KL Gross-Rosen in the years 1940-1945 is available online.¹⁸² The museum has a number of card files: of prisoners, photographs, SS officers, forced labourers, and others.

MUZEUM MARTYROLOGICZNE W ŻABIKOWIE K. POZNANIA [W LUBONIU] (MUSEUM OF MARTYRDOM IN ŻABIKOWO NEAR POZNAŃ [IN LUBOŃ])

This museum is in Żabikowo (now part of the town of Luboń near Poznań), on the site of a former forced labour camp for Jews from the Łódź ghetto, Zduńska Wola, Sieradz, Wieluń, Pabianice, Gąbin, Gostynin and other ghettos in the Wartheland (Warta region); there was also a corrective labour camp and the Poznań Gestapo prison (Polizeigefängnis der Sicherheitspolizei und

¹⁸¹ At present these are in the possession of Fundacja Kamieniołomy Gross-Rosen (Gross-Rosen Quarries Foundation).

¹⁸² <http://en.gross-rosen.eu/baza-zmarlych-wiezniow/>.

Arbeitserziehungslager Posen-Lenzingen) there. The labour camp for Jews was part of the Reichsautobahnlager (Reich motorway camps) system, which comprised a total of 24 such camps along the route of the Berlin-Poznań-Łódź-Warsaw motorway that was under construction. A total of around 10,000 people were employed in these camps, and their labour was exploited by private German firms from the Reich involved in the construction of the motorway. The man responsible for planning motorway routes and engaging the contractors to build them was Dr Fritz Todt, “chief inspector for German roads”, appointed in 1933. He created the paramilitary Organisation Todt (OT), which employed prisoners and forced labourers in the construction of military sites until the end of the war. The camp and Gestapo prison operated from April 1943 as a continuation of the function of the Fort VII Prison in Poznań. Individuals suspected by the Gestapo of enemy activity in respect of the Third Reich were incarcerated here for the duration of their investigation and interrogations (for several days or weeks). From here, prisoners were sent to the concentration camps Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück. The prison was intended above all for Poles.

The museum on the site today was founded in order to commemorate both institutions – the slave labour camp for Jews engaged on the construction of motorways in the Wartheland (Warta region) and the Gestapo prison for Poles. In addition to its exhibition and educational functions, it has the following archival collections¹⁸³:

- 1) materials on the Poznań Gestapo prison and the “corrective” labour camp,
- 2) materials on forced labour camps for the Jewish populace in Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), including:
 - transport lists from the Łódź ghetto,
 - lists of the names of prisoners from the various camps,
 - lists of the names of members of the camps’ staff,
 - lists of the companies employing Jewish prisoners,
 - original photographic documentation from the camps,
 - accounts and memoirs,
 - lists of human losses,

¹⁸³ Information sourced from the website www.zabikowo.home.pl; cf. A. Ziolkowska, *Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej 1941-1943*, Poznań 2005.

- copies of correspondences between the administration of the Wartheland and the German companies employing Jews from the ghetto in Łódź and the German Gettoverwaltung (ghetto administration) – sourced from Polish and foreign archives,
- copies of investigation and trial files.

In addition, the museum gathers all types of data on Jewish forced labourers in its electronic database.

The database on Jewish prisoners in forced labour camps in Greater Poland contains several thousand entries and is still being supplemented. It includes the following information on prisoners:

- basic details: prisoner number and remarks on that number, surname and given names;
- birth: date, place, gender, country of origin, remarks on birth (birth certificate number);
- family: marital status, data on spouse, information on prisoner's parents, place of residence at the outbreak of the war, family connections, occupation,
- deportations: where the prisoner was from (list of ghettos, address in the ghetto), where sent to (list of camps), date of deportation, other information on deportation (e.g. source of information), further information;
- camps: name of camp, date, removal from roll;
- death: cause, other information, place of burial, date of death, date of cremation, death certificate, circumstances of death;
- sources: archive, file no., other data. The information in the database are available to scholars via museum employees.

In its database the museum also gathers information on all the prisoners in the penal camp in Żabikowo, and has used it in a monographic publication about the camp.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Krzysztof Płonka, *Martyrologium obozu hitlerowskiego w Żabikowie 1943–1945*, Luboń 2004.

5. Other museums, libraries, institutions and organizations in Poland, private collections, and Church files

In almost all archival and museum collections in Poland there are documents, photographs and/or material relics dating from the World War II period that reference, either directly or indirectly, the history of the extermination of the Jews in the occupied Polish territories. This chapter looks at some of these institutions and museums in slightly more detail in order to show that even these heterogeneous collections, at first glance of no interest to Holocaust scholars, are worth exploring. Among those that fall into this category are museums such as Muzeum Niepodległości (the Museum of Independence) in Warsaw (various documents, posters, public announcements, flyers and photographs), Muzeum Wojska Polskiego (the Museum of the Polish Army) in Warsaw (material relics from the Warsaw ghetto, e.g. weapons used to fight during the uprising in 1943), Muzeum na Pawiaku (the Museum of Pawiak Prison) in Warsaw, Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych (Central Museum of Prisoners-of-War) in Łambinowice-Opole, and Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie (Rzeszów Regional Museum), which boasts an impressive collection of public announcements from the occupation years.

Printed matter of this type (public announcements, posters and ephemera) is held also in many of the state archives, and has been researched and profiled in a unified computer database called “Afisz” (Poster).¹⁸⁵ Another institution that must be mentioned is the in-house archive of Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa (the Council for the Protection of Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom) in Warsaw, an institution founded in the early 1960s to take care of and commemorate sites of mass executions and other crimes. The collections of Biblioteka Narodowa (the National Library) in Warsaw and other large libraries, such as the libraries of the University of Warsaw, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, the University of Wrocław and the University of Poznań hold interesting materials rarely used by historians in sections entitled “Documents of the life of society”.¹⁸⁶ The manuscripts sections of major libraries also gather materials from the years of the occupation,

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Part III of this *Guide*.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. M. Klamut, “Dokumenty życia społecznego Polski Ludowej (1944-1989) w Bibliotece Narodowej”, [in:] *Polska 1944/45-1989. Warsztat badawczy. Studia i Materiały* 6, Warszawa 2004, pp. 97-132.

including some related to the history of the extermination of the Jews.¹⁸⁷ For historians researching Polish-Jewish relations and the history of the Jews in twentieth-century Poland the collection of well catalogued Judaica from the interbellum¹⁸⁸ and the selection of press in Yiddish and Polish in the National Library will be of interest, while for scholars of the Holocaust in particular it offers a rich collection of occupation-era press, books from the period (including anti-Semitism published during World War II), and as yet unpublished diaries and memoirs relating to the occupation in its manuscripts collection.

Also worthy of note are the archives of Polski Czerwony Krzyż – Biuro Informacji i Poszukiwań (Polish Red Cross – Tracing and Information Service) in Warsaw¹⁸⁹ and the military archives, which are under obligation to hand over all files concerning the fates of the civilian population from the World War II period to the Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance.¹⁹⁰ In the context of the subject matter in question here, museums and other centres collecting information on the life and work of specific individuals should also be taken into consideration. One such is the Korczakianum Centre for Documentation and Research in Warsaw (korczakianum.muzeumwarszawy.pl), which is devoted to the life and work of Janusz Korczak. Legacies often contain diaries, memoirs, personal documents and other materials; almost all archives and large libraries have collections of this nature. The legacies and papers of Ludwik and Hanna Hirsztfeld¹⁹¹ are held in Archiwum PAN (the Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences) in Warsaw,

¹⁸⁷ “Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941-1943 (Dokumenty Biura Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej ze zbiorów oddziału rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego)”, compiled by Maria Tyszkowa, *BŻIH*, 1992, no. 2-3 (162-163), pp. 35-61; 1992, no. 4 (164), pp. 47-60.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. A. Cała, *Żydowskie periodyki i druki okazjonalne w języku polskim. Bibliografia*, Warszawa 2005; B. Łętocha, A. Cała, Z. Głowicka, *Dokumenty życia społecznego Żydów polskich 1918-1939 w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, Warszawa 1999; B. Łętocha, A. Messer, A. Cała, *Żydowskie druki ulotne w II Rzeczypospolitej w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej*, Warszawa 2004; B. Łętocha, Z. Głowicka, I. Jabłońska, *Żydowska Łódź na afiszach wydanych w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2011; eadem, *Afisz Żydów lubelskich wydane w latach dwudziestych XX wieku*, Warszawa 2012; eadem, *Spółczesność żydowska Łukowa na afiszach wydanych w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2013.

¹⁸⁹ The collections of the Warsaw branch of the PCK include records of exhumations of victims of World War II (including Jews) from all over Poland, original card files of POWs from various stalags and oflag, the original card file of Polish soldiers who fell in September 1939, and original card files or lists of prisoners from several concentration camps (among them KL Buchenwald, Dachau, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen); see: Elżbieta Rejz, “Ustalenie i dokumentowanie losów ofiar II wojny światowej w działalności Biura Informacji i Poszukiwań Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża”, [in:] *Polska 1939-1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami*, ed. Wojciech Materski, Tomasz Szarota, Warszawa 2009.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *Sto kilometrów teczek*, op. cit., pp. 4-21.

¹⁹¹ L. Hirsztfeld (1884 Warsaw – 1954 Wrocław), eminent scientist and pedagogue, bacteriologist, serologist, founder of the Polish school of immunology. He studied and worked abroad for many years, in cities including Berne, Heidelberg and Zurich. In 1920 he returned to Poland and worked in Warsaw, where he was the head of the Serum Research Institute. He conducted his scholarly work together with his wife, Hanna. In 1941 Hirsztfeld was interned in the Warsaw ghetto, where he lived in the presbytery of the church in Grzybów and continued to pursue his scholarly work, as well as running clandestine courses for students. In 1943 he went into hiding “on the Aryan side” and wrote *Historia jednego życia*

which also has other manuscripts that may be of interest to Holocaust scholars.¹⁹² Highly useful for research into the prewar period, in particular socio-political issues, matters related to military service among Jews, and their emigration from Poland in the period leading up to the outbreak of war, are archival materials from the collections of Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (the Central Military Archives) in Warsaw.¹⁹³ For population and statistical research connected with wartime damage or assets, the very large collection Statistisches Amt für das Generalgouvernement (Statistical Office for the GG, approx. 16,900 items) held in the archive of Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office) in Warsaw may be of use; this holds statistical reports on matters such as Ruch naturalny ludności (Natural population movements, by county and by confession) for the years 1941-1942; Spis przemysłowy w GG (Industrial census in the GG) dated 15 October 1941, by county (except Galicia); and Materiały spisu ludności w GG (Materials from the population census in the GG) dated 1 March 1943.¹⁹⁴

There may be documents relating to the extermination of the Jews in every museum and archival collection – there is always the possibility that archivists may discover yet unknown collections and release them for a wider audience. Some of the collections held by many institutions are still unprocessed and therefore not accessible to scholars. Private collections may also hold fascinating materials, most usually iconographic items (photographs), ephemera and manuscripts. Jerzy Tomaszewski¹⁹⁵ (a Warsaw photographer and during the war a member of the AK), Tomasz Wiśniewski (of Białystok) and Łukasz Biedka (of Przemyśl) are in possession of large collections of World War II-era photographs and others relating to the history of the Jews and the small towns in which they lived. Many Judaica, including some in private collections, have been registered in the electronic database of Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich (the Museum of the History of Polish Jews).

(Story of one life, publ. 1989). After the war he lived in Lublin and worked at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University; in 1954 he founded Instytut Immunologii i Terapii Doświadczalnej (the Institute of Immunology and Experimental Therapy) as a unit of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He was the author of several hundred scholarly works.

¹⁹² H. Szymczyk, “Źródła do historii Żydów w Polsce w Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 455-462.

¹⁹³ Z. Kozak, “Materiały do dziejów mniejszości żydowskiej w Polsce (1918-1939) w zbiorach Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 447-453.

¹⁹⁴ It is worth mentioning that the State Archive in Opole holds RG 2622, Preussen Statistisches Reichsamt Berlin 1940-1944. The Index Cards on deaths this contains (4,606 in all) for Jews from many cities in the German Reich have been published in book form (*Lista żydowska – jeszcze jedno świadectwo Holokaustu. Wypisy źródłowe z akt zespołu Urzędu Statystycznego Rzeszy przechowywanych w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Opolu. Lata 1940-1944*, introduction and compiled by Maria Osika and Aleksandra Starczewska-Wojnar, Opole 2014) and online: <http://www.opole.ap.gov.pl/pages/baza1.html>.

¹⁹⁵ He selected the photographs for the well-known album *Polacy Żydzi 1939-1945*, compiled by S. Wroński, M. Zwolakowa, Warszawa 1971.

This database is successively being expanded and made available on the internet (<http://judaica.jewishmuseum.org.pl/>).

ZAKŁAD NARODOWY IM. OSSOLIŃSKICH (OSSOLIŃSKI NATIONAL INSTITUTE), WROCŁAW

The Ossoliński National Institute was founded in Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine) in 1817 by Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński as a library and museum with a publishing house (Wydawnictwo “Ossolineum”). During World War II, the already numerous and valuable collections of the Ossolineum first fell into Ukrainian hands and then passed to the Germans. In July 1941 the government of the GG appointed Mieczysław Gębarowicz custodian of the Ossoliński Foundation. When in early 1944 the Germans planned to remove some of the objects to the Third Reich, it was he who “took advantage of the situation for his own evacuation plans for the Polish collections. The most precious of the Ossolineum collections were packed into two transports (around 2,300 manuscripts, around 2,200 diplomas, around 1,800 old prints and around 2,300 drawings (...)). In March and April 1944 they were transported to Krakow, where they were to see out the war in the safety of the Jagiellonian Library cellars, but in July 1944 the German authorities decided to move them to the Reich. The transport was abandoned in the village of Adelin (now Zagrodno, Poland) in Lower Silesia, and it was here, after the end of hostilities, that the Poles found them. In 1947 they were taken to Wrocław.”¹⁹⁶ After the war, much of the collection, which was still in Lwów, was also relocated to Wrocław, as a “gift from the Ukrainian nation”. At present, the collections of the Ossoliński National Institute number some 1,700,000 items. For scholars of the Holocaust, the most important is the manuscripts section (of which some 17,500 items have been catalogued), which contains a chronologically and formally diverse range of historical materials. Alongside archivalia from a variety of institutions, legacies and papers including family collections, mementoes and correspondences, without a doubt the most important is the collection of memoirs recorded during World War II or shortly after the war. This collection runs into several thousand; they are successively being catalogued and released for scholarly use. The catalogues of the Ossoliński Institute are accessible on its website. Also worthy of note are the collections recently donated by Professor Władysław Bartoszewski, a member of Rada Pomocy Żydom „Żegota” (the “Żegota” Council to Aid Jews), and Jan Nowak-Jeziorański (the legendary World War II courier who smuggled documents from occupied Poland to London), the catalogues of which are also accessible online.

¹⁹⁶ Information from the Foundation website: <http://www2.oss.wroc.pl/> (date: July 28, 2014).

Among the memoirs that may contain documents of interest with respect to this subject are the following:

- 13170/II, Antoni Mikulski, *O czym zapomnieć nie wolno!... Wspomnienia – fakty – dokumenty 1939-1944*, recorded in 1947, 147 pp.
- 13533/II, Maria z Paygertów Bobrzyńska, *Życie zmiennym jest. Pamiętnik z lat 1900-1958*, vol. 3, 1939-1945, 98 pp.
- 13981/II, Lucjan Kuć, *Pomoc i współpraca z ludnością żydowską ludności wiejskiej powiatu siedleckiego z uwzględnieniem zagadnień żydowskich w innych powiatach Podlasia w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce*, 254 pp.
- 14083/II, Ludmiła Krobicka-Modzelewska, *Warszawa 1939-1944*, 185 pp.
- 14455/II, Józef Konieczny, *Najazd Hitlera na Polskę w 1939 r. Przeżycia okupacyjne gminy Skrzydlina. Kartki z pamiętnika*, 90 pp.
- 14489/II, Henryk Wisz, *Wspomnienia z obozów koncentracyjnych*, 144 pp.
- 14558/II, Melchior Wańkowicz, *Posłannictwo i obcość. Szkice o kwestii żydowskiej*, 108 pp.
- 15339/II, Antoni Palichleb, *Wspomnienia 1918-1944*, Part II: *Życie obozowe na Majdanku IX 1943-II 1944. Likwidacja Żydów z getta lubelskiego w Majdanku 2 XI 1943*, 150 pp.
- 15418/II, Wiktor Budzyński, *Ze wspomnień z drugiej wojny światowej i okupacji*, 61 pp.
- 15614/II, Zofia Szymańska, *Moja droga w zawodzie lekarza. Wspomnienia z lat 1892-1972*, 330 pp.
- 15619/II, Janina Mazur-Stocka, *Wspomnienia do 1945 r.*, 119 pp.
- 16298/II, Archiwum Rady Głównej Opiekuńczej miasta Lwowa (Archive of the Central Welfare Council of the city of Lwów). *Papiery Żydów z Borysławia*, 180 pp.
- 16543/II, *Papiery Kazimierza Sosnkowskiego, Sprawy krajowe 1940-1942*, vol. I-II.
- 16598/II, Zbiór W. Świrskiego, *Sprawozdania Wydziału Wojskowego (Obszaru 3 AK Lwów) 1942-1944*, 289 pp.
- 16599/II, *Sprawozdania wydziałów i placówek Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu we Lwowie (ODR Wino) dla Delegatury Rządu na Kraj w Warszawie z lat 1942-1944*, 326 pp.
- 16603/ I, *Materiały Władysława Zycha (Falko, Szary) p.o. okr. Delegata Rządu we Lwowie i komendanta Okręgu Lwów Wschód ZWZ, 1939-1941*, 142 pp.
- 16711/II, *Lwów pod znakiem swastyki. Pamiętnik z lat 1941-1942*, 404 pp.

INSTYTUT ZACHODNI (INSTITUTE FOR WESTERN AFFAIRS), POZNAŃ

The Instytut Zachodni is an academic institute whose agenda includes the history of Polish-German relations, international relations, European integration processes, national minorities, and social and cultural transformation in Poland's western and northern territories. In the immediate postwar period, one of the institute's academic employees was the outstanding economic historian Jan Rutkowski. It was on his initiative that the institute launched in 1945 the publication of the series "Documenta Occupationis". Another World War II scholar who worked at the Poznań institute was Karol Maria Pospieszalski, the author of source publications comprising documents constituting occupation-era law in Poland.¹⁹⁷ Since its foundation the institute has collected documents relating to the history of the Nazi occupation of Poland.¹⁹⁸ Its archive is divided into several sections¹⁹⁹:

I Dokumenty niemieckie z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej (German documents from the Nazi occupation period), 1939-1945, approx. 960 items (call no. I.Z.Dok.I),

II Pamiętniki i relacje różnych osób dotyczące przeżyć okupacyjnych (Narratives, diaries and personal records of various individuals related to their experiences during the occupation), 480 items (I.Z.Dok. II),

III Protokoły zeznań świadków dotyczące okresu okupacji i sporządzone przez pracowników Pracowni Badania Dziejów Okupacji Instytutu Zachodniego, a także sprawozdania z prac badawczych w terenie (Proceedings, witness statements and research reports regarding the period of the occupation, taken down by employees of the Occupation History Research Unit at the Institute of Western Affairs), 180 units (I.Z.Dok.III),

IV Fotografie z lat 1939-1945 (Photographs from the years 1939-1945), some 160 inventory entries, each comprising various numbers of photographs, in all around 7,000 photographs (I.Z.Dok.IV),

V Dział dokumentów wytworzonych po 1945 r., opracowań oraz materiałów prasowych dotyczących okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce (Documents originating after 1945, scholarly analyses and press materials on the Nazi occupation of Poland), 461 units (I.Z.Dok.V)

¹⁹⁷ K.M. Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie „prawo” okupacyjne w Polsce*, Part I. *Ziemie „wcielone”*, Poznań 1952; *Generalna Gubernia. Wybór dokumentów i próba syntezy*, Part II, Poznań 1956.

¹⁹⁸ See M. Muszyńska, "Instytut Zachodni", [in:] *Druka wojna światowa 1939-1945*, pp. 568-578.

¹⁹⁹ A more detailed description of the various groups of archivalia is available on the institute's website: <http://www.iz.poznan.pl/index.php?p=archiwum&lang=ang>.

VI Mikrofilmy dokumentów niemieckich znajdujących się w różnych archiwach polskich i niemieckich (Microfilms of German documents in various other Polish and German archives) (I.Z.Dok.VI).

The documents of special importance to the history of the Holocaust are those gathered in Section I, among them:

call no. 200 – Traktowanie Polaków i Żydów w tzw. Kraju Warty (różne zarządzenia) oraz sprawy wysiedleń z lat 1939-1943 (Treatment of Poles and Jews in the “Wartheland” [various orders], and resettlements in the years 1939-1943)

call no. 398 – Przesiedlanie Polaków i Żydów do GG (Resettlement of Poles and Jews to the GG),

call no. 699 – “Judentransportliste nr 1” (Jewish transport list) dated 13 December 1939; a list of 768 people deported from the camp at Główna Street in Poznań; two more lists name 63 people, but with no information as to where they were taken.

The collection of photographs includes photographs of several executions, of the Warsaw city rising of 1944, a few photographs from the Łódź ghetto, and 1,538 photographs from the German photographic service “Aktueller Bilder Dienst – Verlag Leipzig” connected with life in Germany and military action.

FUNDACJA OŚRODEK KARTA I DOM SPOTKAŃ Z HISTORIAŁ (THE KARTA CENTRE FOUNDATION AND HISTORY MEETING HOUSE), WARSAW

The KARTA Centre is an independent non-governmental organization that documents and popularizes the most recent history of Poland and Eastern Europe; it runs a large number of educational projects (e.g. “Historia Bliska” [History close up] for high-school students), organizes exhibitions, and has its own publishing centre.

The origins of the Foundation date back to 1982 and the publication of a few issues of an underground paper of the same title. In 1987 a group of opposition activists launched Archiwum Wschodnie [the Eastern Archive], and a year later work began on a database, “Indeks Represjonowanych” [Index of Repressed People]. At present another major project is underway in cooperation with several Polish archives and institutions, entitled “Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod okupacją niemiecką” [Human losses and victims of repression under the German occupation]. It

was initiated and run for several years by KARTA, and is now coordinated by Fundacja “Polsko-Niemieckie Pojednanie” (the Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation).²⁰⁰ Since the beginning of the 1990s it has also maintained an Archiwum Peereleu (Archive of the PRL, the Polish People’s Republic, subsequently renamed Archiwum Opozycji, Archive of the Opposition), which documents the social history of postwar Poland. In 2002 a body called Rada Archiwów Społecznych (Council of Social Archives) was established, in cooperation with Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych (Head Office of the State Archives), with the objective of fostering grassroots archive initiatives. Its chairman is Zbigniew Gluza, the founder of the KARTA Centre and CEO of the foundation. KARTA also has a photographic archive, where photographs documenting events of the twentieth century are collected. Among its holdings are a collection of photographs and documents that belonged to Herbert Joost, a non-commissioned officer serving in the Wehrmacht who fell on the Eastern front in 1942, photographs from the ghetto in Zawiercie, and around 1,300 photographs taken by the Jewish photographer Chaim Berman in Kozienice (in the late 1930s and during the war, up to 1941).²⁰¹ The website www.fotohistoria.pl offers access to some 14,000 unique photographs from Archiwum Polskiej Agencji Prasowej (the Archive of the Polish Press Agency) documenting twentieth-century social history, 980 of which date from the period 1939-1945. The centre publishes the periodical *Karta*, several dozen issues of which have to date come out. Another product of the KARTA Centre’s publishing activity is the series “Żydzi Polscy” (Polish Jews), comprising several volumes, among them Calek Perechodnik’s *Sponiedź* and Chaim Icel Goldstein’s *Bunkier*. There is also access to interviews conducted as part of a number of projects in the series Historia Mówiona (Oral History); one of particular interest is the Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project – Ocaleni z Mauthausen.

The History Meeting House (www.dsh.waw.pl), at 20 Karowa Street in Warsaw, operates independently of the KARTA Centre. It opened its doors on 1 March 2006 as a municipal institution of culture. Its mission is to facilitate intergenerational and international contacts with testimonies to the twentieth-century history of Poland and Central and Eastern Europe. It conducts its work using resources amassed by the KARTA Centre and other institutions. In 2004 it opened its multimedia

²⁰⁰ <http://www.fnp.pl/>.

²⁰¹ This collection provided the material for an exhibition entitled “Kozienickie portrety” (Kozienice portraits), cf. A. Skibińska, “Połowa miasteczka”, *Karta*, no. 47, 2005, pp. 40-45; eadem, “Życie codzienne Żydów w Kozienicach pod niemiecką okupacją”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2007, no. 3.

exhibition “Europa XX wieku: oblicza totalitaryzmu” (Europe in the twentieth century: the faces of totalitarianism).

ARCHIWUM I BIBLIOTEKA UNIWERSYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO (THE ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY OF THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY), KRAKOW

Foremost among the collections in this archive are the following:

- 1) Call no. HWU, Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht 1939-1944 (Central Department for Science and Teaching), 146 items. These are fragmentary files relating to the organization and curricula of general and secondary schooling in the GG,
- 2) Call no. IDO, Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit 1941-1944 (Institute for German Work in the East), 118 items (5.5 linear metres). Among the files preserved in this archive are that of its Zarząd Centralny (Central Board, call no. 1-36), Oddziały Lwowski i Warszawski (its Lwów and Warsaw branches, call no. 37-40), Sekcje: Prehistorii, Historii, Historii Sztuki, Prawa i Administracji, Krajoznawstwa i Geografii Opisowej, Badań Antropologicznych, Etnograficznych i Rasowych (its various sections: Prehistory, History, Art History, Law and Administration, Local History and Descriptive Geography, and Anthropological, Ethnographic and Race Studies, call no. 70-78), as well as correspondence, materials for anthropological research from various villages, a card file of anthropological data from the territory of the GG, its library catalogue, Gospodarstwo i Statystyka (Economy and Statistics), Gospodarstwo Wiejskie (Farming), Leśnictwo (Forestry), Chemia (Chemistry), and a section entitled Wydawnictwa (Publications)²⁰²,
- 3) Komisja do Opracowania Historii UJ w czasie wojny 1945-1946 (KHUJ, Commission for Compiling the History of the Jagiellonian University during the War), where there are items including the autobiographies and wartime memoirs of employees of various faculties.

There are interesting materials to be found in the collections of the Jagiellonian University Library, particularly in the manuscripts section. Examples include:

²⁰² The IDO's files are scattered: some are in the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw, some in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (shortly to be handed over to the Jagiellonian University Archive), and the rest in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin (Collection R 52-IV).

- 1) Papiery Michała Weichert 1945-1957 (The papers of Michał Weichert), 23 items. During the occupation Weichert held the post of president of the Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Social Self-Help)²⁰³,
- 2) Weichert's private correspondence and studies; files entitled "Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna 1939-1945" (ŻSS, Jewish Social Self-Help), "Polityka eksterminacyjna okupanta hitlerowskiego wobec ludności żydowskiej w tzw. GG" (The extermination policy of the Nazi occupiers toward the Jewish population in the 'GG'), "Eksterminacja gospodarcza ludności żydowskiej Rzeszy w świetle ustawodawstwa hitlerowskiego" (The economic extermination of the Jewish population of the Reich in light of Nazi legislation), official copies of the trial before Specjalny Sąd Karny (the Special Criminal Court) in Krakow (the originals of the files are in the IPN), official copies of materials from the trial before the Sąd Społeczny (People's Court) affiliated to the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland (CKŻP; the originals of the files are in ŻIH), biographic materials, notes, and certifications of the work of the ŻSS, materials relating to the allocation of medication and aid to children, minutes and reports on the work of the ŻSS, notes on Krakow dated 1940-1944, correspondence with Rada Główna Opiekuńcza (RGO, the Central Welfare Council), various outgoing correspondences (including letters to the Jewish councils in many places across the GG), and official letters from Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska (the Jewish Community Organization) in Krakow and many other institutions to the ŻSS dated 1940-1942,
- 3) Przyb. 73/79. Papiery Krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia Ogrodów Działkowych 1940-42 (Papers of the Krakow Allotments Association), various documents and lists of Jewish forced labourers employed to work on the municipal green spaces in Krakow,
- 4) Miscellaneous papers of the head of press services ("Telepress") in the Government of the GG 1939-1943.

The Jagiellonian University Library also holds some underground press titles not preserved elsewhere.

ARCHIVES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN POLAND

Church files are still stored in the archives of the various curias, as many of them remain open chancelleries and are in use on an ongoing basis. Access to them remains at the discretion of the incumbent head of the Church. The same is true of the archives of religious orders, and of the most

²⁰³ Cf. Part II of this *Guide*.

valuable collection of all – the Vatican archive.²⁰⁴ For this very reason, research into the Church's position on the Holocaust, and into attitudes of clerics and members of religious orders toward the occupiers and the persecuted population, their involvement in rescuing Jews or in collaboration, is extremely difficult, if not completely impossible on a larger scale at present. Nevertheless, scholarly works have been written addressing questions including these difficult ones, using as their source base documents preserved in other collections²⁰⁵, or drawing conclusions based on indirect information and accounts by eye-witnesses or participants in events.²⁰⁶ There are many publications offering insight into the structure of Church archives, their holdings, finding aids and accessibility, above all the guide compiled by Maria Dębowska.²⁰⁷ The work by Z. Zieliński also provides a good overview of Church archives from the occupation period.²⁰⁸

During World War II the Catholic Church in Poland was without a head (a primate).²⁰⁹ His representative was the archbishop of Krakow, Adam S. Sapieha. "He conducted clandestine correspondence with the Vatican, and also with the Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin, Archbishop Cesare Orsenigo, and corresponded with his subordinate clerics, as well as with the German authorities. This body of correspondence is preserved in the archive of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow."²¹⁰ A selection of the documents from the Archbishop Sapieha archive has been published.²¹¹ For obvious reasons, an important collection for the history of the Church in Poland is the archive of the primate of Poland, which is housed at Miodowa Street in Warsaw, though some of the files were requisitioned by the Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (MBP, Ministry of Public Security) and today could be in the IPN. The extremely slow process of declassifying the Vatican archives will certainly facilitate research into Vatican-German relations during the pontificate of Pius XII (1939-

²⁰⁴ Cf. P.P. Gach, "Polonica w archiwach rzymskich", *Almanach Polonii*, 1986.

²⁰⁵ E.g. Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, cf. K. Samsonowska, "Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej", [in:] *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939-1945. Studia i materiały*, ed. A. Żbikowski, Warszawa 2006, pp. 827-890.

²⁰⁶ Cf. D. Libionka, "Antisemitism, Anti-Judaism, and the Polish Catholic Clergy during the Second World War, 1939-1945", [in:] *Antisemitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. R. Blobaum, Ithaca – London 2005, pp. 233-264; J. Żaryn, "Hierarchia Kościoła katolickiego wobec relacji polsko-żydowskich w latach 1945-1947", [in:] *Wokół pogromu kieleckiego*, ed. Ł. Kamiński, J. Żaryn, Warszawa 2006, pp. 75-110; R. Modras, *Kościół katolicki i antysemityzm w Polsce 1933-1939*, Kraków 2004.

²⁰⁷ *Archiva Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce. Informator*, compiled by M. Dębowska, Kielce 2002.

²⁰⁸ *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Warszawa 1982.

²⁰⁹ Primate August Hlond left Poland and went initially to Rome, and thereafter (June 1940 – April 1943) to Lourdes and Hautecombe. In February 1944 he was arrested by the Germans.

²¹⁰ J. Żaryn, "Archiwa kościelne – specyfika miejsca i czasu (1939-1989)", *BIPN*, 2002, no. 4 (15), pp. 31-35. The archive of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow holds official letters from the vice-president of the RGO, Adam Ronikier, on saving converted Jews; cf. K. Samsonowska, "Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich...", op. cit., pp. 846-849.

²¹¹ *Księga sapieżyńska*, ed. ks. J. Wolny, vol. I-II, Kraków 1987.

1958). The only archive offering scholars of the Vatican's stance on Polish matters unlimited access is the bequest of Kazimierz Papée, ambassador of the Polish Government-in-Exile to the Holy See.²¹² These files, like those of the Polish Embassy in the Vatican from the years 1919-1972, are held in the Archive of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London.

The archives of religious orders and the documentation they contain, as well as the chronicles of religious houses²¹³ and individual accounts, facilitate research into the part played by these orders in saving Jews, in particular children.²¹⁴ One source much in use is the questionnaire drawn up in 1962 by Wydział Spraw Zakonnych Sekretariatu Prymasa Polski (the Department for Religious Orders in the Secretariat of the Primate of Poland) under the title “W sprawie ochrony Żydów przez zakonnice polskie w okresie II wojny światowej” (Regarding the protection of Jews by Polish nuns during World War II). Dariusz Libionka has made a review of Polish journalism and historiography regarding the stance of the Catholic Church in Poland on the Holocaust.²¹⁵ The salient publications regarding assistance extended to the Jews and rescuing Jews are listed in the Bibliography at the end of this *Guide*.

²¹² Cf. D. Libionka, “Głową w mur. Interwencje Kazimierza Papée, polskiego ambasadora przy Stolicy Apostolskiej, w sprawie zbrodni niemieckich w Polsce, listopad 1942 – styczeń 1943”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 292-314.

²¹³ Cf. O.R. Woźniak OFM, *Przemyśl w latach II wojny światowej w relacji kronikarza klasztoru Franciszkanów-Reformatów*, Przemyśl 1998.

²¹⁴ Cf. E. Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach. Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939-1945*, Lublin 2001; F. Kącki, *Udział księży i zakonnic w holokauście Żydów*, Warszawa 2002; N. Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers: The Rescue of Jewish Children with Assumed Identities in Poland*, Jerusalem 2009.

²¹⁵ D. Libionka, “Kościół w Polsce wobec Zagłady w świetle polskiej publicystyki i historiografii”, *BŻIH*, 2000, no. 3 (195), pp. 329-341.

6. The Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, and the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London; the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California, USA

THE POLISH INSTITUTE AND SIKORSKI MUSEUM, LONDON

The underlying reason for the creation of the Gen. Sikorski Polish Institute in London was the events of September 1939, which forced the government of the Republic of Poland into exile. Then, in February 1945, after the Yalta conference, it became clear that the Allies intended to cease to recognize the Polish Government-in-Exile and its armed forces. It seemed obvious that many Poles would want to remain in the West with their families. It was thus important to secure the documents generated by that government and the armed forces. On the initiative of Col. Zygmunt Borkowski, the director of the Archive and Museum Services, a plan was established to appoint an institution modelled on the Polish Library in Paris and the Museum in Rapperswil. This plan was accepted by President Władysław Raczkiewicz and Prime Minister Tomasz Arciszewski, and in this way, in 1945, the Gen. Sikorski Historical Institute was founded, with, at its core, Department “S”²¹⁶ under director Dr Edmund Oppman and his wife Regina. The Institute issued an appeal to civilians, military personnel and organizations for donations of documents for its collections. Some people made bequests ensuring that their valuable collections would later pass to the Institute’s archive. This archive is now generally regarded as holding the most important Polish émigré collections in the world. Together with the museum and the two libraries it is an integral part of the Institute. As an academic institution, the archive releases its collections for access by scholars in accordance with British law, i.e. a certain period after their creation. The archival holding today is the product of the fusion of several different archival collections from the period of the occupation, the prewar period, and the postwar period; it runs to some 700 linear metres of files and covers the period 1918-1990.²¹⁷ These materials are of fundamental significance to the study of Polish history in the years 1939-1945, though they do not constitute all of the archival material generated in this period by Polish authorities and institutions – research should also extend to the collections of the Central Archive of

²¹⁶ The core of the holding, comprising mementoes of Gen. broni [Weapon General] Władysław Sikorski, Prime Minister and Supreme Leader in the years 1939-1943.

²¹⁷ Cf. *Guide to the Archives of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum*, vol. I, ed. W. Milewski, A. Suchcitz, A. Gorczycki, London 1985; *Polskie instytucje za granicą. Przewodnik po zbiorach archiwalnych*, compiled by A. Krochmal, Warszawa 2004, pp. 220-224; B. Bokszczanin, “Instytut Polski i Muzeum im. gen. Sikorskiego”, [in:] *Muzea, biblioteki i archiwa polskie na Zachodzie*, Londyn 1991.

Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw, the archive of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California, and the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America in New York. The majority of these materials have now been processed and are inventoried. A card file referencing some 40,000 people is also kept. In 1988 the institute's management board and archive service merged with those of the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust, though it remains an autonomous institution. The Institute's holding is divided into the following sections:

- 1) The diary of Gen. Władysław Sikorski,
- 2) Documents relating to the 1939 September Campaign,
- 3) Records of particular government and state administrative offices relating to the president, government, ministries, embassies, consulates and missions, and other official state bodies,
- 4) Collections relating to Polskie Siły Zbrojne (PSZ, the Polish Armed Forces), from Sztab Naczelnego Wodza (Commander-in-Chief) to materials from the various military units,
- 5) Over 5,000 eye-witness accounts by Poles who ended up in Russia or were deported there after 1939,
- 6) Around 300 private collections (legacies and papers).

The museum's collections also include photographs, bills, posters and ephemera, plans and maps, films, audio tapes, records, video recordings, philatelic and numismatic collections, and a separate Personnel Archive. The library holds more than 20,000 volumes. Materials relating to the extermination of the Jews are held above all in the following record groups (which does not preclude the possibility of finding valuable documents and information in other collections not mentioned here):

PRM. PREZYDIUM RADY MINISTRÓW (Presidium of the Council of Ministers)²¹⁸

In Part I (Personal documents of the prime minister) there are a great many materials of all sorts (telegrams, dispatches, reports, operational reports, official letters, official notes, announcements) on the subject of the situation in Poland and in the East (e.g. reports from the Embassy in Kuybyshev 1941-1943), contacts with the Soviets, the case of Henryk Ehrlich and Wiktor Alter, the mission of Jan Karski²¹⁹, and files no. 88, 114, 142, relating to ethnic minorities and the Jews.

²¹⁸ The institute is successively digitalizing its archival materials and releasing them online; some of the documents of the PRM mentioned here are already accessible: http://www.pism.co.uk/index_pl.htm.

²¹⁹ Jan Karski, real name Jan Koziński (24 June 1914 – 13 July 2000), liaison officer and emissary of the Polish government during World War II, pseud. "Witold". He visited the Warsaw ghetto twice, and also went into the transit

Part II (Secretariat) includes reports from Moscow and Kuybyshev (files 84, 88) and a report from Poland (files 85, 86).

In Part III (the Lieberman Archive) – various materials including the mission of Jan Karski (file 24) and Jewish affairs (file 57).

In Part IV (the Żarański Archive) there are materials on matters including Stanisław Mikołajczyk's visit to Moscow.

A.5 RADA NARODOWA 1939-1945 (The National Council in Exile):

Minutes of the meetings of various commissions and the plenary sessions of the National Council in Exile (including all the speeches by Ignacy Schwarzbart²²⁰ and Szmul Zygielbojm²²¹), the texts of parliamentary questions, government reports, e.g. the report of the Minister Spraw Wewnętrznych (Minister of Internal Affairs) on the situation in Poland (call no. 2/32, dated 7 July 1942), the speeches of Schwarzbart and Zygielbojm regarding aid for the Polish Jews (call no. 3/64), the communiqué informing of Zygielbojm's suicide, materials on desertion of Jews from the Polish army and on the special commission appointed to investigate this issue, applications for aid for Jews in Poland, and general correspondences, including many official letters concerning Jewish issues; also the personal files of members of the National Council in Exile and the file concerning Zygielbojm's suicide and his funeral (call no. 77).

camp for Jews in Izbica. In 1942, as an eye-witness to the extermination of the Jews, he embarked on a mission to Great Britain and the USA to appeal for assistance – in vain. The information he submitted in writing to Gen. Sikorski is known as “the Karski Report”. In 1944 his book *Story of a Secret State (Tajne państwo)* was published. After the war he emigrated to the USA, where he lived and worked as a university lecturer. He died in Washington, D.C. To the end of his life he remained faithful to his mission of informing the world about the tragedy of the Jews.

²²⁰ Ignacy Izaak Schwarzbart (1888 Chrzanów – 1961 New York), lawyer and Zionist politician, journalist, before World War II a city councillor in Krakow for many years, and from 1938 a deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland. Attended virtually all of the World Zionist Congresses. In 1939 he managed to reach France, and then England. In the years 1940-1945 he was a member of the National Council in Exile as the representative of the Polish Jews on behalf of the Zionist movement. He sought ways in which to rescue Jews and to reach them with aid. After the war he emigrated to the USA, where he was the director of the Organizational Department of the World Jewish Congress.

²²¹ Szmul Mordechaj Zygielbojm, pseud. “Artur” (1895 Borowica, Chelm county – 1943 London), politician and trade union activist, by trade an artisan (a glover). A member of the Bund from 1918, and later of the Centralna Komisja Związków Zawodowych (Central Commission of Trade Unions). Between the wars a city councillor in Warsaw and Łódź. He also wrote articles for Bund publications. During the September campaign he organized voluntary defence battalions in Warsaw. In January 1940 he managed to reach France, and from there the USA. In February 1942 he was appointed to the National Council in Exile in London as the representative of the Bund. He made tireless appeals for aid for the Jews in Poland, and for retaliatory action to be taken. Faced with the lack of response to his appeals, on learning of the defeat of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, on 12 May 1943 he committed suicide as a sign of protest against the whole world. He left a note justifying his action.

A. 7 AMBASADA RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ W MOSKWIE I KUJBYSZEWIE (Embassy of the Polish Republic in Moscow and Kuybyshev) 1941-1943:

Fragmentary documentation, as the bulk of this archival material is held in the Hoover Institution; among the items worthy of note is a study by Zygmunt Sroczyński on aid to and protection of the Jewish population in the USSR, dated August 1943 (call no. 307/40).

A. 9 MINISTERSTWO SPRAW WEWNĘTRZNYCH (Ministry of Internal Affairs) 1940-1949:

Includes Government Delegate Report no. 6/42 for the period July-September 1942 – Jewish affairs (call no. III.1/11), report no. 1/43 for the period November 1942 – January 1943 (call no. 1/12), report no. III.1a/43 – Jewish affairs (call no. III.1/13), report no. 5/43 – Jewish affairs (call no. III.1/18), report no. 14/44 – prisons and concentration camps (call no. III.1/44), situational reports from Poland 1942-1943 (call no. III.2a/4), eye-witness accounts regarding the Lwów voivodship under Soviet occupation (call no. III.2a/19), Jewish affairs – ŻOB (Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa, Jewish Combat Organization) and the ghetto uprising (call no. III.2a/27), Jewish affairs (call no. V/2, 17, 36, and E/6 and E/125).

A. 10 MINISTERSTWO INFORMACJI I DOKUMENTACJI (Ministry of Information and Documentation):

Review of the Jewish press (call no. 2.25), Jewish affairs 1940-1944 (call no. 3.2), eye-witness testimonies regarding the Soviet occupation of the Eastern voivodships of the Republic of Poland (call no. 4.29).

A. 11 MINISTERSTWO SPRAW ZAGRANICZNYCH (Ministry of Foreign Affairs):

Matters relating to Jews in Palestine, the Soviet Republics, Asia and America (call no. E.87, 88, 89, 142), war crimes (call no. E.124), Jews in the Polish Armed Forces (call no. E. 149), Jewish refugees (call no. E.380, 381, 382), Jews in 1945 (call no. E.681, 932, 942, 943).

A. 12 AMBASADA RP W LONDYNIE (Embassy of the Republic of Poland in London) 1919-1945:

Includes texts of speeches and encoded telegrams (call no. A.12.53), a report from Poland that includes information on the situation of the Jews (call no. 73/2A, 3 and 5), the issue of Jews

deserting from the Polish army (call no. 752/1), and a range of information on Jewish affairs and contacts with Jewish organizations in Britain (call no. 85/E/3).

A. 16 KONSULAT GENERALNY RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ W JEROZOLIMIE (Polish Consulate General in Jerusalem):

Approx. 3,500 applications for revocation of Polish citizenship submitted by Komenda Uzupełnień nr 3 Armii Polskiej na Wschodzie (Recruiting Command no. 3 of the Polish Army in the East) owing to “wilful desertion from the unit and not returning to it” (call no. 1-4).

A. 18 MINISTERSTWO PRACY I OPIEKI SPOŁECZNEJ (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare): correspondence relating to aid and care in Russia (call no. 1), evacuation and distribution of the population – extensive information on the situation of the Jews (call no. 5), various general files and official letters, including some on Jewish affairs (call no. 42-45).

A. 20 MINISTERSTWO SPRAWIEDLIWOŚCI (Ministry of Justice): various materials and official letters on the situation in Poland and the judiciary system (call no. 2 and 5), investigation commissions in Bucharest and Jerusalem (call no. 35, 53, 103, 125), deserters (call no. 54, 127), excerpts from various military reports regarding crimes and persecution of the Jewish populace, etc. (call no. 5/31), and files entitled “Prawnicy polscy w świecie” (Polish lawyers around the world) – which include many people of Jewish origin (call no. 7/12).

A. 42 KONSULAT GENERALNY RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ W LONDYNIE (Polish Consulate-General in London):

Various Polish passport- and citizenship-related matters (call no. 142-146), army recruits’ records (call no. 161, 163, 170), rabbis exempt from military service (call no. 186), Jewish affairs in the years 1935-1938 (call no. 237-238), Jewish affairs in the years 1939-1944 (call no. 239-240), refugees (call no. 364, 365, 368, 382), various personal files – matters relating to citizenship and passports for Jews (call no. 463, 468-470, 473, 478, 490, 498, 500 et al.), the file of Jan Karski (Jan Koziński, call no. 493).

A. 48 KANCELARIA CYWILNA PREZYDENTA I GABINET WOJSKOWY PREZYDENTA (Civil and Military Chancelleries of the President of the Polish Republic):

Above all telegrams and reports from Poland, the Jan Karski report (call no. 4.Kraj/E1), refugee and expellee affairs (call no. 9/A, parts I, II and III), Jews 1942-1943 (call no. 10/Mniejszości narodowe/A).

A. 49 KONSULAT GENERALNY RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ W TEL AWIWIE (Polish Consulate-General in Tel Aviv, Palestine):

Matters relating to deserters from the Polish Army and correspondences relating thereto (call no. 174).

A. XII AKTA WŁADZ NACZELNYCH POLSKIEJ ARMII (Files of the General Staff of the Polish Army):

Jewish affairs (call no. 1.Gabinet NW.65), materials connected with desertions from the Polish army (call no. 3.Biuro MON.33), Jewish affairs 1940-1945 (call no. 3.Biuro MON.40), Jewish affairs – evacuation from the USSR and Jews in the Polish Army (call no. 3.Wydział Polityczny.21, 22, 23, 33, 40), various matters concerning people of the Jewish faith 1942-1946 (call no. 3.Referat Wyznań niekatolickich.16).

11. KOLEKCJA GENERAŁA WŁADYSŁAWA ANDERSA (The Gen. Władysław Anders Collection)²²²:

All kinds of matters relating to Jews serving in the Polish army and evacuation of civilians from the USSR to the Middle East with the Polish army.

25. KOLEKCJA STANISŁAWA KOTA (The Stanisław Kot Collection)²²³:

Including photocopies of the clandestine press and other underground publications from occupied Poland

²²² Władysław Anders (11 Aug. 1892 – 12 May 1970), general and politician. In 1939 he was taken into Soviet captivity; imprisoned first in Lwów and later in Moscow. Released pursuant to the Sikorski-Majski Agreement, from August 1941 he was the commander-in-chief of Polskie Siły Zbrojne w ZSRR (the Polish Armed Forces in the USSR); an ardent advocate of taking the Polish army out of Soviet territory. From September 1942 he commanded Armia Polska na Wschodzie (the Polish Army in the East); later, until 1946, also II Korpus Polski (II Polish Corps; in the Italian Campaign he saw action in battles including Monte Cassino). After the war he settled in London.

²²³ Stanisław Kot (22 October 1885 – 26 December 1975), political activist, historian, lecturer, in the years 1941-1942 Polish ambassador to the USSR, subsequently remained in the East as minister of state; until 1944 minister of information in the London government. In August 1945 he returned to Poland, and then moved to Rome as an ambassador of the Republic of Poland; he never returned to Poland and he died in London.

1940-1944, Jewish affairs 1940-1944 (call no. 24); the series of documents marked “A” includes papers relating to the affairs of Jews in Kuybyshev (call no. 1A), the affairs of Jews in the Middle East (call no. 23A), matters relating to the evacuation from Russia (call no. 25A), and many other materials.²²⁴

68. KOLEKCJA JÓZEFA RETINGERA (The Józef Retinger Collection)²²⁵:

Jewish affairs (call no. 29 and 30).

82. KOLEKCJA JANA CIECHANOWSKIEGO (The Collection of Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador in Washington, D.C.) 1941-1945:

Ambassadorial reports (call no. 30-36), Jewish affairs (call no. 54).

138. KOLEKCJA WINCENTEGO BĄKIEWICZA (The Collection of Wincenty Bąkiewicz):

Jewish affairs 1941-1944 (call no. 237) and evacuation of Jews from Russia (call no. 237a), Jews in the USSR – studies and materials (call no. 254), 1,700 testimonies by deportees to Russia (call no. 288-292).

STUDIUM POLSKI PODZIEMNEJ (SPP, The Polish Underground Movement [1939-1945] Study Trust), LONDON

The Polish Underground Movement Study Trust was established in 1947 on the initiative of Gen. Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski with the primary objective of securing, processing and publishing documents on the Polish Underground State and the Home Army, chiefly files of the VI Division of the Staff of the Commander in Chief. A major role was played by Halina Czarnocka, who for 37 years, until 1988, was the director of the SPP archive. In that year, financial difficulties forced the merger of the SPP with the Gen. Sikorski Polish Institute. Its archival holdings have been discussed in relatively extensive detail by the incumbent head of the SPP archive, Andrzej Suchcitz.²²⁶ A seminal achievement of the SPP employees is the publication of the six-volume work *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939-1945* (The Home Army in documents), released in London over the period 1970-

²²⁴ There are also materials belonging to Prof. Stanisław Kot (478 files) in the archive of Zakład Historii Ruchu Ludowego (Research Institute of the History of the Peasant Movement) in Warsaw.

²²⁵ Józef Hieronim Retinger (17 April 1888 – 12 June 1960), politician and journalist. Participated in the preparations and travels of Gen. Sikorski to Canada, the USA, the USSR and Mexico (1941 and 1942). An “eminence grise” in Gen. Sikorski’s entourage. He died in London.

²²⁶ A. Suchcitz, *Informator Studium Polskiej Podziemnej 1947-1997*, London 1997.

1989 under an editorial board headed by Brig.-Gen. Tadeusz Pelczyński. In all, the SPP's archival collections run to some 160 linear metres of files, chiefly dating from the years 1939-1947. In addition to these document files, the SPP has amassed a large collection of photographs (approx. 3,000 prints, including photographs documenting persecution of Jews), bills, flyers and pamphlets issued by the underground movement, maps and plans, films and video cassettes (including material on persecution of Jews), as well as some 700 museum artefacts, underground press and a library of books numbering around 6,000 volumes. The archive also collects the results of thematic surveys in its section entitled "Źródła" (Sources), as well as personal card files (e.g. K.19 – Pseudonimy kurierów i kryptonimy baz i placówek łączności z Krajem [Pseudonyms of couriers and cryptonyms of bases and establishments used for communication with Poland]). The materials gathered by the SPP are crucial to research into the attitudes of the AK, NSZ and other underground organizations toward the extermination of the Jews and into cooperation (or the lack thereof) between Jewish and Polish underground circles. The contents of the various sections of the archive are as follows²²⁷:

AKTA ODDZIAŁU VI SZTABU NACZELNEGO WODZA (Files of the VI Division of the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief):

Encoded correspondence, reports, notes and records of Komenda Główna AK (the AK Headquarters); materials on communications and couriers, the intelligence and counter-intelligence services, the underground movements in the camps, operacja "Burza" (Operation Tempest) and the Warsaw city rising of 1944, sabotage and diversion, training; files of the Government Delegation for Poland and Krajowa Rada Ministrów (the Council of Ministers at Home). Among these materials are items concerning the question of Jews in the Polish Army, various matters connected with national minorities, reports by emissaries and couriers (among them Jan Karski), and AK court verdicts and their execution.

ZESPÓŁ TZW. SKRZYNIE (The "Crates" Collection)²²⁸:

Divided into 41 sub-collections (crates), in all 1,038 files containing documents of the communication hubs and radio monitoring.

²²⁷ *Polskie instytucje za granicą*, op. cit., pp. 238-242.

²²⁸ These documents, stored in 41 metal crates, were not processed or accessible to scholars until the mid-1980s.

WYDZIAŁ SPOŁECZNY MINISTERSTWA SPRAW WEWNĘTRZNYCH (Social Dept. of the Ministry of Internal Affairs):

Documents divided into 94 files including: reports, registers, telegram correspondence, ciphers, codes, reviews of the underground press, Jewish affairs, and materials on the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. This is a very important set of documentation on the political and civilian life of the Polish underground state, including communication between the Government-in-Exile and the Delegation in Poland.

PERSONAL FILES OF AK SOLDIERS (14 DRAWERS), INDIVIDUALS' PERSONAL AND THEMATIC COLLECTIONS (LEGACIES & PAPERS):

46 record groups and over 10,000 personal files. The collections of individuals including Władysław Bartoszewski (collection of articles), Michał Borwicz (copies of correspondence), and Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki.

TESTIMONIES:

Over 800 items; the testimonies reference the underground struggle against the German occupiers, the Warsaw city rising of 1944, and the situation in Poland in the years 1945-1946.

STUDIES:

805 items, for the most part typescripts on various matters including Jewish affairs.

CLANDESTINE PAMPHLETS, FLYERS AND PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Photocopies and originals of 170 clandestine pamphlets chiefly concerning Warsaw; underground and collaborative press titles, approx. 3.2 linear metres.

THE HOOVER INSTITUTION AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA, USA

The private university of Stanford in California is one of the largest and best known institutions of higher education in the USA, with an annual student roll of over 14,000. One of those students was Herbert Hoover, later president of the United States of America in the years 1929-1932. As a recent alumnus of Stanford (in 1919) he founded the think-tank devoted to matters of war and peace that was to lay the foundations of the present-day Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, one of the world's leading academic research institutions with archival and library collections in this field.

An overview of the institution's collections is given in the now rather outdated guide by Charles G. Palm and Dale Reed²²⁹, which is nevertheless to date the only publication of its kind; the Polish collections have been profiled by Władysław Stępnia²³⁰, and his publication is the basis for the information in this very brief overview. Today, much of this information is also published on the Hoover Institution website, including inventories of the collections where such have been compiled – all the basic information is accessible and up to date online. Most of the Poland-related materials are gathered in the “East Europe” section; the collection “Judaica” – part 3: The Holocaust is also important for our subject area. Detailed inventories of three other large collections have also been published, compiled by Mirosław Filipiak²³¹ and Z.L. Stańczyk²³². The core of the Polish collections is composed of the three largest deposits, now the property of the Hoover Institution Archives (HIA): those of Jan Ciechanowski (Polish ambassador in Washington, D.C.), Gen. Władysław Anders, and Minister Aleksander Zawisza, who decided to take this step following the withdrawal of recognition of the Polish Government-in-Exile by the USA and Great Britain in 1945; they were seeking a safe place in which to store these valuable archival materials, on matters including relations with the USSR.²³³ The private status of the Hoover Institution's collections and its geographic location were the primary arguments in favour of their decision. The publication of the extremely detailed archive surveys by Stępnia and Filipiak facilitates the identification of the most important materials relating to the Jews and their vicissitudes during World War II. The key record groups have been microfilmed (in all, around a million frames) and were passed on to the AAN. Scans of the microfilms (unfortunately of mediocre quality) are now accessible on the website of the State Archives in Poland (<http://szukajwarchiwach.pl>). The archival materials in the HIA do not constitute the complete body of files of a given institution; they are merely part of it, though in some cases the most important part. More extensive research work is still to be done on the archival resources of the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London and the AAN. The selection of materials listed below is based on existing studies and finding aids²³⁴:

²²⁹ Ch. G. Palm, D. Reed, *Guide to the Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford 1980; the library collections are discussed [in:] *The Library of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace*, ed. P. Duignan, Stanford 1985.

²³⁰ *Archivalia polskie w zbiorach Instytutu Hoovera Uniwersytetu Stanforda*, Warszawa 1997.

²³¹ M. Filipiak, *Archivalia Ambasady RP w Moskwie-Kujbyszewie (1941-1943) i Ministerstwa Informacji i Dokumentacji (1939-1945) w zbiorach Instytutu Hoovera Uniwersytetu Stanforda*, Warszawa 2002.

²³² Z.L. Stańczyk, *Poland. Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych. Register in the Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford 1994.

²³³ Cf. M. Siekierski, “Hoover Institution's Polish Collections: an Overview and a Survey of Selected Materials on Polish-Soviet Relations”, *The Polish Review*, 1988, vol. XXXIII, no. 3, pp. 325-332.

²³⁴ Some of the box numbers given in these publications may not correspond to the numbering currently used at the HIA, as these materials have been given new call numbers in the years since Stępnia and Filipiak performed their research. Nonetheless, these materials are still in the same collections, and it should not be difficult to locate them.

PRELIMINARY INVENTORY OF RADA NARODOWA (National Council of Poland).
RECORDS, 1940-1945:

Minutes of meetings of Komisja Specjalna do Zbadania Sposobu Traktowania Żydów w Wojsku Polskim (Special Commission for Investigation of the Treatment of Jews in the Polish Army, Box 8).

MINISTERSTWO SPRAW WEWNĘTRZNYCH (Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland)
ISSUANCES:

Materials from the Social Department: situational reports regarding the German occupation 1940-1942 and political and nationality issues 1941-1943 (Box 1), report by the Government Delegate for QI 1942 (Box 3).

MINISTERSTWO INFORMACJI I DOKUMENTACJI (Ministry of Information and Documentation of Poland) RECORDS, 1939-1945²³⁵:

Reports on persecution of Jews by the German occupiers of Poland. Komitet Organizacyjny dla spraw Reprezentacji Żydostwa Polskiego (Organizational Committee for Affairs of the Representation of Polish Jewry, Box 72), national minorities: Belarusians, Lithuanians, Jews – reports, testimonies and studies, including items from Oddział II Sztabu Głównego (Section II of the Headquarters, Box 88), depositions of Polish citizens of Jewish origin, the “Protokoły palestyńskie” (Palestinian protocols), no. 27-251²³⁶, lists of Jewish activists in the USSR, the memoirs of Rabbi J. Landau of Leżajsk: *Moja trzyipółletnia wędrówka z Leżajskiej do Palestyny* (My three-and-a-half-year odyssey from Leżajsk to Palestine), the case of H. Ehrlich and W. Alter (Box 197), memoirs and diaries of deportees (Boxes 198-201), materials from the Consulate-General of the Republic of Poland in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (Box 202), and a collection of materials relating to Polish-Jewish relations (Boxes 213-214).

POLSKIE RZĄDOWE CENTRUM INFORMACYJNE W NOWYM JORKU (Polish Government Information Center in New York):

²³⁵ A digital copy of this entire collection is available at <http://szukajwarchiwach.pl/800/41/0/-/>.

²³⁶ *Widziałem anioła śmierci. Losy deportowanych Żydów polskich w ZSRR w latach II wojny światowej. Świadczenia zebrane przez Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Rządu Polskiego na Uchodźstwie w latach 1942-1943*, compiled and with forewords by M. Siekierski, F. Tych, with M. Prokopowicz, A. Rok, Warszawa 2006.

Jewish press, including the *Jewish Journal* from 1942-1944 (Boxes 2-4), American press, including Jewish press 1942-1945 (Boxes 11-35), press cuttings from Jewish dailies (Boxes 62, 70).

MINISTERSTWO PRAC KONGRESOWYCH (Ministry of Preparatory Work Concerning the Peace Conference): compiled by J. Wagner, *Sprawa żydowska w Polsce na tle międzynarodowym*, London 1943, 57 pp. (Box 14).

MINISTERSTWO SPRAW ZAGRANICZNYCH (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland) RECORDS, 1919-1947²³⁷: materials on Polish national minorities abroad. There is a considerable quantity of materials connected with desertion of Jews from the Polish army, antisemitism in army ranks, and work to save Jews in Poland (Boxes 610-617).

AMBASADA (Embassy). GREAT BRITAIN RECORDS, 1918-1945²³⁸: documents and materials relating to Jews who were Polish citizens and Jewish organizations, in particular issues relating to emigration, the press, and the Holocaust in the Polish lands (Box 58, folders 2-8 and Box 62, folders 1-2), Polish Jews and Jewish organizations in Great Britain 1934 (Box 96, folder 10), Polish Jews in Great Britain and Palestine 1935-1941 (Box 97).

AMBASADA (Embassy) SOVIET UNION RECORDS, 1941-1944: diplomatic correspondence regarding minority issues (Box 15), Affairs of Polish Jewish citizens in the USSR (Boxes 16 and 20).

AMBASADA (Embassy) UNITED STATES RECORDS (1918-1956)²³⁹: a collection of materials on Polish Jews in other countries, diplomatic reports on anti-Semitism, press and bulletins from 1937 (Box 63), materials of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People in Europe (Box 64), materials regarding emigration of Jews, their situation in Germany before the war, information from the press, the American Jewish Congress (Box 65), the situation of the Jews in Poland 1920-1945 and protection of Polish Jewish fugitives (Box 66), the situation of the Jews in the United States of America 1934-1942 (Box 67).

²³⁷ A digital copy of this entire collection is available at <http://szukajwarchiwach.pl/800/42/0/-/>.

²³⁸ A digital copy of this entire collection is available at <http://szukajwarchiwach.pl/800/33/0/-/>.

²³⁹ A digital copy of this entire collection is available at <http://szukajwarchiwach.pl/800/36/0/-/>.

PORTUGAL. LISBON. LEGATION: materials from the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations regarding the fates of Jews in territories occupied by Germany and of Polish citizens in the USSR (Box 8).

UNITED STATES. NEW YORK. CONSULATE GENERAL:

Organization of aid for Polish citizens of Jewish descent, correspondence with the MSZ, 1943 (Box 4).

Polish Armed Forces (PSZ) in the USSR, the Near and Middle East: Jews in the PSZ October 1941 – March 1942 (Box 8),

THE WŁADYSŁAW ANDERS PAPERS²⁴⁰: questionnaires and accounts of deported Poles. The collection is divided into “Statements, Depositions” (Boxes 35-45 and 65-68) and “Reports” (46-64); they are easily navigated with the aid of a name card file for all those interviewed (Boxes 1-35). One of the questionnaires, compiled by M. Buchwajc, *Anti-Semitism and the Jewish Question* (Box 68), concerned the fate of the Polish Jews in the USSR (it contains 33 detailed questions); others are: *Struktura polityczna społeczeństwa żydowskiego Palestyny*, *Dzieje posła żydowskiego miasta Lwowa*, *Emila Sommersteina* (Box 69), T. Lipkowska, *Współpraca polsko-żydowska na terenie Palestyny*, *Zagadnienie dezercji żołnierzy Żydów z Armii Polskiej*, *Rola Żydów niemieckich w Palestynie i ich stosunek do Polski* (Box 70), J. Ben-Arje, *Rosja a kwestia żydowska*, M. Buchwajc, *Żydzi polscy pod władzą sowiecką* (Box 72), and a study on issues including Jewish settlement in Palestine and the political life of the Jews.

THE MICHAŁ GLAZER PAPERS: a collection of materials on the situation of the Jews in Europe and their work towards creating a state of their own, 1937-1939 (1 box).

THE JAN KARSKI PAPERS: in part original documents, some copies, press materials concerning Karski's mission during the war, manuscripts of his own works and Polish studies and publications from the period of the war, and the reports.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ R.M. Bulatoff, *Władysław Anders. A register of his Papers in the Hoover Institution Archives*, Stanford 1980.

²⁴¹ Cf. Wojtek Rappak, “Raport Karskiego – kontrowersje i interpretacje”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, no. 10, pp. 96-130.

7. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C., USA

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) was founded on the initiative of a number of groups of American Jews who had come from Europe as Holocaust survivors. The first administrative step was the appointment in 1978 by US President Jimmy Carter of a President's Commission on the Holocaust, chaired by Elie Wiesel²⁴², which was renamed the United States Holocaust Memorial Council two years later. Its mandate was to run a campaign to explore ways to observe Days of Remembrance²⁴³ and to build a new museum as an institution dedicated to knowledge, study, education and memory of the Holocaust.²⁴⁴ The Congress decision to found the new museum followed shortly. Its first director, in 1989, was Jeshajahu Weinberg, the originator of the concept for a narrative and multimedia museum. The building's original, symbolic architecture was designed by James Ingo Freed.²⁴⁵ USHMM enjoys federal institution status, and its objectives are defined in its mission statement, which reads: "The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is America's national institution for the documentation, study and interpretation of Holocaust history."²⁴⁶

USHMM was officially opened on 22 April 1993 in the presence of President Bill Clinton.²⁴⁷ The site chosen as the location for the museum is in the heart of Washington, D.C., in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol, the White House and other government administration buildings, and national monuments and museums including the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, the Jefferson Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Smithsonian Institutions. The museum's main building houses exhibition space²⁴⁸, the archive (including a photographic archive),

²⁴² Elie (Eliezer) Wiesel (b. 30 September 1928 in Romania), Hungarian Jewish writer and journalist. Brought up in a large Hassidic family, during the war Wiesel was interned in the concentration camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau and Buchenwald, where the whole of his immediate family was murdered. After the war he spent many years in France, where he studied at the Sorbonne and worked as a writer and journalist. In 1956 he emigrated to the USA. He has written more than 40 works, including novels, plays, short stories and essays. In 1986 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the chairman of the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust, and later the first chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council. Now a professor of humanities at Boston University.

²⁴³ A movable event celebrated on the 27th day of the month of *nisan* according to the Jewish calendar (usually in April). In Hebrew the Day of Remembrance is called *Yom ha-Shoah* (Holocaust Remembrance Day).

²⁴⁴ Cf. B. Berenbaum, *The World Must Know*, Boston 1993.

²⁴⁵ Cf. J. Kozłowska, *Architektura i funkcje Muzeum Holocaustu w Waszyngtonie*, diploma dissertation on the Post-Graduate Museum Studies course at the University of Warsaw's Institute of History (IH UW), Warszawa 2005 [typescript].

²⁴⁶ See <http://www.ushmm.org/information/about-the-museum/mission-statement> (date: 19.02.2014).

²⁴⁷ M. Motas, "Otwarcie Muzeum Holocaustu w Waszyngtonie", *Biuletyn GKBZpNP*, 1993, vol. XXXVI, pp. 185-186.

²⁴⁸ In addition to the main permanent exhibition there is also a permanent exhibition for children, "Daniel's Story", and a temporary exhibition.

an academic study facility and reading room, a library, an auditorium, a projection and theatre room, a museum shop, and a state-of-the-art interactive IT centre for in-depth study (the Wexner Learning Center). The architecture and interior design of the building, the artworks on display both inside and outside the facility, and the theme and form of the exhibition all contribute to the USHMM's dual role as a museum and memorial. Aside from its educational function, its other fundamental role is to gather, provide access to and study materials relating to the extermination of the Jews and the persecution of other ethnic groups during World War II. Even before the museum itself was physically constructed, the President's Commission issued an appeal for the creation of an archive that would amass materials on the Holocaust in order to enable both scholars and the wider public to study and research documents related to the extermination of the Jews. Part of the museum's mission is also to study the history of racism and genocide, and to teach and demonstrate the consequences of failure to act on social discrimination and exclusion of various population groups.

The USHMM was founded by the United States Congress to showcase the history of the persecution and extermination of six million Jews and the many millions of other victims of the Nazi tyranny, to disseminate knowledge of the tragedy of the Holocaust among the citizens of the United States, to preserve the memory of those who suffered, and to promote reflection on the moral and spiritual dilemmas generated by the Holocaust. Like other museums, the USHMM's tasks include gathering, conserving and exhibiting artefacts²⁴⁹ and conducting scholarly research. This latter function is the domain of its academic Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (CAHS). In addition to the team of scholars permanently employed at the CAHS, the museum also accepts many scholars every year from all over the world on special grant programmes. The CAHS organizes academic seminars and conferences, and publishes its own journal, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*²⁵⁰, in association with Oxford University Press, as well as scholarly works, source publications²⁵¹, encyclopaedias²⁵² and albums. A major feature of the museum's publishing section is its extensive, excellently documented and illustrated exhibition catalogues.

²⁴⁹ The museum's collections are vast, comprising tens of thousands of objects, chiefly donations from institutions and individuals. Some of its Judaica were donated by the American national museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and a small number were purchased in antiques shops or at auction. All the exhibits are from the museum's own collections or loaned from other institutions. Many artefacts come from Poland, loaned from PMAB, PMM, ŻIH or other institutions.

²⁵⁰ Available online: <http://hgs.oxfordjournals.org/>

²⁵¹ See the series Documenting Life and Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context: <http://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/documenting-life-and-destruction>.

²⁵² See the vast publication Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945: <http://www.ushmm.org/research/publications/encyclopedia-camps-ghettos>.

A seminal role is also played by its website, <http://www.ushmm.org>, which is visited annually by millions of internet users across the globe. Its showcase features include online versions of the museum's temporary exhibitions, the USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia in 14 languages – including English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian and Chinese – and tens of thousands of features on the museum's programmes, projects and collections – documents, objects, mementoes, photographs, films and interviews. Its dedicated operating system facilitates high-speed searches of many integrated databases. The website is also a source of information on the work of all the museum's departments and divisions, of which its education department is one of the most important (not least for the approximately two million visitors who come to the museum every year). The education area of the website offers downloadable textbooks and other teaching materials for both pupils and teachers, as well as information tailored to a wide range of age and professional groups.²⁵³ Online access is also available to the museum library's catalogue, which is constantly being augmented with publications in dozens of languages; Polish publications are among those systematically being collected and catalogued.

Since 1993 USHMM has gathered information on Jewish survivors of the Holocaust in its "Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database"²⁵⁴. This database was launched even before the museum was built, by the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, on the initiative and under the leadership of Benjamin and Vladka Meed, who were originally from Poland.²⁵⁵ It is open for additions; a registration form is available to download, and may be returned to the museum either in electronic form or by traditional mail. It is a source designed to serve both scholars and individuals seeking family members, friends and acquaintances all over the world. Of greatest importance to Holocaust historians are the USHMM's archival, library, photographic, film and oral testimony collections.

The CAHS runs a unique programme manned by the staff of its International Archival Programs Division (IAPD). Its objective is to search archival holdings across the world and copy materials relating to the Holocaust for the USHMM's archives. The main task is to bring together in one place,

²⁵³ The education department also runs special programmes for visitors who are deaf, partially sighted or blind.

²⁵⁴ <http://www.ushmm.org/remember/the-holocaust-survivors-and-victims-resource-center>

²⁵⁵ Initially, the registry only stored data for people resident in the United States, but over a decade ago it was expanded to include people living all over the world.

as microfilms (or scans), materials currently scattered over many archives, which has to date greatly hampered, and in some circumstances even prevented their study, owing to factors including the time and costs of conducting international archive searches. Another aim of the project is to identify and make a systematic study of materials hitherto unknown, inaccessible and thus unused. The IAPD is thus opening up archives, informing archivists and scholars of existing documentation, and so inspiring new research. This undertaking is ensuring that valuable collections will be kept safe: materials copied (onto the reasonably permanent medium of microfilm or digitalized) will most likely never be irretrievably lost as a result of natural disasters, wars, or other catastrophic events. Now, collections committed to microfilm or as digital copy have back-up copies in both their original archives and the USHMM; collections available in digital form may be viewed on computers in the reading room, and sometimes on its webpage. A third objective of the IAPD project is to conduct the extensive work that must be carried out on the collections selected for copying. The principle that has been adopted is that materials are not reproduced until they have been processed, and so the museum is cooperating with archival institutions to this end also. Another rule is that documents in poor condition and in need of conservation are not reproduced (except for the purpose of making back-up copies and documenting their pre-conservation state). This has forced conservation work in many cases, in order for files to be archived and copied.

The IAPD project operates on all five continents; the materials reproduced for the USHMM's collections so far have come from over 40 countries and were originally written in more than 30 languages. The USHMM archive is now one of the biggest in the world in terms of the number of materials it has amassed on the subject of the extermination of the Jews. In all, it has more than 9,000 document (archival) collections, including dossiers of institutions, government offices, businesses and other organizations; personal legacies and papers; testimonies, diaries and memoirs; press; and other items. The collections also include oral history interviews, film footage, photographs, and audio material. In terms of theme, the range of subjects they reference includes anti-Jewish policy in Europe under the Nazis, confiscation and looting of Jewish property, the fates of refugees, Nazi policy in its occupied territories, the history of the ghettos, resettlements, forced labour, deportations and mass executions, the extermination of the Jews, the history of the labour camps, concentration camps and extermination camps, the resistance movement, rescue, settling of accounts after the war, court cases and material evidence, restitution of property, and compensation. In 2007 the USHMM's archival collections were augmented by copies of more than 100 million

documents (digitalized) from the archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS, Internationaler Suchdienst, Service International de Recherches) in Bad Arolsen in Germany. More information on this archive is to be found on the USHMM website.²⁵⁶

The online USHMM archive catalogue searches the library, the archive and the museum's other collections, both published and unpublished materials, photographs, interviews, film and historical moving images, as well as many of the finding aids of collections in the archive. The online guide to the USHMM's archival collections (excluding its library holdings) is frequently updated (<http://www.ushmm.org/online/archival-guide/>). Every year, however, the archives accumulate so much new material that up-to-date information on specific record groups or materials should be sought from archive employees, who may be contacted at archives@ushmm.org.

Many of the collections reproduced for the USHMM are furnished with accurate inventories that are far more detailed than those in their original archives, because they are profiled in detail as part of the process of the survey and selection of materials to be copied, and this provides the basis for compiling the archival information and inventory at the USHMM. All the materials in the archive (whether original, microfilmed or digitalized) are divided into record groups (RG) by theme and by provenance – i.e. the country where the USHMM copy was made. The whole USHMM archival holding is at present divided into 70 RG, and the collections within a given RG are profiled in order of their receipt (accession date). The letter “M” in the call number indicates that they are held on microfilm. The guide to the archive also includes information on collections that had not been fully catalogued; these are categorised as “accessions” – Acc. The call number of accessions includes the year in which a given collection was passed to the USHMM (e.g. 1996.A.0349). The RGs within the USHMM archive that contain materials for study of the extermination of the Jews in the Polish lands are as follows:

RG – 02 Survivor Testimonies²⁵⁷

RG – 03 Jewish Communities²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ <http://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-kits/20th-anniversary/international-tracing-service>. The depository of the copies of the Bad Arolsen archive materials in Poland is the IPN.

²⁵⁷ E.g. RG-02.012 “Recollections from my Life’s Experiences by Sophie Machtinger”, about the Łódź ghetto and Auschwitz; RG-02.014 “Linda and Friedrich Breder Testimony”, about KL Auschwitz-Birkenau; RG-02.021 “Stanley Osinski Papers”, about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; RG-02.028 “Remember Not to Forget: Memoirs of a Survivor of the Holocaust by Clara (Chaje) Horowitz”, about the life of the Jews in Czortków; RG-02.067 “Mojśze Kisielnicki Memoir Relating to the Judenrat in Kaluszyn”.

RG – 04 Concentration and Other Camps²⁵⁹

RG – 05 Ghettos²⁶⁰

RG – 06 War Crimes Investigations and Prosecutions²⁶¹

RG – 09 Liberation of the Camps and Ghettos

RG – 10 Small Collections (this group comprises several hundred small collections, ranging in size from a single page to a few boxes of archival files; these are chiefly personal legacies and papers)

RG – 11 Selected Records from Former Special (Osobyi) State Archive in the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA)

RG – 14 Federal Republic of Germany (archive materials reproduced in archives and other institutions in Germany)

RG – 15 Poland (archive materials reproduced in archives and other institutions in Poland)

RG – 19 Rescue, Refugees, and Displaced Persons

RG – 20 Righteous Among the Nations (The decoration awarded by Yad Vashem)

RG – 23 Resistance

RG – 24 The Holocaust as Reflected in the Fine Arts

RG – 26 Lithuania

RG – 27 Julius Kühl Collection²⁶²

RG – 30 Records from National Archives (NARA) and Records Administration²⁶³

RG – 31 Ukraine²⁶⁴

RG – 50 Oral History Collection²⁶⁵

RG – 53 Belarus²⁶⁶

RG – 55 The Aleksander Kulisiewicz Collection²⁶⁷

²⁵⁸ Including those in Ostrowiec (Świętokrzyski), Piotrków Trybunalski, Mogielnica and Klimontów.

²⁵⁹ Including KL Auschwitz-Birkenau and KL Majdanek.

²⁶⁰ Materials on ghettos including those in Łódź, Warsaw, Lublin, Wisznice and Wilno.

²⁶¹ Including RG-06.025 “Selected Central Records of the Federal Security Service (FSB, formerly KGB) of the Russian Federation Relating to War Crimes Investigations and Trials in the Soviet Union”; RG-06.027 “Selected Latvian KGB Records Relating to War Crime Investigations and Trials in Latvia”.

²⁶² Dr Julius Kühl, born in Galicia, moved to Switzerland in 1929, where he studied at the University of Berne. On the eve of the war he was appointed to a position in the Polish legation with responsibility for refugees, Polish soldiers in internment camps in Switzerland, and Jews. He provided aid to several hundred Polish Jews in the form of passports and visas enabling them to emigrate.

²⁶³ This group includes the collection 1998.A.0137, Records of the United States Mission to the Polish Government in Exile in London, 20 reels of microfilm.

²⁶⁴ Selected collections from archives in Odessa, Kiev [current name in English Kyiv], Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkiv, Lviv, Vinnytsia, Rivne, Zhytomyr and Ternopil, amongst others.

²⁶⁵ This collection includes over 7,000 interviews recorded by the USHMM’s Oral History department and around 60 other institutions and organizations. Some of these interviews are accessible on the museum’s website.

²⁶⁶ Selected collections from archives in Minsk, Grodno (Hrodna) and Mogilev (Mahilou).

RG – 58 Switzerland²⁶⁸

RG – 59 Great Britain²⁶⁹

RG – 60 The Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archives²⁷⁰

RG – 63 Dominican Republic²⁷¹

RG – 67 United States of America²⁷²

RG – 68 Israel²⁷³

The microfilming programme in Poland was launched in 1990. In the course of the first nine years of the project, almost 1.7 million microfilm frames were sent to the USHMM; in 2014 this figure stands at well over eight million. The project is still underway in the State Archives, the IPN, ŻIH, PMAB, and other institutions, including libraries. In order to select suitable documents for reproduction, all collections containing materials on the following subjects are being researched:

1. The fates of Polish and European Jews in the period 1939-1945 (all aspects)
2. The history of Polish and European Jews before 1939 and in the years 1945-1950 (the history of Jewish communities, Polish-Jewish relations, antisemitism, emigration, research into the causes and aftermath of the Holocaust)
3. The fates of other religious and ethnic groups (e.g. Roma, Poles, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian clergy) persecuted and murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators
4. The fates of other groups persecuted and murdered by the Nazis (e.g. Soviet POWs, the mentally ill, the frail and disabled, homosexuals)
5. The resistance movement in the occupied Polish territories and the attempt to eradicate it; the partisan movement, intellectual activity, and religious resistance
6. The fates of exiles and émigrés
7. Germanization campaigns motivated by Nazism, and crimes committed against children

²⁶⁷ Aleksander Kulisiewicz (1918-1982) was interned in KL Sachsenhausen, where he composed 54 songs. After liberation he continued to compose, and to publish works by other prisoners. The Kulisiewicz collection, which was given to the USHMM by his son, contains song lyrics, music, and poetry composed in the camps, as well as photographs, visual art, and recordings. All the materials relate to art made in the camps.

²⁶⁸ RG-58.001M comprises 10,962 personal files of escapees who found asylum in Switzerland.

²⁶⁹ Selected collections from the Public Records Office, Kew, London.

²⁷⁰ For information on the films in this collection, contact the USHMM at filmvideo@ushmm.org. In the years 1994-1999 the Steven Spielberg Foundation recorded some 1,500 interviews with Holocaust survivors living in Poland; see Part II of this *Guide: Oral History*.

²⁷¹ Documents on Jewish refugees from European countries.

²⁷² Including RG-67.002M Holocaust-Era Records of the Jewish Labor Committee. Child Adoption Case Files, which holds the personal dossiers of adopted children, including children from Poland.

²⁷³ Including copies of record groups from German, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Lithuanian and other archives.

8. Nazi persecution of the Polish intelligentsia
9. Forced labour among Jews, Poles and people of other nationalities
10. Race policy in the Third Reich; pseudo-scientific research into race, the activities of “race institutes”, medical experiments, related publications, etc.
11. Attitudes in the Polish populace toward the Jews and their extermination
12. Issues related to moveable and immoveable property of Jews (looting and confiscation of property, forced tribute payments, trustee administration of real property, etc.)
13. The activities of the German administration, police and other institutions.

In copying projects, USHMM gives first priority to documents generated by Jews and other groups listed in points 3-6 above and German administration, police and military papers from the years 1939-1945. Second in order are documents by Polish institutions and organizations in Poland and abroad from the years 1939-1945, and after these come documents from before 1939 and from the period 1945-1950. The materials selected for reproducing are profiled in detail using forms specially compiled for the purpose and containing all the most important information on the collection and the archive files selected. These are used by USHMM to compile accurate descriptions of the materials it receives, and are the most fundamental of the finding aids. The archive search takes in collections on far wider-ranging themes than the need to study the history of the extermination of the Jews in the years 1939-1945 might suggest, for the museum does not confine its work strictly to this field, its range of interests also encompasses the broader issue of genocide and crimes against humanity committed during World War II on the grounds of race, nationality, ideology; and the causes and effects of the war and of the extermination of certain groups of people. The reason for this is the wording of the resolution passed by the US Congress calling the museum into being, and of its mission statement. Nevertheless, the largest proportion of the collections of the museum and its archive are connected with the extermination of the Jews and the history of Jewish communities and centres in the twentieth century.

The USHMM is already in possession of numerous archive materials reproduced in Poland – in all, about 450 archival collections. From the AIPN it has copies of trials before the Supreme National Tribunal (NTN) (those of J. Bühler, L. Fischer, A. Forster, A. Greiser, A. Goeth, R. Höss, and the staff of KL Auschwitz) and others including the trials of J. Stroop and H. Biebow; the whole record group BD (Akta Badawczo-Dokumentacyjne, Records of Investigation and Documentation), and the

majority of the files generated by the German Administration and Police. The microfilms of the files of the County and City Commissions for the Investigation of Crimes (i.e. Lublin, Katowice, Częstochowa, Oświęcim) from the 1940s and 1950s are also complete. At present the files of the postwar trials before various courts across Poland arising from the August Decree (see: Part II of this *Guide: Investigation and Court Files*) are systematically being copied.

While the AIPN holds above all German documentation and investigative, court and prison materials, the ŻIH archive primarily contains documents generated by Jewish institutions, organizations and individuals. From this archive virtually all of the collections generated during the war have now been microfilmed or scanned, above all the Ringelblum Archive, the files of the Judenräte, the “Teka Lwowska” (the Lwów File), Varia okupacyjne (Occupation Miscellanea), the Joint, the ŻSS and many others – for detailed information on the collections dating from the war years, see the chapter on ŻIH. Most of the important postwar documentation – that generated by the various departments of the CKŻP, its People’s Court and its Special Commission, and by TOZ and the Joint, as well as testimonies, memoirs and other items, such as the Legacies & Papers of Bernard Mark – have now been microfilmed. Certain of the prewar collections at ŻIH are now also available in Washington, D.C., such as the Collection of passports of émigrés to Palestine and that of the Address Office of the City of Częstochowa.

Another very important institution with which the USHMM has cooperated since its inception is the NDAP. To date, selected collections have been reproduced from the Polish State Archives including the AAN, and the State Archives in Białystok, Gdańsk, Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Kalisz, Katowice, Lublin, Łowicz, Łódź, Otwock, Poznań, Radom, Siedlce, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wrocław, Siedlce and Otwock, and the National Archive in Krakow. Important collections already available on microfilm or as digital copy include the Head of the Jewish Council in the Łódź Ghetto and German Ghettoverwaltung (AP Łódź), the Governor of the City of Krakow (National Archive in Krakow, ANK), Gesundheitskammer (Health Chamber) of the GG (ANK), Judenrat Lublin (AP Lublin), various departments of the Government Delegation for Poland, the files of the AK and ZWZ and a collection of diaries (AAN), documents by the German authorities of the various districts and regions annexed to the Reich (AP Poznań, Gdańsk, Katowice), prison files, including Radom Prison (AP Radom) and the prison in Warsaw on Rakowiecka Street (APW), many files of cities and communities from across the country, and many other archival materials. Archival research and

reproduction continues in the state archives, as in other Polish institutions, archives and museums. The documentation from the Stutthof Museum in Sztutowo has been microfilmed in its entirety, the microfilming of all the most important files from the PMM is completed, and many important collections from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum archive are already accessible at USHMM, among them almost all the files of the camp's German administration, the collection "Wspomnienia", ("Memories"), and documentation of the "Hygiene Institut".

A few years ago detailed archival research was undertaken in the wartime, prewar and postwar press collections, and now all the clandestine and underground (Polish and Jewish) press held by ŻIH, AAN, ANK, BN, the Jagiellonian Library and the Tatra Museum in Zakopane is accessible to study in Washington, D.C.. The underground press collection has been furnished with a very accurate inventory that includes information on matters such as the organizations that published the various titles. There are also microfilms of the leading legal and collaborative press titles from the war years, both those in Polish and those in German (see Part II of this *Guide*), and Jewish press from the interbellum (in Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew) from the holdings of the BN and ŻIH – in all, several hundred titles.

8. Archives and institutions in Israel

YAD VASHEM. THE HOLOCAUST MARTYRS' AND HEROES' REMEMBRANCE AUTHORITY

The Yad Vashem Institute was formally founded in 1953, but its beginnings date back to 1942, when news reached Palestine of the major deportation action in the Warsaw ghetto. Mordechai Shenhavi, then a member of the Beit Alfa kibbutz, resolved to commemorate those who had dreamed of a return to Zion but had never reached the Promised Land because they had been brutally murdered by the Nazis. A presentation of the first draft of the project, under the name “An idea to commemorate all the victims of the Jewish catastrophe caused by the Nazi horror and the war”, was made to the Jewish National Fund (JNF) on 10 September 1942. At a later point, in the summer of 1945, an amended version of this project was proposed. Even as negotiations on appointment of such an institution were underway, in February 1946, a Yad Vashem office was opened in Jerusalem, along with a branch office in Tel Aviv.

The War of Independence hampered further developments, however, and only after it was over and ceasefire agreements were signed were efforts recommenced to create Yad Vashem. On 18 May 1953 the Knesset unanimously passed the Yad Vashem Law, whose objectives were defined as follows in paragraph 2: “The task of Yad Vashem is to gather in to the homeland material regarding all those members of the Jewish people who laid down their lives, who fought and rebelled against the Nazi enemy and his collaborators, and to perpetuate their memory and that of the communities, organizations and institutions which were destroyed because they were Jewish [...]”. The law also includes a resolution to commemorate “the high-minded Gentiles who risked their lives to save Jews.”²⁷⁴ The first chairman of the Yad Vashem directorate was Professor Ben-Zion Dinur; the incumbent chairman is Avner Shalev.

THE YAD VASHEM ARCHIVE

The role of the archive is defined in the Yad Vashem Law, paragraph 2 (2), as: “to collect, examine and publish testimony of the disaster and the heroism it called forth, and to bring home its lesson to the people”. Ben-Zion Dinur, in an article entitled “Problems Confronting Yad Washem [sic.] in its

²⁷⁴ Yad Vashem Law (1953), translation sourced from: http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/pdf/YV_law.pdf (access: 03.03.2014).

Work of Research”, made the following assessment: “It is the immediate duty of Yad Washem [sic.] to acquire for its archives as much of the widely dispersed documentary material as it is able to secure. Its aim must be to convert its archives into a central institution of its kind for research into the European catastrophe.”²⁷⁵

The founder and first director of the Yad Vashem Archives (YVA) was Dr Józef Kermisz²⁷⁶, previously one of the founder members of the Central Jewish Historical Commission (CŻKH) in Poland. Kermisz spent the years he worked in the YVA gathering as many materials as possible, both in Israel and abroad, and transforming his institution into one of the leading archives of its type in the world. The next director of the YVA, in the years 1978-1993, was Dr Shmuel (Stefan) Krakowski, who added many new collections of documents to the archives. In the late 1980s and early 1990s Krakowski greatly broadened the YVA’s activities to include sourcing and copying materials on the Holocaust held in Central and East European archives. From 1993 until the end of December 2007 the director of the archives was Dr Yaacov Lozowick. After his resignation, the position was filled in January 2008 by Dr Haim Gertner. During recent years a team of archive employees computerized the collections, digitalizing great parts of the documents as well as photo and film archives. Since the Archives as well as other divisions and departments of Yad Vashem are using the same Idea software, it was possible to create an integrated IT system²⁷⁷, which connects catalogues, databases, scans of documents, maps, photographs, films, victim lists, data on sites of persecution, dictionaries, catalogues of publications, etc., to facilitate comprehensive online searches and retrievals.

The Yad Vashem Archives possess many original collections, and thanks to intensive work on copying of archival material from many foreign archives, mainly from Europe, they also have very large quantities of copied archival material available to researchers as well as the general public. However, due to the many legal restrictions, scanned material from foreign archives in many cases may be viewed only in the reading rooms at Yad Vashem, after filling in special forms.

²⁷⁵ B. Dinur, “Problems confronting Yad Washem in its Work of Research”, *YVS*, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

²⁷⁶ D. Silberklang, “Józef Kermisz (1907-2005) – twórca badań nad Szoa”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, vol. 10, pp. 304-315.

²⁷⁷ The Union archive and library catalogues of other Israeli institutions using the same software with a Hebrew interface can be found at <http://www.infocenters.co.il/panorama.asp?site=iic&lang=heb> and <http://www.kibbutzarchives.org.il/>.

Following the national campaign called “Gathering the Fragments”, many Holocaust survivors and their families contributed their personal and family archives to Yad Vashem, thus enriching the archival collections and ensuring proper storage and conservation of the archival material, as well as cataloging and enabling access to this material for researchers and the general public.

The Yad Vashem Archives are divided into the following sections: the Documents Archive, the Online Photo Archive and Visual Center Film Database, and the Administrative Archive (which holds internal Yad Vashem documentation).

THE DOCUMENTS ARCHIVE

This is the largest section of the YVA, which currently holds some 154 million pages of documents. This archive differs from the others in that its collections were not amassed pursuant to administrative decisions resulting in the transfer of documents by designated institutions to form a body of holdings, but were created on the initiative and through the dedication of its team of employees, who recognized the immense significance of the Holocaust and resolved to gather all the documentation possible on the subject. The collections of the Documents Archive are divided into the following groups of records:

O – indicates “collection” (in Hebrew *osef*), and together with a number forms the basis for the system of identification of the various collections in the YVA, e.g. O.3 – Yad Vashem Testimonies; M – indicates “place”, or “position” (in Hebrew *makom*), and is used to indicate collections of the same provenance, e.g. M.54 – documents from Poland; P – personal collections; R – Nazi documentation; TR – trial materials; JM, together with a number, indicates microfilms (materials on microfilm may also form part of any collection); VT – video testimonies. At present the YVA has around 220 different record groups, including 50 original collections. Only part of the huge archival material can be searched online, at:

<http://collections1.yadvashem.org/search.asp?lang=ENG&rsvr=8>. There is also a database of Shoah-related lists available online:

<http://collections1.yadvashem.org/search.asp?lang=ENG&rsvr=17>. In order to obtain full information it is recommended that researchers contact Reference and Information Services: ref@yadvashem.org.il or ask for assistance at the reading room at the Yad Vashem Archives.

The collections which include materials on the Holocaust in the occupied Polish lands are as follows:

M.1 – Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the US Zone, Munich (CHC). The CHC was established in December 1945 in Munich, and had around 50 branches in various DP (Displaced Persons) camps in Germany. Testimonies were gathered using questionnaires that were distributed to the refugees. After three years' work, the CHC was dissolved.²⁷⁸

M.1.E – Testimonies. This is a subsection of collection M.1., which comprises around 2,500 survivor testimonies from a number of countries, including Poland, mostly recorded in Yiddish, German and Polish. These are original testimonies gathered by the CHC in Munich.

M.2 – Dr I. Schwarzbart Archive. He was a member of the Polish National Council of the Government-in-Exile in London. This collection contains Schwarzbart's correspondence with Polish and Jewish institutions, his diary, protocols, texts of broadcasts he made for the BBC, and materials on the situation of the Jews in occupied Poland.

M.9 – Jewish Historical Documentation Center, Linz (Simon Wiesenthal Collection). The Center was set up in 1947 by Simon Wiesenthal, who, after his liberation from Mauthausen concentration camp, devoted himself to tracking down Nazi war criminals. From 1958 onward, successive sections of its archive were transferred to Yad Vashem, some of them in the original.

M.10 – The Ringelblum Archives, comprising the subsections AR.1 and AR.2. These are copies of the Ringelblum Archive held in AŻIH in Warsaw.

M.11 – The Bialystok Ghetto Underground Archives (Mersik-Tennenbaum Archives). This collection also falls into two parts: I – documents gathered by the Ghetto Underground Archives, which have been given the names of the archive's founder, Mordechaj Tennenbaum-Tamaroff, and his deputy, Cwi Mersik; and II – testimonies gathered directly after the war by the Jewish Historical Commission in Bialystok, which constitute a very significant supplement to the wartime documents.

M.17 – Polish Jewish Refugee Fund, Geneva.²⁷⁹ This collection contains letters from Jewish refugees and forced labourers in labour camps, correspondence and reports on the situation of the refugees, and correspondence relating to the search for information about Jewish refugees by members of their families in Allied countries.

²⁷⁸ Jockusch, Laura, *Collect and Record! Help to Write the Jewish History of the latest destruction: Jewish Historical Commissions in Europe 1943-1953*, UMI, Ann Arbor, 2007.

²⁷⁹ Cf. B. Engelking, J. Grabowski, "Warszawscy Żydzi wydeleni ze Szwajcarii do Generalnego Gubernatorstwa. Studium przypadku", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 261-272.

M.28 – Joint Distribution Committee, Cracow. Among the materials in this record group are correspondence with foreign organizations, financial reports of the ŻSS, letters from Jewish mutual aid organizations, reports on the work of the Joint, and others.

M.31 – Righteous Among the Nations.²⁸⁰

M.49.E – ZIH Jewish Historical Institute Warsaw Testimonies Collection (collection 301).

M.49.P – ZIH Jewish Historical Institute Warsaw Diaries Collection (collection 302).

M.54 – National and Provincial Archives in Poland.

O.3 – Yad Vashem Collection of Testimonies, gathered by YV from 1954, chiefly in Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Polish, German, English, Hungarian and Romanian. The collection contains around 9,000 testimonies by Jewish survivors from across Europe, including many from the Polish lands. In the initial years of YV's operation they were recorded in writing, but over time, other recording techniques were implemented, above all audio, and more recently video. Those testimonies recorded using audio and/or video technology are also transcribed, and depositions made in languages other than Hebrew are also translated into that language. The collection includes over 1,300 archival items in Polish.

O.5 –Tuvia Friedman Collection (Jüdische Historische Dokumentation) Vienna. This centre was founded in Vienna in mid-1946 and over the years amassed large quantities of materials that were used in the trials of the Nazi war criminals. After 1948 it was transferred to Haifa. The collection contains testimonies, statements and correspondence.

O.6 – Poland Collection. Comprises varied materials (some original) in Polish, German, Hebrew and English, from donations by survivors and private collections.

O.12 – Perlman Testimonies Collection of Refugees from Poland. This is a collection of testimonies (most of them in Hebrew or Yiddish) gathered in Palestine in the years 1942-1943 from refugees from Poland.

O.21 – Weichert Collection about Jewish Welfare²⁸¹ **in the Generalgouvernement.** Contains archival documents such as lists of ordinances and legal acts concerning the Jews, as well as testimonies and press cuttings, correspondence, reports on the work of the ŻSS, documents relating to the charges of collaboration levelled at Weichert, and the ensuing court case filed against him after the war. Some of Weichert's papers were transferred to YV in 1958.

²⁸⁰ The subject of the Righteous Among the Nations is addressed in more detail in the latter part of the chapter on Yad Vashem.

²⁸¹ Cf. Part II of this *Guide*.

O.25 – Documentation about the Polish Government in Exile in London. Most of these highly diverse materials are from the Archive of the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust, the Sikorski Institute, and the Archive of Party History affiliated to the KC PZPR (the original material of which is now in the AAN in Warsaw). They concern the situation of the Jews in occupied Poland, the Warsaw ghetto, and Polish-Jewish relations. There are press cuttings, reports and telegrams from the underground to London, as well as testimonies and documents referencing the major deportation from the Warsaw ghetto to Treblinka, eye-witness accounts of the liquidation of ghettos in occupied Poland, reports on the extermination of the Jews sent to London by the Polish Delegation, etc.

O.33 – Various Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection. Most of these items are in Hebrew, Russian, Yiddish, German, Polish, English, French, Hungarian or Romanian. They are materials given to the YVA by all kinds of individuals, both survivors and family members who have the originals in their family collections. The testimonies in this collection differ from those in record group O.3 in that they are not interviews conducted by Yad Vashem employees or accounts recorded by them, but texts written by the authors themselves. There are also original diaries and memoirs from the Holocaust period, as well as memoirs written after the war. The collection includes over 500 items in Polish.

O.34 – N. Zonabend Collection about the Lodz Ghetto. Contains many original posters and public announcements issued by the chairman of the Jewish Ältestenrat (Council of Elders), along with reports on living conditions in the ghetto and other items. The majority of the collection is made up of copies of originals in the YIVO archive in New York. There is a print inventory.²⁸²

O.37 – Displaced Persons Collection (*She'erit Hapletah*). Main languages: German, English, Hebrew and Polish. The materials in Polish include lists of members of Jewish committees, letters from survivors, correspondence of the *landsmanshaftn* of various locations, and survivors' personal documents.

O.51 – Nazi Documentation. German documents originating in the RSHA chancellery, the SD, and the SS, including Einsatzgruppen reports, diaries of Nazi leaders, and original documents such as German posters and public announcements.

²⁸² See: Bibliography at the end of this *Guide*.

O.55 – Warsaw Ghetto Archives of Alexander B. Bernfes²⁸³ about the Warsaw ghetto and the Polish Government in Exile; it also contains correspondence and personal documents belonging to Bernfes.

O.62 – Borwicz Collection. Copies of testimonies gathered by Michał Borwicz²⁸⁴ during his work at the Jewish Historical Commission (ŻKH) in Krakow.

O.75 – Letters and Postcards Collection. This is a collection of correspondence from the interwar, postwar and above all war years. It includes materials in many languages and from various locations – correspondence between family members in the occupied countries and outside Europe.

P.5 – W. Jasny Archive about Łódź, Poland. Wolf Jasny was a writer who devoted his life to studying the history of the Łódź ghetto. This collection includes personal documents, memoirs, correspondence (1945-1968), telegrams and letters, articles on well-known figures, lectures, notes for a dictionary, alphabetical lists of physicians from the Łódź ghetto, teachers, and others who perished in the Holocaust.

P.16 – Rachel Auerbach²⁸⁵ Collection. Bequest of the writer, Warsaw ghetto underground activist, close collaborator of Dr Emanuel Ringelblum, and member of the group Oneg Shabat. Comprises mostly notes, testimonies and correspondence on the fate of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. Many of the documents refer to the question of being in hiding on the “Aryan” side in Warsaw after the liquidation of the ghetto.

P.28 – Michał Borwicz Collection (personal documents and correspondence).

TR.9 – Auschwitz Trials. Materials from the trials held in Frankfurt am Main in the years 1963-1966.

TR 11 – Israel Police Investigations of Nazi Crimes. The Israeli police created a special unit analogous to the GKBZHWP, or the Extraordinary State Commission (Chrezvychaynaya Gosudarstvennaya Komissiya, ChGK) in the Soviet Union, known as the HPN (*Hakirot pishe*

²⁸³ Aleksander Bernfes (b. 1909 in Warsaw), fled Poland via Romania and Spain, reaching London in 1942. He devoted decades of work to amassing documents referencing the Warsaw ghetto and the extermination of Poland's Jewry. He directed the 1966 BBC film *Warsaw Ghetto* and exhibitions on the subject. He was also the editor of the print publication of Stroop's report in London in 1973.

²⁸⁴ Michał Maksymilian Borwicz (real name Boruchowicz, 1911 Tarnów – 1987 Nice), writer, man of letters, outstanding Holocaust historian. Studied at the Jagiellonian University, worked as a journalist. During the war he was in Lwów; he spent time in the Janowska camp. Later, he fought with the PPS partisan forces. After the war he became involved with the work of the ŻKH, but in 1947 he left Poland for Paris. He was awarded a doctorate from the Sorbonne, where he worked as a lecturer. He had many works on the Holocaust published.

²⁸⁵ Rachela Auerbach, ps. “Aniela” (1901 Łanowce – 1976 Jerusalem), translator, journalist, writer, social activist. She studied in Lwów at the Jan Kazimierz University, moving to Warsaw in 1933. In the Warsaw ghetto she joined the underground movement Oneg Shabat, gathering and developing various materials, and keeping a diary of her own. In March 1943 she escaped from the ghetto to the “Aryan” side and survived. After the war she worked at the CKŻP, and in 1950 she emigrated to Israel. She worked with YV, and wrote a number of books.

Hanatzim – investigations into Nazi crimes), whose task was to gather documentation relating to Nazi crimes. Not having the wherewithal for direct, effective action that would lead to charges being brought against Nazi criminals and their being brought to trial (with the exception of Adolf Eichmann), it focused above all on gathering documents and eye-witness testimonies. The purpose of this was to facilitate the arrest of war criminals by the police forces of other countries and to prepare evidentiary materials for their trials. The commissions also gathered eye-witness testimonies at the request of the police forces of other countries in order to supplement trial materials. For the most part these materials refer to sites where these crimes were committed (concentration camps, extermination camps and labour camps) and to the activities of the various criminals.

TR.17 – Main Commission for Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People (now the AIPN). Copies.

PHOTO AND FILM ARCHIVES

The Photo and Film Archives are an integral part of the YVA that specializes in gathering, cataloguing, conserving, examining and releasing photographic and film materials. These collections include photographic prints, traditional and glass negatives, albums, digital copies of photographs from other archives, etc. The Photo Archive is fully catalogued, and all its photographs, aside from new arrivals, are scanned and may be viewed on computer screens, without the necessity to order the originals from the store. This helps not only to ensure that the original materials are preserved in the right conditions, but also to eliminate the time-consuming process of releasing items in the traditional way. High-definition photographic material may be ordered in digital form for publications. At present the archival collections number some 420,000 photographs, but every year thousands of new ones are received, many of them original photographs, mostly donated by individuals. The majority of new acquisitions, however, are copies from other archives. Most of the Photo Archive is available online at:

<http://collections1.yadvashem.org/search.asp?lang=ENG&rsvr=7>. The Film Database is in possession of tens of thousands of films, most of them video testimonies of Holocaust survivors, documentaries, and feature films. There are also around 240 films in their original format (on film reel). In order to safeguard these original materials, and for greater ease of viewing, the collection is in the process of being transferred onto digital media. At present, the Visual Center has some 50 computer screens on which around 5,000 digitized films are available to watch; the same screens may be used to access the catalogue and, once relevant material is found, to watch it, without the need to

order, wait for and physically retrieve original material. The most important items in this archive are the video recordings of survivor testimonies (of which there are several hundred). The online film catalog is available at: <http://db.yadvashem.org/films/search.html?language=en>.

CENTRAL DATABASE OF SHOAH VICTIMS' NAMES

One of the primary aims of Yad Vashem, pursuant to the law of 1953, is to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. In many cases, above all in Western Europe (the Netherlands, France, Italy, many places in Germany, Terezin, Vienna, and other cities), detailed lists of the names of Jews deported to the concentration camps and extermination camps were compiled during the war. This documentation has survived and is accessible to scholars, family members and other interested parties. The majority of Holocaust victims, however, were transported directly to the extermination camps without any form of registration. Some lists of transports that were made were destroyed by the Germans (e.g. in KL Auschwitz-Birkenau). The people murdered by the Einsatzgruppen in the East, following the German seizure of territories previously occupied by the Soviet Union, were also not registered in any way.

Many of those who perished in the labour camps or were murdered during ghetto evacuations or in other circumstances also died nameless. The burial sites of the majority of Holocaust victims are unknown. Only those Jews who died before the mass deportations began had any chance of being buried in accordance with religious rite, though not all of them were. Most were interred in mass graves in a manner debasing their human dignity, or were burned in crematoria ovens or on pyres, which is in violation of Jewish custom.

Commemoration of the names of these victims symbolizes a restitution of their honour and a return of the human dignity of which they were stripped. Information on the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names is to be found in Part III of this *Guide*. The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names is available online at: <http://db.yadvashem.org/names/search.html?language=en>.

THE RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS

The foremost aim of Yad Vashem as enshrined in its founding law is the commemoration and perpetuation of testimony to the six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Also inscribed in the second paragraph of that law is the obligation to honour "the high-minded Gentiles who risked their

lives to save Jews.”²⁸⁶ In 1963 a special commission chaired by a judge from the Israeli Supreme Court was charged with reviewing applications and awarding medals of honour to the “Righteous Among the Nations”. This commission examines all the documentation in detail, including the testimonies of the survivors and of eye-witnesses.

In order to assess accurately the actions and motivations of the rescuers, it takes into consideration all the circumstances surrounding the story of the rescue, but the most important element is the testimony of the survivors themselves, which is essentially a vital condition of the award of the title. The supplementary information should include a description of the situation in which the contact between the survivor and their rescuer was established, a description of the assistance given, whether and in what form recompense was given for the assistance, and if it was, what amount, and a description of the dangers faced by anyone trying to rescue Jews at that time. Of lesser significance, though of no less interest, are the factors motivating those who extended the assistance – whether humanitarian, religious, etc. – and the attitude of the rescuer to their protégé. Other facts and documents are also of importance, but in the majority of cases the survivors do not have the relevant evidence. From the other angle, the commission gathers all possible materials on a given case, including information on the rescuer’s character. People who in certain situations rescued Jews but in other circumstances persecuted them cannot be honoured. The documentation of the Righteous Among the Nations Department includes information on a very important aspect of the history of the Holocaust. To date, over 24,000 people have been honoured with the title “Righteous Among the Nations”, over 6,000 of them from Poland. In recent years biographies of the Righteous have been published in the series *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, one volume of which is devoted to the Righteous from Poland.²⁸⁷

Documentation held in the Department of the Righteous Among the Nations may be released for research purposes on a limited basis and on obtaining the consent of the director of the department. The online database of the Righteous Among the Nations is available at: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/search.html?language=en>.

²⁸⁶ Yad Vashem Law (1953), op. cit.

²⁸⁷ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust – Poland*, Editor-in-Chief: Israel Gutman, volume editors: Sara Bender and Shmuel Krakowski, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2004. [Updated Polish edition: *Księga Sprawiedliwych Wśród Narodów Świata. Ratujący Żydów podczas Holokaustu: Polska*. Vol 1-2, Eds Israel Gutman, Sara Bender, Shmuel Krakowski, Instytut Studiów Strategicznych-Yad Vashem, Kraków, 2009].

PINKAS HA-KEHILOT (BOOKS OF COMMUNITIES)

The publication (in Hebrew) of a series of Jewish community books (*Pinkas ha-kehillot – Polin*) was one of the fundamental objectives of Yad Vashem. To date, eight such books have been published for Poland.²⁸⁸ These cover the entire territory of the country in its pre-1st September 1939 borders. Each volume takes in entire regions, and profiles the Jewish communities in the various localities from their inception up to the postwar period. The main part covers the period of the Holocaust, though in many cases the information on this subject is insufficiently detailed and documented. Nevertheless, the essential aim of the project – the recreation of the history of the Jewish communities that were annihilated – has been achieved. The various articles offer an overview of the history of the Jewish communities and as such are a good point of departure for further monographic research, though as time elapses and successive studies and publications are undertaken, the information in them is often proved inaccurate. For some countries, these books cover the entire country (e.g. those for Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Yugoslavia), while for others (e.g. Germany) only certain regions are taken in. Owing to the restricted accessibility of the information included in these community books (which are published in Hebrew), an initiative was undertaken to publish an abridged, three-volume version in English.²⁸⁹ In spite of its immense usefulness, however, it has been so abridged that it now comprises only encyclopaedia-style entries incorporating around ten percent of the content published or prepared for the publication of the texts in the more than twenty volumes of the Hebrew original.

LIBRARY

The YV Library gathers all published materials on the Holocaust and related subjects in one of the world's largest library collections on the subject. At present, it has holdings of around 125,000 titles and out-of-print items in over 54 languages, as well as some 4,000 periodicals. The majority of the books are in German, English and Hebrew, though there are also publications in French, Polish,

²⁸⁸ *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin* (Book of communities – Poland), vol. I – *Lodz and its region*, ed. Danuta Dąbrowska and Avraham Wein, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1976; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. II – *Eastern Galicia*, ed. Danuta Dąbrowska, Avraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1980; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. III – *Western Galicia and Silesia*, ed. Avraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1984; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. IV – *Warsaw and region*, ed. Avraham Wein, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1989; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. V – *Volhynia and Polesie*, ed. Shemuel Spector, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1990; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. VI – *Poznan and Pomerania Districts*, ed. Avraham Wein, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1999; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. VII – *Lublin, Kielce districts*, ed. Avraham Wein, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1999; *Pinkas Hakehillot – Polin*, vol. VIII – *Vilna, Bialystok, Novogrodek districts*, ed. Shemuel Spector, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2005.

²⁸⁹ *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and During the Holocaust*, editor-in-chief: Shmuel Spector, consulting editor: Geoffrey Wigoder, foreword by Elie Wiesel, vol. 1-3, Yad Vashem – New York University Press, New York 2001.

Russian and Yiddish. The library catalogue is fully computerised and permits various kinds of searches: by author, title, keywords and subject, as well as other, more advanced options. Yad Vashem Library catalogue is also part of the ULI (Israel Union Catalogue) and ULS (Union List of Serials) electronic databases, which in turn are accessible via the National Library of Israel portal. The Yad Vashem Library catalogue is available online at:

<http://db.yadvashem.org/library/search.html?language=en>.

The YV library and archive share a reading room and study space, and the storage stacks of both departments are in the same building, which means that use of its materials by scholars or the wider public is easier and more convenient than in other similar institutions. Its impressive shelf collection includes the fundamental subject literature, encyclopedias, dictionaries, various other publications, atlases, periodicals and publications comprising documents on the Holocaust, which enables visitors to find information quickly. The rest of its books and periodicals are held in its stacks, and have to be requested. The shelf collection in the reading room also includes one of the world's largest collections of yizkor (memorial) books of Jewish diaspora communities (*landsmanshaftn*) (cf. Part II of this *Guide*).

MUSEUM

The new YV Museum was officially opened on 15 March 2005. With more than 4,200 m² of exhibition space, it is a multimedia museum that presents the history of the Holocaust from the Jewish perspective, showcasing the personal experiences of the survivors through video testimonies, excerpts from diaries and memoirs, and personal effects. The architecture of the museum, which is located underground almost in its entirety, symbolizes the Holocaust as an unprecedented event that slashed through the fates of both individuals and the history of the entire Jewish nation, severing the thread of continuity between the annihilated Jewish world and the restoration of normal life thereafter. The panorama of contemporary Israel displayed in the final section of the exhibition is an attempt to restore hope for the future. The exhibition is arranged in chronological and thematic order, and includes a rich array not only of original artefacts and facsimiles, but also of modern media technologies screening films and playing testimonies on the Nazi period in Germany and the World War II period. The final section examines the vicissitudes of the survivors, their attempts to rebuild the lives of their families and Jewish communities and organizations, their time spent in DP camps, and their roads to the land of Israel and the creation of a state of their own.

Connected to the museum is the Hall of Names, where the names of the Holocaust victims are held. Here again, the architecture offers a symbolic representation of the axis between the abyss and the heavens. The Art Museum displays works by artists made in the unimaginably difficult conditions of the Holocaust, as well as works referencing experiences from that period but executed after the war by survivors and other artists.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR HOLOCAUST RESEARCH

The institute was founded in 1993 to encourage Holocaust research by initiating new study projects, providing support to scholars from Israel and abroad (by awarding study grants), organizing conferences and seminars, and publishing the most recent research in the field. The institute's first director, in the years 1993-1996, was Professor Israel Gutman; he was succeeded in the post by Professor Yehuda Bauer. From August 2000 Professor David Bankier held the post until his death on 27 February 2010. Up to that date, the institute's chief historian was Professor Dan Michman. In 2011 Prof. Dan Michman became head of the institute and he still holds this position. Since October 2011 Prof. Dina Porat from Tel Aviv University has served as Chief Historian of Yad Vashem. The current director of the institute is Dr. Iael Nidam-Orvieto.

Among the most important research projects conducted in the institute have been the many-volume publication *The History of the Holocaust*; *Transports to Extinction: Shoah (Holocaust) Transports Database*, "Encyclopedia of the Ghettos"; "The Untold Stories: The Murder Sites of the Jews in the Occupied Territories of the Former USSR", the *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*; and "The Contribution of Survivors to the Building of the State of Israel" as well as "Children and the Holocaust".

YAD VASHEM STUDIES

This periodical, which has been coming out since 1957, is a forum for presenting the results of Holocaust research conducted by both Israeli and foreign scholars. The editors-in-chief of *Yad Vashem Studies* (YVS) to date have been, in order, Ben-Zion Dinur, Shaul Esh, Natan Eck, Arie Leon Kubovy, Livia Rothkirchen and Aharon Weiss. The current editor-in-chief is Dr David Silberklang. YVS is published in tandem Hebrew and English editions.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL FOR HOLOCAUST STUDIES

The School for Holocaust Studies was founded with the aim of promoting knowledge about the Holocaust; it educates both Israeli young people and visitors from other countries, and runs courses for teachers. Every year many groups from countries including Poland take part in its two-week seminar programmes. The school has its own immediate-access library, and its instructors prepare sets of educational materials in many European languages; these are also available on the school's website:

<http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/education/index.asp>

YAD VASHEM – CONTACTS

<http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/contacts/contacts.asp>

Email addresses for the various departments of Yad Vashem:

General information: general.information@yadvashem.org.il

Reference and Information Services: ref@yadvashem.org.il

Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names: central.database@yadvashem.org.il

Library: library@yadvashem.org.il

Museum: museum@yadvashem.org.il

International Relations Division: international.relations@yadvashem.org.il

Publications: publications.marketing@yadvashem.org.il

International Institute for Holocaust Research: Research.institute@yadvashem.org.il

International School for Holocaust Studies: international.school@yadvashem.org.il

Righteous Among the Nations Department: righteous.nations@yadvashem.org.il

Recording Holocaust Survivors' Testimonies: testimonies@yadvashem.org.il

Media: media.relations@yadvashem.org.il

Visual Center: visual.center@yadvashem.org.il

MASSUAH ARCHIVES AND INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST AT KIBBUTZ TEL YITZCHAK

The Massuah Institute was established in the Tel Yitzchak Kibbutz in 1972 by former members of the youth organizations Hanoar Hazioni and Akiva. Its core activity is teaching on the Holocaust. The institute has a library, an archive, a teaching centre, an auditorium, an amphitheatre, and lecture

rooms. Its educational and history museum comprises a hall of memory, a permanent exhibition, a multimedia centre and temporary exhibitions.

ARCHIVE

The Massuah Archive, originally founded as the archive of the youth movements Hanoar Hatzioni and Akiva, gradually expanded and subsumed the archives of several other organizations as well: Hehalutz Haklali Tzioni, Haoved Hatzioni, the Progressive Party, and the Independent Liberals. The institute's archives are divided into two main sections: the archive of historical documents and Holocaust-era artefacts, and the visual archive. The document archive holds a large collection of Holocaust-period documents and objects, as well as a collection of survivor testimonies. In all, it has some 60,000 archival items in several languages and on a range of subjects. As one of the main objectives of the archive is to commemorate the members of Zionist youth movements, it works to gather all manner of information on members of these organizations who are still alive and those who perished during the Holocaust. Among the documents on the Holocaust referencing the Polish lands and periods close in time to the Shoah are the following:

The Hanoar Hatzioni collection; the Akiva collection; the United Hanoar Hatzioni and Akiva collection (from the postwar period); collections on the Hehalutz Haklali-Tzioni, Hashomer Haleumi, Hashomer, and Haoved Hatzioni movements; a collection of documents from the pre-Holocaust period (documents and photographs referencing Jewish shtetl and family life); collections of objects of religious and of ethnographic significance; a collection of painting relating to Polish Jews; documents and photographs from the ghettos (in particular documents relating to the activities of youth movements); documents connected with the Zagłębie region, Trzebinia, and the camps; miscellaneous artefacts from the Holocaust period (camp uniforms, symbols, armbands, silverware); survivor testimonies; and collections relating to survivors – *She'erit Hapletah*²⁹⁰ (documents from DP camps, children's homes, and others relating to illegal emigration); mail items – original letters, stamps, postcards (over 6,500) and a unique collection of postal service stamps from the period of the war; a collection referencing commemoration of the Holocaust in Israel and abroad; and a copy of the Eichmann trial files.

²⁹⁰ S. Krakowski, "Memorial projects and memorial institutions initiated by 'She'erit Hapletah'", *She'erit Hapletah, 1944-1948: Rehabilitation and Political Struggle, Proceedings of the Sixth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, 1985*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1990, pp. 388-398.

The visual section of the archives contains drawings, paintings, printed matter, illustrations, reproductions and sculptures made during the Holocaust and in later periods (131 items of this type). The photographic archive numbers some 30,000 items. The Massuah Archive holds detailed testimonies of some 300 Holocaust survivors, altogether about 2,000 hours of film.

The Documents Archive uses the Idea software, which is the same as that used by Yad Vashem. The electronic catalogue is accessible on the internet at:

<http://www.infocenters.co.il/massuah/search.asp?lang=ENG&dlang=HEB&module=search&page=criteria&rsvr=4¶m=%3Cuppernav%3Ecomplex%3C/%3E¶m2=&site=massuah>

The online catalog permits searches of documents online. A considerable part of Documents Archive is digitalized and documents marked with an "eye" icon in the catalogue may be viewed online. The archives are continuously receiving new items, mainly from private collections and family archives.

Among the document collections referencing the Holocaust (H) are the following²⁹¹:

H 1/3 – birth certificates, Krakow, 1939,

H 1/6 – accreditation letters for police officers, Będzin, 1941,

H 1/16 – miscellaneous documents, Warsaw, 1943-1944,

H 1/18 – doctors' degree certificates, Krakow, 1942,

H 1/29 – documents of the Ikhud Hanoar Hatzioni organization in Elbląg, 1947-1948,

H 1/39 – Polish passports, 1946,

H 1/43 – documents connected with Ikhud,

H 1/45 – an antisemitic poster, Sosnowiec, 1930s,

H 3/1 – miscellaneous documents, Kaunas, 1944,

H 4/8 – personal identity documents, Warsaw, 1944,

H 4/18 – documents, Warsaw, 1943,

H 4/28 – documents, Będzin, 1940-1942,

H 4/35 – documents, Krakow, 1942,

H 4/36 – documents, Krakow, 1943,

H 4/42 – employment certificates, Łódź, 1940,

H 5/2 – documents of the underground movement, Sosnowiec, 1943,

²⁹¹ "The Massuah Archives at Kibbutz Tel Yitzchak", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 527-530.

H 6/5 – materials relating to survivors, Łódź, 1946-1949,
 H 6/12 – Łódź, 1941,
 H 6/15 – personal identity documents, Łódź, 1944,
 H 7/3 – miscellaneous documents, Warsaw, Vilnius, Kaunas, 1939-1940,
 H 7/6 – a ghetto newspaper (*Geto Tzeitung*), Łódź, 1941,
 H 7/9 – pages from “Dziennik Justyny” (Justyna’s diary), Krakow,
 H 8/1 – anti-Jewish legislation: Jasło, Gorlice, Warsaw,
 H 7/17 – the Hanoar Hatzioni front, campaign reports, Komitet Zdrowia (Health Committee), Łódź, 1943,
 H 7/26 – police authorization papers, Będzin, 1941,
 H 7/34 – employment certificates, Łódź, 1943-1944,
 H 9/13 – miscellaneous documents, Krakow, 1939-1940,
 H 9/18 – employment certificates, Warsaw, 1944,
 H 9/24 – miscellaneous documents, Warsaw, Łódź, 1943-1946,
 H 9/35 – miscellaneous documents, Krakow, 1945,
 H 10/3 – miscellaneous documents, Będzin, n.d.,
 H 10/9 – miscellaneous documents, Będzin, 1942,
 H 10/13 – employment permits, Łódź, 1942,
 H 10/24 – miscellaneous documents, Warsaw, 1943.

EDUCATION CENTER AND LIBRARY

The institute’s library, which at once serves as its education centre, is fully computerized and indexed to its databases. Its collections include books, periodicals, educational software, sets of materials on particular subjects, documentary films and video survivor testimonies, press cuttings, and other visual materials. The subjects of the collections are the Holocaust period, the Jewish world before the war, antisemitism, racism and genocide before and after the Holocaust, and the universal aspects of all these issues. There are also specialist materials on ways to teach about the Holocaust. The library contains some 10,000 items.

MORESHET – MORDECHAI ANIELEVICH MEMORIAL HOLOCAUST STUDY AND RESEARCH CENTER

<http://www.moreshet.org/?CategoryID=188>

Moreshet – Mordechai Anielewicz Memorial Holocaust Study and Research Center was founded in 1963 by a group of Jewish partisans and ghetto fighters who emigrated to Israel after the war. Their leader was Abba Kovner, one of the commanders of the Jewish underground in the Vilnius ghetto (FPO – Fareynikte Partizaner Organizatsye, the United Partisan Organization), and on leaving the ghetto the commander of one of the Jewish partisan units operating in the forest in the Vilnius region. This group undertook the formidable task of collating and handing down to subsequent generations testimonies and artefacts from the Holocaust period commemorating the Jewish struggle and resistance. In this they were carrying out the will not only of those partisans and fighters who survived, but also of many of those who did not. The Moreshet Center showcases the organized Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, in particular the role played by the young and by Jewish youth movements in Nazi-occupied Europe. Its present-day work is heavily weighted toward contact with young people, organizing seminars and meetings aimed at this audience. In this way it aims to build a bridge between the generation of Jews who lived through the Holocaust as young people, and the youth of today. It was often very young people who played leading roles in Jewish underground organizations – most of them members or leaders of a range of youth organizations. Moreshet profiles these people, their work, and the problems they faced. It asks questions, for instance, about their responsibility for the rest of Jewish society, those who were not able to take part in the armed struggle, but could be affected by subsequent repressions. Today Moreshet is above all an educational and research centre. It is located in Giv'at Haviva, which is itself named in honour of Haviva Reik, a female member of Hashomer Hatzair born in Slovakia. During the war Reik joined the British army, and on 21 September 1944 was dropped, with a parachute unit from Palestine, into German-occupied territory to bring aid and support to the persecuted Jews, and to organize armed resistance. On 20 November 1944 she was arrested by the Germans and murdered.

The centre, which is reminiscent of a university campus, offers a peaceful, reflective setting in which to conduct scholarly research and work with young people. Since 1963 Moreshet has published a scientific journal, *Yalkut Moreshet* (in Hebrew), and many publications in book form.

ARCHIVE

The Moreshet Archive holds documents and sources donated to it by survivors. Its collections are constantly being augmented by new acquisitions. Among recent new additions is a collection of unique documents belonging to Abba Kovner and David Gur, two leaders of the Jewish

underground, in Poland and Hungary, respectively. Other personal collections include those of Rozka Korczak, Chaïke Grossman, Shalom Cholewsky, and Yehoshua Buechler.

The collections are divided into the following types of materials:

- Testimonies and Memoires (RG A)
- Personal documents and private archives (bequests) of Holocaust survivors (RG C)
- Documents, letters and journals (RG D.1)
- Artworks and literature (RG D.7)
- Photographs (RG D.4)
- Jewish and non-Jewish newspapers (RG D.5)
- Memorial books (*yizkor-bikher*) of European Jewish communities (RG K)
- Manuscripts, including academic studies, seminar papers, MA theses and PhD dissertations, as well as personal diaries of the survivors (RG D.2)
- Video tapes (RG I)
- Audio tapes (RG G)
- Memorabilia (RG D.3)
- Inventory and catalogues (RG E)

THE GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE. KIBBUTZ LOCHAMEI HA'GETAOT

The Ghetto Fighters' House – Itzhak Katzenelson Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum was founded in 1949 by a community of Holocaust survivors who had been members of the underground in ghettos in Poland, and fighters in partisan units. The purpose of the Ghetto Fighters' House was to showcase the struggle of the Jewish nation against the Nazis, in the ghettos, in partisan detachments, and in the ranks of the Allied armies, and to commemorate those who perished. It was the first museum in the world to be devoted entirely to commemoration of the Holocaust and Jewish resistance. The Ghetto Fighters' Museum also has a broad range of educational projects aimed at young people and adults in Israel and abroad.

MUSEUM

The Ghetto Fighters' Museum has several permanent exhibitions illustrating the prewar life of Europe's Jewish communities, the life and struggle of the Jews during the Holocaust, and the return to "normal" life after the war. Other exhibitions are devoted to artworks on the theme of the Holocaust, and works executed by Jewish artists who survived the Shoah.

LIBRARY

The Ghetto Fighters' House Library was established to gather and preserve all forms of printed matter connected with the Holocaust and the Jewish resistance movement during World War II. At present it numbers around 50,000 volumes in Hebrew, English and many other languages; it also has a group of special collections. All its holdings are computerized, and searches for relevant material may be made on site. Among its special collections are memorial books (*yizkor-bikher*) of Jewish communities, published testimonies and memoirs, studies, photograph albums, literary works, collections on antisemitism and Nazi ideology, publications of literature in Yiddish, educational programmes, and films. The first books were donated to the Ghetto Fighters' House Library by members of the kibbutz themselves, from their own private collections. Most of these were books published in Polish, Yiddish and Russian shortly after the war. Many of them were given by Icchak (Antek) Cukierman.²⁹² In the initial years of its operation, the Ghetto Fighters' House had no external sources of financing and could not make purchases, and so the majority of its acquisitions were sourced from donations from individuals or institutions. In the 1950s the Jewish National Library received the private libraries of Jews that had been confiscated by the Nazis; sent to Israel on an initiative of the World Jewish Congress, many of them were passed on to the Ghetto Fighters' House Library.

The Library holds publications on the following subjects:

- the theory of racism, Nazi ideology and Nazi publications,
- Nazi propaganda,
- publications released by the Schocken publishing house in the period 1931-1939,
- collections of issues of *Der Stürmer* and books for children and young people published by the Stürmer Verlag publishing house,
- books containing speeches by Goebbels, Goering, Rosenberg and others.

²⁹² Icchak Cukierman, ps. "Antek" (1915 Vilnius – 1981 Israel, Lochamei ha-Getaot kibbutz), Zionist activist, one of the leaders of the underground movement in the Warsaw ghetto, husband of Cywia Lubetkin. Active in the Hehalutz and Dror movements. Member of the Jewish Combat Organization (ZOB) High Command and a ZOB liaison with the AK and the PPR. During the uprising he coordinated aid for the fighters, which chiefly involved leading the few survivors out of the ghetto through the sewers. After the war he was a member of the CKŻP Presidium, and a co-organizer of the clandestine emigration operation Berihah. He himself emigrated in 1946, and with his wife founded the Ghetto Fighters' House kibbutz. He appeared as a witness at the Eichmann Trial. Author of many books and articles.

In later periods the employees of the Ghetto Fighters' House Library actively sought out new publications on the Holocaust and gradually augmented their collections. Over the subsequent years, many people and institutions donated books to the library free of charge, in this way adding to its collections.

THE GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE ARCHIVE

The Ghetto Fighters' House archive holds over 2,500,000 items, including letters, certificates, diaries and written, audio and video testimonies, films, photographs and displays. The archive collections cover the history of the Jewish nation during the first half of the twentieth century and a wide range of other areas such as its spiritual life, traditions and religion, society, education, economics, Holocaust and resistance, and the nation's revival in the Land of Israel. The Documents Archive uses the Idea software, which is also used by the Yad Vashem and Massuah archives. The archive catalogue is accessible online at:

<http://iis.infocenters.co.il/gfh/search.asp?lang=ENG&dlang=ENG&module=search&page=criteria&rsvr=1¶m=%3Cuppernav%3Eglobal%3C/%3E¶m2=&site=gfh>

Currently over 250,000 items are available on line, including albums of rescued children (Coordinatsia Collection), as well as other Holocaust-related albums, the Holland archive, and the Adolf Berman Collection, which documents the underground rescue operation of Polish Jewry after the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The archive continues to collect objects from the Holocaust period such as: letters, diaries and memoirs, certificates of active combat against the Nazis, forged "Aryan" identification certificates, medals, arms, ghetto currency, maps, tools, household appliances, and all kinds of other objects.

THE AMERICAN-JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE ARCHIVES IN JERUSALEM

The American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) was founded in 1914. The AJDC Archive documents not only its own activities but also significant events affecting the fate of the Jews in the countries of Europe and throughout the world. It has amassed documents on the subjects of aid extended to Jewish refugees after Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, aid provided to Jews in the occupied territories during World War II, and later aid to Holocaust survivors in various countries. The archive collects a wide range of materials:

- documents including AJDC protocols and reports, descriptions of aid programmes and their implementation, personal documents, private letters, consignment documents, correspondence, etc.,
- photographs related to Jewish communities,
- books, some of them unique,
- audio recordings of eye-witness testimonies and interviews,
- unique artefacts, printed matter and manuscripts.

The AJDC archive is also in possession of documents referring to the efforts undertaken by that organization to save Jews during World War II, catalogues of those who received assistance in crossing the Spanish border, documents about the St. Louis (a ship that ferried refugees), registration cards of Holocaust survivors to whom the AJDC gave aid during the postwar emigration operation, documents referring to confiscated property, etc. The collections that contain documentation relating to the Polish lands are the following²⁹³:

- Geneva Collection (1945-1970): reports, correspondence and press cuttings on Jewish life in Poland and the work of the AJDC in Poland, emigration of Jewish survivors from Poland, lists of survivors,
- Istanbul Collection (1944-1947): correspondence between the AJDC office in Istanbul and representatives of the organization in Poland, lists of aid dispatched to Poland, lists of survivors,
- Malben Collection (1945-1948): reports, correspondence and press cuttings on the conditions in postwar Poland, dispatch of aid consignments from Palestine to Poland,
- Photographic collection (pre-1939 and post-1944): contains around 150 photographs connected with Poland, above all from the postwar period,
- Films (1946): documentary recordings from Poland after the war, and some from the pre-war period,
- Microfilms of some of the record groups at AŻIH.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF ISRAEL

The National Library of Israel (NLI - formerly known as the Jewish National and University Library – JNUL) serves two primary purposes: it is the National Library of the State of Israel and the National Library of the Jewish Nation. As the National Library it is under obligation to collect all materials printed in Israel. It also collects and acquires foreign publications about Israel. Israeli

²⁹³ Cf. S. Kadosh, “American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives in Jerusalem. Records on Poland”, [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 487-488.

printed matter on all subjects is collected in the library irrespective of format, language, literary value, or political or social orientation. The same is true of periodicals, both national and local newspapers, bulletins, and the papers of trade unions, specialist professional organizations, youth movements, schools, etc. The National Library of Israel also amasses books, periodicals, manuscripts and documents, audio recordings, maps and photographs, etc., that pertain to the history of the Jewish nation, its culture, various aspects of the life of its society, its languages, schooling system, scientific activity, religion, folklore, philosophy, literature, and so on. This refers to materials in all the Jewish languages, esp. Hebrew, Yiddish and Ladino. The library also collects publications on the history and culture of the countries in which Jews have lived. At present, the National Library's "Hebraica" and "Judaica" collections are the largest of their type in the world. The National Library was founded in 1892 as a world centre for collecting and storing books on Jewish thought and culture. Until recently the National Library of Israel functioned as the Central University Library, following the creation of the Hebrew University in 1925. Recently the National Library of Israel has become an independent organisation, but remains under the partial supervision of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF ISRAEL ARCHIVE

From its inception and in addition to various kinds of printed matter, the Jewish National and University Library, recently renamed the National Library of Israel, has also amassed other materials, above all collections and bequests of people who have played an important role in history and culture, in particular writers and Jewish social activists. For many years the National Library was the only institution of its type in the Land of Israel, and later in the State of Israel, that collected materials of this type. The first important collection of documents it acquired was the personal archive of the well-known writer Ahad Ha'am, which came into its possession after his death in 1927.

The archive's website (<http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/personalsites/Pages/default.aspx>) displays a list of some 400 bequests and private collections, mostly of Jews, leading figures in various fields – Zionist leaders, rabbis, writers, scientists, philosophers, poets, journalists, critics, musicians, and others. These collections vary in the numbers of documents they contain, from small units comprising personal documents and letters, to collections running to well over ten linear metres of archive space, and include personal documents, diaries, letters, manuscripts, etc. Some bequests, such as those of Martin Buber, Albert Einstein and Shmuel Yosef Agnon, also include their founders' personal libraries. The contents of most of the bequests have been profiled, but because new

materials are constantly being added, they are not registered in the card catalogue. Many of the bequests are of unique significance not only for Jewish culture but also for world cultural heritage.

The archives hold relatively few documents referring to the Holocaust in the Polish lands, but these themes do feature in the bequests of Yiddish writers and poets originally from Poland. Among these are precious documents originally belonging to famous people such as Ida Fink, a writer born in Zbaraż (now Zbarazh, Ukraine), and author of books in Polish about the Holocaust; Michal Weichert, the chairman of the ŻSS in the GG; and Abraham Sutzkever, a writer and poet writing in Yiddish, underground activist in the Vilnius ghetto, and, following his escape from the ghetto, member of the partisan movement.

The Index of Articles on Jewish Studies (RAMBI), Izrael:

http://aleph.nli.org.il/F?func=find-b-0&local_base=rmb01.

RAMBI is the Index of Articles from the Field of Jewish Studies (Reshimat Ma'amaram Be-Madae Ha-Yahadut), which was created in 1966. It comprises a selected bibliography of articles from various fields of Jewish studies and studies connected with the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel). The material entered into this database is taken from thousands of periodicals and collections of articles in a range of languages, among them Hebrew and Yiddish. For the most part the articles come from the National Library in Jerusalem, which has one of the largest collections of printed materials in Hebrew and Yiddish in the world, and a huge collection of books and periodicals from the field of Jewish studies. The main criterion for inclusion of an article in this database is a basis in scholarly research or inclusion of important information on studies of this nature. The aim of the team coordinating this project is the inclusion in the database of all significant articles on Jewish studies published anywhere. Since the National Library does not subscribe to all periodicals, off-prints of articles from various other periodicals are also included. In the initial years of RAMBI's activity, information on the subject of the articles was published in successive volumes of a bibliography. Since 1985 RAMBI has been operating as an electronic database using the ALEPH software employed by the network of academic and scientific libraries in Israel. Since 2000 it has been accessible online. Moreover, in 2001 the 50th volume of the RAMBI bibliography was also published. In view of the ease of accessibility of the database on the internet, however, this project is no longer published in a hard copy version. Typically, the information on each article includes: author's name, title, abbreviated name of the source of the publication, volume number, edition, year

of publication, pages, subject classification, full name of source, place and date of publication, and language of article. It should be noted that every entry in RAMBI has two subject classifications: the first is the general classification by field (e.g. the Bible, the diaspora, philosophy), and the second is the detailed classification by subject within a given field (e.g. the Book of Genesis: 1; USA: education; Maimonides: Moreh nevuchim [Guide for the Perplexed]). A combination of both these classifications by subject produces the best results, both in searches and in profiling articles.

LEKKET, Izrael

<http://www.lekkt.com> [currently inoperative]

LEKKET is an internet database containing articles on Jewish studies; it is accessible by both scholars and the wider public. It allows users to search for articles in Hebrew and English, by author and by key words relating to title, content and author. After the article is found, the full text may be opened in PDF format. The database was created and is operated by the World Union of Jewish Studies in cooperation with Yad Vashem, the Claims Conference, and the Israeli Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport. Texts are selected and classified by commissions of experts in the various fields of Jewish studies. The purpose of this database is to make available salient articles from various fields within the broad field of Jewish studies. The database contains most of the texts (aside from the last few years) from the periodical published by YV, *Yad Vashem Studies*. Other texts are sourced from periodicals and collections of articles published in book form.

Jewish Historical Press

<http://web.nli.org.il/sites/JPress/English/Pages/default.aspx>

This site contains a collection of Jewish newspapers published in various countries, languages, and times. We display digital versions of each paper, making it possible to view the papers in their original layout. A full-text search is also available for all content published throughout the period of each newspaper's publication. Although the press covers long periods of time since the middle of the nineteenth century, it also extends to the interwar and Holocaust periods.

Israel Collection

<http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/israel-collection/Pages/default.aspx>

The Israel Collection covers several subject areas: Zionism; the Arab-Israeli conflict; social and historical issues; Israel in international relations; tourism; the arts; minority groups; archeology;

literature about Israel in languages other than Hebrew; Hebrew literature translated into other languages; journalism; and Israel-related official publications issued by international organizations. The Israel Collection includes newspapers, periodicals, maps, audio-visual material, posters, films, DVDs, ephemera, photographs, and the personal archives of prominent individuals in the fields of culture, philosophy and art.

THE CENTRAL ZIONIST ARCHIVES

The Central Zionist Archives are the official archives of the Zionist movement and gather materials chiefly relating to its history and activities, and also materials connected with the history of the Jewish nation in the past century. To this end it collects, stores and provides access to files of the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod, the World Jewish Congress, and other organizations. The Central Zionist Archives also gather bequests of individual Zionist activists and others who made a significant contribution to the development of Palestine (the Land of Israel) and the State of Israel. The collections are divided into two categories: institutional archives and private collections. There were offices of the World Zionist Organization in Warsaw, Vilnius, Białystok, Krakow and Łódź, and therefore a large proportion of the archival documentation references the Polish lands. Among the most important groups of documents are the following:

- correspondence between the offices in London, New York and Jerusalem and the headquarters of the Zionist movement in Warsaw,
- prewar documents from the Emigration Office in Warsaw (RG L36),
- hundreds of bequests of members of the Zionist movement, among them those of Nahum Sokolow (RG A18) and Izaak Grünbaum, the leader of the Zionist movement in Poland (RG A127, S46),
- Representation of Polish Jewry (RG J25),
- Association of Immigrants from Poland, Tel Aviv, 1940-1959 (RG J20),
- The Revisionist Movement (RG F17).

Searches of material in the Central Zionist Archives are possible on the internet at: <http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/en/Pages/AdvancedSearch.aspx?ts=archive> , but as descriptions of both record groups and individual items are very short, searches may produce only partial results. For this reason, contact with archive employees is recommended.

JABOTINSKY INSTITUTE IN ISRAEL

<http://www.jabotinsky.org/hebsite/content/T2.asp?Pid=119&Sid=4>

<http://www.infocenters.co.il/panorama.asp?site=iic&lang=heb>

The Jabotinsky Institute was founded in 1933 to gather and store documents, publications and photographs connected with the leader of the Zionist-Revisionist movement Ze'ev Vladimir Jabotinsky²⁹⁴ and the revisionist movement. Its archive holds documents belonging to Jabotinsky and his family; other leaders of the revisionist movement; the archives of branches of various revisionist organizations in several countries, such as the Union of Zionists Revisionists (Ha-Tzohar), the New Zionist Organization (NZO), the Betar youth organization, the National Labor Federation, and the Keren Tel-Hai Foundation; those of various committees and leagues, among them the Jewish Marine League, the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, the Herut movement and the Likud; and those of the Jewish Military Organization (Irgun Tzvai Leumi, IZL), the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel (Lochamei Herut Israel, Lehi), and the illegal immigration movement Aliyah Bet. The Jabotinsky Institute Archives also hold materials referencing the Holocaust period, among them a record group on the Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union, ŻZW) in the Warsaw ghetto, a collection of other documents relating to the Holocaust, a collection of depositions relating to the fates of revisionists during the Holocaust, and a collection on the Betar organization in Lithuania, where many people fled from Poland after September 1939. Enquiries may be directed by e-mail to: archive@jabotinsky.org. The Archive director is Amira Stern: amira_stern@jabotinsky.org.

CENTRAL ARCHIVES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People were founded in 1939 as the Jewish Historical General Archives, and reformed as the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in 1969. The purpose of the archives is to document the history of the Jewish nation. They primarily gather materials relating to Jews dating from before 1939, though there are also documents in the collections from the World War II and postwar periods. They comprise three main sections: original materials, archive inventories, and microfilms of documents in other archives. The materials are ordered geographically, by country of origin, according to the political divisions of the prewar

²⁹⁴ Ze'ev Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880 Odessa – 1940 New York), Zionist activist, founder and leader of the New Zionist Organization, writer, poet, translator and journalist. In 1925 he assumed the leadership of the World Union of Zionists-Revisionists. He believed that all the efforts of the Zionist movement should be focused on establishing a Jewish state and on orchestrating the mass emigration of the Jews. During World War II he made active endeavours to have Jewish units created to fight alongside the Allied armies; cf. *Polski słownik judaistyczny. Dzieje, kultura, religia, ludzie*, compiled by Z. Borzymińska, R. Żebrowski, Warsaw 2003, vol. 2, pp. 849-850.

(interwar) period, and within each country by the Jewish communities there. Online searches according to collection type, country and search terms are available at: <https://cahip.huji.ac.il/search-holdings>. For more precise information requests should be sent to the archives (cahip@nli.org.il).

ISRAEL STATE ARCHIVES – GINZAH HA-MEDINA

The Israel State Archives were founded in 1949, a year after the creation of the State of Israel, as a repository for documents of the Palestinian state administration from the Ottoman and British Mandate periods, as well as Israeli state administration documents. One of the collections, Government of Palestine – Department of Immigration 1920-1948 (RG 1), holds numerous documents connected with immigration to Palestine, arrivals statistics, data on the conditions of adaptation and assimilation, economic figures, information on labour conditions, etc.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE GOLDSTEIN-GOREN DIASPORA RESEARCH CENTER

This archive collects documents and other materials (e.g. manuscripts, posters, microfilms, objects) connected with the history of the Jewish people in the diaspora and the Land of Israel. These are in the main donations comprising personal documents. Some of its materials originated with important activists, historians or writers, or with Jewish organizations and various types of institutions. The materials in the archive are divided into a number of groups:

A – institutions and organizations,

P – donations from private individuals and bequests,

T – collections relating to specific regions or countries in their borders as of 1 January 1938,

D – publications by various institutions and organizations not intended for widespread distribution (bulletins, operational and other reports, protocols, brochures),

Among the collections containing materials on the Holocaust in the Polish lands²⁹⁵ are the following:

A-3 The Collection of the National Council Publications of Moshe Attias (Jewish National Council in Palestine, Waad ha-Leumi, 1920-1948),

A-18 The Bialystoker Center and Home for the Aged, New York (Archive of the Union of Bialystok Refugees in New York, 1920-1960),

²⁹⁵ G. Pasechnik, "Sources on the History of the Polish Jews in the Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University", [in:] *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, op. cit., pp. 489-496.

A-19 The Archive of the Piotrkow Society in Israel, containing documents on the Holocaust history of this community,

P-21 The Archive of Rabbi Dr David Kahane²⁹⁶, containing items including documents generated by the military rabbinate in Poland and the Rada Gmin Żydowskich (Council of Jewish Communities) in Poland during the period 1944-1948, sermons and correspondence, and materials on the Kielce pogrom,

P-24 The Archive of Artur Eisenbach²⁹⁷ on the history of the Polish Jews during the Holocaust, with particular reference to the Warsaw ghetto uprising,

P-66 The Raphael Mahler²⁹⁸ Bequest,

P-70 The Adolf Berman²⁹⁹ Bequest, which contains materials on the history of the Polish Jews during the Holocaust and after the war,

P-73 The Samuel Schneiderman³⁰⁰ Bequest, which includes materials in Yiddish,

T-32 A collection of files relating to Poland in the years 1858-1999,

D-32 A collection of printed materials on Jewish organizations in Poland in the years 1895-1998.

²⁹⁶ David Kahane (1903 Grzywna – 1998 Tel Aviv), rabbi. Studied in Breslau and Berlin, and worked as a rabbi in Tykocin and Lwów. During the war he was a member of the Lwów Judenrat. Rescued by Archbishop Andrzej Szeptycki, he went into hiding in a series of monasteries. From 1944 he served in the Polish Army in the USSR in the rank of major; on his return to Poland he was appointed chief rabbi of the Polish Army. When the military rabbinate was abolished in Poland he emigrated to Israel (1949), where his appointments included chief rabbi of the air force. In the years 1967-1975 he served as chief rabbi of Argentina. He is the author of a number of testimonies and books.

²⁹⁷ Artur (Aron) Eisenbach (1906 Nowy Sącz – 1992 Tel Aviv), eminent historian. He went to school in Vilnius and later lived in Krakow and Bielsko; in 1931 he married the sister of Emanuel Ringelblum. He studied at the Jagiellonian University and the University of Warsaw, embarked on an academic career and was an active member of the Health Protection Society (TOZ). In September 1939 he and his wife fled to her native city of Buczac (Buchach), and he spent the subsequent years in the USSR. His wife and daughter perished in 1942. Eisenbach returned to Poland in 1946 and worked for the CKŻH, and later at ŻIH (as its director in the years 1966-1968); he was also a member of the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences (IH PAN), within which he conducted research on the Holocaust. In 1987 he emigrated to Israel, where he committed suicide.

²⁹⁸ Rafal Mahler (1899 Nowy Sącz – 1977 Tel Aviv), historian, philosopher. He studied in Vienna, and worked in Warsaw as a teacher. He became involved in YIVO, and in 1937 emigrated to the USA and in 1950 to Israel, where he worked at the university in Tel Aviv.

²⁹⁹ Adolf (Abram) Berman (1906 Warsaw – 1978 Izrael), Zionist activist, one of the leaders of the Jewish underground during World War II. With an education in philosophy and psychology, he worked as a teacher, and also conducted scholarly research. He was one of the leaders of the Blok Antyfaszystowski (Anti-Fascist Bloc) founded in 1942. In 1942 he left the Warsaw ghetto and went into hiding; he was a member of the Jewish National Council and Żegota. After the war he became a member of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa (State National Council, KRN) and the Presidium of the CKŻP. He sought the consent of the Polish authorities to emigration for Jews. In 1950 he himself emigrated to Israel, where he was a deputy to the Knesset for the party Mapam. He wrote his memoirs.

³⁰⁰ Samuel Lejb Schneiderman (Sznajderman, Shneiderman), (1906 Kazimierz Dolny – 1996 Tel Aviv), journalist and writer, a correspondent for *Nasz Przegląd*, *Haynt*, *Chwila* and other papers; in 1940 he went to the USA. After the war he visited Poland several times, and recorded his impressions in a book published as *Tz'vishn shrek un bofnung: a rayse iber nayan Poylin*. He wrote many other books and pieces of reportage; among his subjects was the artist Artur Szyk.

THE ORAL HISTORY DIVISION. THE AVRAHAM HARMAN INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY JEWRY. THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

The Oral History Division was established in 1959 and has since conducted over 10,000 interviews in 20 languages as part of some 259 research projects run by the institute, often in cooperation with other institutions and groups external to the university. The Oral History Division was one of the first institutions to draw attention to the value of the oral testimony, and since its inception has been the leading authority in this field in terms of number of subjects, temporal scope and geographical reach. Its website lists the projects that have produced the largest numbers of interviews.³⁰¹ The division also trains students in conducting interviews, and its employees were behind the establishment of the Israeli Oral History Society, whose self-stated objective is to coordinate similar joint projects by organizations that gather and archive oral history documentation. The society also promotes the use of oral history in scientific research, and furthers the theory and practice of conducting and gathering interviews. The long-standing head of the Oral History Division, Professor Dov Levin, is also the president of the society. The online catalogue is available at: http://aleph500.huji.ac.il/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b&local_base=hdohd&con_lng=eng.

DOCUMENTATION CENTER IN JEWISH DEMOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS

The Documentation Center in Jewish Demography and Statistics has large numbers of books, articles and other research materials relating to Jewish demography. Of especial value are its documents referring to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and it also offers access to population census data. Its large database includes over 20,000 publications on historical and contemporary demographics.

THE WIENER LIBRARY COLLECTION³⁰²

The Wiener Collection was founded in Amsterdam in 1933 by Dr Alfred Wiener, a German scholar, journalist, bibliophile and businessman. Wiener was born on 16 March 1885 in Potsdam. After Hitler's rise to power, he left Germany and settled in Amsterdam. In the face of the Nazi threat, he decided to devote himself to documenting the Nazi movement in order to expose its true face. His aim in this one-man crusade against Nazism was to ensure that documents were preserved for future generations. The materials he gathered were intended to serve an informative purpose, and were to

³⁰¹ The Oral History Division of the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry: http://icj.huji.ac.il/archives_ohd.asp.

³⁰² B. Barkow, *Alfred Wiener and the making of the Holocaust Library*, Vallentine Mitchell, London 1997.

be accessible to the general public. Together with Dr David Cohen of the University of Amsterdam, he founded the Jewish Central Information Office (JCIO). In 1939 Wiener removed himself and his collection to London, where, on the eve of the war, his library was opened to the public. Over the course of the war, his collections swelled considerably, and the institution itself evolved into an important archival, information and research centre. Wiener continued to run it himself until his death (4 February 1964). During the war, the UK Ministry of Information and the Allied governments made extensive use of his collections; many of the BBC's counter-propaganda successes may be attributed to the thorough, reliable information amassed by Wiener. After the war, a team of employees of the library and information office worked intensively to expand and enrich the collections and gather further data.

The Wiener Collection also played a significant role in the preparation of trial materials for the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, and it has continued to serve British courts, mass media, scholars and students across the world. In 1980 the originals of the historical collection were removed from London to the university in Tel Aviv. Constantly being augmented, it contains publications on the Third Reich, Europe, the extermination of the Jews, and antisemitism and fascism all over the world. At present the Wiener Library has holdings comprising some 150,000 books, reference publications, pamphlets and periodicals; around a million catalogued press cuttings; unpublished memoirs and interviews; about 40,000 documents on the Nuremberg Trials; various editions of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and extensive secondary literature on this subject; a dossier on war criminals; documents relating to the "Jewish question" from Gestapo files, the chancellery of the Third Reich and its ministry of foreign affairs; more than 500 microfilms and microfiches; and 300 periodical titles relating to the Holocaust and Holocaust denial.

The building of the Wiener Collection on the campus of the university in Tel Aviv hosts many international conferences and meetings. When the majority of Wiener's collections were moved to Tel Aviv, some of the library's stocks remained in London, along with microfilms of the archive materials. After Wiener's death Professor Walter Laqueur was appointed director of the library, and he worked hard to source funding for the library. In 1964 Laqueur launched a *Journal of Contemporary History* and opened the Institute of Contemporary History. At present the Wiener Library in London is in the process of expanding its collections (it holds copies of the material sent to Tel Aviv in 1980), and is acquiring new archival materials and books. It also organizes seminars and conferences.

THE STEVEN SPIELBERG JEWISH FILM ARCHIVE. HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

<http://ssjfa.huji.ac.il/>

The Steven Spielberg Jewish Film Archive was founded in the 1960s by Professor Moshe Davis and a group of other historians from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The archive's first director was Dr Geoffrey Wigoder, and the archive itself originally bore the name of its first donor, the Iranian businessman Abraham F. Rad, who supported its work in the initial years of its activity. In 1987 Steven Spielberg made a very generous donation and the archive changed its name to reflect that. Spielberg continues to take an interest in the work of this institution, and supports it actively. In 1973 the World Zionist Organization (WZO) chose this archive as the official repository for its films. At present it is administered jointly by the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry and the Central Zionist Archives (CZO), has the status of special collection of the National Library of Israel, and is a member of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAF) and the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA). The archive is active in several areas: it organizes film-related lectures, conducts conservation work on film footage, digitalizes analogue footage, and offers access and distribution services. In addition to its collections of films on Zionism and Jewish settlement in Palestine and the State of Israel, the Spielberg Archive also holds large collections of films documenting the life of various Jewish communities the world over, including Poland before World War II, as well as films about the Holocaust, among them a unique colour film made by Hitler's pilot showing Hitler and Mussolini on the Eastern Front. Other unique materials include the original film from the Eichmann trial, which was donated in 1970 by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, and recordings from the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum. Pursuant to an agreement signed in 1997 between these institutions, several hundred films were deposited with the Spielberg Archive. In order to facilitate the educational work of the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, video copies of these materials were made for it.

Since it commenced operations in the early 1970s, the Spielberg Archive has catalogued its vast holdings to facilitate maximum access. Many archive users require specific visuals and these are easily located via briefly listed or detailed descriptive entries. In the mid-1960s, computer entry of the original catalogue cards was begun, using the ALEPH program. This project was completed by the end of the decade and all subsequent cataloguing has been computerized. The Archive has converted

its metadata to Aleph 500 and to MARC. The catalogue is now compatible with university, national and international standards. The entire catalogue is accessible online:

http://aleph500.huji.ac.il/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b&local_base=hdjfa&con_lng=eng

Selected still images from the archive's titles and links to over 500 full films are also being made available as an additional field in the catalogue record and through the virtual cinema on the archive's website, at <http://ssjfa.huji.ac.il/jfawebsite/newsite/index.html>

The films can be viewed on Youtube or any browser.

THE PINHAS LAVON INSTITUTE FOR LABOUR RESEARCH

The archive of the Pinhas Lavon Institute for Labor Research collects documents dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. At present its holdings number around 120,000 archival items on the following subjects: the successive waves of immigration to and settlement in Palestine, issues relating to the settlers' safety, Jewish workers' organizations, Histadrut Haovdim (Workers' Union), worker's parties and political organizations, and Jewish institutions and organizations (including youth and workers' organizations) in the diaspora. As the archive does not specialize in the Holocaust, materials on this subject are scattered across collections on youth movements and political and workers' organizations in the diaspora.

THE VIDAL SASSOON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF ANTISEMITISM (SICSA)

Felix Posen Bibliographic Project on Antisemitism, Israel

<http://sicsa.huji.ac.il/bib.html>

The Felix Posen Bibliographic Project on Antisemitism is an online database of publications on antisemitism that contains more than 50,000 entries. The search address is: http://aleph500.huji.ac.il/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b&local_base=hdbas&con_lng=eng. New material is added on an ongoing basis. In addition to the internet database, a print bibliography is also published; to date 21 volumes have been published under the titles:

Susan Sarah Cohen, ed.: *Antisemitism: An Annotated Bibliography* Vols. 1-19 (1984-2005). Munich: K.G. Saur, 1987-2005

Sara Grosvald, ed.: *Antisemitism: An Annotated Bibliography* Vols. 20-21 (2004-2005). De Gruyter Verlag, 2008-2009

Susan Sarah Cohen, ed.: *Antisemitism: An Annotated Bibliography Vol. 22* (2006). De Gruyter Verlag, 2013

Rena R. Auerbach, ed.: *'The Jewish Question' in German-Speaking Countries, 1849-1914: A Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1994. xxv, 385 pp.

The entries in the bibliography are grouped into three main sections:

1. Bibliographies and manuals,
2. Antisemitism down the ages,
3. Antisemitism in literature and art.

Works on the Holocaust are included in the section on the history of antisemitism in the twentieth century. The project is the work of a team of employees of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA), which was founded in 1982 as an interdisciplinary research centre committed to an independent, apolitical approach to gathering and disseminating knowledge in order better to understand the problem of antisemitism. It studies the history of antisemitism and focuses on relations between Jews and non-Jews, in particular in times of crisis. The bibliographic project is furnished with a thesaurus to ease the search for material. Moreover, it also includes the division by chapters of the printed versions of the bibliography in order to aid understanding of the way the material is classified. Three other autonomous bibliographies are included in the general database: "Demonization of the 'Other' and antisemitism", "Holocaust denial" and "Commemoration of the Holocaust". Publications may be ordered from: The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, 91905, Israel, sicsa@mail.ac.il.

Witold Mędykowski

9. Sources for Research into the Extermination of the Jews in Poland in German Archives

Germany was the country from which the Holocaust was perpetrated and coordinated from throughout German-occupied and -influenced Europe. Since the return of captured German records by the Western Allies to the Bundesarchiv (the German Federal Archives), it has become the main holding country of files generated by the Nazi German Reich (German diplomatic files were returned to the Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts – Political Archive of the German Foreign Office). While German offices intentionally destroyed many of their files before the end of the war, and other material was destroyed due to the course of military action, a sizeable body of material from the Nazi administrative apparatus in all its institutional incarnations survives, albeit often in fragmented and scattered form (e.g. part of a regional occupation authority's surviving records remain in the formerly occupied country, a part is in the Bundesarchiv). Apart from German administrative and post-war sources, the broad archival landscape of the Federal Republic of Germany also offers a plethora of sources from other perspectives.³⁰³ As the landscape is so varied, only the main repositories and the collections most central to the topic at hand are discussed here.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ There are many examples of this. Journals issued during the occupation can be found in many German libraries, especially the German National Library, Leipzig branch (<http://dnb.de>). More holdings of periodicals in other libraries can be found at <http://zdb-opac.de>, and other publications at the KVK metacatalogue (<http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html>). The Frankfurt am Main University Library specializes in Jewish publications, but the state libraries in Munich and Berlin also offer pertinent collections in this regard. Specialised research archives such as the Archives of the Institute of Contemporary History (<http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/das-archiv/>) or the Herder Institute (<http://www.herder-institut.de/servicebereiche/dokumentensammlung/archivdatenbank.html>) can often supply useful sources. Jewish archives, such as the Zentralarchiv in Heidelberg (<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/aj/>), offer important collections of the papers of individuals (e.g. the papers of the Polish-Jewish historian Józef Wulf, who was active in West Germany after the war). Apart from the Bundesarchiv-Bildarchiv, many other institutions hold significant photographic material, such as the Münchner Stadtarchiv (the collection of Munich press photographer Wilhelm Nortz contains photographs from his press tour of the GG, including ghettos and Jews) and the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt am Main, which holds the Litzmannstadt Getto photos by its German chief accountant Walter Genewein. Concentration camp memorial sites (such as Dachau, Flossenbürg, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Sachsenhausen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, and others) offer various sources, also pertaining to related camps. A list of institutions holding oral history testimonies can be found at <http://www.ushmm.org/online/oral-history/place.php?Country=Germany>.

³⁰⁴ The best general guide to archival collections relating to the administrative files of the Third Reich and the annexed territories (which also covers Polish archive material) is: *Inventar archivalischer Quellen des NS-Staates*, vol. 1, *Reichszentralbehörden, regionale Behörden und wissenschaftliche Hochschulen für die zehn westdeutschen Länder und Berlin*; vol. 2, *Regionale Behörden und wissenschaftliche Hochschulen für die fünf ostdeutschen Länder, die ehemaligen preussischen Ostprovinzen und eingegliederte Gebiete in Polen, Österreich und der Tschechischen Republik mit Nachträgen zu Teil 1*, ed. H. Boberach, München, New Providence, London, Paris 1991-1995. Also included in the commercial database is “Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert Online: Nationalsozialismus, Holocaust, Widerstand und Exil 1933-1945”, <http://db.saur.de/DGO>. For collections in German archives connected to individuals, the database <http://www.nachlassdatenbank.de/> offers the most comprehensive overview. For similar archival holdings in libraries, see <http://kalliope.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/>.

Generally the discussion below covers the branch offices (or agencies) of the German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv, officially abbreviated BArch). All that is needed to gain access to these collections is a signed application form submitted on site on the first visit; this should include a profile of the theme of the research paper and an indication of the timeframe and geographic scope of the work. This application also includes an undertaking to observe the German personal data protection act, and confirmation of familiarity with the attendant criminal regulations in German law, and release of files is contingent upon signing this declaration. Supervised academic staff (e.g. doctoral students) should submit a letter of recommendation from the leading research fellow at their home research institution (e.g. their supervisor) laying out the scope of the study (in German or English if possible, as this greatly reduces the formalities). Any visit to the Bundesarchiv should also be preceded by thorough study of the extant finding aids, many of them available at <http://www.bundesarchiv.de>, especially <http://invenio.bundesarchiv.de>.

BUNDESARCHIV, AGENCY IN BERLIN LICHTERFELDE

This archive does not have separate groups of files on the Jewish question during World War II, as it is not sorted by pertinence, but by provenance; its holdings are thus generally grouped by the original institutional context. Scholars with an interest in this issue therefore have to sift through many collections of files on all manner of aspects of the existence and functioning of the various institutions and government offices in the Third Reich to find isolated documents on the subject of interest to them. Profiled below are only those archive collections with the greatest numbers of documents relating to the Holocaust and policy in the Third Reich.

Of the many collections in this archive, the following above all are deserving of the attention of Holocaust scholars:

1. Section BDC – the collections of the former Berlin Document Center,
2. Section R – Deutsches Reich 1867/71-1945, and Section NS – the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (the National Socialist German Workers' Party, NSDAP) and its derivative organizations.

1. Records from the former BDC

Immediately after the war the BDC acted as a collection point for documents seized from the Nazi era, in order to prepare for the Nuremberg war crimes trials and denazification.³⁰⁵ In the early years numerous documents were taken from their original context of creation and made into new files. This led to the development of much mixed provenance. At the end of the 1950s, non-biographical records were gradually transferred to the Bundesarchiv. In 1994, after many years of negotiation, the Federal Archives brought the personal records of the BDC from American administration into its own sphere of responsibility.

The most important holdings include:

- Central membership record of the NSDAP (approx. 12m index cards)
- Party correspondence (approx. 1.3m files)
- Personal files from the SS Race and Settlement Office (approx. 240,000 files)
- Personal records of SS members (approx. 350,000 files)
- Personal records of SA members (approx. 550,000 files)
- Resettlement, trafficking and naturalization procedures of the central migration office in Posen (Umwandererzentralstelle Posen) and its offices in Litzmannstadt³⁰⁶
- Personal files from the Reich Chamber of Culture

The above-mentioned personal records may only be accessed via the personal details of the people concerned, which can be searched for in a database. Full details of surname, first name and date of birth will be required to carry out research work. Additional information on occupation or locations can be helpful.

Sub-groups of these holdings especially important to the study of the Holocaust in Poland include:

SSO – SS-Offiziersakte (SS officers' files); these contain all preserved material on the successive stages in an individual's career in the SS and other Nazi institutions and offices. Many of them include candidates' handwritten résumés for a range of posts within the regime. In their cover letters

³⁰⁵ Information on the military careers of any members of the German Wehrmacht is available from the Deutsche Dienststelle – Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle [German Office – Wehrmacht Information Office, <http://www.dd-wast.de>]. The surviving personnel files of German military officers are at the Bundesarchiv Agency in Freiburg.

³⁰⁶ More files of this agency can be found in Polish archives, including the IPN and the State Archives in Poznan, Łódź, and Lublin.

they draw attention to their outstanding dedication and Nazi convictions, and detail examples of their active National Socialist work, in many cases as far back as the Weimar Republic, when this type of activity was subject to legal sanctions. Documents include official correspondence, information on transferrals and promotions, applications for decorations with grounds cited, and other opinion statements written by superiors, which are of value to scholars.

SA – files of members of the SA (Sturmabteilung); these contain all kinds of information on individual SA members, together with handwritten résumés, job applications, official correspondences, training certificates, character statements written by their superiors, applications for decorations, job-related benefits, etc.

PK – Parteikanzlei (the NSDAP party chancellery); this collection comprises around 11 million NSDAP personal files, which constitute 90 per cent of all that actually existed. Each of these personal files contains all the surviving information on the subject of the career and political and community activity of a given individual within the NSDAP. Many of the files also contain handwritten résumés which play up the writers' involvement in the National Socialist cause, as well as certificates from party training courses, references by superiors, etc.

RuSHA – files of the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt); given the nature of the activity of this office, which involved checking the “racial purity” of members of all National Socialist organizations, this is a source of information of a private nature, concerning family and marital connections; it also contains applications for marriage permits, and opinion statements or procedural recommendations in respect of certain people or others related to them to any degree, issued by senior instances (in the case of SS officers, this was Himmler himself), etc.

OPG – files of the Supreme NSDAP Party Court (Oberstes Parteigericht); these contain documentation of all the criminal cases brought against members of the NSDAP, in particular concerning charges of ideological disloyalty.

In all the collections in the BDC archive mentioned here, there is information on the personal involvement of a given individual in anti-Jewish policy, and in some cases – those of particularly prominent National Socialist activists involved in shaping demographic policy– detailed information

on their own initiatives, excerpts of official correspondences connected with this aspect of their work, or references written by independent observers or their superiors. The archive materials in these collections are absolutely vital to all kinds of research into specific perpetrators and the extent of their anti-Jewish involvement.

2. Records of the German Reich administrations – “R” – Deutsches Reich 1495-1945 and of the Nazi Party and its subsidiary organisations – “NS” – NSDAP

Among its many collections, the following are especially relevant to the Holocaust in Poland:

NS 2 – Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt [SS Race and Settlement Office].

NS 3 – Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt der SS (SS Economic Administration Main Office). This collection contains records of the concentration camp administration and on forced labour for the SS.

NS 19 – Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer SS (Personal Staff of the Reich Leader SS, 1925-1945).³⁰⁷ This collection contains preserved documents from the circle of Heinrich Himmler in his role as Reichsführer SS, including administrative matters, orders and decorations (with explanations as to the reasons), matters relating to specific SS commanders (500 cases), matters of foreign policy and relating to the occupied territories, the security and order police forces, the SS in general, the Waffen-SS, and health-related issues, including issues connected with the euthanasia campaign, and racial and population policy. There are documents on matters including exploitation of Jews as forced labour, administration of property left by Jews, and the situation in the Łódź ghetto, and a memo from the Higher SS and Police Leader in the GG, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, regarding corruption in the civil administration of the GG, such as economic speculation with Jews.

R 3 – Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion (Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production); this contains files on industrial output for the war effort, including the files of forced labourers. Among the sub-collections it contains are the files of Albert Speer’s Ministerial Office (Ministerbüro Speer), the Central Government Office (Zentralamt), the Planning Office

³⁰⁷ J. Henke, *Persönlicher Stab Reichsführer-SS (Bestand NS 19)*, 2 Teilbände (*Findbücher zu Beständen des Bundesarchivs Bd. 57*), Koblenz 1997.

(Planungsamt), the Office for Raw Materials (Rohstoffamt), and the Armaments Office (Rüstungsamt).

R 19 – Hauptamt Ordnungspolizei (Order Police Main Office); this holds files on the organization, structures and functioning of the Order Police and gendarmerie, which also covers the region of occupied Poland. Among the items here are orders concerning subordination, deployment of particular units, operations, guidelines on contact with subjugated populations, operational reports from particular regions together with intelligence on the distribution of civilian populations and the moods prevailing among them, and on suppression (“pacification”) and anti-partisan campaigns, etc.

R 20 – Truppen und Schulen der Ordnungspolizei (Order Police schools and units); this holds files on Order Police battalions, including those which were active in occupied Poland, such as Police Battalions 309 and 322.

R 49 – Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (RKF, Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germandom); this collection contains files on population policy, chiefly in the occupied Polish territories annexed to the Reich. It brings together surviving papers from the following SS offices under Himmler, among which may be documents containing details of anti-Jewish policy:

- Head Office (Zentralamt); contains statistics, orders, reports, etc., on the policy of expelling undesirable populations from occupied territories and settling Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) in their place;
- Office I, Resettlements and population affairs (Amt I, Umsiedlung und Volkstum); includes ordinances, reports and theoretical studies on the issue of population, as well as details of the introduction of the German People’s List (Volksliste);
- Office III, Economy (Amt III, Wirtschaft); contains ordinances on the confiscation and looting of industrial plants and commercial firms in the annexed territories and the GG, and the plunder of household furnishings from the Łódź ghetto.

Other files that have survived in this collection include those of RKF representatives: the Supreme President of Upper Silesia (Oberpräsident von Oberschlesien als Beauftragter des RKF; 413 items), the Reich governor in the Warta region (Reichsstatthalter im Wartheland als Beauftragter des RKF; 46 items), the Higher SS and Police Leader Danzig-West Prussia (Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer

Danzig-Westpreußen als Beauftragter des RKF; 9 items) and the Higher SS and Police Leader in the GG and State Secretary for Security in the GG (Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer im Generalgouvernement und Staatssekretär für das Sicherheitswesen als Vertreter des RKF; 5 items); these illustrate the role of these posts in shaping expulsion policy in the territories under their command.

R 52 – Regierung des Generalgouvernements (Government of the GG); contains files on various aspects of the work of the government of central Poland under Governor Hans Frank. Most noteworthy are the documents in group R 52 II, which are connected with the governor's chancellery; these include ordinances and draft ordinances on Jewish issues (organization of forced labour, restrictions on residence, charitable aid, resettlements, establishment of ghettos, special identification of Jews, etc.), and related correspondence.

R 52 III – Hauptabteilung Innere Verwaltung (Main Department for Internal Affairs), with documentation on the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS); contains reports from district and city governors' offices in the GG (also concerning the location of Jewish populations), and reports on the activities of the Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle (JUS, Jewish Aid Office) in the GG.

R 52 VI – Hauptabteilung Wirtschaft (Main Department for the Economy); contains analyses on the state of the economy in the occupied lands, numbers of Jews employed in the craft sector, and documents relating to forced labour by Jews in the Wasserbauinspektorate (hydro-engineering inspectorates, in districts including Radom).

R 58 – Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Security Head Office); in addition to the extant administrative files of the various branches of the Security Police (Sipo) for the whole period of its operation, this record group holds files illustrating issues including the anti-Jewish activities of the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) in the years 1936-1939 (Referat II 1 12), and files from the World War II period on the activities of the Einsatzgruppen (task forces) in the Sipo and the SD in Poland in 1939 (transferred by the GKBZPnP), and also "Ereignismeldungen UdSSR" (USSR incident reports), which supplied information on the outcomes of mass murders by Einsatzgruppen A, B, C and D during the war with the Soviet Union (in areas including the Polish Eastern Borderlands), and "Meldungen aus den besetzten Gebieten im Osten" (Reports from the occupied territories in the East) 1941-1943, referencing incidents in occupied USSR territory.

Also here are reports by the SD known as “Meldungen aus dem Reich” (reports on public opinion)³⁰⁸, which reviewed the situation in the annexed Polish lands, including the situation in the Jewish population.

R 70 – Polen und – Sowjetunion – Polizeidienststellen in Polen und Polizeidienststellen in der Sowjetunion (Police Departments in Poland and Police Departments in the Soviet Union); contains files on the organization, positions and tasks of the various police formations in these territories. Here there are documents containing data on the location and personnel of selected police units, orders and guidelines on shaping relations with the subjugated populations (including their Jewish components), reports on operations, the organization of certain suppression campaigns, situational reports including descriptions of partisan activities, profiles of moods and anti-partisan action taken (e.g. by the Sipo and SD Police Leader in the GG, and the Sipo and SD Commanders in the various districts), reports on operations in factories and other businesses manufacturing for the Wehrmacht and employing Poles and Jews as forced labour, documentation on the protection and security of those businesses, official correspondence regarding guard provision for sites with forced labourers, instructions for recruiting collaborators, reports and tip-offs by them, and documents providing evidence of operational collaboration by certain [Polish] National Armed Forces (NSZ) units with the Gestapo (e.g. in the Radom district) in the eradication of Communist and Jewish groups.

R 102 Distrikt- und Kreisverwaltungen im Generalgouvernement [District and County Administrations in the GG]

R 144 – Haupttreuhandstelle Ost [Main Trustee Office East]; contains files generated by the Berliner Zentralstelle des Beauftragten für den Vierjahresplan [Berlin Central Office of the Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan] contains files on the seizure of Polish and Jewish property in the occupied Polish territories annexed to the Reich, including general reports and regulations, as well as sources on individual businesses and properties.

³⁰⁸ For reports from other agencies, see *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933-1945*, ed. Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel, translated from the German by William Templer, New Haven 2010. Apart from the “Meldungen aus dem Reich”, the database <http://db.saur.de/DGO> also includes publications of SD reports on the occupied areas, first published on microfiche under the title *Regimekritik, Widerstand und Verfolgung in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten. Meldungen und Berichte aus dem Geheimen Staatspolizeiamt, dem SD-Hauptamt der SS und dem Reichssicherheitshauptamt 1933 – 1945*, ed. Heinz Boberach. Munich 1999-2003.

BUNDESARCHIV – MILITÄRARCHIV IN FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

The military archive in Freiburg, a branch of the Federal Archives, is concerned above all with gathering and preserving archival materials relating to various aspects of the military history of the German state since the early nineteenth century. For scholars of Jewish issues in Poland during World War II, the source materials amassed here yield above all documents illustrating the attitudes of various military institutions stationed or operating in conquered Polish territory. All the record groups listed below are catalogued.

Of particular note are the documents that illustrate various aspects of issues such as the development of anti-Jewish policy at all levels of the military hierarchy, showing the extent and conditions of exploitation of Jews in war production in industrial plants working for the Wehrmacht, and materials documenting the involvement of particular military formations in actions designed to isolate the Jewish population from the rest of the conquered population. There are also testimonies relating to the extermination measures themselves, though not many.

The record groups listed below include numerous official reports by liaison officers, military logs, economic, political and military analyses, analyses of the influence of the Jewish population on the development of the black market, information on the volume of supplies to the subjugated population, including the Jews, detailed reports from forced labour camps for Poles and Jews, etc.

The archival collections may be grouped by the areas which they cover:

a) The Warta Region (Reichsgau Wartheland / Warthegau):

RH 53-21 – Wehrkreiskommando [Military District Command] XXI (Posen)

RW 20-21 – Rüstungsinspektion [Armaments Inspection] XXI

RW 21-39 – Rüstungskommando Litzmannstadt

RW 46/484 – Tätigkeitsberichte des Wehrwirtschaftsoffiziers des Wehrkreiskommandos XXI
[Reports of the Armaments Officer at the Military District Command XXI]

b) Danzig-West Prussia (Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen):

RH 53-20 – Wehrkreiskommando XX (Danzig)

RW 20-20 – Rüstungsinspektion XX (Zoppot)

c) The Generalgouvernement:

RH 53-23 – Militärbefehlshaber im GG [Military Supreme Commander in the GG]

RW 19 – Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, Wehrwirtschafts- und Rüstungsamt im GG [German Military High Command, Military Economy and Armaments Office in the GG]

RW 23 – Rüstungsdienststellen im GG (Armaments offices in the GG; covers the years 1942-1944 and approx. 0.5 linear metres of files)

d) other annexed territories

RW 20-1 Rüstungsinspektion [Armaments Inspection] I Königsberg

RW 20-8 Rüstungsinspektion [Armaments Inspection] VIII b Kattowitz (Katowice)

e) Eastern Borderlands:

RH 22 – Befehlshaber der rückwärtigen Heeresgebiete 1941-1945 [Commanders of the Rear Armed Forces Area]

RH 23 – Kommandanten der rückwärtigen Armeegebiete (Korück) [Commanders of the Rear Army Areas]

RH 26 – (records of individual army divisions)

RW 31 – Wehrwirtschaftsstab Ost [Military Economic Staff East]

RW 41 – Territoriale Befehlshaber in der Sowjetunion [Territorial Commanders in the Soviet Union]

BUNDESARCHIV – AGENCY IN LUDWIGSBURG³⁰⁹

Since 2000 the Bundesarchiv has been responsible for administering the files of the Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen (abbrev. as ZStL, Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes), which was set up as a joint facility of the West German State Justice Administrations in Ludwigsburg in 1958. The task of this branch is to preserve those records which are no longer required by the Central Office for fulfilling its duties, and make them accessible to researchers.

The mandate for the Central Office states that it should collect and examine all relevant records on criminal acts inspired by Nazism which are obtainable, identify the circumstances of individual crimes, and determine the whereabouts of the perpetrators. The facts established are then to be handed over to the public prosecutor, who institutes formal preliminary and criminal proceedings. The public prosecutors are also obliged to forward all their findings to the Central Office, and to give notification of legal measures and decisions pronounced during the proceedings.

³⁰⁹ Some of this description is adapted from

<http://www.bundesarchiv.de/benutzung/zeitbezug/nationalsozialismus/01591/index.html.en>.

The amount of files in itself offers an almost complete survey of investigation and prosecution of Nazi crimes in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1958. The documents deal with as broad and diverse a range of violent crimes under the National Socialist regime between 1933 and 1945 as murders of political opponents, homicidal crimes within the “Euthanasia programme”, and mass crimes committed by members of the SS and security police within the Einsatzgruppen in Poland and in the former Soviet Union, in the concentration and extermination camps, in numerous forced labour and POW camps, and in other institutions for detention.

A large and detailed card index contains some 1.6 million entries naming persons, institutions or units, and locations. This index provides exceptional conditions for Holocaust researchers and other historians. The records reveal the involvement of perpetrators and their motivation. Witnesses and to a lesser extent surviving victims testify to the vast number of crimes committed in all the territories occupied by the Germans. The documents give outstanding evidence of the difficulties of prosecution of Nazi crimes due to legal measures, and are therefore an important source for the research of judicial history of postwar German democracy.

Almost all ghettos, camps and killing sites related to the Holocaust in Poland are covered in at least one of the pre-investigations conducted by the ZStL.³¹⁰ Additionally, Ludwigsburg offers a large collection of original sources copied from other archives, witness statements, and other material.

Users interested in the further course of investigations handed over by the ZStL to local prosecutors’ offices or looking for cases which took place before the setting-up of the ZStL in 1958 need to look for these files in the State Archives of the respective German State Archive(s) or, in the case of East German investigations, in the Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Records (Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Stasi-Unterlagen, or BStU, <http://www.bstu.bund.de/>). Researchers wishing to find an overview of all cases for Nazi crimes before German prosecutors and courts can apply to search a local database at the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich (<http://www.ifz->

³¹⁰ As the new finding aid is still being written, there is almost always at least one investigation for each Polish city, town, ghetto or camp, and the number of cases is huge, a listing of case numbers here would be arbitrary to a certain degree.

muenchen.de/das-archiv/benutzung-und-service/nsg-datenbank/). For cases that actually went to trial, most of the judgments have been published and can also be acquired digitally.³¹¹

THE INTERNATIONAL TRACING SERVICE, BAD AROlsen

The International Tracing Service archive (ITS – <http://www.its-arolsen.org/>) in Bad Arolsen was established by the Allies under the auspices of the International Red Cross after the Second World War by collecting millions of pages of captured documentation to help trace missing persons and reunite them with their families. Since 2007 it has been open for research. Currently, its holdings run to 26,000 linear metres, covering material on Nazi incarceration sites (including original documents from concentration camps), forced labour and post-war records on displaced persons. Since the last few years, an immense campaign to digitize the holdings is underway. Digital copies are made available to the signatory states (e.g. in the United States at USHMM, in Israel at Yad Vashem, in the United Kingdom at the Wiener Library, and in Poland at the IPN).

Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, updated by Giles Bennett

³¹¹ See the series Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen [Justice and Nazi Crimes. The German Trials for Nazi Crimes]. Ed. C.F. Rüter and Dr D.W. de Mildt. Part 1, on West Germany: Die westdeutschen Strafurteile aus den Jahren 1945 bis 1962 (Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vols. I-XLIX), Part 2, on East Germany: Die ostdeutschen Strafurteile aus den Jahren 1945 bis 1990 (DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, vols. I-XIV). For the online presentation, see: www.junsv.nl.

II. Sources

1. German administrative authorities and police

In the initial period of the occupation immediately following the cessation of military action³¹², until the establishment of the Generalgouvernement (GG, General Government, on 26 October 1939), the lands invaded by German troops were administered by the military administration of the Wehrmacht.³¹³ Subordinate to this was a civilian administration – Chef der Zivilverwaltung (under Dr Hans Frank), with three administrative regions, administered by Arthur Seyß-Inquart in Krakow, Albert Forster in West Prussia, and Arthur Greiser in Poznań; the Łódź region was under the *de facto* control of SS-Standartenführer Harry von Craushaar. The documentary legacy of this period includes the collections *Verwaltungschef im Militärbezirk Lodz 1939* (Administrative Head of the Łódź Military Region, AP Łódź, RG 175) and *Chef der Zivilverwaltung beim Oberbefehlshaber im Militärbezirk Posen* (Head of the Civilian Administration affiliated to the Commander of the Poznań Military Region, AP Poznań, RG 298).

In respect of the initial period of the war, Holocaust scholars are primarily interested in Wehrmacht crimes against the civilian population, and the crimes of the Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, the special security police units affiliated to each of the five armies, whose purpose was to instil terror into the local population, and conduct executions and expulsions.³¹⁴ In the Polish lands, these operated during the September Campaign under the cryptonym “Unternehmen Tannenberg” (Operation Tannenberg). In October 1939 the decision was taken in Berlin to divide up the occupied territories, annex some of them to the Reich, and establish a new administrative entity³¹⁵ – Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete, or the General Government [for the occupied Polish territories], with a general governor answering directly to the Führer: Dr Hans Frank.

³¹² Warsaw capitulated on 25 September 1939; the September Campaign ended on 5 October 1939 with the capitulation of the last Polish commander, Gen. Franciszek Kleeberg, following the five-day Battle of Kock.

³¹³ Cf. T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, “Niemiecka administracja wojskowa na okupowanych ziemiach polskich (1 września – 25 października 1939)”, [in:] *Najnowsze dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu II wojny światowej 1939-1945*, vol. VI, 1962. Hans Umbreit, *Deutsche Militärverwaltungen 1938/39. Die militärische Besetzung der Tschechoslowakei und Polens*, Stuttgart 1977.

³¹⁴ Cf. T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, “Prześladowania ludności żydowskiej w okresie hitlerowskiej administracji wojskowej na okupowanych ziemiach polskich (1 IX 1939 r. – 25 X 1939 r.)”, *BŻIH*, 1961, no. 38, pp. 3-38, 1961, no. 39, pp. 63-87. Stephan Lehnstaedt and Jochen Böhrer (ed.): *Die Berichte der Einsatzgruppen aus Polen 1939*, Berlin 2013.

³¹⁵ Pursuant to a decree issued by Hitler on 25 October 1939.

The German civilian administration in the General Government (GG) was the Regierung des Generalgouvernements (Government of the GG)³¹⁶, with its seat in Krakow, which was run by Joseph Bühler.³¹⁷ He was in charge of the various district chiefs' offices³¹⁸ (Amt des Distrikts); subordinate to these, in turn, were the Kreishauptmannschaften (offices of county governors; the name of the administrative unit was "Kreis") and Stadthauptmannschaften (offices of city governors) in larger, autonomous cities (in the western and northern territories, which were annexed to the Third Reich, where the administrative divisions and organization of authority was slightly different, the equivalent unit to the Kreishauptmannschaft was the Landrat, whose administrative office was called the Landratsamt). In the GG, each district office was headed by a Chef des Distrikts (District Chief); later, this post was retitled "Gouverneur" (governor). He had several Abteilungen (departments) answerable to him, which mirrored the administrative structure of the Government of the GG. The western and northern Polish lands annexed to the Reich pursuant to Hitler's decree of 8 October 1939 were the Pomerania, Poznań and Upper Silesia voivodeships (provinces), much of the Łódź voivodeship, the western part of the Krakow voivodeship, northern Mazovia, Suwałki county, and some of the counties in the Kielce voivodeship, including the Dąbrowa Basin.³¹⁹ The Free City of Gdańsk was also subsumed into the Reich. According to Czesław Madajczyk, who cites a study by Martin Broszat³²⁰, a certain distinction was nevertheless maintained between these lands and the rest of the Third Reich for the duration of their annexation, in the form of measures including strict controls on population movements.³²¹ The annexed territories formed (or were appended to) the following administrative units: East Prussia³²² (Provinz Ostpreussen), Gdańsk-West

³¹⁶ This body was divided into a Staatssekretariat (Office of the Secretary of State) and Hauptabteilungen (main departments): Innere Verwaltung [Interior Administration], Finanzen [Finance], Justiz [Justice], Wirtschaft [Economy], Ernährung und Landwirtschaft [Food and Agriculture], Forsten [Forestry], Arbeit [Labour], Propaganda, Wissenschaft und Unterricht [Science and Education], Bauwesen [Construction], Eisenbahnen [Railways], and Post [Postal Service]. The most important department in terms of the history of the Holocaust was Innere Verwaltung.

³¹⁷ A basic introduction to the administrative structure and the government offices and other institutions in the GG is given by the contemporary German publications: Max du Prel, *Das Generalgouvernement*, Würzburg 1942, *Das Generalgouvernement seine Verwaltung und seine Wirtschaft. Sammlung von Vorträgen der Ersten Wissenschaftlichen Vortragsreihe der Verwaltungsakademie des Generalgouvernements, herausgegeben von Staatssekretär dr. Josef Bühler, Leiter der Verwaltungs-Akademie des Generalgouvernements*, Krakau 1943; F. Gollert, *Warschau unter deutscher Herrschaft. Deutsche Aufbauarbeit im Distrikt Warschau. Im Auftrage des Gouverneurs des Distrikts Warschau L. Fischer, unter Benutzung amtlicher Unterlagen...*, Krakau 1942.

³¹⁸ In Krakow, Lublin, Lwów, Radom and Warsaw.

³¹⁹ Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. I, Warszawa 1970, pp. 64-82; cf. Z. Janowicz, *Ustrój administracyjny ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy Niemieckiej 1939-1945*, Poznań 1951.

³²⁰ M. Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik*, Stuttgart 1961.

³²¹ A special permit was required from the authorities to either enter or leave these regions, cf. Cz. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 66.

³²² Divided into the Ciechanów, Olsztyn, Gumbinnen and Königsberg administrative districts.

Prussia³²³ (Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen), the Warta region³²⁴ (Reichsgau Wartheland, or Warthegau), and the province of Silesia (Reichsgau Schlesien).³²⁵ Silesia, in view of its large size and concentration of industry, was divided into two units in 1941: Lower and Upper Silesia (the latter comprising the Katowice and Opole Regierungsbezirke or administrative districts). Each province was subordinate to a Reichsstatthalter (Reich governor), who was also the head of the regional NSDAP organization (Gauleiter der NSDAP). The governor of the Warta region was Arthur Greiser, that of Gdańsk-West Prussia Albert Forster, that of East Prussia Erich Koch, and that of Silesia Josef Wagner, who was succeeded by Fritz Bracht (in Upper Silesia).

The former Eastern Borderlands of the Second Republic of Poland, the so-called “Kresy”, were occupied by the Red Army on 17 September 1939 and subsumed into the USSR, as part of the republics of Belarus and Ukraine, a move which the government in Moscow claimed “vital to protect the Belarusian and Ukrainian populations” in the face of the “bankruptcy of the Polish state”, as it was expressed in a note sent to the Polish ambassador. Provision for this bilateral attack on Poland had been made in a secret addendum to the Soviet-German non-aggression pact signed on 23 August 1939 by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Joachim Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov. With the spontaneous occupation of the Polish lands by the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, the need arose for a renegotiation of the demarcation line (which originally ran along the course of the Narew, Vistula and San rivers); this took the form of a treaty signed in Moscow on 28 September 1939 which became known as the second Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. In the face of the German invasion, many Polish citizens, both Poles and Jews, fled east, i.e. effectively into the Russian occupation zone. By the time these regions were taken by the German army in June and July 1941, many of those refugees had been forcibly resettled deep into the heart of the USSR, in Siberia, which paradoxically brought about the survival of several hundred thousand Polish Jews. Until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941, Poland was governed by two occupiers.

The fates of the Jews in Poland’s former north-eastern territories have been examined by Andrzej Żbikowski in a monographic work.³²⁶ After the German invasion on 22 June 1941, the lands around the city of Białystok (the former Białystok voivodeship, and parts of the Pruzhany and Brest

³²³ The Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk and Kwidzyn administrative districts.

³²⁴ The Inowrocław, Kalisz and Poznań administrative districts.

³²⁵ The Legnica, Wrocław, Opole and Katowice administrative districts.

³²⁶ A. Żbikowski, *U genezy Jedwabnego. Żydzi na Kresach Północno-Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej, wrzesień 1939 – lipiec 1941*, ŻIH, Warszawa 2006.

counties) became part of a new administrative unit, Bezirk Białystok³²⁷, which was equivalent in nature and rank to an administrative district and was administered by Erich Koch. The Germans added parts of western Ukraine to the GG as “Distrikt Galizien”, with the seat of authority in Lwów, while the eastern lands of Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine were organized into two new units: Reichskommissariat Ost and Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Senior posts in the GG civil administration were held by Germans from the Reich, while those lower down in the hierarchy, such as mayors, county governors, commune and village administrators (wójt and sołtys), tended to be local Volksdeutsche or Poles. Counties were divided into municipal and rural communes, in which municipal councils under mayors or chief borough councillors remained in authority. In some cities the function of naczelnik (chief) was introduced³²⁸, to which the mayors were answerable as the executors of their orders. The county governor was the immediate superior instance to the council and administrator of each village. “Yet they were all essentially functionaries of the occupying administration, which utilised these local government bodies as an executive arm. (...) Polish mayors and commune officials were appointed in varying ways, to a great extent randomly. This was essentially a competence of the head of the district authorities.”³²⁹ The best known example is that of Warsaw under German occupation, where in addition to the senior positions held by Germans, the City Council (Zarząd Miejski) continued to operate, under mayor Julian Kulski, who cooperated with the (underground) Government Delegation for Poland.³³⁰

Functioning in parallel to the civilian administration of the GG, though formally subordinate to it, was a network of various police formations.³³¹ The most senior figure in this hierarchy was der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer-Ost (HSSPF-Ost, Senior SS and Police Leader for the East), whose seat was in Krakow; he was also Staatssekretär für das Sicherheitswesen (Secretary of State for Security in the GG). This position was first held by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Wilhelm

³²⁷ Cf. Katrin Stoll, “Antyżydowska polityka w Białymstoku z perspektywy niemieckich sprawców”, [in:] *Stosunki etniczne podczas wojny i okupacji. Białystok i Wilno 1939-1941-1944/45*, ed. Edmund Dmitrów and Joachim Tauber, Białystok 2011; eadem, *Die Herstellung der Wahrheit. Strafverfahren gegen ehemalige Angehörige der Sicherheitspolizei für den Bezirk Białystok*, Berlin 2012.

³²⁸ In Krakow, Lublin, Radom, Warsaw, Lwów, Kielce, Częstochowa and Przemyśl.

³²⁹ Cz. Madańczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 216.

³³⁰ Cf. J. Kulski, *Zarząd Miejski Warszawany 1939-1944*, Warszawa 1964; A. Ivánka, *Wspomnienia skarbowca 1927-1945*, Warszawa 1964.

³³¹ Cf. B. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung in Generalgouvernement: eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939-1944*, Wiesbaden 1999; *Das Diensttagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen 1939-1945*, ed. W. Präg and W. Jacobmeyer, Stuttgart 1975; P. Nix, G. Jerome, *The Uniformed Police Forces of the Third Reich 1933-1945*, Stockholm 2006. G. Eisenblätter, *Grundlinien der Politik des Reichs gegenüber dem Generalgouvernement, 1939-1945*, Diss. Frankfurt a.M. 1969.

Krüger, who was succeeded on 9 November 1943 by SS-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Koppe. Krüger was also Himmler's Stellvertreter der Festigung deutschen Volkstums in the GG (Representative for strengthening of German nationhood). Within the various districts the SS and police leaders (SS- und Polizeiführer or SSPF) were in charge of the entire police force and SS. An infamous example is SS-Brigadenführer Jürgen Stroop, the man who put down the Warsaw ghetto uprising, who held this position – SS and Police Leader – in the Warsaw district between April and September 1943. In parallel to this, in every district there were also the commanders (Kommandeure) of the two main police formations, the security police (Sicherheitspolizei or Sipo) and order police (Ordnungspolizei or Orpo). In order to examine the part played by the German police in the occupation of Poland and the extermination of the Jews, and to be in a position to access the relevant archive materials, one has to be familiar with its basic organizational and hierarchical structure.³³²

At the head of the SS³³³ and all the police formations in the Third Reich and the occupied territories was Heinrich Himmler – Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei. The following offices were under his control and answered to him: (I) Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Main Security Office) in Berlin, (II) Hauptamt der Ordnungspolizei (HAOP, Order Police Headquarters), (III) Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt der SS (SS-WVHA, the SS Main Economic and Administrative Department), and (IV) Der Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer-Ost (HSSPF-Ost, the Senior SS and Police Leader in the East), based in Krakow. Himmler was also Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of German Nationhood). Wilhelm Krüger, and Koppe after him, were directly answerable to Himmler, though not to the RSHA or any other of the supreme offices in Berlin, as they in the GG, like Himmler in the Reich, held the supreme authority over the SS and police. The head of the security police and the SD, and thus also the RSHA in Berlin, was Reinhardt Heydrich, and after his death Bruno Streckenbach (June –

³³² Cf. W. Borodziej, *Terror i polityka, policja niemiecka a polski ruch oporu w GG 1939-1944*, Warszawa 1985; M. Getter, "Zarys organizacji policji niemieckiej w Warszawie i dystrykcie Warszawa w latach 1939-1945", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1965, vol. VI; S. Biernacki, *Okupant a polski ruch oporu. Władze hitlerowskie w walce z ruchem oporu w dystrykcie warszawskim*, Warszawa 1989; W. Tuszyński, "Policyjny i wojskowy aparat okupacyjny na Lubelszczyźnie (Organizacja, siły i niektóre elementy działania)", *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1970, vol. III; W. Zysko, "Władze policyjne dystryktu lubelskiego w latach 1939-1944. Struktura, zakres działania, obsada", *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1969, no. 3; J.A. Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen. Der Distrikt Radom des Generalgouvernements 1939-1945*, Darmstadt 2007.

³³³ The SS (Die Schutzstaffel der NSDAP – the Defence Corps of the NSDAP) was the elite paramilitary formation of the NSDAP. In 1936 a number of militarized units were formed, under the name Totenkopfverbände (Death's Head Battalions) and Verfügungstruppen (Dispositional Troops), which in 1940 were reformed as the Waffen-SS. The staff of the concentration and extermination camps were recruited from among members of the SS. SS officers swore an oath of allegiance to the Führer.

December 1942), who was succeeded by Ernst Kaltenbrunner.³³⁴ The RSHA was the superior office to the Sipo (Sicherheitspolizei, Security Police)³³⁵, Kripo (Kriminalpolizei, Criminal Police) and SD (Sicherheitsdienst, Security Service). These played the main roles in the Reich security system. It was the RSHA in Berlin to which the office of Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei³³⁶ (BdS, Commander of the Security Police) in the GG was answerable, though it also took orders from HSSPF-Ost³³⁷ and the government of the GG. The BdS, in turn, was the superior of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (KdS, Commanders of the Sipo and the SD) in the various districts.

This structure of the civil and police authorities produced a double or even triple layer of professional subordination. In practice it caused organizational and procedural chaos, and systemic rivalry in the sphere of competencies and scope of action. The various decision-making centres often issued contradictory orders, which was to some extent inevitable in this system, and characteristic for the whole complexity of the administrative and police architecture of the Third Reich and its occupied territories. However, this apparent irrationality in authority structures enabled Hitler and other individuals in central decision-making roles to manipulate their subordinates, play one off against another, and employ a “divide and rule” form of control.

The Order Police (Orpo)³³⁸ was a uniformed force whose mandate included providing security for government offices and other official buildings by monitoring traffic and checking documents, performing executions, combatting partisan activity, conducting street round-ups to deliver forced labour to the Reich, and many other similar tasks. The central body of command in the Orpo was the Order Police Headquarters (HAOP) in Berlin, which was also under Himmler’s control. The head of the HAOP was Kurt Daluge, and he was succeeded by Gen. Alfred Wünneberg.

³³⁴ Ernst Kaltenbrunner (4 October 1903 – [executed] 16 October 1946 in Nuremberg), SS-Obergruppenführer and head of the RSHA in the years 1943-1945. Born in Austria; from 1938, after the Anschluss, he was promoted rapidly and became a deputy to the Reichstag. In January 1943 he took over from Bruno Streckenbach, for a few months Heydrich’s successor as head of the RSHA. He wielded immense authority over the police formations, and was responsible for the crimes of the Einsatzgruppen and the crimes committed in the extermination and concentration camps. Tried in Nuremberg and sentenced to death.

³³⁵ The Sipo (Sicherheitspolizei, Security Police) was established in 1936 as the Third Reich police organization and included the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei, Secret State Police) and the Kripo (Kriminalpolizei, Criminal Police).

³³⁶ This function was held by SS-Oberführer und Oberst der Polizei Bruno Streckenbach, Dr Karl Eberhard Schöngarth, and Dr Walter Bierkamp.

³³⁷ Independent of the RSHA, but subordinate to Himmler.

³³⁸ For a diagram explaining the complex police hierarchy, see <http://www.obersalzberg.de/ss-polizei-in-besetzten-gebieten.html?&L=1>.

The head of the Orpo in the GG was the Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (BdO, Commander of the Order Police³³⁹), whose seat was in Krakow; he was the immediate superior of the district Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO, Commander of the Order Police). The district KdOs were also answerable to the SSPF in their districts and to the BdO at GG level. The BdO, in turn, like the BdS, was subordinate in office to both the central headquarters in Berlin (in this case the HAOP) and the police central headquarters in the GG, i.e. the HSSPF-Ost. They all also held functions with responsibility for security in the civilian authorities (at both GG and district levels).

Another of the roles of the Orpo was supervision of the relatively small number of specialist police services, which are of lesser significance for our subject: the Wasserschutzpolizei (water police), Werkschutz (factory security), Forstschutz (forestry security), Postschutz (postal service security), Verkehrspolizei (traffic police), Bahnschutzpolizei (railway security) and other similar forces; it also cooperated with the border police and customs services, as well as an administrative police force subject to the civilian authorities in the GG – the Sonderdienst (Special Services), which comprised Germans and Volksdeutsche. The Orpo was also the senior institution to the auxiliary services – the Ukrainian police, the Polish Police³⁴⁰ (PP, also known as the “[dark] blue police” due to their uniforms), the Hilfspolizei (auxiliary police, abbreviated to Hipo³⁴¹), and the Jewish Order Service (OD).³⁴²

The Orpo operated in cities with a population of over 5,000 as units of the Schutzpolizei (Schupo, protection police), and in rural areas as the Gendarmerie (Gen.). Every KdO had a police regiment³⁴³ in barracks at his disposal in the district centre with which to carry out repression or extermination operations. These regiments, one in each district, varied in size – between 1 and 5 battalions; the Polizei Regiment Radom, for instance, numbered approximately 1,350 men in 1942. From February 1943 these operational units were renamed SS-Polizei Regiment, and in inside police jargon

³³⁹ This post, in the rank of SS-Brigadenführer und Generalmajor der Polizei, was held, in order, by: Herbert Becker, Karl Riege, Gerhard Winkler, Rudolf Müller-Bonigk, Hans Dietrich Grünwald and Emil Höring.

³⁴⁰ Cf. A. Hempel, *Policja granatowa w okupacyjnym systemie administracyjnym GG 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1987; idem, *Pogrobowcy kłęski. Rzecz o policji „granatowej” w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie, 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1990; R.A. Wójcik, “Organizacja i działalność policji granatowej w Dystrykcie Lubelskim w latach 1939-1944”, Master’s dissertation [typescript], UMCS Lublin, 1974; S. Piątkowski, “Policja polska tzw. granatowa w Radomiu i w powiecie radomskim (1939-1945)”, *Miedzy Wisłą a Pilicą. Studia i Materiały Historyczne*, 2001, no. 2, pp. 107-128; E. Majcher-Ociesa, ed., *Z dziejów policji polskiej w latach 1919-1945*, Kielce 2010.

³⁴¹ The Hipo and the Gendarmerie accepted Volksdeutsche.

³⁴² Cf. A. Podolska, *Służba Porządkowa w getcie warszawskim w latach 1940-1943*, Warszawa 1996.

³⁴³ The regiment was a tactical, independent military or police unit comprising a small number of battalions.

“Truppenpolizei” (regimented police). In addition, there were on average three Gendarmerie-Hauptmannschaften (GHpm, gendarmerie units) and 10 Gendarmeriezüge (GZ, gendarmerie platoons) stationed in each district, one of the latter in each county. These, in turn, set up Gendarmerie-Posten (GP, gendarmerie stations) in the field, each of which was manned by a staff of 1+12 or 1+15 (i.e. 1 officer, 12 or 15 constables). The Gendarmerie-Hauptmannschaften were the intermediate link in the command chain between the district gendarmerie commanders and the county commanders; they were also the lowest level of territorial organization with a large staff and disciplinary authorization in respect of subordinate units and individual personnel. They submitted regular periodic reports. The chain of command was strictly observed; the gendarmerie stations and platoons could only approach the KdGen. through the GHpm. The gendarmes in the provinces played the role of primary police authority. In the years 1940-1942 there were around 10,000-12,000 Orpo officers stationed in the GG, but from May 1943 their number began to rise steadily. Special units called Einsatz- and Sonderkommandos (task forces or special commandos) were formed for special tasks, and comprised members of the gendarmerie, the Schutzpolizei, the Hipo, the PP, the Ukrainian police, and the police forces of other nationalities.³⁴⁴

The Polish Police force numbered around 12,000 officers, was in functional terms subordinate to the Orpo, and was mainly engaged in public order and dealing with petty crimes and the black market, also taking part in anti-Jewish operations (e.g. uncovering people in hiding outside the ghettos³⁴⁵), either on German orders or of their own volition. Some PP officers were also party to the AK's underground work. Service in the PP was not voluntary. “In order to ensure an inflow of sufficient manpower, on 30 October [1939] Krüger issued a proclamation in which, on pain of the severest punishments, he ordered all Polish police officers who had been in active service on 1 September 1939 to report to their nearest German police office and German county office, regardless of where they had been serving before the war.”³⁴⁶ The actual date on which the PP under the German occupation was created is 17 December 1939, the day on which the order to this effect was published.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Cf. Wolfgang Curilla, *Der Judenmord in Polen und die deutsche Ordnungspolizei 1939-1945*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2011; Stefan Klemp, *Freispruch für das “Mord-Battalion”. Die NS-Ordnungspolizei und die Nachkriegsjustiz*, Münster 1998; idem, „Nicht ermittelt”. *Polizeibataillone und die Nachkriegsjustiz. Ein Handbuch*, 2nd edition, Essen 2011.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Jan Grabowski, “Udział polskiej *Kriminalpolizei* (Kripo) w „ostatecznym rozwiązaniu kwestii żydowskiej”: próba zarysowania tematu. *Casus Warszawy*”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, no. 10.

³⁴⁶ A. Hempel, *Policja granatowa...*, op. cit., p. 38.

³⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 42.

A key role in the execution of the plan to exterminate the Jews in the GG, codenamed “Aktion Reinhardt”³⁴⁸, was played by SS-Gruppenführer Odilo Globocnik, in the years 1939-1943 SSPF and head of the NSDAP in the Lublin district. He also personally and directly oversaw the expulsions and bloody suppressions of the villages in the Zamość region, the construction and operation of Majdanek concentration camp, and the extermination of the Jews – the liquidation of the various ghettos and the murder of people in concentration camps, labour camps and extermination centres (Sobibór, Belżec, Treblinka).³⁴⁹ Though formally subordinate to the governor of the Lublin district, Globocnik was the coordinator of operations in several districts, and was *de facto* immediately answerable only to Himmler. In August 1943 he was succeeded by Jacob Sporrenberg, who was personally responsible for the Erntefest (“Harvest Festival”) operation – the extermination of some 40,000 Jews in the Lublin district, in the camps of Majdanek, Trawniki and Poniatowa in November 1943.

There are files generated by the German administrative system and police that have been preserved in the Polish state archives, in the IPN archive, and above all in German archives. Given the number of various police formations and offices directing them that operated during the war, the volume of files that has been preserved in Polish archives is very meagre, and much of their content is missing or incomplete. Such documents were either deliberately destroyed by the Germans, or were lost or destroyed due to military action in the campaigns of 1944-1945. Outside of Poland there is archive material on military and police units and administrative offices in German archives and archives in the Allied countries, above all Russia (now also in Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus) and the USA. With regard to searches for relevant files in Germany, two finding aids by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich may be extremely useful: an archive guide³⁵⁰ and a dedicated handbook aiding navigation of the structure of German offices, functions and ranks from the period of the Third Reich.³⁵¹ The most important German archives were profiled in Part I of this *Guide* above. A

³⁴⁸ Cf. *Akcia Reinhard. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, ed. D. Libionka, Warszawa 2004.

³⁴⁹ Cf. S. Piotrowski, *Misja Odyla Globocnika. Sprawozdania z wyników finansowych zagłady Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1949.

³⁵⁰ *Inventar archivalischer Quellen des NS-Staates*, op. cit. This publication does not, however, cover collections on the occupied areas, but only regional collections for the annexed areas. Also available in the commercial database “20th Century German History Online – National Socialism, Holocaust, Resistance and Exile 1933-1945”, <http://db.saur.de/DGO/>.

³⁵¹ *Ämter, Abkürzungen, Aktionen des NS-Staates. Handbuch für die Benutzung von Quellen der nationalsozialistischen Zeit. Amtsbezeichnungen, Ränge und Verwaltungsgliederungen, Abkürzungen und nichtmilitärische Tarnbezeichnungen*. Im Auftrag des IfZ, bearbeitet von Heinz Boberach, Rolf Thommes, Hermann Weiss, München 1997. Also included in the DGO database.

small proportion of this archive material is accessible in Poland at the AAN³⁵² on microfilm; this includes parts of collections such as Reichsministerium für besetzten Ostgebiete, Reichsministerium des Innern, Hauptamt Ordnungspolizei, Reichsjustizministerium, Reichskanzlei, Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums, Organisation Todt, Kanzlei des Generalgouverneurs, Hauptamt Innere Verwaltung, Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Deutsches Ausland-Institut, Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Polizeidienststellen in eingegliederten und besetzten Gebieten, Auswärtiges Amt, and others from the Bundesarchiv.³⁵³

The AAN also holds copies of the Captured German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, which include files generated by German government offices, institutions, and police and military formations before 1945. These are files that were removed by the Americans to Fort Alexandria (in the state of Virginia, south of Washington, D.C.) and microfilmed there, hence their name. Detailed profiles of these collections are held in the inventories published in the USA as *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria VA*.³⁵⁴ These finding aids are also accessible at the AAN on microfilm.³⁵⁵

Two finding aids to the Captured German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria have been published in Polish.³⁵⁶ Documents generated by the police and German administrative offices constituted evidentiary material in the trials of those defendants tried in Poland before the Supreme National Tribunal (RG NTN at the IPN Archive), and it is in this category that they should be sought, as they are an integral part of the trial files. This principle was not adhered to in the case of the Nuremberg Trials. In this case, when a trial ended, all the files, including the evidence of the crimes in the form of the original archive materials dating from the war, were microfilmed and published, while the documents themselves were returned to the institutions and archives from which they had been taken. No list of these materials was drawn up that would enable the interested scholar today to seek

³⁵² Also in the State Archives in Gdańsk, Katowice, Olsztyn, Poznań, Radom, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław, and the National Archive in Krakow.

³⁵³ For a list of the archives, collections and files from foreign archives available on microfilm, see: *Katalog mikrofilmów i fotokopii z archiwów zagranicznych*, Zeszyt X, compiled by B. Kubiczek and Z. Spieralska, NDAP, Warszawa 1997.

³⁵⁴ Also accessible online, e.g.: www.archives.gov/research/microfilm/t84-1.pdf.

³⁵⁵ Guides no. 1-65 are on four reels of microfilm in RG T-733. These are supplemented by the collection T-176, entitled *Data Sheets to Microfilmed Captured German Records*. These are the inventories of each of the rolls of microfilm (seven in all).

³⁵⁶ *Informator o mikrofilmach akt byłej III Rzeszy (tzw. mikrofilmach aleksandryjskich) znajdujących się w Polsce*, compiled by T. Kurowski, NDAP, Warszawa 1975; W. Lechnio, *Wykaz tzw. mikrofilmów aleksandryjskich*, NDAP, Warszawa 1995.

them out in the relevant archive and collection, however. For this reason, historians citing documents used in these trials are often forced to cite the microfilmed Nuremberg Trial files rather than the archive and record group in which the original files are held today.

The Polish literature lacks a current and detailed guide to wartime archive material; there is also a need for a monographic work on the occupying administration, the SS and police forces in the GG, and the personnel in the various posts in particular offices and departments.³⁵⁷ All this is research that still has to be done.

³⁵⁷ Among the publications in German, the following should be mentioned: H. J. Neufeld and G. Tessin, *Zur Geschichte der Ordnungspolizei, 1936-1945*, Part 1: *Entstehung und Organisation des Hauptamtes Ordnungspolizei im 2. Weltkrieg*, Part 2: *Die Stäbe und Truppeneinheiten der Ordnungspolizei*, Koblenz 1957; A. Ramme, *Der Sicherheitsdienst der SS: Zu einer Funktion im faschistischen Machtapparat und im Besatzungsregime des sogenannten Generalgouvernements Polen*, Berlin 1970; B. Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin, 1939-1944*, Wiesbaden 1999; M. Roth, *Herrenmenschen. Die deutschen Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen. Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachgeschichte*, Göttingen 2009.

2. Judenrat files

From the earliest days of their occupation of the Polish lands, the German authorities implemented entirely heterogeneous policies in respect of the Polish and Jewish populations, with the intention of isolating them from each other. This was expressed in aspects such as separate legislation and separate administrative structures. To this end, a system of Judenräte (Rady Żydowskie, Jewish Councils) was installed; in practice these were intended as the link between the German authorities and the Jewish communities (and later ghettos). Their main duty was to carry out the orders of the German authorities, above all with regard to monetary tribute payments, supply of a daily contingent of forced labourers, and organization (or assistance therein) of confiscations of movable and real estate belonging to Jews. On the other hand they also served vital functions within the Jewish communities: they organized mutual aid, a health service, and children's and old people's homes, took care of resettled incomers, issued rulings on housing and billeting issues, distributed food, and oversaw the Ordnungsdienst (OD, Order Service – the official name of the Jewish police). These and many other functions were all the more important since the Nazi system essentially placed Jews outside the law.

The Judenräte (Rady Żydowskie, Jewish councils) were established by the German occupying authorities in place of the existing Jewish community boards. The legal grounds for this was the ordinance of 28 November 1939 issued by general governor Hans Frank on “The Appointment of Councils of Jewish Elders” with 12 members (in communities with a population of up to 10,000) or 24 (in communities of over 10,000).³⁵⁸ This was preceded by Heydrich's famous message of 21 September 1939 addressed to “Die Chefs aller Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei”, in which point 1 of section II read: “In each Jewish community, a Council of Jewish Elders is to be set up, to be composed, as far as possible, of the remaining influential personalities and rabbis. (...)The council is to be made fully responsible, in the literal sense of the word, for the exact, punctual execution of all directives issued or yet to be issued.”³⁵⁹ In practice, the councils in small communities numbered only a few people, and were never elected by the Jews themselves (as was stipulated in one of the points of Frank's ordinance) but appointed by the occupying authorities. The intention behind

³⁵⁸ Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement 1939, no. 9, p. 72.

³⁵⁹ Quoted after: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader*, West Orange 1976, pp. 59-64, from: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/heydrich_instructions.html (date of access: 1 April 2014).

Frank's ordinance (which was supported by two executive decrees) was that all ordinances issued by the German authorities were to be relayed to the Judenräte via the relevant Kreishauptmann (county governor) or Stadthauptmann (city governor). The question of how German policy in respect of management of the Jewish population through the Judenräte was implemented in practice, and to whom the latter submitted their reports and effectively answered, both in the lands annexed to the Reich and in the GG, is a matter for more detailed study. The Judenrat in Koźienice (a small town in the Radom district), for instance, submitted its fortnightly and monthly reports to the Sicherheitspolizei in Radom, the Judenrat in Piotrków Trybunalski to the Stadtkommissar von Petrikau (Piotrków), Chaim Rumkowski³⁶⁰ to Hans Biebow, the head of the German Gettoverwaltung, and Adam Czerniaków³⁶¹, Obmann (head) of the Warsaw Judenrat, to the Kommissar für den jüdischen Wohnbezirk, an integral part of the Amt des Verwaltungschefs des Distrikts Warschau (Office of the Head of the Warsaw District), and / or the Transferstelle Warschau (Commissar of the Jewish District in Warsaw and the Transfer Agency in Warsaw), and the Stadthauptmann of Warsaw. To this day no full monographic study of the history of the Judenräte and the role that fell to them in the process of the Holocaust has been published in Polish. The only monograph addressing the subject has been written, in English, by Isaiah Trunk.³⁶² Their activities

³⁶⁰ Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski (1897 Ilin, Ukraine – 1944 Oświęcim/KL Auschwitz-Birkenau) – before the war a textiles merchant, insurance broker, Zionist and social activist (e.g. head of the orphanage in Helenówek). Appointed Chairman of the Jüdischer Ältestenrat in the Łódź ghetto on 13 October 1939, and held the post until August 1944 when the ghetto was ultimately liquidated and its last residents deported to KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. Ruled like a dictator in the ghetto, setting himself up as the only intermediary between the Jews and the German Gettoverwaltung. Among his measures were the introduction of his own ghetto currency, known as “Chaims” or “Rums” and bearing a portrait of him, and for a brief interval also a newspaper, *Geto Tsaytung*. He pursued a policy of rescuing Jews through labour and being useful to the occupiers; he believed that this was the way he would save the greatest number of lives. In September 1942 he personally helped to draw up a list of those condemned to deportation to the extermination camp in Chelmo (this transport included virtually all the children from the ghetto). Rumkowski and his role are the subject of immense controversy and conflicting judgments, among both surviving Jews and historians. He was deported to KL Auschwitz-Birkenau in August 1944. The immediate circumstances surrounding his death are not known.

³⁶¹ Adam (Abraham) Czerniaków (Czerniakow) (1880 Warsaw – 1942 Warsaw) – graduate of the Warsaw and Dresden polytechnics, pedagogue, journalist, social and political activist, member of the Warsaw Jewish Community Council. Appointed head of the Warsaw Judenrat on 4 October 1939. He believed that some proportion of the ghetto's population would manage to save itself, which was one of the reasons for his *quasi*-conciliatory stance towards the German authorities, whom he attempted to persuade to mitigate the force of anti-Jewish regulations and ordinances. In certain situations he was prepared to act as a hostage, but he rarely submitted protests. He was criticized among other reasons for his poor choice of co-workers and for tolerating social inequalities. On the second day of the Grosse Aktion, the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto (23 July 1942), he committed suicide in order not to participate in it, and also as a means of warning the ghetto population of what awaited it. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw. He kept a diary: *Adama Czerniakowa dziennik z getta warszawskiego 6 IX 1939 – 23 VII 1942*, compiled by M. Fuks, Warszawa 1983. Engl. edition: *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow – prelude to doom*, New York 1979. Hebrew edition with facsimile: *Yoman getto Varsha 6. 9. 1939 - 23. 7. 1942*, Jerusalem 1968.

³⁶² I. Trunk, *Judenrat, The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation*, New York-London 1972; cf. V. Wahlen, “Selected Bibliography on Judenräte Under Nazi Rule”, *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1974, vol. 10, pp. 277-294.

are the subject of controversy and dispute among historians who study these issues³⁶³, because difficult ethical and moral questions such as collaboration are implicated in them. It is not the task of historians to pass sentence; their role is to examine in detail the history of the institutions themselves and their leaders.³⁶⁴ For if we treat the Judenräte as institutions and elements of an administrative system of governing and exercising power, we must not forget that they had no precedent in history and cannot be compared with any other known form of office. The Judenrat files that have been preserved in largest number and that are of greatest importance are those relating to the ghettos in Łódź (renamed Litzmannstadt during the occupation), Warsaw, Lublin, Krakow, and those in Upper Silesia, with the Zentrale der jüdischen Ältestenräte in Oberschlesien (Central Office of Jewish Councils of Elders in Upper Silesia) in Sosnowiec. For the remaining ghettos, in particular the small ones, there is very little in the way of surviving documentation generated by the Judenräte.³⁶⁵ Only in a few isolated cases is it known how some of these materials were salvaged. In most instances they were preserved thanks to being concealed by Jews themselves (e.g. in Łódź). Sometimes (e.g. in Lublin) German officers were instrumental in salvaging them, doubtless unwittingly. For the most part, the files of Judenräte are recorded in German, the mandatory language in correspondence between the Judenräte and the German authorities; sometimes there are drafts of official letters and reports written in Polish and subsequently translated into German. Some of the documentation, above all internal correspondence between the various departments of the Judenräte, correspondence with mutual aid institutions (such as the ŻSS and JDC), and studies for internal use, was written in Polish. In Poland Judenrat files are held in AŻIH and in the State Archives in Łódź, Warsaw, Lublin, Radom, Piotrków Trybunalski, Katowice, Rzeszów, Sandomierz, Zamość and Krakow. They vary widely in volume – from a single item (and in some cases even a single document, as in places including Jasło, Falenica, Sandomierz, Kamiński, Końskie, Łęczycza and Włoszczowa) to over 2,500 dossiers, running to some 142 linear metres of files (the Rumkowski Archive, AP Łódź). The files of the Judenrat in Łódź have been preserved almost in their entirety, while those of the Warsaw Judenrat constitute no more than 2-3% of the documentation generated in that period. Surviving materials, whether preserved in the Judenrat collections or in other archival holdings

³⁶³ Cf. M. Fuks, "Judenraty – ludzie, problemy, kontrowersje", [in:] *Holocaust z perspektywy półwiecza. Pięćdziesiąta rocznica powstania w getcie warszawskim. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej przez Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w dniach 29-31 marca 1993*, ed. D. Grinberg, P. Szapiro, Warszawa 1994.

³⁶⁴ Cf. M. Urynowicz, *Adam Czerniaków 1880–1942. Prezes getta warszawskiego*, Warszawa 2009.

³⁶⁵ Cf. S. Piątkowski, "Judenraty w dystrykcie radomskim (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem miasta Radomia)", [in:] *Żydzi dystryktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej. Materiały sesji popularyzacyjnej odbytej w Radomiu 27 września 1997 roku*, ed. S. Piątkowski, *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, vol. XXXIII, 1998, issue no. 1, pp. 51-70.

(including postwar materials), are often vital to reconstructing the composition of the Judenräte and the identities of the staffs of their various departments, members of the Jewish police force, and people employed on an occasional basis. The Judenräte in large ghettos, above all Łódź and Warsaw, employed whole armies of people, so providing them with a source of regular income. It is a well-known fact that the bureaucracy and administration of the Judenräte was massively overblown, and produced vast amounts of documents – correspondence, official letters, sets of statistics, graphs, plans, lists, reports and other materials – that today seem absurd in the light of what happened. It is estimated that around 80 per cent of the official documentation of the Ältestenrat der Juden in Litzmannstadt was generated for internal purposes. This work was partly a way of adapting to living conditions over which none of those affected essentially had any control. At the height of its activity the Central Office of Jewish Councils of Elders (Centrala Rad Żydowskich) in Upper Silesia employed some 1,300 people, Rumkowski gave desk jobs to almost 10,000 people, and the situation was similar in Warsaw, where over 5,000 people were employed by the Jewish Council. Did a function in the Judenrat or the Jewish police offer a significant improvement in its holder's chances of survival? This remains an open question, although it seems unlikely to have done so.

ŁÓDŹ

The collection Przelozony Starszeństwa Żydów (PSŻ, Head of the Council of Jewish Elders) in the Łódź Ghetto, also known as Archiwum Rumkowskiego (the Rumkowski Archive, AP Łódź, RG 278) consists of 2,478 files, some 142.5 linear metres of documents. These materials have been preserved in very good condition, virtually in their entirety. Very large groups of PSŻ archive materials are also held in AŽIH, YIVO in New York, and in Yad Vashem, as the Nachman Zonabend Collection.³⁶⁶ The collection known as the Rumkowski Archive was held until 1968 as a deposit in AŽIH, and it was there that it was first lent some basic semblance of order. Its present organization and inventory are the work of Łódź archivists. The introduction in the finding aid contains a history of the institution, a profile of the organization of the administration and scope of its mandate, and an archive profile of the collection – the order of the files, their content, and a description of the methods by which it is ordered. The Jewish administration of the Łódź ghetto (the Ältestenrat or Beirat) has been the subject of a number of publications, in Poland foremost among them the works

³⁶⁶ *The Documents of the Lodz Ghetto. An Inventory of the Nachman Zonabend Collection (Record Group No. 241)*, compiled by Marek Web, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York 1988; *Nachman Zonabend Collection on the Lodz Ghetto (Record Group 0-34)*, compiled by Michal Unger, Yad Vashem Central Archives, Jerusalem 1992.

by Danuta Dąbrowska and Julian Baranowski, and these are recommended reading.³⁶⁷ A characteristic aspect of the situation in Łódź was the extremely extensive autonomy of Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski³⁶⁸, who styled himself as the “ghetto king” and acted virtually independently of other members of the Ältestenrat. Mojżesz Merin³⁶⁹ in Sosnowiec had a similar degree of independence. On the whole, in the lands annexed to the Third Reich there were Ältestenräte (Councils of Elders), which existed as advisory bodies to the “Älteste”, or chief Elder, but in the GG there were Judenräte (Jewish Councils), with chairmen. The organizational structure of the Łódź ghetto administration was probably modelled on the previously established Theresienstadt ghetto in Czechoslovakia. The contents of the collection held in Łódź are as follows³⁷⁰:

I. Rada Starszych – Beirat (Council of Elders, call no. 1) – nominations for council members,

II. Centralny Sekretariat – Zentralsekretariat (Central Secretariat, call no. 2-186) – correspondence with the German authorities, deportations, supplies, medical matters, procurement orders for materials for the workshops, and circulars and public announcements issued by Rumkowski,

III. Sekretariat Prezydialny – Präsidialsekretariat (Secretariat of the Presidium, call no. 187-196) – daily reports from the Department of Health,

IV. Sekretariat Prośb i Zażaleń – Sekretariat für Bittschriften und Beschwerden (Secretariat for Requests and Complaints, call no. 197-296) – mainly applications for work and benefits,

V. Wydział Informacji i Wywiadów – Auskunftsstelle (Department of Information, call no. 297-305) – correspondence regarding information on Jews interned in the ghetto,

³⁶⁷ D. Dąbrowska, “Administracja żydowska w Łodzi i jej agendy w okresie od początków okupacji do zamknięcia getta (8 IX 1939 r. – 30 IV 1940 r.)”, *BŻIH* 1963, no. 45-46, pp. 110-137; eadem, “Struktura i funkcja administracji żydowskiej w getcie łódzkim (maj-grudzień 1940 r.)”, *BŻIH* 1964, no. 51, pp. 41-47, no. 52, pp. 35-48; J. Baranowski, “Administracja niemiecka i tzw. samorząd w getcie łódzkim 1940-1944”, [in:] *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820-1944*, Łódź 1991, pp. 311-323; idem, *Łódzkie getto 1940-1944. Vademecum*, Łódź 1999.

³⁶⁸ Cf. M. Polit, *Moja żydowska dusza nie obawia się dnia sądu. Mordechaj Chaim Rumkowski. Prawda i zmyślenie*, Warszawa 2012.

³⁶⁹ Mojżesz (Mosze, Moniek) Merin (1906 Sosnowiec ? – 1943 Oświęcim/KL Auschwitz-Birkenau) – before the war a commercial agent and Zionist activist. After the outbreak of war curried favour with the Germans, and in part by offering his services as an interpreter and guide, was appointed in January 1940 to the position of Leiter (Leader) of the jüdischen Ältestenräte in Oberschlesien. He pursued a policy of saving certain groups of the population at the cost of others such as the poorest and those resettled from elsewhere. He resisted attempts to save people using passports obtained by Jewish organizations in Switzerland, which bestowed on their holders the status of “foreigners”. He was unexpectedly arrested with a group of young people from Hanoar Hatzioni in June 1943 and deported to KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. The circumstances surrounding his death in the camp are unknown. The liquidation of the ghettos in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie (the Dąbrowa Basin) was commenced on 1 August 1943. Cf. *Zagłada Żydów zagłębiowskich*, ed. A. Namysło, Będzin 2004; *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 136-137.

³⁷⁰ Owing to the size of this collection, the information given here is limited to the most basic facts. Cf. *Inwentarz akt Przełożonego Starszeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkim 1939-1944*, Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Łódź 2009.

- VI. Wydział Personalny – Personalabteilung** (Personnel Department, call no. 306-336) – daily reports, employees' personal questionnaires, correspondence,
- VII. Bezpieczeństwo, Służba Porządkowa, Komenda, Rewiry – Sicherheitswesen, Ordnungsdienst** (Security and the Order Service, call no. 337-456) – daily orders, instructions, operational reports, lists of names of police officers, lists of Jews designated for deportation, confiscated items (gold, silver, watches and furs),
- VIII. Sądownictwo – Gerichtswesen** (Judicial system, call no. 457-476) – operational reports on crimes, lists of prisoners in the Central Prison in the ghetto,
- IX. Centralny Urząd Kontroli – Zentral-Kontrollstelle** (Central Control Department, call no. 477-507) – reports on living conditions, hygiene, homes, house committees,
- X. Najwyższa Izba Kontroli – Höchste Kontroll-Kammer** (Supreme Chamber of Control, call no. 508-723) – monitoring of the other departments, shops, and community kitchens),
- XI. Komisja Kontroli Majątku Niemieckiego i Polskiego w Getcie – Kontroll-Komission für im Getto gebliebenes Gut der Deutschen und Polen** (Commission for Monitoring of German and Polish Property in the Ghetto, call no. 724-725) – correspondence on rents,
- XII. Wydział Statystyczny – Statistische Abteilung** (Statistical Department, call no. 726-886) – graphs, tables and boards illustrating the work of the various departments and all manner of other information on the ghetto, in addition to lists of ghetto residents, employees of the various workshops, and extensive other statistical material,
- XIII. Wydział Ewidencji – Evidenzabteilung** (Records Department, call no. 887-1064) – correspondence (incl. with German authorities regarding deaths), registration matters, the Urząd Stanu Cywilnego (Registry Office, call no. 920-967) – death and marriage certificates, divorce proceedings, Referat Kart Tożsamości (ID Cards Section, call no. 968-989) – witness testimonies in connection with personal data required for the issue of Kennkarten, Biuro Meldunkowe (Residential Registration Office, call no. 990-1064) – lists of names of Jews from abroad, lists of the deceased, newborn babies, and the sick, lists of the residents of each street, residential registration books, labour cards in alphabetical order (call no. 1011),
- XIV. Archiwum – Archiv** (Archive, call no. 1065-1127) – public announcements and speeches by Rumkowski, Biuletyny Kroniki Codziennej (Daily Chronicle Bulletins)³⁷¹, various studies and papers,

³⁷¹ German edition: Sascha Feuchert, Erwin Leibfried, Jörg Riecke (eds.): *Die Chronik des Gettos Lodz / Litzmannstadt*, Göttingen 2007 (5 vols.). Polish edition: *Kronika Getta Łódzkiego / Litzmannstadt Getto 1941-1944*, Łódź 2009.

27 albums (contact sheets) of photographs taken by Mendel Grossman and Henryk Ross, employees of the Statistical Department,

XV. Wydział Gospodarczy – Wirtschaftsabteilung (Economics Department, call no. 1128-1153)

– operational reports on rubbish collections, household committee regulations, various lists of names, lists of streets and numbers of houses in the ghetto, applications and correspondences, materials on various agriculture and Zionist groups, including the ghetto newspaper of a Zionist youth group in Marysin,

XVI. Wydział Pogrzebowy – Beerdigungs-Abteilung (Burials Department, call no. 1154-1157) –

lists of the dead, death certificates, reports and correspondences,

XVII. Urząd Mieszkaniowy – Wohnungszuweisungsstelle (Housing Department, call no. 1158-

1169) – applications for allocation or exchange of a dwelling, descriptions and inspections of houses,

XVIII. Wydział dla Wsiedlonych – Abteilung für die Eingesiedelten (Incomers Department,

call no. 1170-1226) – lists of names of Jews resettled into the ghetto from Germany (cities incl. Berlin, Cologne, Düsseldorf), Luxembourg, Prague and Vienna, various documents of incoming Jews, reports, public announcements,

XIX. Komisja Wyszędleńcza – Aussiedlungskommission (Deportation Commission, call no.

1227-1298) – lists of names of people deported (in fact these were transports to the extermination camp in Chelmno nad Nerem/Kulmhof am Nehr), applications for exemption from deportation,

XX. Komisja Międzyresortowa – Zwischen-Ressort-Komitee (Interdepartmental Committee,

call no. 1299-1324) – lists of names of people delegated for deportation by the workshops,

XXI. Apropowizacja – Verpflegungswesen (Procurement, call no. 1325-1568) – very detailed reports

from food distribution points (shops and community kitchens), lists of personnel,

XXII. Wydział Zdrowia – Gesundheitsabteilung (Department of Health, call no. 1569-1582) –

reports from hospitals, pharmacies and emergency medical services, lists of employees,

XXIII. Wydział Opieki Społecznej – Fürsorge-Abteilung (Welfare Department, call no. 1583-

1618) – information on benefits, interviews to establish material situation, correspondences regarding the orphanage and old people's home,

XXIV. Komisja Opieki nad Dzieckiem – Ausschuss für Kinderfürsorge (Child Welfare

Commission, call no. 1619-1626) – correspondences, personal data sheets for children in the care of relatives or other families, matters concerning homeless children, payrolls for minors employed in workshops,

XXV. Wydział Szkolny – Schulabteilung (Schools Department, call no. 1627-1726) – lists of schools, pupils and teachers, curricula,

XXVI. Komisja Kwalifikacyjna – Umschichtungs-Kommission (Qualifications Commission, call no. 1727-1757) – files concerning employment of apprentices and apprenticeships,

XXVII. Wydział Pracy – Arbeitsabteilung (Labour Department, call no. 1758-1988) – reports and correspondences in connection with employees, lists of employees,

XXVIII. Centralne Biuro Resortów Pracy – Zentralbüro des Arbeits-Ressorts (Central Office for Labour Workshops, call no. 1989-2039) – reports on completion of orders, artisan registration cards,

XXIX. Resorty Pracy – Arbeits-Ressort (Labour Workshops, call no. 2040-2267) – lists of the employees of particular workshops, reports, orders,

XXX. Wydział Pocztowy – Postabteilung (Post Department, call no. 2268-2327) – circulars and orders, a collection of postcards to relatives in Poland and other countries (never sent by the postal service), copies of money orders and parcels sent,

XXXI. Wydział Transportu – Transportabteilung (Transport Department, call no. 2328-2336) – lists of employees, correspondences,

XXXII. Elektrownia – Elektrizitätsabteilung (Power Department, call no. 2337-2338) – lists of electricity consumption in the ghetto,

XXXIII. Dom kultury – Kulturhaus (Culture Centre, call no. 2339-2340) – matters relating to events, concerts, etc., including posters,

XXXIV. Klub Sportowy Urzędników – Beamten-Sport-Klub (Officials' Sports Club, call no. 2341) – official letter regarding the creation of an Officials' Sports Club,

XXXV. Bank Skupu – Bank Ankaufsstelle (Purchase Bank, call no. 2342-2346) – applications for compulsory purchase of valuables and lists of confiscated items and money,

XXXVI. Centrala Zakupów – Zentral-Einkaufsstelle (Central Purchasing Point, call no. 2347-2349) – correspondence, orders for materials,

XXXVII. Buchalteria Centralna – Zentralbuchhaltung (Central Accounts, call no. 2350-2381) – financial reports, cashflow reports,

XXXVIII. Kasa Główna – Hauptkasse (Main Cash Point, call no. 2382-2450) – full cashflow documentation,

XXXIX. Varia (Miscellanea, call no. 2451-2467) – alphabetical lists of people, various notes, ID documents, ghetto money.

Among the 610 files in the AŻIH collection entitled *Zbiór materiałów do dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Łodzi 1939-1944* (Collection of materials on the history of the Jewish population of Łódź, AŻIH, RG 205) there are 155 dossiers of PSŻ files (files no. 217-350) – some of these are duplicates of documents kept in Łódź. The vast majority of these materials are orders and circulars from the PSŻ for the ghetto population (some of them as postwar copies). Originals of Rumkowski's public announcements – 429 of which were issued between February 1940 and August 1944 – are also to be found in the collection of occupation-era posters (files no. 217-271). The other documents (correspondence, reports, daily orders for the order service, population censuses, minutes of meetings, goods inventories, instructions, employee documents, ration cards for foodstuffs and cigarettes, authorizations, etc.) relate to employment, the situation of the ghetto population, schools, distribution of foodstuffs, deportees, and those exempted from deportation. File no. 323 holds a card file for pupils of the ghetto schools (an excerpt from 1941, including 2,397 cards).³⁷² Under call no. 329-350 there are various materials and studies originating from the Łódź ghetto archive, including excerpts from the daily *Kronika codzienna*, reportage by Oskar Singer³⁷³, and materials and a card file (A to Z) of materials prepared for the ghetto encyclopedia (entries on people and miscellaneous phenomena).

LUBLIN

The files of the Jewish Council in Lublin (Judenrat Lublin)³⁷⁴ (AP Lublin, RG 891³⁷⁵) – 183 items dating from 1939-1942 – have been preserved in relatively good condition. The collection has been processed and includes an introduction by Józef Tomczyk which profiles its content. Among its surviving content there are public announcements³⁷⁶, orders, circulars, minutes of plenary meetings of the Judenrat (probably the full set³⁷⁷), and a list of its members, a (draft) list of regulations for the

³⁷² An electronic database created for this unit is accessible in the AŻIH reading room.

³⁷³ O. Singer, *Przemierzając szybkim krokiem getto... Reportaże i eseje z getta łódzkiego*, Łódź 2002.

³⁷⁴ Prior to the establishment of the ghetto there were some 45,000 Jews in Lublin.

³⁷⁵ N. Blumental, *Documents from Lublin Ghetto. Judenrat without Direction*, Jerusalem 1967.

³⁷⁶ The public announcements issued by the Judenrat are connected primarily with voluntary and forced labour, deportations and resettlements, delousing campaigns, and the fight against typhus, while those issued by the German authorities enforce bans and exclusions from various spheres of life, e.g. use of public transport, leaving the ghetto (issued 24 March 1941), etc. The Judenrat was responsible to the Stadthauptmann for the execution of German instructions and orders.

³⁷⁷ For the period 7 January 1939 – 1 November 1942, a week before the final liquidation of the “rest ghetto” (getto szczątkowe) at Majdan Tatarski.

Judenrat, reports by its departments³⁷⁸ from the years 1939-1942, reports by the Judenrat to the German authorities for the period 1 September 1939 – 1 September 1940, a few of the personal files of members of the Judenrat (among them that of its deputy chairman and later chairman Dr Marek Alter), documents relating to forced labour, registration and statistical matters, financial documents (45 units), files on registry office, social welfare and housing affairs and trustee administration of Jewish real estate, connected with the “Praca” printing house, the Matzoh Distribution and Metal Collection Commissions, and others. Files relating to the Lublin ghetto are also held in other collections in AP Lublin: Amt des Distrikts Lublin 1939-1944 – Referat do spraw Żydów (Lublin District Office – Section for Jewish Affairs), Wydział Gospodarczy (Economic Department) and Wydział Pracy (Labour Department); Starostwo Miejskie w Lublinie (Lublin City Governor’s Office); and Akta miasta Lublina (Files of the City of Lublin).³⁷⁹

WARSAW

The collection Przewodniczący Rady Żydowskiej w Warszawie 1940-1942³⁸⁰ (Der Obmann des Judenrates in Warschau [Chairman of the Jewish Council in Warsaw], AP m.st. Warszawy, RG 483) is furnished with an inventory that includes an introduction by Jolanta Adamska, in which she profiles the history of the office and gives an overview of the content. All that has been preserved is 66 items (0.8 linear metres), which is probably around 2% of the output of the Warsaw Judenrat chancellery. Files generated by the Wydział Statystyczny (Statistics Department) have survived in greatest number (18 files); there are also files from the departments of Przemysłu i Handlu (Industry and Trade, 4 files), Ewidencji i Zaopatrywania Dzielnicy Żydowskiej (Records and Supply of the Jewish District, 1 file for each), and Administracja Żydowskiej Dzielnicy Mieszkaniowej (Administration of the Jewish Residential District, 6 files), as well as some files not attributed to the Chancellery. The most valuable of these materials are the full set of Czerniaków’s reports for the period 7 October 1939 – 27 February 1941, and data on the size of the ghetto population and number of real properties as at 1 January 1941. The other documents relate to labour, the production potential in the ghetto, its financial situation, payments and taxes, health (e.g. causes of deaths, infectious diseases, patient traffic in the hospital in Czyste), supply (e.g. monthly breakdowns and reports on bread distribution); internal correspondence addresses the problems of Jews who

³⁷⁸ Rejestracyjno-Meldunkowy [Domicile Registration], Stanu Cywilnego [Registry], Finansowy [Finance], Gospodarczy [Economic], Mieszkaniowy [Housing] and Zdrowia [Health].

³⁷⁹ There are also 22 files of the Lublin Judenrat in AŻIH (RG 253).

³⁸⁰ Cf. B. Engelking, J. Leociak, *Getto warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 146-369. Second Expanded Edition Warsaw 2013, Eng. edition *The Warsaw Ghetto – a Guide to the Perished City*, New Haven 2009.

arrived in Warsaw in January and February 1940, and the movement of personnel within the community. An extensive study (42 pages) entitled “Die Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung”, dated 1941, has also been preserved. The weekly reports of the Chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat, Adam Czerniaków (for 1941), are held in the collection Starostwo Miejskie w Warszawie 1939-1944 (Stadthauptmannschaft Warschau, Warsaw City Governor’s Office, APW, RG 485).³⁸¹ The Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto – the Ringelblum Archives (AŻIH, RG Ring. I and Ring. II) – was also used by the members of Oneg Shabat to preserve some of the original documentation of the Warsaw Judenrat.³⁸² This is call no. Ring. I 199-293 and Ring. II 42-116. Among the documents dating from the period 1941-1942 are the following: official correspondence (incoming and outgoing) on a range of matters between the Judenrat and the Verwaltungschef des Distrikts Warschau (e.g. regarding labour, combating epidemics, passes), reports, public announcements, minutes of the meetings of various commissions (e.g. the resettlement commission), instructions and daily orders of Józef Andrzej Szeryński (a.k.a. Szenkman or Szynekman), Leiter der Ordnungsdienstes (head of the OD [Ordnungsdienst, the Jewish police in the ghetto]), various kinds of registers, memoranda, school reports, notifications of allocation of food and other rations, food ration cards, internal bulletins, circulars, materials on the Areszt Centralny (Central Remand Prison) in the ghetto, and letters from private individuals to the Judenrat containing various requests. AŻIH holds 19 archive units of the Warsaw Judenrat in a separate RG, no. 221: Sprawozdanie Rady Żydowskiej za okres od listopada 1939 do 31 grudnia 1940 (Reports by the Jewish Council for the period from November 1939 to 31 December 1940), with a description of the Warsaw ghetto (the area it covered, population and population density, and mortality rate); and Korespondencja wewnętrzna z Wydziałem Statystycznym z 1941 r. (Internal correspondence with the Statistics Department from 1941), regarding mortality rates, population figures in the ghetto, and other matters.

There are also original materials in the IPN’s holdings: the collection GK 165 “Ob.” (Obozy, Camps), Getto w Warszawie (The Ghetto in Warsaw), 1942, consisting of a bound volume. These are daily reports by the head of the ghetto OD for the German Kommissar für den jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau (Commissar for the Jewish Residential District in Warsaw) regarding

³⁸¹ These are probably duplicates of the reports in RG 483, Der Obmann des Judenrates in Warschau, where they are filed as outgoing correspondence.

³⁸² Cf. M. Janczewska, “Warszawska Rada Żydowska w świetle dokumentów urzędowych z Archiwum Ringelbluma”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, no 10, pp. 131-167.

planned duties and disturbances of the order in the ghetto for the period 8 January 1942 – 20 July 1942. Much of the material of the Warsaw Judenrat has been published in recent years.³⁸³

RADOM

AP Radom holds the collection Naczelna Rada Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej Dystryktu Radomskiego. Dział Dowodów Osobistych 1941-1942 (Der Ober-Ältestenrat der Jüdischen Bevölkerung des Distrikts Radom in Radom; Supreme Council of the Jewish Population in the Radom District – Personal Identification Division, RG 387). All that remains of what was undoubtedly the extensive chancellery of the Supreme Council³⁸⁴ is some 14,077 applications from Radom Jews for Kennkarten (in all 143 items). The public announcement regarding the issue of personal identity documents was released on 4 February 1941. Many of the applications include photographs, and they contain personal data on Radom Jews such as given name and surname, date of birth, profession and where applicable place of employment, marital status, and address (sometimes also documents confirming this information). The collection also holds ID documents that were never collected. It is furnished with an index of personal names. A full inventory of this fonds is accessible on the internet and includes the names of the people whom the documents concern: http://baza.archiwa.gov.pl/sezam/sezam.php?l=pl&mode=show&zespoly_id=65803.

PIOTRKÓW TRYBUNALSKI

Numerous documents (official letters and other correspondence) of the Rada Starszych Gminy Żydowskiej (Committee of the Jewish Community) in Piotrków Trybunalski are held in the collection Akta miasta Piotrkowa (Files of the town of Piotrków, AP Piotrków Trybunalski, RG 9). The part of this RG that dates from the period of the occupation (1939-1945) is called Komisarz i zarząd Miasta Piotrkowa (Stadtkommissar von Petrikau, Commissar of Piotrków), and comprises a large number of documents on the ghetto and the Judenrat: a list of the Judenrat commissions (registration, housing, food, Jewish community, labour) and their members, an excerpt from the budget (1940); reports by various of the Judenrat commissions from 1939-1940 (e.g. housing,

³⁸³ *Ludność żydowska w Warszawie w latach 1939–1943. Życie – walka – zagłada*, compiled by Józef Kazimierski, Jan Grabowski, Marta Jaszczyńska, Danuta Skorwider, Warszawa 2012; *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 12, *Rada Żydowska w Warszawie (1939–1943)*, compiled by Marta Janczewska, Warszawa 2014.

³⁸⁴ Appointed as early as 26 September 1939 to represent the Jewish population of the whole of the Radom district and to coordinate the work of the other councils. It was something of an administrative curio that had no equivalent in the other districts of the GG. Cf. S. Piątkowski, “Organizacja i działalność Naczelnej Rady Starszych Ludności Żydowskiej dystryktu radomskiego (1939-1942)”, *BŻIH*, no. 3 (195), 2000, pp. 342-355; H. Kisiel, “Mieszkańcy radomskiego getta w świetle źródeł archiwalnych”, [in:] *Żydzi dystryktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej*, op. cit., pp. 71-85.

community soup kitchen, emigration), provisional budget; correspondence between the mayor (Oberbürgermeister) and the Judenrat regarding the construction of barracks for Jewish refugees, also internal Judenrat correspondence and correspondence with contractors (the buildings of the synagogue at Jerozolimska Street were given over for the purposes of this construction project); a list of ghetto residents (9,376 people) from November 1939 drawn up pursuant to a decision of the mayor; a list of refugees (35 names), a public announcement issued by the Judenrat; official letters concerning the organization of trade and supplies to the ghetto in 1940; various official letters regarding allocation of foodstuffs; regarding fuel for the bakery, a report on the bathhouse (in connection with a disinfection campaign); correspondence on quotas and exemptions from confiscations of textiles and leathers (applicable to children and resettled populations); Judenrat announcements on registration issues; ordinance of the chairman of the Judenrat regarding issue of personal identity documents (1940); statistical breakdowns of refugees from December 1939 (303 people); various official letters and public announcements by the Judenrat regarding health care, 1939-1940; an official letter from the Judenrat regarding the Jewish hospital, 1939; report by the sanitation unit on a delousing campaign, 1940; various documents regarding forced labour, including public announcements issued by the Judenrat. Many files also contain isolated official letters, public announcements and correspondences by the Judenrat on a range of issues including tribute payments, confiscation of property, and forced labour. Moreover, around a dozen files include official copies of entries for Urząd Stanu Cywilnego Wyznania Mojżeszowego (the Jewish Registry Office) for the years 1939-1942. These are birth, marriage and death certificates for Jews.

UPPER SILESIA

The organization of Jewish communities in what the German occupier called Eastern Upper Silesia was established in January 1940 under the name Komitee der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde (or Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde) – the Central Committee of Councils of Jewish Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia.³⁸⁵ Its headquarters were in Sosnowiec, and its chairman was Mojżesz Israel Merin. His full title was der Leiter der Ältestenräte der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde in Ost-Oberschlesien (Chairman of the Councils of Elders of the Jewish Communities in Eastern Upper Silesia). Merin owed his office and nomination to the head of the Jewish unit in the Katowice Gestapo headquarters, Hans Dreier.

³⁸⁵ A. Namysło, “Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych na Wschodnim Górnym Śląsku”, [in:] *Zagłada Żydów zagłębiowskich*, (ed. A. Namysło), Będzin 2004, pp. 38-62; eadem, “Sprawozdanie z okazji dwulecia istnienia Centrali Żydowskich Rad Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska”, *BŻIH*, no. 3 (215), 2005, pp. 386-402.

In October 1940 the Committee was responsible for 96,283 Jews in 34 communities and its branches (a branch of a community had to number more than 230 people).³⁸⁶ It comprised the following departments: welfare, health, supplies, productivity, agriculture, finance and budget, forced labour, employment, administrative, housing, youth, archives and statistics, communication, resettlement and post office. For a brief period in 1940 there was also an emigration office. In 1942 the Committee and branch communities were served by some 1,300 officials in around 30 different departments and offices. Two issues of a *Biuletyn Prawniczy* (Legal Bulletin) were issued by the Legal Department (Zentrale Rechtsabteilung).

SOSNOWIEC

There is no autonomous archive collection for the Committee, but many of its official letters and documents have been preserved among the files of the offices with which it had to maintain regular contact. In the collection Akta miasta Sosnowca (Files of the City of Sosnowiec, AP Katowice, RG 776/1) there is correspondence between the Komitee der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde in Sosnowitz and Zarząd Miejski w Sosnowcu (Sosnowiec Municipal Board) regarding remuneration for work performed by Jews employed by the city (call no. 5855-5858, Apr.-Nov. 1941, May 1942, Mar.-Jul. 1943), lease of a field by the Jewish community for the purpose of planting potatoes and vegetables for its own needs (call no. 2942, 1940-1941), establishment of the ghetto, its area, population, and resettlements to the Środula quarter (call no. 6368, 1943), maintenance of commercial establishments vital for the Jewish population (call no. 6567, 1939-1943), and Jewish sales, trade and craft outlets (call no. 6858-6859, 1940-1941). There are also lists of Jews from the ghettos in Sosnowiec and Będzin (call no. 6370-6372, 1943), documents connected with the work of the Jewish Community Board in Sosnowiec including detailed lists of employees (call no. 6385, 1940-1943), receipts, calculations and various payments by the Jewish Community (call no. 6581, 1942-1943), reports containing lists of Jewish businesses and craft workshops (call no. 6615, 1939-1940), and other documents and official letters drawn up on headed paper reading "Komitee der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde in Sosnowitz".

³⁸⁶ Cf. A. Namysło, "Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu z okazji dwulecia istnienia Centrali Żydowskich Rad Starszych Wschodniego Górnego Śląska", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 2005, no. 3 (215), pp. 386-402.

DĄBROWA GÓRNICZA

The collection Rada Starszych Żydowskiej Gminy Wyznaniowej w Dąbrowie Górniczej 1939-1943 (Ältestenrat der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde in Dombrowa, Council of Elders of the Jewish Community in Dąbrowa Górnicza, AP Katowice, RG 1600) – contains 52 items (0.5 linear metres of files). It has not yet been processed though there is a temporary index available. The community came under the authority of the Central Committee of Jewish Communities in Sosnowiec, and its chairman was Izaak Israel Borensztajn.³⁸⁷ The collection comprises documents referencing the organization of the communities, monthly reports on the work of the finance and welfare departments, numerous cash room receipts and budgets for individual months of 1941 and 1942, reports and circulars, various lists of statistics and budget documents, payroll receipts, lists of names of the members of the Council of Elders and the people employed by the Central Committee and the Jewish community organizations, documents referencing employment of Jews, named lists of Jews from Dąbrowa, correspondence, files connected with the 3% tax on income from employment, and materials on various welfare campaigns, such as “Datki dla dzieci” (Donations for children) or “Żydowska opieka zimowa” (Jewish winter aid).

OTHER

The State Archives also hold small collections of files from other Judenräte, which are sometimes (though rarely) concealed among the files in collections with other names entirely. In AP Lublin there are vestiges of the files of the Judenräte of two other localities: Rada Żydowska w Biskupicach 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Biskupice, AP Lublin, RG 618) – an excerpt from a book of minutes of meetings from 1940, lists of the members of the Council, correspondence regarding forced labour, lists of the population of Biskupice and a few other localities, lists of Jewish refugees from Krakow, the budget for January 1942, property-related affairs, and correspondence with the ŻSS; and Rada Żydowska w Zamościu 1939-1942 (Jewish Council in Zamość, AP Lublin, RG 618, 8 items) – notices and public announcements, lists of the Jewish families resident in Zamość, a list of statistics for the Jewish population in the communities of Zamość county, lists of real properties, and other documents.³⁸⁸ The following files of Judenräte from smaller localities are held in other archives: Rada Żydowska w Rozwadowie z 1941 r. (Jewish Council in Rozwadow, AP Rzeszów, RG 1399); Żydowska Rada Starszych w Sandomierzu z 1941 r. (Jewish Council of Elders in Sandomierz, AP

³⁸⁷ N.E. Szternfinkiel, *Zagłada Żydów Sosnowca*, Katowice 1946; P. Wiederman, *Płowa Bestia* [novel], Munich 1948.

³⁸⁸ A. Kopciowski, “Der Judenrat in Zamość”, *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, compiled by J. Milotova, U. Rathgeber, G. Kalinova, Prag 2002; A. Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu*, Lublin 2005.

Sandomierz, RG 221, 1 item); a remnant of the files of the Judenrat of Izbica is to be found in Akta miasta Izbica (Files of the town of Izbica, AP Zamość, RG 28), call no. 242 – these include a list of the names of Jewish residents of Izbica in 1940, including lists of Jews from Koło and Łódź resettled to Izbica (147 pages). Akta Gminy Gorzkowice (Files of the Commune of Gorzkowice, AP Piotrków, RG 20), call no. 529, holds correspondence and other documents of the Jewish Council of Gorzkowice from 1940. Akta poniemieckie (Former German Files, ANK, RG 1576) contains a dossier of documents of the Jewish Council in Krzeszowice (Judenrat Kressendorf) – these are lists of people sent to do forced labour, and personal files (Fragebogenlisten) of Jews resettled from Krakow for the period 1939-1945, containing large quantities of personal data. In Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w Czudcu 1922-1942 (Jewish Community in Czudec, AP Rzeszów, RG 736) dossiers 9-21 are connected with the occupation; these papers are minutes of meetings of the Council, data on numbers of Jews before the war and in May 1940, subscriptions paid by community members, the personal data sheets of refugees from Krakow, a budget (including the community's cash ledger up to 1941), welfare, data sheets for real estate owned, lists of people sent for forced labour, a book of deaths for the period 1939-1940, orders issued by the German authorities, and other items. In Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w Rzeszowie 1842-1942 (Jewish Community in Rzeszów, AP Rzeszów, RG 533) call no. 47-54 refer to the occupation; these hold marriage certificates (Trauungscheine) from 1940, 1941 and 1942 and death certificates³⁸⁹ for the same years, a few notifications to collect a body from prison, birth certificates, official copies of marriage certificates from the former Izraelicki Urząd Metrykalny (Israelite Registry Office) in Rzeszów from the years 1939-1942, and registration documents (Meldekarten), personal identification documents, various certificates and affidavits; Urząd Metrykalny Żydowski w Dębicy 1942-1945 (Jewish Registry Office in Dębica, AP Rzeszów, RG 882, 1 item) contains an index of names and 14 notebooks of deaths in Dębica, Pilzno, Brzostek, Jodłowa, Mielec, Ropczyce, Jasło, Sędziszów and Krosno, including cause of death.

The largest number of collections of Judenrat files has been amassed by AŻIH, though unfortunately, with a few exceptions, these are vestigial collections, some of them containing even just a single document. The materials of Jewish communities, including the Judenräte, have been profiled in a collective inventory by Tadeusz Epsztein, accessible on the ŻIH website:

³⁸⁹ The death certificate (Toteskarte) contained the following information: given name and surname, gender, date and time of death, place and cause of death, given names of parents, place and date of birth, place of residence, marital status, children, and profession.

[http://www.jhi.pl/uploads/archive_record/file/59/Judenraty .pdf](http://www.jhi.pl/uploads/archive_record/file/59/Judenraty.pdf). These are the collections of the Jewish Councils in Białystok, Częstochowa, Falenica, Jasło, Kamieńsk, Końskie, Krakow, Lublin, Lwów, Łęczyca, Łachwa, Międzyrzec Podlaski, Modliborzyce, Pinsk, Rawa Ruska, Staszów, Warsaw and Włoszczowa. These collections contain small numbers of official letters, and other documents such as forms, notices and public announcements, summons, lists of people to be sent for forced labour, correspondence with the German authorities, circulars, statistical population data, and documents referring to the OD. Among the documents in RG 229, Rada Żydowska we Lwowie. Zbiór dokumentów dotyczących Getta Lwowskiego (Teka Lwowska) 1941-1942 (Jewish Council in Lwów. Collection of documents on the Lwów Ghetto [The Lwów File]) are the surviving files of the Lwów Judenrat, such as: report of the Welfare Section of Lwów Jewish Community Organization for 13 Aug. – 31 Dec. 1941; Report of the Economics Department for the Presidium for 1941; Appeal by Dr J. Parnas Chairman of the JC in Lwów regarding a tribute payment in the amount of 20 million roubles, 28 July 1941; Appointment of members of the Jewish Council, list of names and addresses, 22 July 1941; Report on the work of the Jewish Council for the period 16 Aug. – 30 Sep. 1941; Appeal regarding the furs campaign, 4 Jan. 1942; Document authorizing the Chairman of the Jewish Council Salomon Czortkower to carry out the furs and warm clothing campaign, 27 Dec. 1941; Financial report, 12 Aug. 1941.

The larger collections of Judenrat files held in AŻIH are the following:

- Rada Starszych w Krakowie 1939-1942 (Council of Elders in Krakow, RG 218) – a diverse collection of documentation has survived, concerning lists of transports of those deported from Krakow in 1940-1941, forced labour, people in possession of Ausweise and resettled to Krakow in 1940, as well as copies of the following: orders issued by the Jewish Council as stipulated by the German authorities, resettlements of German Jews, mutual aid and abandoned apartments, a list of the members of the Jewish Council, and a report for the period 13 Oct. 1939 – 30 Oct. 1940, the annual report for the period from 13 Sep. 1939 to 30 Sep. 1940, and monthly reports for July, August and October 1940. Also from Krakow many documents connected with the issue of Ausweise have been preserved: 19,905 applications from the period July - August 1940, 361 uncollected Ausweise, and 1,912 official copies of Kennkarten. These are a source of extensive personal data on Krakow Jews.

- Przedstawicielstwo Ludności Żydowskiej w Będzinie 1939-1943 (Representation of the Jewish Population of Będzin, RG 212, 24 items) – a list of the ghetto population. A full index of personal names has been drawn up, containing some 15,000 names.

- Rada Starszych w Częstochowie 1939-1942 (Council of Elders in Częstochowa, RG 213, 105 items) – Reports from the Statistics Unit, vol. 1-3 (call no. 1-3), a list of 500 people, and lists of forced labourers, correspondence of the Jewish Council on various matters; call no. 9-105 hold the files of matters relating to the OD (Jewish police): correspondence regarding confiscations of homes, arrests, forced labour, the furs campaign, official letters on personnel matters, passes, instructions for the OD, “Księga wydarzeń i zarządzeń” (Incident and Order Book) for the period June - August 1942, book of plans for the OD, a list of names of people detailed for forced labour March - April 1940, public announcements and orders issued by the German authorities, and several dozen dossiers of personal files of members of the OD.

AŻIH also holds a collection entitled Podziemne Archiwum Getta Białostockiego³⁹⁰ (Underground Archive of the Białystok Ghetto) 1941-1943 – documents include appeals, regulations issued by the Judenrat for the Jewish population, and a report for the Gestapo in Białystok. The main body of documents in this collection, however, are of a totally different nature – above all eye-witness accounts.

Archives outside Poland also contain original files generated by Judenräte. For instance, among the surviving documents from the Radom district are the partially preserved files of the Jewish Council in Kozienice³⁹¹ (Acc. 2003.406.1 Kozienice ghetto papers in USHMM, Washington, D.C.) – a list of the Jewish population of the town of Kozienice in November 1939, comprising a list of 4,248 people and the following information about each of them: surname, given name, gender, age, profession, address, and remarks; official correspondence of the Judenrat, including reports to the German authorities (186 documents in all) for the period 30 July 1941 – 15 August 1942; financial documents “Miesiąc marzec 1942. Dowody rzeczowe rozchodowe” (The month of March 1942. Evidentiary proofs of outgoings): various invoices and receipts for items purchased, payslips for

³⁹⁰ Cf. Sz. Datner, *Walka i zagłada białostockiego getta*, Łódź 1946; S. Bender, *Mul mavet orev: Yebude Bialistok be-milchemet ha-olam ha-sheniya, 1939-1943*, Tel Aviv 1997; *Darko shel Judenrat (Conduct and actions of a Judenrat. Documents from the Bialystok ghetto)*, ed. N. Blumental, Jerusalem 1962.

³⁹¹ Cf. A. Skibińska, “Życie codzienne Żydów w Kozienicach pod niemiecką okupacją”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, no. 3, 2007.

work carried out on behalf of the Jewish Council (80 documents in all). There are materials generated by the Head of the Council of Jewish Elders in the Łódź Ghetto in the YIVO Institute in New York (submitted there after the war by Nachman Zonabend). There are files on the Vilnius ghetto in the Lithuanian Central State Archives in Vilnius (RG R.1421/1), while in Ukrainian archives there are materials on ghettos in the district of Galicia, including those in the cities of Lwów and Tarnopol, as well as on the Pinsk ghetto. There is a wealth of information on the functioning of the Jewish Councils, their various departments, competencies, personnel, and other matters in *Gazeta Żydowska*, the official newspaper for Jews published in the GG in Polish.³⁹²

There are also correspondences with Judenräte in other collections, e.g. those of some German administrative offices (Gettoverwaltung w Łodzi) and Jewish mutual aid organizations, such as the ŻSS and the American Joint Distribution Committee.

³⁹² M. Fuks, “Małe Judenraty w świetle «Gazety Żydowskiej»”, *BŻIH* 1983, no. 3 and 4.

3. The Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto (ARG), the Ringelblum Archive (Ring. I and Ring. II)

The Ringelblum Archive (abbrev. ARG³⁹³) comprises a total of 2,063 items³⁹⁴ – documents excavated from beneath the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto in 1946 and 1950 (hence the use of the division into Part I and Part II ARG). The first two parts of this body of materials were concealed in the basement of the Jewish school at 68 Nowolipki Street in Warsaw³⁹⁵; the third part of the archive, buried not later than on 18 April 1943, and possibly containing documents relating to the Bund³⁹⁶ or to the ŻOB³⁹⁷, and perhaps also other materials³⁹⁸, was never found. The archive owes its name to Emanuel Ringelblum³⁹⁹, the historian who was the initiator and organizer of the group of people brought together by the idea of gathering materials documenting the fate of the Jews under German occupation. In 1999 ARG was honoured by UNESCO with inscription on the Memory of the World register, a repository of the most valuable materials for the history of mankind.

Before the war Ringelblum had been a teacher in a Jewish high school, a member of the party Poalei Zion Left, and a historian (with a doctorate from the University of Warsaw) researching the history of the Jews of Warsaw during the partitions of Poland and in previous periods. He wrote in two languages, Polish and Yiddish, which was common practice among the young historians connected with the YIVO Institute in Vilnius before the war. As early as in October 1939 Ringelblum began to write a diary⁴⁰⁰, in which he made note of the first anti-Jewish ordinances issued by the German authorities. In light of the progressively restrictive anti-Jewish policy of the occupiers and the

³⁹³ The abbreviation ARG was deciphered by Ruta Sakowska as meaning “Archiwum Getta”, or “Ghetto Archive”; it was already in use in the ghetto among members of the underground. For more on the scholarly work of Ruta Sakowska and her many years of work on the Ringelblum Archive, see T. Epsztein, “Wspomnienie o Rucie Sakowskiej”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, np 10, pp. 285-296.

³⁹⁴ Ring. I – 1,505 items (approx. 20,740 sheets, 25,540 pages) and Ring. II – 558 items (approx. 7,906 sheets, 9,829 pages).

³⁹⁵ Part I (in ten metal boxes) in the night of 2-3 Aug. 1942, Part II (in two milk cans) in January or February 1943.

³⁹⁶ According to Marek Edelman.

³⁹⁷ According to Israel Gutman.

³⁹⁸ Some of the materials amassed by ARG mentioned by Emanuel Ringelblum in his *Kronika* are not in any of the archive collections in the world known to us today.

³⁹⁹ Emanuel Ringelblum, pseud. “Menachem” (1900 Buchach – 1944 Warsaw), historian of the Jews of Warsaw, originator of the Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto. Connected with the Poalei Zion movement. Worked as a high school teacher, member of the Yungier Historiker group in YIVO circles. In the ghetto he worked for the ŻSS. He and his family were executed by firing squad in the ruins of the ghetto. Cf. Samuel D. Kassow, *Who will write our history? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive*, Bloomington 2007.

⁴⁰⁰ E. Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego*, Warszawa 1983. Engl. edition: *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, New York 1958.

isolation of the Warsaw Jews inside the ghetto, behind a wall (from 16 November 1940), he deemed his own notes and attempts at documenting events to be insufficient. He decided to form a group of writers, teachers, journalists and historians, thenceforth to operate under the cryptonym Oneg Shabat/Oyneg Shabes (“The Joy of the Shabbat”, the day on which their meetings were held).

The first efforts towards creating an underground archive were undertaken as early as in May 1940, but work got underway in earnest in November of that year, after the ghetto was finally sealed, which took place on 15 November 1940. The mission of Oneg Shabat (OSh) was to document, day by day, the events in the ghettos in the Polish lands, in particular in Warsaw, by writing down eye-witness testimonies of Jews while they were still fresh. OSh also collected materials such as German public announcements (alternatively they copied out their wording), documents from Jewish Councils, correspondence of welfare organizations (ŻSS, Joint), underground and so-called reptilian⁴⁰¹ press items, posters, documents testifying to the everyday life of the community (e.g. food ration cards, tram tickets, sweet wrappers), letters, Kennkarten, ordinances related to forced labour, legacies and papers of particular individuals, scientific studies and drafts thereof, radio bulletins, reports for Polish underground organizations, and proclamations by underground organizations (e.g. ŻOB, the Jewish Combat Organization). Among the most important of these documents is a collection of the ghetto underground press (around 40 titles), diaries written on a regular basis by various people, drawings (e.g. those by Gela Seksztajn), and photographs. The majority of the documents are in manuscript form, some of them copied out several times. The dominant languages are Polish and Yiddish, though some of the documents were also recorded in Hebrew, some of the official materials are in German, and there are sporadic items in English, French, Romanian, Ukrainian, Russian and Italian. The ARG documentation is unique in every respect, and crucial to study of the history of the Holocaust in the GG and the former eastern borderlands of Poland known as the Kresy.

The members of OSh tried to make use of the materials they gathered in their own research and to record the history of the Holocaust as it happened. A range of research methods were used, including sociological and psychological methods, and this in part determined the selection of the materials to be gathered, which were not restricted to official documentation – the value of personal

⁴⁰¹ This term denotes the legal, i.e. occupier-controlled press in Poland. See Lucjan Dobroszycki’s study on the subject: *Die legale polnische Presse im Generalgouvernement*, Munich 1977; English translation: *Reptile Journalism. The Official Polish-language press under the Nazis, 1939-1945*, New Haven 1994.

documents and the words of individuals were recognized. The OSh group encouraged people to keep journals, schoolchildren to write essays and other texts on current affairs, and those resettled from other places to write down their accounts of the fates of Jews in the small towns from which they came. OSh comprised several dozen people with strong personalities. Its secretary was Hersz Wasser⁴⁰² – the only member of the organization who survived and knew where the archive was hidden, so enabling him to help excavate the documents from beneath the ruins of the ghetto.⁴⁰³ In the ghetto he also worked as the ŻSS secretary delegated to the Centralna Komisja Przesiedleńcza (Central Resettlement Committee).

Wasser's deputy in OSh was Elias Gutkowski from the party Poalei Zion Right, who was assisted by Rabbi Szymon (Shimon) Huberband, an Agudas Isroel activist, member of the Warsaw rabbinate, and chairman of the religious section of the Warsaw ŻSS. He wrote many reports on the religious life of the Jews under the occupation, and on the destruction of the synagogues and cemeteries.⁴⁰⁴ Menachem Linder was responsible for the economic and statistical section, and Izrael Lichtensztajn for education. Other members of OSh were writers and poets, among them Icchak Kacenelson, Rachela Auerbach, Perec Opoczyński and Lejb Goldin. Ringelblum's other immediate associates were Abraham Lewin, Daniel Fligelman, Nechemiasz Tytelman and Jerzy Winkler. Ringelblum himself examined the history of OSh and profiled those who formed the group in an essay written in January 1943. A year previously the group had launched a research project entitled "Dwa i pół roku" (Two-and-a-half Years). This involved research into issues such as the Jewish woman, religious life, Polish-Jewish relations, house committees, community soup kitchens, bookshops and libraries, the fate of small Jewish communities, and German-Jewish relations. Each chapter was structured chronologically. This project may be viewed as a form of summary of the work of OSh. In the foreword, Ringelblum posed a number of seminal questions as to the impact of the war on Jewish society and its future prospects in both the short term and after the war. The project was never completed.

⁴⁰² Hersz (Hirsh) Wasser (1912 Suwalki – 1980 Israel), lawyer and economist connected with the party Poalei Zion Left. During the war he was in the Warsaw ghetto and worked as the secretary of the ŻSS refugee commission; one of Ringelblum's closest associates. Kept records of the materials gathered by OSh. Both he and his wife Bluma managed to escape from the ghetto. After the war he worked briefly for the CKŻP, before emigrating to Israel. Cf. K. Person, "Hersz Wasser. Sekretarz Archiwum", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2014, no. 10, pp. 297-303.

⁴⁰³ The others who worked with OSh and Ringelblum and who survived were Wasser's wife, Bluma Kirszenfeld-Wasser, and the writer Rachela Auerbach.

⁴⁰⁴ Sz. Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem. Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust*, ed. J.S. Gurock, R.S. Hirt, New York 1987.

Naturally, the initiators and founders of ARG could not have foreseen the consequences of the Nazis' policy to exterminate all the Jews of Europe. Nonetheless, the continued acts of terror, the isolation of the Jews and their exclusion from successive spheres of life, and their annihilation through labour and the poor living conditions in the ghetto and also in direct liquidation campaigns did force the members of OSh to realize that they, too, were unlikely to survive, and that it was therefore imperative that they conceal the materials they had amassed for posterity. When, after the war, first ten metal crates (Ring. I) and later two milk cans (Ring. II), packed full of documents gathered in the ghetto, were unearthed, the world learned just how broadly the members of OSh had understood their mission. The documents they had collected reference all aspects of the life of the Jews in those extreme conditions, from the ways in which the ghetto internees procured food, to works of art and literature. They also offer insight into the way in which the Jews in various different social groups lived in that period, and by what means some of them succeeded in enduring and surviving.

Ruta Sakowska, the pre-eminent scholar of the documentation gathered in ARG, believes that Emanuel Ringelblum was one of the leaders of the civilian resistance in the ghetto, which until the summer of 1942 was the dominant force in the ghetto's underground resistance movement.⁴⁰⁵ Civilian resistance was very important in neutralizing the consequences of the occupiers' policy, which was to finish the ghetto off by starvation. Every institution, organization and group in the ghetto, from the Judenrat to the ŻSS – an institution created for the express purpose of bringing aid – was engaged in the battle to survive, in the literal sense of that word. In fact, the ŻSS was an umbrella organization that brought together many other aid and charitable initiatives, including Centos, TOZ⁴⁰⁶, and Toporol⁴⁰⁷. Moreover, the Warsaw ŻSS was also a cover for the ghetto underground. Emanuel Ringelblum was the head of one of the departments of the ŻSS: he was responsible for the house committees that were spontaneously set up in tenement houses, and for the *landsmanshaftn* (around 80 tenement-based associations) for Jews resettled into the Warsaw ghetto

⁴⁰⁵ R. Sakowska, "Dwie generacje, dwie formy oporu", *BŻIH*, no. 2 (150), IV-VI 1989, pp. 55-64; eadem, "Archiwum Ringelbluma – ogniwem konspiracji warszawskiego getta", *BŻIH*, no. 4 (152), X-XII 1989, pp. 91-102, no. 1 (153), I-III 1990, pp. 79-95, no. 3-4 (155-156), VII-XII 1990, pp. 153-160.

⁴⁰⁶ Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia, (TOZ, Health Care Organization).

⁴⁰⁷ Towarzystwo Popierania Rolnictwa wśród Żydów (ToPoRol, Society for the Support of Agriculture among the Jews).

from other towns and cities.⁴⁰⁸ The members of OSh had close links to the parties Poalei Zion Left and Poalei Zion Right and their youth arms, Hashomer Hatzair and Hehalutz-Dror. The workers' party Bund and its youth wing Tsukunft (Cukunft) had their own underground archive (which was destroyed), but nevertheless some of the wartime issues of their underground press publications were included in ARG.

The documentation amassed by OSh is testimony to the fact that the Warsaw ghetto was the central hub of the Jewish resistance movement conceived as both spiritual opposition to Nazi policy and active resistance organized into the armed groups ŻOB and Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (ŻZW, the Jewish Military Union). Its most effective act was to inform the free world of the first mass murders of Jews committed in the eastern lands (following the invasion of German forces as a consequence of the outbreak of hostilities between the Germans and Russians in June 1941) and in the extermination camp in Chelmno nad Nerem and the nearby Rżuchów forests.⁴⁰⁹ In the late spring of 1942, with the news from the East, from the camp in Chelmno and the Lublin region (Majdanek and Belżec), the members of OSh realized that the Germans had taken the decision to annihilate the Jews completely. From that point on, OSh also became a hub for information on the actions of the Germans. Between March and June 1942 three reports were drawn up on the extermination of the Jews, and they were dispatched, via the Home Army's Office for Information and Propaganda (BIP), to the Polish Government-in-Exile in London. Their reports gave London cause for alarm, and were broadcast in part by British radio. Even before that, a letter by the Bund dated to 11 May 1942 concerning the extermination camp in Chelmno nad Nerem and the murders of the Jews in the East had reached the West.

The OSh group had relatively moderate links with the armed underground. In the spring of 1942 it undertook cooperation with the Anti-fascist Bloc, to which some Zionists and Communists also belonged. In November 1942 OSh published the first issue of *Wiadomości* (News); a long report by OSh formed the text dated 15 November 1942 entitled "Zagłada Żydów Warszawy" (The Extermination of Warsaw's Jews). From December 1942 Ringelblum and his team formed the

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. A. Żbikowski, "Żydowscy przesiedleńcy z dystryktu warszawskiego w getcie warszawskim 1939-1942 (z pogranicza opisu i interpretacji)", [in:] *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. B. Engelking, J. Leociak, D. Libionka, Warszawa 2007, pp. 223-269.

⁴⁰⁹ R. Sakowska, "Biuro Informacji i Propagandy KG Armii Krajowej a Archiwum Ringelbluma (luty-lipiec 1942)", *BŻIH*, no. 2-3 (162-163), IV-IX 1992, pp. 19-34.; eadem, "Chelmno nad Nerem. Ostrzeżenia i pomoc", *BŻIH*, no. 2 (142), IV-VI 1987, pp. 135-139.

civilian arm of ŻOB and Żydowski Komitet Koordynacyjny (the Jewish Coordination Committee), established with the aim of initiating cooperation with the Polish underground. Groups of fighters from ŻOB and the other armed organization in the Warsaw ghetto, the ŻZW⁴¹⁰, launched an active front on 19 April 1943 with the outbreak of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

Without the documents and testimonies generated by the Jews during the war and immediately thereafter, the history of the Holocaust would be completely illegible and impossible for historians to reconstruct. It would be nothing more than a history of the decisions taken by one nation to implement the mass murder of another and of the technical and administrative methods by which that plan was put into action. The materials generated during the war by the Jews give us an insight into the human suffering, and reveal the humanistic dimension of the sacrifices in the ghettos and camps. The Warsaw ghetto existed for three and a half years – for most of that time the Jews lived and suffered in hope of liberation and survival. Seeing the “Aryan” population on the other side of the wall, they cultivated the hope and illusion of their sympathy and empathy – at least at first. In time, this expectation had to cede ground to the conviction that they had only themselves on whom to count and trust. The occupation and the tragic conditions in which the Jews found themselves also altered their attitudes to the values and traditions that before the Holocaust had been the essence of Jewishness and Judaism, such as kosher food, prayers and rituals in the synagogue, the burial of the dead, and many other rituals and orthodox tenets that had previously been scrupulously observed.

Ringelblum spent several months (Jan.-Apr. 1943) outside the ghetto, in a hiding place set up for him by the Żegota Council to Aid Jews. He returned to the ghetto on the eve of the uprising, 18 April 1943, but just a few days later he and several others were captured by the Germans and sent to the camp in Trawniki. He was aided in his escape from there by Żegota members Tadeusz Pajewski and Szoszana “Emilka” Kosower. On his return to Warsaw he went into hiding again (with many other people) in the bunker codenamed “Krysia” at 81 Grójecka Street. There he began writing a seminal essay, “Stosunki polsko-żydowskie” (Polish-Jewish relations).⁴¹¹ The Germans discovered the bunker

⁴¹⁰ D. Libionka, “Apokryfy z dziejów Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego i ich autorzy”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, no. 1, 2005, pp. 165-195; M. Wójcicki, “Żydowski Związek Wojskowy w getcie warszawskim”, *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 1 (217), 2006, pp. 35-47; D. Libionka, W. Laurence, *Bobaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze - wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego*, Warszawa 2011.

⁴¹¹ E. Ringelblum, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1988. Eng. edition: *Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War*, Jerusalem 1974.

in March 1944, and Ringelblum, together with his family and the others who had been hiding there, was shot in the ruins of the ghetto. During his time in Trawniki, Ringelblum had maintained his contacts with the Jewish underground in Warsaw – the organization Żydowski Komitet Narodowy (ŻKN, the Jewish National Committee), which was engaged in rescuing Jews in hiding across the city after the ghetto was razed. He wrote letters to the leader of the ŻKN, Adolf Berman, and his wife Barbara (Basia) Temkin-Bermanowa. The Bermans managed to salvage those letters, and today they are held in the “Berman Archive” in the Museum at the Ghetto Fighters’ House in Israel; they were recently published in their entirety in Polish for the first time.⁴¹²

In 1997 ŻIH launched a series of publications of ARG source materials. The first volume, compiled and edited by Ruta Sakowska, is entitled *Listy o Zagładzie* (Letters on the Holocaust; it contains the texts of letters sent to Warsaw from smaller ghettos with information on the inexorable extermination of the Jews). The second volume, also by Sakowska, *Dzieci – tajne nauczanie w getcie warszawskim* (Children – clandestine teaching in the Warsaw ghetto), examines the fate of the children in the ghetto, clandestine teaching, and schools. The third volume, compiled by Andrzej Żbikowski, *Relacje z Kresów* (Testimonies from the Eastern Borderlands), comprises the texts of testimonies of Jews from Poland’s former eastern territories. Since 2011 ŻIH has pursued this series⁴¹³, and all the volumes published up to 2014 are listed in the bibliography in this *Guide*. Certain documents from the Ringelblum Archive had in fact already been published *in extenso*, many of them edited by Sakowska⁴¹⁴ (some of them in *Biuletyn ŻIH*) and Józef Kermisz⁴¹⁵. Sakowska published a large quantity of documents from ARG in her book *Dwa etapy*.⁴¹⁶ A selection of the documents from ARG and photographs from the Warsaw ghetto has also been published by the quarterly periodical *Karta*.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, it must be stressed that early source publications may contain errors and omissions of original text, so it is important to use the series “Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego”, coordinated by Tadeusz Epsztein and Eleonora Bergman. All the volumes in this series include translations of the documents into Polish and

⁴¹² “Listy Emanuela Ringelbluma”, compiled by I. Gutman, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, no. 1, 2005, pp. 193-229.

⁴¹³ ŻIH plans to complete publication of all the documents in ARG in 2017.

⁴¹⁴ *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Getto warszawskie lipiec 1942 – styczeń 1943*, compiled by R. Sakowska, ŻIH, Warszawa 1980.

⁴¹⁵ *To Live with Honor and to Die with Honor. Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives* (“O.S.”, *Oneg Shabbath*), ed. J. Kermisz, Jerusalem 1986.

⁴¹⁶ R. Sakowska, *Dwa etapy. Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów w oczach ofiar. Szkic historyczny i dokumenty*, Wrocław 1986, German edition: *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod : NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen die polnischen Juden, gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer : ein historischer Essay und ausgewählte Dokumente aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv 1941-1943*, Berlin 1993.

⁴¹⁷ *Karta* 2003, no. 39, pp. 4-63.

extensive back matter. Each document is furnished with detailed archival information and information on its previous publications (in the original or in translation[s]). Each volume also includes a CD with electronic copies of the original documents published in it.⁴¹⁸

Some years ago, ŻIH and USHMM took the decision to process the entire archive and write a detailed inventory for it, including a foreword, and scientific and archival aids (personal and geographical indexes, and a concordance of call numbers). The task was undertaken by the historian and archivist Professor Tadeusz Epsztein, in cooperation with ŻIH archivists. His introduction to the inventory includes information on matters including the postwar vicissitudes of this collection of documents, the methods used to order the materials, the means by which the handwriting of individuals were identified, and many other questions and problems, not all of which were resolved. The new inventory of the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archive is published in English and Polish.⁴¹⁹

The thousands of sheets of paper, the vast majority of them written on in ink or pencil, spent several years under the ground in the damp and cold.⁴²⁰ In spite of attempts to conserve them, the mechanical and biological damage to this valuable collection is quite extensive. For many years intensive work has been underway to conserve all the documents; this, too, is now complete.⁴²¹ Now the whole ARG collection is accessible by scholars in digital form; copies are also accessible at USHMM and Yad Vashem, and there are some scans on the website www.cbj.jhi.pl. There are also ARG materials in other archives elsewhere in the world; the largest volume of its documents (chiefly duplicates of those in AŻIH) are in the Wasser Collection⁴²², and there are probably a few dozen in the archive of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem (placed there shortly after the war). In the course of the work on the archive, the documents held in AŻIH were re-ordered as follows:

⁴¹⁸ More on this project: http://www.jhi.pl/instytut/pracownia_badan_nad_edycja_archiwum_ringelbluma.

⁴¹⁹ *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes-Ringelblum Archive. Catalog and Guide*, ed. by Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epsztein, introduction by Samuel D. Kassow, Indiana University Press 2009; T. Epsztein, *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego. Inwentarz Archiwum Ringelbluma*, Warszawa 2011.

⁴²⁰ Whether for want of time or facility, the metal crates in which Part I of the Archive was stored were not soldered shut, which meant that water seeped into them.

⁴²¹ The work to conserve the documents that comprise ARG, financed by USHMM, was done by the Paper Conservation Department at ŻIH by a team under the head of that department, Zofia Goliszewska.

⁴²² A microfilm copy of this collection is accessible at AŻIH.

RING. I

I. Oneg Shabat records – call no. 1-4.

II. General studies on the situation of the Jewish population during the war:

1. Plans and drafts of works, questionnaires – call no. 5-22.

2. Oneg Shabat bulletins – call no. 23-38.

3. Studies, scholarly works, reports – call no. 39-70.

4. Autonomous collections:

– the “Kalisz letters” – call no. 71-163,

– the “Płock letters” – call no. 164-178.

III. Warsaw and the Warsaw ghetto:

1. Documents generated by the German authorities and institutions – call no. 179-193.

2. Documents generated by other institutions and organizations – call no. 194-195.

3. Workshops in the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 196-198.

4. Documents generated by Jewish authorities, institutions and organizations:

– the Jewish Council – call no. 199-293,

– “Trzynastka” (“the Thirteen”) – call no. 294-295,

– the ŻSS – call no. 296-349,

– Jewish institutions and organizations connected with the ŻSS – call no. 350-382,

– Clandestine Jewish organizations – call no. 383-388,

– Other Jewish institutions and organizations – call no. 389-401.

5. Testimonies (diaries, chronicles, eye-witness accounts, memoirs) – call no. 402-536.

6. Private correspondence – call no. 537-553.

7. Studies (plans and drafts of works, scientific papers, statistics, tables, notes) – call no. 554-665.

8. Schooling in the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 666-682.

9. Photographs from the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 683.

IV. Materials on the history of Jewish communities outside Warsaw – call no. 684-1077.

V. Testimonies from the 1939 September campaign and POW camps – call no. 1078-1104.

VI. Materials on labour camps, transit camps and extermination camps (centres) – call no. 1105-1208.

VII. Literary texts – call no. 1209-1271.

VIII. Journals and other printed matter:

1. Jewish press from the period of the 1939 September campaign – call no. 1272.
2. Official newspapers and journals published in Germany and the occupied territories – call no. 1273-1285.
3. Other German printed matter – call no. 1286-1290.
4. Newspapers and official Jewish publications from the German-occupied territories – call no. 1291-1293.
5. Jewish press published in the USSR – call no. 1294.
6. Underground press from the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 1295-1347.
7. Other clandestine printed matter from the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 1348-1352.
8. Polish underground press – call no. 1353-1383.
9. Other clandestine printed matter – call no. 1384-1388.
10. Prewar Jewish press, journals and other printed matter – call no. 1389-1398.

IX. Legacies and papers

1. Materials from Rachela Auerbach (the papers of Icyk Manger) – call no. 1399-1410.
2. Materials from Mojżesz Kaufman – call no. 1411-1419.
3. Materials from Menachem Kon (Kohn) – call no. 1420-1424.
4. Materials from Izrael Lichtensztajn and Gela Seksztajn – call no. 1425-1457.
5. Materials from Emanuel Ringelblum – call no. 1458-1460.
6. Materials from Hersz Wasser – call no. 1461-1489.

X. Miscellanea – call no. 1490-1505.

RING. II

I. Oneg Shabat records – call no. 1-2.

II. General studies on the situation of the Jewish population during the war – call no. 3-19.

III. Warsaw and the Warsaw ghetto:

1. Documents generated by the German authorities and institutions – call no. 20-27.
2. Documents generated by other institutions and organizations – call no. 28.
3. Workshops in the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 29-41.
4. Documents generated by Jewish authorities, institutions and organizations:
 - the Jewish Council – call no. 42-116,
 - the ŻSS – call no. 117-207,
 - correspondence of Icchak Gitelman – call no. 208-225,

- Jewish institutions and organizations connected with the ŻSS – call no. 226-239,
- other Jewish institutions and organizations – call no. 240-241.
- 5. Testimonies (diaries, chronicles, memoirs) – call no. 242-276.
- 6. Private correspondence – call no. 277-293.
- 7. Studies (plans and drafts of works, scientific papers, statistics, tables, notes) – call no. 294-329.
- IV. Materials on the history of Jewish communities outside Warsaw – call no. 330-370.
- V. Materials on labour camps, transit camps and extermination camps (centres) – call no. 371-386.
- VI. Literary texts – call no. 387-413.
- VII. Journals and other printed matter:
 - 1. Jewish press from the period of the 1939 September campaign – call no. 414.
 - 2. Official newspapers and journals published in Germany and the occupied territories – call no. 415-418.
 - 3. Underground press from the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 419-424.
 - 4. Other clandestine printed matter from the Warsaw ghetto – call no. 425-428.
 - 5. Polish underground press – call no. 429-449.
 - 6. Other clandestine printed matter – call no. 450-451.
- VIII. Legacies and papers
 - 1. Materials from Rachela Auerbach and Icyk Manger – call no. 452-477.
 - 2. Materials from Icchak Gitelman – call no. 478.
 - 3. Materials from Eliaszk Gutkowski – call no. 479-490.
 - 4. Materials from Szymon Huberband – call no. 491.
 - 5. Materials from Izrael Lichtensztajn and Gela Seksztajn – call no. 492-493.
 - 6. Materials from Perec Opoczyński – call no. 494-507.
 - 7. Materials from Henryk Piórnik and Wacław Kączkowski – call no. 508-509.
 - 8. Materials from Cwi Prylucki – call no. 510.
 - 9. Materials from Emanuel Ringelblum – call no. 511-522.
 - 10. Materials from Hersz Wasser – call no. 523-530.
 - 11. Materials from Chaskiel Wilczyński – call no. 531-553.
- IX. Miscellanea – call no. 554-558.

4. Files of welfare and aid institutions

When researching the extermination of the Jews in the Polish lands, the historian encounters frequent references to the work of the mutual aid institutions that organized support for those in the ghettos and the camps who were particularly badly affected by the situation during the war – the poor, the homeless, orphans, the elderly, those who had been resettled, and the sick. The most important documents are held by the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH) in Warsaw – these are the files of the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) (RG 211) and the American Joint Distribution Committee 1939-1942 (RG 210). A vital supplement to these are the materials of the Central Welfare Council (RGO) and its local committees in the Central Archive for Modern Records (AAN) and the various State Archives (AP).

ŻYDOWSKA SAMOPOMOC SPOŁECZNA (ŻSS, Jewish Social Self-Help; German: Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe, Yiddish: Yidishe Sotsiale Aleynhilf)

There is a wealth of material⁴²³ on welfare aid in the collection Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna Centrala Pomocy dla Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie (Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe, Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle für das Generalgouvernement, Jewish Mutual Welfare Aid Central Office for Aid to Jews in the GG).⁴²⁴ The reason for the complexity of this name is that in fact this collection contains documents generated by two institutions: the ŻSS and its successor, the JUS. The ŻSS was founded by the Germans in 1940, alongside equivalent organizations for Poles (RGO, the Central Welfare Council) and Ukrainians (URG, the Ukrainian Central Council). These three organizations were united under the Naczelna Rada Opiekuńcza (NRO, Supreme Welfare Council), which was initially composed of five Poles from the RGO, one Jew from the ŻSS, and one Ukrainian from the

⁴²³ Little use has to date been made of this material in Polish historiography. A pioneering study of mutual aid was made by Ruta Sakowska, cf. R. Sakowska, *Ludzie z dzielnicy zamkniętej*, op. cit., German edition: *Menschen im Ghetto: die jüdische Bevölkerung im besetzten Warschau 1939-1943*, Osnabrück 1999. Cf. also other articles by Sakowska published in BŻIH, e.g. "Komitety domowe w getcie warszawskim", BŻIH, no. 1 (61), I-III, 1967, pp. 59-86. The files in RG 211 were also used extensively by A. Rutkowski and T. Berenstein in their cycle of articles on the extermination of Jewish communities in the GG published in the 1960s in BŻIH. They were employed most widely by Barbara Engelking in her article "Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego", [in:] *Provincia noc. Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, collective work, ed. B. Engelking, J. Leociak and D. Libionka, Warszawa 2007. The content of the files in the ŻSS collection was examined in an article by Marek Józwiak, head of AŻIH and author of the inventory of that collection: M. Józwiak, "Akta Żydowskiej Samopomocy Społecznej (1940-1942) w Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dystryktu radomskiego", [in:] *Żydzi dystryktu radomskiego w okresie II wojny światowej*, op. cit., pp. 43-49. Foreign publications that should be mentioned in this context include: Aron Rubin, "Jewish welfare services in occupied Poland", *Facts and Fictions about the Rescue of the Polish Jewry during the Holocaust*, Vol. 1, Tel Aviv 2003.

⁴²⁴ AŻIH, RG 211.

URG, and chaired by the head of the RGO, Adam Ronikier.⁴²⁵ At the end of November 1941, when the new district of Galicia (with a large Ukrainian population) was annexed to the GG, the composition of the NRO was altered to comprise four Poles, two Ukrainians and one Jew.

The NRO had no agendas of its own; its work was focused on supervising aid and sharing out monetary subsidies and material donations between the three national sectors. These conducted the real welfare and aid work. The statutes of the ŻSS, which were approved on 29 May 1940, provided that “Voluntary and compulsory Jewish welfare organizations are hereby merged in the ŻSS”.⁴²⁶ The ŻSS was headed by a president (Michał Weichert⁴²⁷) and presidium.⁴²⁸ Among the functions of the ŻSS and its presidium, which was based in Krakow, were the organization of the entirety of Jewish welfare – in both its community and institutional forms; raising money for this work; sharing out financial donations and material aid; setting up, supporting and running welfare institutions for adults and children; and cooperating with foreign aid organizations – via the mediation of the plenipotentiary for the German Red Cross affiliated to the GG for the occupied regions of Poland. As early as in July 1940, pursuant to a decision of the occupying authorities, all independent Jewish community, charitable and educational associations were dissolved and brought under the aegis of the ŻSS. This meant that it inherited both centralized organizations with well-developed regional structures, a considerable heritage and wealth of experience, such as the orphan aid organization Centos and Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej (TOZ, the Health Care Society), and a vast number of independent committees for aid to the poor, the resettled, or victims of fires, various *landsmanshaftn*, house committees, etc. The aid provided by the ŻSS was distributed via an

⁴²⁵ A. Ronikier, *Pamiętniki 1939-1945*, Kraków 2013.

⁴²⁶ AŻIH, call no. 211/1, p. 14.

⁴²⁷ Michał Weichert (1890 Stare Miasto, E. Galicia – 1967 Israel), educated as a lawyer, a prewar theatre director and founder of the Jewish School of the Dramatic Arts in Warsaw, and thereafter the avant-garde Yung Teater, translator from Yiddish, and social activist with links to the AJDC in Poland. Studied law and philosophy to doctorate level in Lwów, Vienna and Berlin. From September 1939 engaged in aid work in Warsaw within the Stołeczny Komitet Samopomocy Społecznej (Social Welfare Committee for the Capital) and Komisja Koordynacyjna Żydowskich Organizacji Społecznych (Coordinating Commission of Jewish Community Organizations), out of which the ŻSS was born. From May 1940 until the end of 1942 he was its president. After the dissolution of the ŻSS, from March 1943 he was the president of the controversial JUS. In 1944 he and his family went into hiding. After the war he was accused of collaboration with the Germans and of betrayal. A Specjalny Sąd Karny (Special Criminal Court) cleared him of these charges, but a Sąd Społeczny (Obywatelski) (People’s Court) affiliated to the CKŻP found him guilty. Sidelined and condemned to a degree of infamy, in 1957 he and his family emigrated to Israel, where he held no public functions. He died in Tel Aviv in 1967.

⁴²⁸ The members of the presidium were Józef Jaszuński (deputy chairman), Gustaw Wielikowski, Benjamin Zabłudowski (from Warsaw), Eliahu Tisz, Chaim Hilfstein, and Marek Bieberstein (from Krakow). When Bieberstein was imprisoned in September 1940 his place was taken by Marek Alter of Lublin. After the death of Zabłudowski in January 1942 and the annexation of Galicia to the GG, Lejb Landau of Lwów was accepted into the presidium. The permanent ŻSS representative in the NRO was Hilfstein, though Weichert himself also frequently attended meetings.

extensive network of Żydowskie Komitety Opiekuńcze Miejskie i Powiatowe (Jewish Municipal and County Welfare Committees) and their numerous agencies, which extended to virtually all the Jewish communities in the GG, including forced labour camps. The ŻSS organized medical institutions, community kitchens and orphanages, and also assisted in tracing relatives. Its work was funded chiefly from donations from abroad, as well as subsidies from the government of the GG and the local occupying authorities. Prior to the United States' entry into the war, however, the primary source of financing was subsidies from the AJDC. In July 1942, as the terror inflicted on the Jewish population of the GG increased, however, and the numbers of repressions and deportations rose and evolved into the direct extermination of the Jews, the German authorities took the decision to dissolve the ŻSS; this resolution took effect on 1 December 1942. The NRO itself was also dissolved. In January 1943, however, the German authorities (following a protest by the German Red Cross) took the surprising decision to reactivate the aid organization for the Jews, under the name Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle (JUS), and once again its direction fell to Michał Weichert. The work of this organization in the context of the advanced stage of the campaign to liquidate the Jews of the GG was highly controversial, and Weichert himself was called upon by the Jewish underground to terminate its activities. He nevertheless decided to accept the challenge because, he explained, while he fully recognized the situation, he believed he had to take advantage of every potential means of rescuing those who were still alive in the remaining ghetto areas and camps. Moreover, he was adamant that foreign aid should not be plundered by the Germans. In practice, the scope of his work was limited to the camp in Plaszów and to a few ghettos and camps in the Krakow district. The main thrust of his activity was channelled into safeguarding supplies of food to the various ghettos and camps by making and distributing soup and bread, sharing out food and material aid from abroad, and organizing medical care and distributing medications. Some of the luxury food products and more valuable drugs from abroad were sold on the free market and the funds raised in this way used to purchase basic foodstuffs and medicines. Ultimately, in July 1944 Weichert and his family went into hiding with the support of the Żegota Council to Aid Jews, and this spelled the end of the JUS's work. Under the terms of a secret agreement, the JUS's stocks were taken over by the RGO, which sold them and passed on the money to help Jews in hiding.

The collection Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna held in AŻIH numbers 1,470 items: manuscripts, printed forms and typescripts. Although the ŻSS statutes provided that the only languages to be used in official correspondence were Polish and German, the files very often do contain documents in

Yiddish. The collection is furnished with an inventory, accessible on the ŻIH website⁴²⁹, which includes an index of geographical names. The files, ordered by subject and geographical criteria, are split into two sections. The first (general) section contains documentation connected with the work of the ŻSS presidium and the JUS in Krakow. Among the documents here are the founding documents of the ŻSS (its statutes and regulations) and those of its superior organizations, the NRO and the RGO, as well as the minutes of the joint meetings of those organizations. Memoranda and instructions dating from the years 1940-1942, blank and specimen forms, pamphlets, and various types of attestations and authorizations for ŻSS employees provide insight into its structure and operating procedures. Notes made in the various departments of the presidium and jotted down during meetings, conferences and telephone conversations reveal more about its day-to-day work. Although in May 1940 the occupier subordinated all existing Jewish aid and charitable organizations to the newly created ŻSS, thus forcing them to pursue their activities under the auspices of the new organization, many continued to operate with almost total independence. A reflection of this situation is the vast body of correspondence between the presidium and the branches and headquarters of the “Centos” Associations for the Care of Orphans preserved in this collection regarding the organization of aid to children, care of orphans, nutrition programmes, etc. The presidium in Krakow also corresponded with a range of institutions and organizations, including the Dom Sierot (orphanage) in Krakow, Żydowski Komitet Inwalidów Wojennych (the Jewish Disabled War Veterans Committee), Polski Czerwony Krzyż (the Polish Red Cross) and TOZ. One of the priorities in Krakow was the division of subsidies, most of which were donated by the AJDC, and of grants from the GG. This is illustrated by the surviving lists of subsidies with detailed breakdowns into the sums received by particular parties. As the ŻSS presidium was based in Krakow, as soon as the Germans took the decision to deport large numbers of the city’s Jewish residents⁴³⁰ (15 August 1940) it was inundated with requests from individuals and businesses for intervention with the authorities for permission to remain in Krakow. The ŻSS presidium’s diverse incoming and outgoing correspondence constitutes a considerable proportion of the entirety of the collection. There are official letters with requests for aid, financial support or intervention with the authorities sent to its Krakow address in the years 1940-1942. One of the statutory aims of the ŻSS was to offer assistance in tracing relatives and reuniting family members, who frequently lost contact in the

⁴²⁹ http://www.jhi.pl/uploads/archive_record/file/94/_SS_211.pdf.

⁴³⁰ As the capital of the GG and the seat of its supreme authorities, Krakow was to be made “judenrein”, i.e. it was to be “cleansed of Jews”. In practice, this objective was only partly achieved. The remaining Jews who stayed in the city were incarcerated in a ghetto situated on the opposite bank of the Vistula river, in the suburb of Podgórze.

maelstrom of war. It also mediated in tracing relatives abroad. The legacy of this work is its large collection of correspondence, ordered alphabetically. Another of the presidium's tasks was to seek channels of aid outside the GG. Much of its work, in particular that connected with tracing relatives, and purchasing vital medication and nutrition, required extensive foreign contacts. Testimony to its activeness in this respect is the large collection of letters exchanged with various Jewish organizations in the USA, Argentina, Denmark, Germany, Cuba, Mexico, France, Peru, Bohemia, Romania, China, Japan, Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Austria and Switzerland. In view of its area of activity, the circumstances, and its dependence on the German authorities, this collection also contains correspondence with the German Abteilung Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (Department for Population Affairs and Welfare), the government office charged with direct supervision of the ŻSS, as well as with other German authorities, the SS and police leadership for the various districts of the GG, banks, transportation firms, and certain employers, such as Oskar Schindler's enamelware factory Deutsche Emailwarenfabrik in Krakow. At the presidium's seat on Józefińska Street in Krakow there was a specialist pharmacy and drug distribution point that made up and dispensed consignments of drugs for the various ghettos and camps. The lists of medications dispatched, orders, and requests for them constitute over a dozen of the items in this record group, and cover the period 1940-1944. Among the most interesting materials are also detailed lists relating to supply and community kitchens in the district of Krakow, and correspondence with labour camps and the camp in Płaszów (chiefly concerning sanitation and nutrition conditions and prisoners' needs). One relatively large collection that illustrates the way the organization operated in the various cities and districts is a set of correspondence that passed between the presidium and its constituent members, the "advisors" who worked alongside the heads of the districts⁴³¹: Beniamin Zabłudowski, Józef Jaszuński, Gamsej/Gustaw Wielikowski, Marek Alter, Chaim Hilfstien, Juda Zimmerman, Jakub Sternberg and Józef Diament. The last element in the general section of this collection is a set of collective lists of answers to a questionnaire compiled in 1942 by the ŻSS presidium regarding the state of hygiene in the various ghettos and camps.

The detailed section of the ŻSS collection comprises a wealth of correspondence exchanged in the years 1940-1943 between the presidium in Krakow and its various subordinate institutions

⁴³¹ The organization's statutes, approved by the GG, provided that the ŻSS representatives working with the chief district officials bore the title of "advisor". This was largely a formal issue. Their function was that of liaison between the district authorities and the presidium of the ŻSS in Krakow. The "advisor" essentially supervised the institutions operating within the ŻSS in a given district, and intermediated with the authorities on their behalf.

throughout the GG: the Municipal and County Welfare Committees, the Delegatury (Delegations), and the various Jewish Councils. The whole of this section is arranged in alphabetical order by place name, and in chronological order within each place. This vast record group of 1,007 items contains a mass of material documenting the conditions in particular localities, attempts to bring aid, and aid actually received. It also brings to light local tiffs, disputes and conflicts. Most of the collections of documents from the various localities open with an exchange of letters regarding the appointment of a local committee or delegation. The local authorities (often representatives of the Judenrat) proposed candidates, and the presidium in Krakow confirmed them, thus legalizing their representation. In many cases, an existing welfare body or an appropriate department of the Judenrat was reorganized as the representation of the ŻSS. This was often a source of disputes, however, which followed the line of prewar political and personal conflicts. These are recorded in the letters that shuttled back and forth between the presidium in Krakow and the various communities. The vast majority of items, however, are numerous reports on operations, outgoings, and foodstuffs, fuel and clothing purchased and used, etc.⁴³² In these reports, the local ŻSS representations set out their needs, the general state of sanitation, health, and overall living conditions, and also made requests for aid. In its responses, the presidium would provide information on financial and material support allocated. The correspondence often reveals the tragic situation in the ghetto, showing the paucity of resources to be such that the available aid did not suffice even for the very neediest. These shortages are visible at both the local and central levels; the documents show the impossibility of meeting the committees' demands. Particular note should be made of this reporting system and of the answers given in the many and varied questionnaires sent out by the presidium, which provide insight into the situation inside the ghettos and camps, both in general terms and on detailed matters (including lists of the sums of money or specific items awarded to particular individuals). These materials constitute a superb source for research on the micro scale, as well as for extensive comparative analysis.

The ŻIH archive also contains other materials intrinsically linked with this subject and with the ŻSS-JUS collection. One such is the diary of Michał Weichert⁴³³, which primarily addresses issues connected with his work in that organization, his personal observations, and his experiences. In 1962,

⁴³² These are standard documents, drawn up in accordance with a specimen designed by the ŻSS, and sent off regularly (every month) to Krakow.

⁴³³ AŻIH, Pamiętniki, call no. 302/25. This is one version of the diary written by Weichert from the time he went into hiding in 1944. There are several versions of this text (see below), which contain information compiled in various ways and under various titles.

in Israel, Weichert had a memoir published that was devoted in its entirety to the ŻSS.⁴³⁴ His diaries add many dimensions of supplementary information to the dry documentary records held in RG 211 in AŻIH. The invaluable collections of the Ringelblum Archive also include documents connected with the first phase of the organization's activity in Warsaw (from Komisja Koordynacyjna Żydowskich Instytucji Społecznych [Jewish Social Institutions Coordinating Commission] to Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna – Komisja Koordynacyjna [Jewish Mutual Welfare Aid – Coordinating Commission]), the process of developing a national organization, and the work of the Warsaw Żydowski Komitet Opiekuńczy Miejski (Jewish Municipal Welfare Committee).⁴³⁵ The collection Sąd Społeczny (Obywatelski) przy CKŻP (People's Court affiliated to the CKŻP, AŻIH, RG 313) contains the case files of Weichert's trial on a charge of collaboration with the Germans during the second phase of his work in the post of JUS president.⁴³⁶ These constitute extensive comparative material and throw an interesting light on postwar assessments of the work of the ŻSS and the JUS, on Weichert himself, and on the stances of people connected with him and the two organizations. A parallel type of documentation is the case files of Weichert's preceding trial before the Specjalny Sąd Karny (Special Criminal Court) in Krakow, which may be found in the AIPN in Krakow. These include materials from the investigation, witness testimonies, and a record of the trial itself.⁴³⁷

The manuscripts department of the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow (BUJ) holds Weichert's legacy and papers⁴³⁸ and his correspondence.⁴³⁹ These collections comprise selected documents, statements and notes from both his trials, biographical materials, and a certain number of original documents generated by the ŻSS presidium and the Krakow Committee. The BUJ is also in possession of works purchased from the author in 1957 prior to his emigration to Israel.⁴⁴⁰ The Yad Vashem Archive

⁴³⁴ M. Weichert, *Yidishe aleybnilf, 1939-1945*, Tel Aviv, Menorah 1962. See also his memoirs in 4 vols., *Zikbroynes*, Tel Aviv 1960-1970. See also David Engel, "Who Is a Collaborator?: The Trials of Michal Weichert", [in:] *The Jews in Poland*, vol. 2, ed. Sławomir Kaprański, pp. 339–370 (Kraków 1999).

⁴³⁵ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 296-382, and Ring. II, call no. 117-225 and 226-239.

⁴³⁶ AŻIH, Sąd Społeczny przy CKŻP, call no. 313/137.

⁴³⁷ AIPN, GK 203/240.

⁴³⁸ BUJ, Manuscripts Department, Papiery Michała Weicherta (1996 acquisition), call no. 31/97 – 49/97.

⁴³⁹ BUJ, Manuscripts Department, call no. 699/88 (1988 acquisition). Correspondence between Jan Wiktor and Michał Weichert and Weichert's wife; call no. 31/96 (1996 acquisition). Correspondence between Roman Kielkowski and the Central Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish nation (GKBŻpNP) regarding Weichert's statement on the activities of Władysław Wróbel.

⁴⁴⁰ BUJ, Manuscripts Department, Prace Michała Weicherta (1957 acquisition, purchased from the author); call no. 195/57 vol. I "Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna" (one version of the memoirs also held in AŻIH); call no. 196/57 vol. II "Polityka eksterminacyjna okupanta hitlerowskiego wobec ludności żydowskiej w tzw. GG"; call no. 197/57 vol. III "Eksterminacja gospodarcza ludności żydowskiej".

(YVA) in Jerusalem holds a collection of documents pertaining to Weichert that comprises one version of the study entitled “Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna w latach 1939-1945”, private correspondence (with people including his defence counsel), official copies of files, press cuttings and translations of articles in Yiddish, and a wealth of auxiliary materials connected with his work during the war and used in the trials before the Special Criminal Court and the People’s Court.⁴⁴¹

The National Library of Israel (NLI) in Jerusalem holds the legacy and papers of Weichert donated by his family after his death.⁴⁴² This contains original ŻSS–JUS documents ordered by subject and chronology, including a large number of personal files of its chairman, and correspondence exchanged between the presidium and local committees, the German authorities, and foreign organizations sending aid to Jews in Poland. It also holds one of the versions of the abovementioned memoirs, the study entitled “Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna w latach 1939-1945”. This document is concordant with (though also contains numerous differences from) the version held in the YVA. Other elements of the collection are postwar notes and studies regarding the ŻSS and the Nazi occupation in Poland, as well as private correspondence of Weichert’s. These are new materials not found in the ŻSS–JUS collection in AŻIH.

Finally, the National Archive in Krakow (ANK) holds random materials of the ŻSS presidium. The collection Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna contains questionnaires filled in by Jews from the GG eligible to receive social benefits⁴⁴³, which comprises 69 items in alphabetical order by place name, including documents filled in by local committees and submitted to the presidium. These contain data on people who had been approved for social or other financial benefits (civil servant or local councillor salaries, widow’s or orphan’s pensions, invalidity benefits, etc.) by Polish state offices before the war. The collection Akta poniemieckie (Former German files)⁴⁴⁴ includes a body of various unrelated documents, among which is an item containing correspondence between the presidium and local delegations and committees regarding personnel issues of ŻSS employees, and a card file of their names.

⁴⁴¹ YVA, call no. O.21/6-8.

⁴⁴² Michael Weichert collection; call no. Ms. Var. 371.

⁴⁴³ ANK, Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna, [1938] 1940-1941, RG 2125.

⁴⁴⁴ ANK, Akta poniemieckie, RG 1576.

AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (AJDC, Joint)

Another institution with virtually direct links to the ŻSS is the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) in the period 1939-1942, for which files are also held in AŻIH.⁴⁴⁵ The documentation of the Warsaw headquarters form an integral whole with the abovementioned ŻSS archival material owing to the peculiar nature of the relationship that developed between the two organizations during the war. The AJDC was founded in the autumn of 1914 in New York when Henry Morgenthau, US ambassador to Turkey, approached Louis Marshall and Jacob H. Schiff with a request for \$50,000 in support for the Jews in Palestine, who were suffering from famine. By October 1915 the money had been collected, and the AJDC was set up to manage its distribution, and to support the Jews of both Palestine and Europe, many of whom had been deprived of a living as a result of World War I. The AJDC provided this support by organizing donations, food programmes and shipments of clothing. The bulk of this aid was directed to Poland and Russia. After the end of World War I, the organization switched its attention to supporting social and political activity, the cooperative movement, and small enterprise. Grants from the AJDC in the 1920s and 1930s facilitated the launch of more than 300 local cooperative loans societies offering microloans. Among the organizations that benefited from the Joint's aid were political parties, trade unions, large community aid organizations such as TOZ, ORT and Centos, and the whole system of schools, cultural institutions and local associations.

In the wake of the German aggression on Poland in September 1939, the most pressing task facing the Polish AJDC headquarters in Warsaw was the day-to-day support of Jews who had suffered as a result of the war, in particular refugees, victims of fires, and those who had been displaced. Aid was offered either on an individual basis, or through one of the various aid committees that were springing up, or, as in Warsaw, via the network of house committees and the Żydowskie Towarzystwo Pomocy Społecznej (Jewish Welfare Society). With the establishment of a German civilian administration, the Judenräte were set up, and financial and material aid from the Joint flowed through them. Its Warsaw workers – Icchak Gitelman (the director of the Polish headquarters), Lejb Neustadt, Izaak Broinstein and Dawid Guzik – leveraged a range of contacts in an effort to ensure

⁴⁴⁵ AŻIH, RG 210. These files, like the ŻSS documentation, have to date been underused in the literature. They have been analysed in publications by Ruta Sakowska, Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak and Dariusz Libionka. They are also referenced by Yehuda Bauer in his work on the aid sent to Jews in occupied countries (*American Jewry and the Holocaust. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945*, Detroit 1982).

that aid reached Jewish communities not only in the GG but also in the regions annexed to the Reich.

Their activities were rendered easier by the organization's American status, i.e. the fact that it originated from what was then a neutral country. Aside from direct and individual aid, another important aspect of its work was its grants for Centos, TOZ and ORT. With the establishment of the ŻSS (in whose formation the directors of the Joint played a significant role), a large proportion of the financial and material aid for the Jews of the GG was channelled through this organization. The reports of the ŻSS presidium indicate that in the years 1940-1941 over half of its budget came from AJDC grants. In the lands annexed to the Greater German Reich, the Joint supported welfare and aid campaigns in the Łódź ghetto, in Sosnowiec, and throughout the Dąbrowa Basin. The aid was financed from prewar transfers made by the AJDC head office in New York and its Europe office in Paris. In view of the difficulties engendered by the war, the legal restrictions imposed by the occupiers, and the objections to dollar transfers in the lands occupied by the Germans, larger transfers were more difficult to effect (though possible). Bereft of their regular source of cash, Joint workers in Poland devised a system of financing based on loans issued in Poland to the AJDC head office, the repayment of which was guaranteed after the war by the New York head office. Owing to the difficulties in transferring money, the Warsaw office received mass consignments of material aid in the form of food, clothing and medications financed by the American head office.

With the United States' entry into the war against Germany in June 1941, the official facility to bring aid was halted. Even then, however, the European office in Lisbon (where it had been relocated after the occupation of Paris in 1940) continued to send individual food parcels at first to specific recipients and later to the ŻSS-JUS, via a hired firm in Tehran. Money was also transferred through underground channels; it was received by Jewish underground activists and passed on to aid Jews in hiding. Yehuda Bauer has estimated that in the years 1939-1941 the AJDC sent aid to Poland worth over \$20 million (which represented respectively 14.8 per cent, 13.8 per cent and 17.0 per cent of the organization's annual budgets for those years).⁴⁴⁶

The AŻIH collection American Joint Distribution Committee numbers 761 items constituting documents in the form of manuscripts, printed matter and typescripts in Polish, German, Yiddish

⁴⁴⁶ Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust*, op. cit., p. 73.

and English. It is furnished with an inventory, accessible on the ŻIH website⁴⁴⁷, which includes an index of geographical names. As in the collection ŻSS–JUS profiled above, the documents are ordered by subject and geography, and the whole is divided into a general and a detailed section.

The former contains documentation connected with the work of the AJDC head office in Poland in the years 1939-1942. It opens with the institution's statutes and programme and organizational documents. A number of items show how the head office was organized, and give insight into its budgets, payrolls and other financial documents for the years 1940-1942. Of particular note are the numerous documents commissioned and collected by the Joint referencing the current situation of the Jewish population of occupied Poland. These include documents about the creation of the Warsaw ghetto, analyses on the subject of unemployment, forced labour and the deteriorating living conditions, and statistics referring to specific places and demographics including numbers of Jews. As it expanded its activity in the occupied Polish territories, the AJDC head office in Warsaw gathered materials that are reflected in the detailed information ordered by district or city within the GG, and also in the Warta region and Łódź. These include statistics, plans for the division of grants and reports on their use, and collective statistics on health, mortality rates and care of children. The Joint's cooperation with and support of such a diverse range of organizations generated extensive reporting and correspondence, which flowed into its Warsaw office from TOZ, Centos and ORT, and in later periods also from the presidium of the ŻSS and its constituent units, from the Polish and German Red Cross, and from the RGO.

The detailed section of the collection comprises lists and reports on receipt and distribution of material donations from abroad, which were sent to the AJDC's address in Poland. The office in Warsaw, as a foreign organization, had greater ease of contact with various foreign establishments (in places including Slovakia, Germany, Belgium, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Austria, Turkey, Iran, Lithuania, Sweden, the USSR, Bohemia and Romania), including, of course, the AJDC headquarters in New York. The legacy of this vibrant activity is a collection of several dozen items reflecting the organization's efforts to obtain financial resources. These include bank transfer slips, currency exchange receipts, orders, and acceptance letters for consignments of food, clothing and medications. This body of correspondence is a record of the vast scale of the aid campaign and the dramatic appeals for every cent and every gramme of flour. Like the ŻSS–JUS, the Joint also assisted

⁴⁴⁷ http://www.jhi.pl/uploads/archive_record/file/92/AJDC_210.pdf.

in tracing foreign relatives who might provide support or even assistance in emigrating. This latter campaign is recorded in the collection of over 2,500 cards in a card file containing the names and addresses of Jews from Poland who sought assistance from relatives in the United States and other countries on the American continent. The final element in the general section of the collection is a selection of organizational and financial documents and chronologically ordered copybooks of correspondence from the office in Warsaw (of immense value, because in addition to useful information on the AJDC's work, they give us an insight into the day-to-day operations of the organization).

As in the ŻSS-JUS collection, the detailed section of the AJDC collection comprises correspondence from the years 1940-1941 between the head office in Warsaw and the branch offices in the various cities, Judenräte throughout the GG, and, more sporadically, with individuals. It is filed in alphabetical order by place name, and chronologically. It should be noted that in spite of the large volume and similarity of the files amassed in this section of the AJDC collection, they are not homogeneous. The various items differ in number of documents, level of detail, and chronology. The dominant document type in this huge collection is requests and applications for support of various types and in various forms. Local Judenräte or Aid Committees describe their tragic situations and request monetary or material aid. This is reflected in exchanges of correspondence regarding the state and status of a given Jewish community, its needs, and arrangements regarding the delivery and receipt of the aid. The support ultimately given was subsequently accounted for in the form of cash reports, receipts, or confirmation of distribution among the needy. Testimony to the progressive impoverishment and the scale of need are the scrupulous confirmations of receipt of every pair of shoes, every item of clothing, and letters confirming assistance obtained in which the figures of aid donations rarely run into double figures. Like the ŻSS, the Joint had to share out its insufficient resources so as to help as many Jewish communities as possible, for many of which this modest support was crucial to survival. The material gathered in the detailed section of the collection, reflecting a cross-section of the fates of the population in a given community, facilitates both detailed local studies and the formulation of more general conclusions on matters ranging from mortality rates and sanitation conditions in the ghettos to the structure of the aid that reached them.

An important supplement to the information in the files comprising RG 210 in AŽIH are the collections of the AJDC Archives in New York. The Poland General and Sally Mayers Collection⁴⁴⁸ in this archive contains all the documents referring to the work of the abovementioned aid organizations in Poland. On the one hand it reveals how this work was perceived from New York, and on the other it gives insight into the *modus operandi* and procedures followed at the institution's American headquarters. Analysis of this documentation enables us to recreate the routes by which information on the situation of the Jews in Poland under German occupation reached New York, and also the way in which their situation was understood. It contains a range of correspondence between the Warsaw office and the European representation of the Joint and its New York headquarters, as well as documents testifying to its extensive cooperation with various organizations and state governments, including the Polish Government-in-Exile. It also comprises very detailed data on the ongoing situation in Poland and Europe in general, the need for aid, and reports on its work. The various lists and breakdowns reveal in detail the type and amount of aid directed to this region, the routes via which it was sent, and the obstacles encountered in the process. The numerous circulars and minutes of meetings help to understand the approach taken by US Jews and the American authorities to the situation in occupied Poland. Perceptive analysis of the chronology of the various entries, combined with a knowledge of the circumstances, will enable the scholar to realize the inadequacy of the work, its tardiness, and the lack of comprehension of the import of the dramatic appeals from Warsaw and Krakow, resulting in often pointless discussions and consultations in the safe setting of New York. The collection also contains a wealth of documentation in the form of press cuttings and internal bulletins on the work of the Joint and the situation of the Jews. As noted above, once the US entered the war against Germany, the entire procedural system and philosophy of the aid provision had to change, because from then on it could not go direct. It therefore reached its recipients or target organizations (the ŻSS–JUS via the German Red Cross) in the form of parcels of food and medications. Both the abovementioned collections hold extremely detailed documentation on costs, procedures, arrangements, and the destinations and channels for aid, as well as analyses of the efficacy of the aid efforts. Significantly, the Polish Government-in-Exile was an active partner in the AJDC's work in this quarter. Further

⁴⁴⁸ American Joint Distribution Committee Archives, New York, call no. AR 33/44: Poland General and Sally Mayers Collection.

information on the work of the AJDC and its campaign to aid the Jews in Poland is held in the AJDC Archives in Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁹

RADA GŁÓWNA OPIEKUŃCZA (RGO, Central Welfare Council)

An important pendant to the files of the ŻSS and Joint profiled above in terms of their community work and the campaign to supply aid to the Jews is the collections of the Central Welfare Council (RGO) and its dependent institutions. The model for its campaign to bring aid to the people of Poland was an organization of the same name that had operated in the years 1916-1918 in the Kingdom of Poland (with the consent of the German occupying authorities) and later, until 1920, on the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In that period it ran asylums and daycare units, food and clothing banks, and a system of cash benefits. Its chairmen were first Stanisław Dzierzbicki and later Eustachy Sapieha, and the successive presidents of its Central Board Adam Ronikier and Stanisław Staniszewski. At the beginning of 1940 Ronikier and a group of other social activists, with the support of the metropolitan bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha, and the consent of governor Hans Frank, reactivated the RGO, replicating both the scope of work and the organizational structure of the successful World War I model. Ronikier was its chairman. The RGO became a recognized element of the social welfare system designed by the Germans for the inhabitants of the occupied Polish lands. Together with the ŻSS and the Ukrainian Central Council, it formed the Naczelna Rada Opiekuńcza (Supreme Welfare Council). The RGO was based in Krakow and it had a network of county and municipal Polskie Komitety Opiekuńcze (Polish Welfare Committees) in the field.⁴⁵⁰ Its core activity was to bring aid to the Polish inhabitants of the GG. The scope of its work was extremely broad – running initiatives from asylums, shelters, children's homes and hostels, through summer camps for children, to vocational training courses. One of the mandates of the RGO and its committees was to distribute food, clothing, fuel, benefits and one-off aid payments. At the local level, the committee set up community kitchens and daycare centres, and made up parcels for POWs and other prisoners.

When some of the Polish lands were annexed to the Reich, the issue of aid for the resettled, deportees and refugees (from regions including the Zamość area, and Warsaw following the failure of the city rising in 1944) became paramount. The RGO's work was financed from subsidies from

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Part I of this *Guide*, chapter on archives and institutions in Israel (Chapter 8).

⁴⁵⁰ The Polish State Archives (AP) hold over 40 collections on the RGO and Polish Welfare Committees from across the GG.

the German authorities (allocated at the level of the NRO), foreign aid and donations (chiefly channelled through the Red Cross), and also clandestine support from the Polish Government-in-Exile.⁴⁵¹

In view of the tripartite segmentation of the welfare aid structure within the NRO, and the wording of the RGO's statutes, it was clear that the RGO's purpose was to bring aid specifically and exclusively to the Poles. Nevertheless, both Ronikier and other activists were of the opinion that aid should be distributed to all those in need and unable to access it elsewhere. Hence the archival legacy of the RGO is full of information on aid to Jews, in particular Christians of Jewish descent.⁴⁵² The most important collection from which to start research is Rada Główna Opiekuńcza. Biuro Centrali w Krakowie, in the Central Archive for Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw.⁴⁵³ This consists of 2,047 items containing documents and printed matter, chiefly in Polish, German and English. The collection is fully processed, and furnished with an inventory accessible in electronic form.⁴⁵⁴ This vast collection, running to more than 45 linear metres, contains the whole of the institutional legacy and papers of the RGO. Of greatest interest are the files of Wydział Ogólny (the General Department), which are connected with the work of the RGO and the NRO and their contacts with external organizations, including the ŻSS. Also worthy of note is the chairman's official and private correspondence on matters of the welfare of ethnic minorities, chiefly Jews, from the years 1940-1942.

The notes and files of the individual departments contain a wealth of information on welfare provision to Jews (chiefly via the ŻSS, but also through other organizations and local committees), as well as statistics and data on the geographical distribution of the Jewish population, its progressive pauperization, the ghettoization process, and eventually the Holocaust. The sources are the extensive body of correspondence, studies, and reports written in response to needs arising. The AAN and

⁴⁵¹ One of the scholars to have researched and written about the RGO is Bogdan Kroll, in his work *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1985. A wealth of information about the organization is also contained in the memoirs of Adam Ronikier, *Pamiętniki 1939-1945*, Kraków 2001.

⁴⁵² On the subject of aid to Christians of Jewish descent, cf. K. Samsonowska, "Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej", [in:] *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939-1945. Studia i materiały*, ed. A. Żbikowski, Warszawa 2006, pp. 846-849.

⁴⁵³ AAN, Rada Główna Opiekuńcza. Biuro Centrali w Krakowie 1940-1945, RG 125.

⁴⁵⁴ http://baza.archiwa.gov.pl/sezam/sezam.php?l=&mode=show&zespoly_id=702.

certain of the State Archives contain the legacies and papers of the Polish Welfare Committees.⁴⁵⁵ These comprise a wealth of – unfortunately disparate – information on the living conditions of the Jewish population, the creation and liquidation of the ghettos, and (sporadically) the aid extended, directly or indirectly, to the Jews.

Jakub Petelewicz

⁴⁵⁵ Information on the collections of the RGO held in the State Archives is available in the “Zespoly archiwalne” database on the State Archives’ website: <http://archiwa.gov.pl>.

5. Documents of the Polish Underground State concerning the extermination of the Jews

The documentation of the civilian and military structures of the Polish Underground State constitutes one of the most important Polish bodies of sources concerning the extermination of the Jews during World War II. References to the Holocaust are to be found in materials generated by many of the structures of Związek Walki Zbrojnej – Armia Krajowa (ZWZ-AK, Union for Armed Struggle – Home Army) and Delegatura Rządu (DR, the Government Delegation).⁴⁵⁶ In respect of the ZWZ-AK, the main group of files comprises those of Biuro Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej ZWZ-AK (BIP ZWZ-AK, the ZWZ-AK High Command Office of Information and Propaganda), which from February 1942 operated a section for Jewish affairs (referat spraw żydowskich). In respect of the DR, of greatest importance is the documentation generated by Departament Informacji i Prasy (DIP DR, Department of Information and Press) and Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych (Department of Internal Affairs).⁴⁵⁷ From the beginning of 1943 this department had a Jewish section that coordinated the functioning of the Rada Pomocy Żydom Żegota (Council to Aid Jews, Żegota) and liaison with representatives of the Jewish underground.

These sources may be split into a number of main groups by type and theme:

- 1) various types of reports, dispatches, briefs, reports and studies (or excerpts therefrom) concerning the successive stages of the Germans' extermination of the Jews; these include both materials by local structures and others based on them but generated in Warsaw;
- 2) studies (or excerpts therefrom) containing assessments of the moods in society and Polish-Jewish relations (concerning the perception of the occupiers' policies and the fate of the Jews among the Polish populace, the situation and treatment of Jews in hiding, and the issue of aid to individuals);
- 3) documentation on the subject of contacts between the ZWZ-AK and the DR on the one side and the Jewish underground on the other in the period 1942-1944;
- 4) documents on organizational matters connected with the functioning of institutional campaigns for aid to Jews operating within the Polish Underground State (esp. Żegota). A separate source is the underground press.

⁴⁵⁶ Of lesser significance is the documentation of underground political formations.

⁴⁵⁷ On the subject of the functioning of the BIP's Department of Information, see G. Mazur, *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy SZP-ZWZ-AK 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 74-92; for information on both structures of the DR mentioned here, see W. Grabowski, *Tajna polska administracja cywilna 1940-1945*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 183-236.

Materials of the Polish underground are scattered across archives in Poland, Israel, and Britain (London), in the Polish Underground Study Trust (SPP) and the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum.⁴⁵⁸ The most important “Jewish materials” in the SPP have been segregated and filed into two dossiers titled “military documents” and “civilian documents”.⁴⁵⁹ This is a collection of chronologically ordered materials that were received by the VI Division of the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief (Oddział VI Sztabu Naczelnego Wodza) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych) via the communications system (dispatches) and couriers (reports or excerpts therefrom), as well as dispatches on Jewish affairs sent from London to Poland. Also in this collection is correspondence of the Jewish Combat Organization (ŻOB) and Jewish National Committee (ŻKN, both dispatches and reports) sent to London via the Polish underground (intended for both Polish and Jewish agents), as well as internal correspondence of the VI Division concerning Jewish affairs (cover letters, draft responses to dispatches received from Poland, etc.). There are many references to the situation of the Jews in the occupied Polish territories, to moods among the Jews, and to Polish-Jewish relations in the reports held in the SPP signed by couriers and emissaries who came to London from occupied Poland in the period between 1939 and 1944⁴⁶⁰, in the documentation brought by them (operational reports, reports by the High Command and field units of the ZWZ-AK on the situation under Soviet and German occupation, and analogous materials from the civilian authorities, as well as mail sent via the Delegate), and in letters and studies on the situation of individuals connected with the underground and ordinary individuals under the occupation.⁴⁶¹ There are copies of many of these materials in various collections in the Sikorski Institute Archive.⁴⁶² Some of the materials from the collection of testimonies held in the SPP also

⁴⁵⁸ These materials were used by David Engel, *In the shadow of Auschwitz: the Polish government-in-exile and the Jews, 1939 – 1942*, Chapel Hill 1987; idem, *Facing a Holocaust: the Polish government-in-exile and the Jews, 1943 – 1945*, Chapel Hill 1993; and 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.

⁴⁵⁹ SPP, A3.1.1.134; ibidem, SPP, A3.1.1.13.5A and B, Żydzi – dokumenty cywilne (Jews – civilian documents).

⁴⁶⁰ There are also reports by the couriers held in British archives; one such is the report by Jan Nowak-Jeziorański in the National Archives (see J. Ciechanowski, “Meldunki o sytuacji i Zagładzie Żydów”, [in:] *Polsko-Brytyjska współpraca nyniowocza podczas II wojny światowej*, vol. I., ed. T. Dubicki, D. Nałęcz, T. Stirling, Warszawa 2004, pp. 534-544 [there also excerpts from Nowak-Jeziorański’s report]).

⁴⁶¹ The collection Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych (Ministry of Internal Affairs) and others.

⁴⁶² The collections: Prezydium Rady Ministrów, MSW and Kolekcje. The Biuro Studiów (Studies Office) made regular situational reports on the basis of materials received from Poland.

reference Jewish affairs.⁴⁶³ Some of the documents from the archives in London (reports from Poland and dispatches) were published in the monumental work *Armia Krajowa w Dokumentach*.⁴⁶⁴

The largest collection of documentation of the Polish underground in Poland is held in the Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN). A systematic body of information on the fate of the Jews in the Polish lands is contained in the radiograms and other materials (including the monthly reports entitled “Pro Memoria o sytuacji w kraju”, which were produced in the years 1941-1944) edited within the DR’s Department of Information and sent for use by the Polish Government on behalf of the Delegate (which position was held by the following, in order: Cyryl Ratajski, Jan Piekalkiewicz, and Jan Stanisław Jankowski). The number of mentions of Jewish communities rises sharply in the period when ghetto liquidations were on the rise, i.e. from mid-1942 until mid-1943. The “Pro Memoria” reports held at AAN have been published in their entirety.⁴⁶⁵ They are supplemented by the reports of the Western Section (Seksja Zachodnia) of the DR’s Department of Information for the period from October 1942 until June 1944 from the lands annexed to the Reich, which have also been issued in print (these cover the Wielkopolska region as well as the Łódź voivodeship, Silesia, Pomerania and the Białystok region)⁴⁶⁶ as well as analogous studies made by the DR’s Eastern Office (Biuro Wschodnie) concerning the situation in the Eastern Borderlands (Kresy, April 1943 – June 1944).⁴⁶⁷ Extensive data on the extermination of the Jews are also included in the monthly operational reports and dispatches sent to London by Gen. Stefan Rowecki, “Grot”, and later by Tadeusz Komorowski, “Bór”, addressed to the Commander-in-Chief.⁴⁶⁸ Most of these materials were drafted by the Department of Information (Wydział Informacji) in BIP ZWZ-AK. Some of the documents by the unit for national minorities created in 1940 within the structure of this

⁴⁶³ Call no. B.I.

⁴⁶⁴ *Armia Krajowa w Dokumentach 1939-1945*, Warszawa–Wrocław–Kraków–Gdańsk 1990–1991, vol. 1–6 (original publications: London 1970-1989). There are numerous documents on Jewish affairs in vol. VI – Uzupełnienia).

⁴⁶⁵ *Pro Memoria (1941-1944). Raporty Departamentu Informacji Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj o zbrodniach na narodzie polskim*, selected and compiled by J. Gmitruk, A. Indraszczyk, A. Koseski, Warszawa–Pulask 2004/2005.

⁴⁶⁶ Two publications of the same documents: *Ziemie zachodnie październik 1942 - czerwiec 1944. Raporty Sekcji Zachodniej Delegatury Rządu na Kraj o sytuacji ludności polskiej i polityce okupanta niemieckiego*, compiled by M. Adamczyk, J. Gmitruk, W. Ważniewski, Warszawa 2004; *Raporty z ziem wcielonych do III Rzeszy [1942-1944]*, Poznań 2004.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ziemie Wschodnie. Raporty Biura Wschodniego Delegatury Rządu na Kraj 1943-1944*, compiled and with a foreword by M. Adamczyk, J. Gmitruk, A. Koseski, Warszawa–Pulask 2005. Other materials by the Eastern Office have also been published: *Ziemie Wschodnie. Meldunki tygodniowe Sekcji Wschodniej Departamentu Informacji i Prasy Delegatury Rządu na Kraj, kwiecień – lipiec 1944*, selected, compiled and with a foreword by M. Adamczyk, J. Gmitruk, A. Koseski, Warszawa–Pulask–Kielce 2006.

⁴⁶⁸ AAN, 1326/203/I-21-22.

department, and later the unit run by Henryk Woliński, “Waclaw”⁴⁶⁹, have been published by Maria Tyszkowa. These include materials drafted in situ and reports sent in by the field structures of the BIP (including some in the lands annexed to the Reich), from the manuscript collection of the University of Warsaw Library.⁴⁷⁰ The documentation of the unit under “Waclaw” is scattered across several locations within the AAN’s collections Delegatura Rządu (RG 1325) and Armia Krajowa (RG 1326). Some important documents, including the report summarizing the operations of this formation, have been published.⁴⁷¹

Materials by “Waclaw’s” unit on the situation outside Warsaw in the years 1941-1943 are held in the collection of files of the DR’s Department of Internal Affairs. The materials on Warsaw obtained by the unit include orders issued by the Germans, public announcements, data on the overall situation in terms of health and supplies, and documents edited by “Waclaw” on the situation of the Jews in the ghetto during the “Grosse Aktion” (which are unfortunately incomplete – the first is dated 10 August 1942), as well as information on the camp in Treblinka, and reports by people who managed to flee the ghetto before the uprising, and from the first days of fighting.⁴⁷² There is also a dossier on the subject of the extermination of the Jews in the Polish lands, compiled in late August 1942 by the BIP and smuggled to London by Jan Karski.⁴⁷³ Most of the materials from outside Warsaw reference the situation of the Jews in the GG, though there is also information from regions annexed to the Reich. The first of the documents held in this dossier, dated 30 September 1941 and concerning the situation of the Jews in the East, is by Stanisław Herbst, “Chrobot”. The last materials refer to the situation after the liquidation of the labour camps in the Lublin region in November 1943 in Operation “Erntefest”. These are operational reports submitted to the unit, including Jewish

⁴⁶⁹ Henryk Woliński (1901-1984), “Waclaw”, lawyer, before the war head of the Wydział Skarbowy Prokuraturii Generalnej (Treasury Department of the Solicitor General’s Office) and a member of Stronnictwo Demokratyczne (the Democratic Alliance). His unit not only gathered and processed information on persecutions of Jews, but also coordinated cooperation between the AK and ŻOB. After the war Woliński lived in Katowice.

⁴⁷⁰ “Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941-1943 (Dokumenty Biura Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej ze zbiorów Oddziału Rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego)”, compiled by M. Tyszkowa, *BŻIH*, 1992, no. 2–3.

⁴⁷¹ Report by H. Woliński: *Polacy i Żydzi w okresie niemieckiej okupacji 1939-1945. Studia i materiały*, ed. Andrzej Żbikowski, Warszawa 2006, pp. 201-205.

⁴⁷² AAN, 1325/202/II – 28, Meldunki o sytuacji w getcie warszawskim, p. 126.

⁴⁷³ There are official copies of these documents under various call numbers in London archives. The report “Likwidacja getta warszawskiego”, complete with six annexes, delivered to London by Karski, was published in the work *The Black Book of Polish Jewry. An Account of the Martyrdom of Polish Jewry under the Nazi Occupation*, ed. J. Apenszlak, The American Federation for Polish Jewry 1943. This was the first “Black book”. Karski’s reports written in London contain few references to Jewish issues. The exceptions to this have been published (D. Libionka, *ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu*, pp. 156-157). Some of the materials on the subject of Karski’s trip to the USA are held in the SPP (A3.1.2.13.3), and the majority in the Karski Collection in the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University.

documents, and texts edited by “Wacław”.⁴⁷⁴ Among the materials of the DIP DR are other scattered operational reports by “Wacław” from the beginning of 1942, as well as the last letters of the representatives of ŻOB and the ŻKN to London, written after the Warsaw city rising and passed on to members of the Polish underground.⁴⁷⁵

Some extremely important documents or official copies of original documents now lost are to be found in the collections of ŻIH⁴⁷⁶; others are in the archive of the Ghetto Fighters’ House (Kibbutz Lohamei Ha’Getaot).⁴⁷⁷ There are also documents by “Wacław’s” unit in the file containing the materials of Żegota and the DR’s Jewish unit, created at the beginning of 1943 and run by Witold Bieńkowski.⁴⁷⁸ These include Bund correspondence passed on for dispatch to London, internal correspondence of Woliński and other BIP employees, Bieńkowski’s correspondence on matters of the day-to-day functioning of the campaign to aid Jews (on matters including financial issues), including letters to his superiors in the DR concerning details of the aid campaign, key documents concerning the creation of the ŻOB and the ŻKN (founding and programme documents), their reports sent to London, correspondence of Żegota with representatives of the DR, cash reports, studies on the extermination of the Jews passed on to London, etc. The first documents in this file date from the spring of 1942; the last from February 1944.⁴⁷⁹ The remaining documentation of Żegota is scattered across Polish and Israeli archives.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁴ AAN, 1325/202/II – 29, Meldunki o sytuacji Żydów poza Warszawą, 1941-1943, p. 82. Here also copies of some of the materials published by Tyszkowa.

⁴⁷⁵ AAN, 1325/202/III – 35, vol. 1, Sprawozdania i informacje o sytuacji w kraju. The ŻOB and ŻKN letters have been published (*Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, vol. III).

⁴⁷⁶ The Bernard Mark Collection.

⁴⁷⁷ The Adolf Berman Collection.

⁴⁷⁸ Witold Bieńkowski, “Jan”, “Wencki”, “Kalski” (1906-1965), Catholic journalist, co-organizer of Front Odrodzenia Polski (Polish Revival Front). Co-editor of *Pravda*, head of the prisons unit of the DR’s Department of Internal Affairs, co-organizer of Żegota. Implicated in the contract murder of the BIP employees J. Makowiecki and L. Widerszal. Arrested on 5 December 1944 by the NKVD, released on 21 May 1945 during an attack on the prison carried out by a unit of the underground independence movement. Renewed his contacts with Bolesław Piasecki (a prewar extreme nationalist, who supported the Communist government after the war) and was appointed editor-in-chief of the weekly *Dziś i Jutro*. Deputy to the Legislative Sejm. In the years 1949-1953 he worked in Primate Wyszyński’s secretariat.

⁴⁷⁹ AAN, DR, 1325/202/XV-2, p. 391. Some of these documents have been published in works by W. Bartoszewski and Z. Lewinówna (*Ten jest z Ojczyzny mojej*), T. Prekerowa (*Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom*), and D. Libionka (*ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich*). The file also holds the materials that made up the second “Black book”, among them a ŻKN report on the liquidation of Jewish Warsaw, a study entitled *Wojna z dziećmi*, the testimony of an escapee from Treblinka, a study on the camp in Bełżec, a study on labour camps, and a list of ghettos as at autumn 1942 (AAN, DR, 1325/202/XV-2, pp. 256-299).

⁴⁸⁰ In Poland – the collection: Zbiór dokumentów konspiracyjnych, w tym prasa [varia okupacyjne] (Collection of clandestine documents, including press [occupation miscellanea]) – RG 230 at ŻIH (published part: M. Urynowicz, “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej”, [in:] *Polacy i Żydzi*, op. cit., pp. 280-301). In Israel – Yad Vashem (the complete set of minutes of the meetings of Żegota) and the Ghetto Fighters’ House Archive.

Also of interest are the operational reports from the Warsaw ghetto written by members of the ghetto organization of Polish Socialists, “Lilka” (Adam Szczygielski) and others, and passed to the Polish side. These include the names of those who worked in the ghetto administration (e.g. Wydział Walki z Lichwą i Paskarstwem [the Department for the Fight against Usury and Black Marketeering], the community authorities, and the Order Service [OD]), documents of the Judenrat, operational reports, the state of the custody cells, and a description of the “April campaign” of 1942.⁴⁸¹

Considerable information on the situation of the Jews and the successive stages of their persecution is to be found in the internal bulletins edited by the BIP ZWZ-AK’s Department of Information – the *Informacja Bieżąca* aimed at editors of underground papers and the *Aneks o terrorze* compiled by the Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne (Military History Office).⁴⁸² On the basis of these publications it is possible to reconstruct aspects such as the data flow and the state of knowledge at the ZWZ-AK High Command regarding the anti-Jewish policy of the occupiers. A similar type of regular study compiled by the equivalent services within the DR was *Dokumenty Chwili*.⁴⁸³ An information source of a different type is the underground press published by the ZWZ-AK, the DR, and the various political parties and circles (see the section of this *Guide* devoted to the underground press). Press publications contain considerable data on the extermination of the Jews in the Polish lands (in Warsaw, in the GG, and in the lands annexed to the Reich) – the situation in the ghettos, “liquidations”, mass shootings, the operation of extermination and labour camps, the Jewish resistance, attitudes of the Christian population, and the issue of aid to Jews. Publications by political parties contain discussion of the “Jewish question” between the wars, and prognoses and predictions regarding Polish-Jewish relations after the war.

In the main press organs of the Polish Underground State we will find official statements by the Polish underground authorities on the subject of the Holocaust, anti-social activities (including informing and blackmail), as well as verdicts issued by the Civilian Special Courts. One key aid in

⁴⁸¹ AAN, 1325/II – 26, DSW, p. 782; ibidem, 1325/202/II – 27, Meldunki z getta warszawskiego, p. 51.

⁴⁸² *Informacja Bieżąca* was published from 1941 on a biweekly basis and supplied the latest news on the situation in the occupied Polish territories. It was compiled for use by the senior ranks within the AK and the DR and for editorial personnel of other underground press organs (a full set of materials is accessible at AAN, 1325/202/III-7). *Aneks o terrorze* was a monthly paper and was enclosed as a supplement to mail sent to London (a full set of materials is accessible at AAN/III-8, vol. 1).

⁴⁸³ This material is scattered across Polish and London archives.

research into the treatment of the Holocaust in the underground press is a four-volume edition of the most important paper of underground Poland, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, the main press organ of the ZWZ-AK High Command (which regularly published extensive information on Jewish subjects).⁴⁸⁴ While centrally issued press publications have been preserved almost complete, however, those published by local underground structures have not.

Traces of interest in Jewish affairs are to be found in the documentation of various of the structures of the DR and the AK. Reports by the Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (PKB, National Security Corps), for instance, contain sections on the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, cases of exposure of blackmailers (*szymalcownicy*), information on attitudes of the Polish Police toward the Jews following the ghetto uprising, etc.⁴⁸⁵ Descriptions and assessments of the situation of the Jews, the extermination process in the Polish lands, Jews in hiding, etc., are to be found in both documentation of the various departments of the ZWZ-AK High Command and in the files of individual ZWZ-AK Obszary (Regions) and Okręgi (Areas). The documentation of local structures has sadly survived only in a highly fragmentary state.⁴⁸⁶ Of special significance are the monthly reports of local structures within the BIP.

These materials are best preserved for all the districts (obwody) within the AK's Warsaw Region (Obszar Warszawski) for the year 1943. These include detailed profiles of the situation following the "deportations" of Jews from the various counties, and assessments of attitudes in the Polish population towards escapees from the ghettos.⁴⁸⁷

A considerable volume of information (much of it rather tendentious) on Jewish matters (the situation in the ghettos, particularly the Warsaw ghetto, the mood in the Jewish population, etc.) is to

⁴⁸⁴ *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, Part 1, *Przedruk roczników 1940–1941*, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2001, special edition 1; *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, Part 2, *Przedruk roczników 1942–1943*, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2002, special edition 2; *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Przedruk rocznika 1944. Konspiracja*, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* 2003, special edition 3. The fourth volume of this publication is devoted to the Warsaw city rising.

⁴⁸⁵ E.g. AAN, 1325/202/II – 37, 1325/202/II – 35, Raporty okresowe KB, XI 42-II 43, p. 111; 1325/202/II – 36, Raporty specjalne KB, I 43-IX 43, p. 50.

⁴⁸⁶ These materials are held in the State Archives, the AIPN (RG: Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego and Armia Krajowa) and the archives of the Military Office for Historical Studies.

⁴⁸⁷ E.g. AAN, 1326/203/X-67, Komenda Obszaru Warszawskiego, Raporty miesięczne BIP (Monthly reports of BIP); *ibidem*, 1326/203/X-69, Raporty i sprawozdania BIP (Reports and minutes of BIP). Weekly reports of the counter-intelligence structures for the Warsaw Region have also been preserved, containing a variety of disparate data on Jews in hiding.

be found in collections of files of the counter-intelligence movements and structures infiltrating the Communist movement, e.g. “Antyk”⁴⁸⁸ and “Korweta”⁴⁸⁹.

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⁴⁸⁸ E.g. AAN, Antyk, 1346/24-6, Meldunki i opracowania dotyczące położenia Żydów (Reports and studies on the situation of the Jews). It is important to remember that many of the documents in the “Antyk” archive (RG 1346 in the AAN) were created by the intelligence organization codenamed “Blok” set up in late 1943 and run by Henryk Glass; this cooperated with Oddział II KG ZWZ-AK, and later with the analogous structures within DR. This collection also includes materials from the “brygady wywiadowcze” (“intelligence brigades”). In the autumn of 1943 a Społeczny Komitet Antykomunistyczny (Social Anti-communist Committee) was set up that created a unit called “Antyk” within the BIP. See Janusz Marszałec, “Działalność informacyjna i propagandowa agend Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego w kwestii komunistycznej”, [in:] *Działalność informacyjna Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, ed. W. Grabowski, Warszawa 2003, pp. 134-153.

⁴⁸⁹ AAN, microfilm no. 423. “Korweta” was the cryptonym of unit 999 of the KG AK. This unit was created within the BIP in the first half of 1941, and in 1942 became part of Wydział Bezpieczeństwa i Kontrwywiadu [the Department for Security and Counter-intelligence] Oddziału II KG AK.

6. Investigation, prosecution and court files

When considering court files as a source for Holocaust research, what is important above all is to observe a formal divide between courts operating under the occupation and those operating after the war. From the period of the occupation, both Polish and German courts on various levels, civil and criminal, are of interest. From the postwar period, of particular value to Holocaust scholars are the files of criminal cases concerning war crimes brought pursuant to the “August decree” (see below), and civil cases (in sądy grodzkie [courts of the first instance] and sądy okręgowe [district courts]) on various matters arising as a result of the war. The files of postwar German criminal courts for cases connected with the subject in hand were profiled in Part I of this *Guide*.⁴⁹⁰

The German Courts (Deutsche Gerichte) from the period 1940-1945 from which files have been preserved, above all in the Polish State Archives, are those in Chełm, Krakow, Lublin, Radom, Rzeszów, Piotrków, Warsaw and Żyrardów. In the years 1939-1945 there were Special Courts (Sondergerichte⁴⁹¹) operating in Krakow, Rzeszów, Lublin, Radom, Kielce, Piotrków, Częstochowa, Warsaw, Zamość, Lwów, Bydgoszcz, Inowrocław, Kalisz, Katowice⁴⁹² and Łódź. The public prosecutors’ offices during the occupation were: Prokuratura przy Sądzie Krajowym i Specjalnym (Office of the Public Prosecutor affiliated to the Regional and Special Court) in Piotrków Trybunalski, and those affiliated to Sąd Krajowy (the Regional Courts) in Cieszyn, Piła, Racibórz and Włocławek, to Sądy Okręgowe (the County Courts) in Warsaw, Tarnów and Siedlce, and to Sądy Specjalne (the Special Courts) in Katowice, Bytom, Gdańsk, Nysa, Racibórz, Świdnica and Wrocław. Also worthy of note is the collection Sędzie Śledczy przy Sądzie Okręgowym w Siedlcach (Investigating Magistrate affiliated to the County Court in Siedlce, AP Siedlce, RG 1407). Furthermore, the State Archives hold the preserved files of many Landesgerichte (regional courts), Amtsgerichte (local courts) and Oberlandesgerichte (higher regional courts in Gdańsk, Katowice and

⁴⁹⁰ See U-D. Oppitz, *Postępowanie karne i wykonanie kary przy zbrodniach hitlerowskich. Na podstawie 542 prawomocnych wyroków sądów niemieckich z lat 1946-1975*, GKBZHWP, Warszawa 1980; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945-1999*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 1968-2011.

⁴⁹¹ The main difference between the German Courts and the Special Courts was that the former heard cases in which at least one of the parties was a German citizen, while the latter adjudicated for the other residents of the occupied territories. For the annexed territories, see Maximilian Becker, *Mitstreiter im Volkstumskampf. Deutsche Justiz in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten 1939 – 1945*, Munich 2014.

⁴⁹² M. Rożkowski, “Wiadomości o prześladowaniu Żydów na Śląsku w latach 1940-1943 w aktach katowickiego Sondergerichtu”, *BŻIH*, no. 50 (1964), pp. 91-99.

Wrocław in the lands annexed to the Reich, while the AIPN holds supplementary files of the Special Courts in Kielce, Krakow and Warsaw, and of the Oberlandesgericht Posen.

The subject of the German judicial system in the lands annexed to the Third Reich has been examined relatively well⁴⁹³, but the same subject relating to the GG has seen virtually no major, systematic studies, only minor papers and articles.⁴⁹⁴ The degree of importance of the materials to be found in court files is demonstrated by the works published recently by Jan Grabowski.⁴⁹⁵ Cases of collaboration, *szmalcownictwo* (the threat of denunciation using blackmail), blackmail, and the hitherto unresearched confiscations of movable and immovable assets belonging to Polish Jews are reflected in the large volume of court materials dating from both the war years and those following it.⁴⁹⁶ German criminal courts also tried Jews for crimes such as theft, usury, illegal slaughter, being outside the ghetto, failure to wear armbands, etc. Sentences ranged from several months' imprisonment to years in a penal (concentration) camp, and even the death penalty.⁴⁹⁷ There were also cases brought against Poles by Germans for murdering the Jews they were concealing – one such case was heard before the Special Court in Łódź.⁴⁹⁸ And conversely, in every court there are cases of Poles being punished for aiding Jews.⁴⁹⁹ When analysing trial materials from the occupation years it is important to remember that some representatives of the Polish judiciary continued to practise in their legal professions, and did not always act in favour of Polish or Jewish defendants.

⁴⁹³ Cf. *Zbrodnie i sprawy*, [ed.] Cz. Pilichowski, Warszawa 1980, A. Konieczny, *Pod rządami wojennymi prawa karnego III Rzeszy, Górny Śląsk 1939-1945*, Warszawa, Wrocław 1972.

⁴⁹⁴ In recent years this topic has been tackled by A. Wrzyszczy, "Z działalności Sądu Specjalnego w Radomiu (1939-1945)", *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, vol. LIII, 2001, book 1, pp. 327-342; idem, "Zarys organizacji sądownictwa niemieckiego w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939-1945", *Zeszyty Majdanka*, vol. XIII, 1991, pp. 5-28; idem, "Das Deutsche Gericht in Lublin 1940-1944", [in:] *Sachsen im Spiegel des Rechts*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2001, pp. 371-385; J. Waszczyński, "Z działalności hitlerowskiego sądu specjalnego w Łodzi", *Biuletyn GKBZH*, 1972, no. XXIV, pp. 14-104.

⁴⁹⁵ J. Grabowski, „Ja tego Żyda znam!” *Szantażowanie Żydów w Warszawie, 1939-1943*, Warszawa 2004; idem, "Jewish Defendants in German and Polish Courts in the Warsaw Distrikt, 1939-1942", *Yad Vashem Studies*, no. 35 (1), 2007, pp. 49-80; idem, "Żydzi przed obliczem niemieckich i polskich sądów w dystrykcie warszawskim Generalnego Gubernatorstwa, 1939-1942", [in:] *Provincia noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. B. Engelking, J. Leociak and D. Libionka, Warszawa 2007, pp. 75-118.

⁴⁹⁶ A. Rodek, *Tzw. szmalcownicy – Warszawa i okolice (1940-1944)*, typescript of a Master's thesis written at the University of Warsaw in 2001/2002.

⁴⁹⁷ Barbara Engelking, Jan Grabowski, „Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!”, *„Przestępczość” Żydów w Warszawie 1939-1942*, Warszawa 2010.

⁴⁹⁸ D. Siepracka, "Mordercy Żydów przed nazistowskim Sądem Specjalnym", *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 2004, no. 2 (6), pp. 233-245.

⁴⁹⁹ A. Namysło, "Represje na polskich obywatelach za udzielanie pomocy ludności żydowskiej w świetle akt procesowych niemieckich sądów specjalnych", [in:] *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji*, ed. A. Sitarek, M. Trębacz and E. Wiatr, Łódź 2012, pp. 367-383.

Few files of Polish district courts operating during the occupation and adjudicating civil cases (including those between Poles and Jews) or cases between individuals and institutions (such as banks or limited liability companies) have survived. This issue may be discussed using the example of Warsaw District Court (1917-1944). Cases in which one of the parties were Jews resident in Warsaw relate to issues such as orders for payment of a particular sum due for a bill of exchange, assignation of a court officer to enact the rights and property of an absent person, acceptance and repudiation of inheritances, securing bearer titles, incapacitation rulings, corrections to certificates issued by registry offices, confirmation of deaths, and acceptance of sums of money as court deposits on behalf of others. There were also a few criminal cases, including embezzlement, forgery of labour registration cards, and one infanticide. Another issue that should be mentioned is the execution of justice by underground organizations and their agencies. There were underground special courts operating at first under the Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej (KWC, Directorate of Civil Resistance) within the Government Delegation for Poland (DR) and later, from 5 July 1943 on, under the AK High Command. The hearings were strictly classified, and there were no appeals against verdicts. These underground courts also prosecuted both petty blackmailers and *sżmalcownicy*. These are issues discussed in the works by L. Gondek and P.M. Lisiewicz, which also contain the relevant literature and information on source materials.⁵⁰⁰

Any discussion of the files connected with the system of justice and postwar responses to crimes committed during the war must also address the files of the Sądy Społeczne (Obywatelskie) (People's courts) run by the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland (CKŻP), which are held in AŻIH (RG 313).⁵⁰¹ To date these documents have been little used; among those who have researched them are Gabriel N. Finder, David Engel and Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg.⁵⁰² The community courts were set up to bring to justice Jews who committed crimes within the Jewish community (e.g. collaboration, denunciation) during the occupation; the defendants included Judenrat members, people holding

⁵⁰⁰ L. Gondek, *Polska karząca 1939-1945. Polski podziemny wymiar sprawiedliwości w okresie okupacji niemieckiej*, Warszawa 1988; P.M. Lisiewicz, *W imieniu Polski Podziemnej. Z dziejów wojskowego sądownictwa specjalnego AK*, Warszawa 1988; T. Seweryn, "Polskie sądownictwo podziemne", *Przegląd Lekarski*, Y. XXII, Series II, no. 1, 1996; M. Wieliczko, "Z badań nad organami bezpieczeństwa publicznego w podziemnym państwie polskim w latach II wojny światowej", [in:] idem, *Dzieje społeczne Polaków w warunkach okupacji 1939-1944/1945*, Lublin 1999, pp. 131-152.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. A. Żbikowski, *Sąd Społeczny przy CKŻP. Wojenne rozliczenia społeczności żydowskiej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2014.

⁵⁰² G.N. Finder, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland 1944-1956", *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 2008, no. 20, pp. 122-148; G.N. Finder, "Proces Szepsła Rotholca a polityka kary w następstwie Zagłady", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 221-241; D. Engel, "Who is a collaborator? The Trials of Michał Weichert", [in:] S. Kaprański (ed.), *Jews in Poland*, vol. 2, Kraków 1999; H.-J. Bömelburg, "Die Kollaborationsvorwurf in der polnischen und jüdischen Öffentlichkeit nach 1945 – das Beispiel Michał Weichert", [in:] „Kollaboration“ in Nordosteuropa. Erscheinungsformen und Deutung im 20. Jahrhundert, Joachim Tauber (ed.), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 250-288.

administrative posts, members of the Order Service (OD), prisoner functionaries in camps, and others, wherever an official request to launch proceedings was received. Three-quarters of these cases, of which 157 were heard in all, concerned incidents that took place in the ghettos. Guilty verdicts resulted in the defendant being excluded for a certain length of time from the Jewish community; a few cases were referred to the public prosecutor with a request for initiation of proceedings, but many others were closed due to lack of evidence or witnesses. The files of the People's Courts contain materials such as correspondence, regulations, materials submitted by the Jewish Historical Commission (ŻKH), documents from the secretariat (including a reference file by personal names), press cuttings, minutes of meetings, and witness statements.

The archives of the IPN hold case files of the “August trials” (sierpniówki), in which sentences were passed pursuant to the decree of 31 August 1944 on the punishment of fascist Nazi criminals guilty of murders and persecution of the civilian population and prisoners of war, and for traitors of the Polish nation.⁵⁰³ For the first two years after the end of the war, trials were held before Specjalne Sądy Karne (SSK, Special Criminal Courts). From October 1946 the SSK were dissolved and their competencies passed to normal courts.⁵⁰⁴ The group of these files⁵⁰⁵ numbers more than 16,000 cases ordered by the court with (territorial with respect to the location of the crime) jurisdiction. In all there were some 95 such courts of various instances – special criminal courts⁵⁰⁶, district courts⁵⁰⁷, courts of appeal⁵⁰⁸ and voivodeship courts⁵⁰⁹. Navigation of the files is aided by an index of people charged under the August decree, accessible at the AIPN, and by a computerized database holding

⁵⁰³ Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) of 31 August 1944, cf. L. Kubicki, *Zbrodnie wojenne w świetle prawa polskiego*, Warszawa 1963; A. Pasek, *Przestępstwa okupacyjne w polskim prawie karnym z lat 1944-1956*, Wrocław 2002; *Ściganie i karanie sprawców zbrodni wojennych i zbrodni przeciwko ludzkości (Wybór dokumentów)*, ed. Cz. Pilichowski, Warszawa 1978.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. G. Jakubowski, *Sądownictwo powszechne w Polsce w latach 1944-1950*, IPN KŚZpNP, Warszawa 2002.

⁵⁰⁵ In addition to the investigation files that are part of the case files, the AIPN also holds collections of “August prosecutor cases” – investigations that did not come to trial for various reasons such as the death of or failure to locate the suspect, or lack of evidence of guilt. A given collection of prosecutor files is held with those of the relevant court, e.g. Prokuratura Sądu Okręgowego w Warszawie (Public Prosecutor's Office at the District Court in Warsaw).

⁵⁰⁶ In Gdańsk, Kraków, Katowice, Lublin, Rzeszów, Toruń, Warszawa-Łódź and Wrocław.

⁵⁰⁷ In Białystok, Brzeg, Bydgoszcz, Bytom, Cieszyń, Częstochowa, Elk, Elbląg, Elk-Suwałki, Gliwice, Gdańsk, Głogów-Nowa Sól, Gniezno, Grudziądz, Giżycko, Gorzów Wielkopolski, Jasło, Jelenia Góra, Kielce, Kłodzko, Kraków, Koszalin, Katowice, Lublin, Leszno, Legnica, Łomża, Łódź, Nysa, Nysa-Prudnik, Opole, Oleśnica, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Poznań, Przemyśl, Radom, Rzeszów, Racibórz, Siedlce-Biała Podlaska, Słupsk, Sosnowiec, Szczecin, Świdnica, Świdnica-Walbrzych, Tarnów, Toruń, Trzcianka, Wadowice, Warsaw, Wrocław, Zamość and Zielona Góra.

⁵⁰⁸ In Białystok, Gdańsk, Kielce, Kraków, Koszalin, Katowice, Lublin, Łódź, Olsztyn, Poznań, Rzeszów, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wrocław and Zielona Góra.

⁵⁰⁹ In Białystok, Gdańsk, Kielce, Kraków, Koszalin, Katowice, Lublin, Łódź, for the capital city of Warsaw, the Warsaw voivodeship, in Opole, Olsztyn, Poznań, Rzeszów, Rzeszów-Przemyśl, Szczecin, Wrocław, Zielona Góra, and Zielona Góra-Gorzów Wielkopolski.

data on all the archive materials, including defendants under the “August decree”. The index also includes people whose case files are held in the State Archives.⁵¹⁰ The accused include both Poles and people of other nationalities extradited to Poland after the war.⁵¹¹ In view of the period in which these trials were being held, the evidentiary documentation the files contain, in particular the witness statements, is today of exceptional value, though for the same reason – the fact that this was the Stalinist period, a time of fierce struggle against the Polish political underground, and also given the very poor level of education of the police officers collecting the evidentiary materials for the investigation – these should be analysed with particular care and source criticism.⁵¹² In recent years a number of works have been written based on the “August trials” files, giving a different image of Polish-Jewish relations than previous works that have explored traditional archive sources.⁵¹³ The author’s own research and calculations suggest that around seven per cent of all the “August trials” were brought against Polish citizens for crimes committed during the occupation against people of Jewish nationality.⁵¹⁴ Among the “August trials” are the trials of people such as Hans Biebow⁵¹⁵ (District Court in Łódź), responsible for crimes in the Łódź ghetto as head of the German authorities (Gettoverwaltung) there; Jürgen Stroop⁵¹⁶ (Voivodeship Court of the City of Warsaw), tried for suppressing the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto; Jacob Sporrenberg (Court of Appeal in Lublin), commander of the security police and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) for the Lublin district, responsible for crimes including the Aktion Erntefest (Operation Harvest Festival); Friedrich Kuczyński (District Court in Sosnowiec), official for Jewish affairs in Sosnowiec and Będzin; Erich Koch (Voivodeship Court for the Warsaw voivodeship), Gauleiter and Oberpräsident of East Prussia; Walter Pelzhausen, camp commandant in Łódź-Radogoszcz; and Paul Otto Geibel, SS and police leader in Warsaw, responsible for the destruction of the capital after the failure of the Warsaw

⁵¹⁰ A small proportion of the “August files” are in among the other postwar files of the district courts held in the State Archives; the largest proportion in the collection Sąd Okręgowy m.st. Warszawy (District Court of the capital city of Warsaw, APW).

⁵¹¹ Cf. E. Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946-1950*, parts I-II, Warszawa 1991-1992.

⁵¹² Andrew Kornbluth, “Jest wielu Kainów pośród nas”. Polski wymiar sprawiedliwości a Zagłada, 1944-1956”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2013, no. 9, pp. 157-172.

⁵¹³ Cf. J.T. Gross, *Sąsiedzi. Historia zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka*, Sejny 2000 (in English: idem, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton 2001); *Wokół Jedwabnego*, ed. P. Machcewicz, K. Persak, vol. I-II, Warszawa 2002; A. Skibińska, J. Petelewicz, “Udział Polaków w zbrodniach na Żydach na prowincji region świętokrzyskiego”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 114-147.

⁵¹⁴ The courts in which the percentage of this type of case was the highest were the district courts in Krakow, Lublin, Radom, Warsaw and Wrocław, the courts of appeal in Białystok, Lublin and Wrocław, the special criminal courts in Krakow, Rzeszów and Lublin, and the Voivodeship Court for the capital city of Warsaw.

⁵¹⁵ *Proces Hansa Biebow. Akta i stenogramy sądowe*, foreword by J. Waszczyński, Warszawa 1987.

⁵¹⁶ The co-defendants in this trial were Franz Konrad and Herman Höfle.

city rising in 1944. In order better to show the type of documents that are to be found in the “August trials” files, we shall look here at the example of the content of the four volumes of the case of Józef/Josef Grzimek, which was heard at the District Court in Warsaw in the years 1948-1949. Grzimek was a Volksdeutsche born in Silesia. During the war he was a member of the SS Totenkopfverbände (in the rank of Hauptscharführer), and from 1941 onward held several positions (including that of commandant) on the staffs of a number of camps: in Rawa Ruska, Lwów, Bolechów, Jaktorów, Plaszów, Szebnie, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, and Hersbruck. He engaged in mass and individual murders of Poles and Jews, tortured prisoners, and looted property. His case files include transcripts of statements by witnesses including former concentration camp prisoners, among them many Jews. Grzimek was sentenced to death, and the verdict was enacted.

Volume 177: a photograph of the accused, the transcripts of interrogations of several dozen witnesses, including Jews, statements and testimonies submitted by the Voivodeship Jewish Historical Commission and official copies of reports from ŻIH containing witness statements, an official letter from Judge Jan Sehn to the public prosecutor in Jasło regarding a previous interrogation of the accused by the Polish Military Mission in Dachau, an official letter from Departament Więziennictwa Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości (the Prisons Department of the Ministry of Justice) regarding the transportation of the prisoner from Gliwice to Rzeszów, a report by the chief investigator for the public prosecutor’s office in Jasło regarding outcomes, and the official decision by the public prosecutor at the Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (NTN, Supreme National Tribunal) to have the case transferred to the District Court in Warsaw.

Volume 177a: the indictment signed by the public prosecutor, Z. Rudziewicz, witness statements, a letter by the accused requesting that SS Gen. Theobald Their be called as a witness, the letter denying this request, a report on the examination of the official document “Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges”, the order releasing Grzimek for trial, the transcript of the main hearing on 26 January 1949, the sentence (the death sentence) signed by the judge, E. Osmólski, a letter by the convict announcing his intention to appeal against the sentence, a letter by the accused’s lawyer, W. Szymaszek, requesting that he be relieved of his obligation to pursue his defence, a letter containing the court’s opinion that the accused did not deserve to be pardoned, a letter by the President of the Republic of Poland containing the information that he would not be exercising his right to grant a

pardon, and a letter from the public prosecutor to the District Court in Warsaw containing the information that the sentence had been carried out on 18 February 1950.

Volume 177b: various official and personal letters (by witnesses, a lawyer, and Milicja Obywatelska [MO, Civic Militia] officers regarding their quest for witnesses), press cuttings from *Słowo Polskie*.

Volume 177c: documents sent in by Polska Misja Wojskowa (PMW, the Polish Military Mission) and the Voivodeship Jewish Historical Commission in Krakow: the extradition request, notes on a “preliminary witness questioning” by the MO in Jasło, a letter from the Dachau Detachment and a “Prisoner of War Preliminary Record”, the statement of Wiktor Abend before the PMW, the staff roll of the camp SS and Police formation in Szebnie (manuscript, no author), translations of witness statements, a statement by the accused made in Dachau, the transcript of an interrogation of the suspect, transcripts of witness interrogations, statements and declarations rendered by letter by witnesses, and a temporary arrest warrant.

Particularly worthy of attention are the seven trials held before the Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (NTN, Supreme National Tribunal)⁵¹⁷, convened in January 1946 to adjudicate in the most heinous crimes. Those who were brought before the NTN were Albert Forster⁵¹⁸, head of the government and Gauleiter of Gdańsk; Amon Göth⁵¹⁹, commandant of the concentration camp in Plaszków, Krakow; Artur Greiser⁵²⁰, former president of the Senate of the Free City of Gdańsk, SS-Obergruppenführer, Reichsstatthalter in the Warta region, and Gauleiter of the NSDAP, publicly executed on 14 July 1946⁵²¹; Josef Bühler⁵²², head of the government in the GG; Ludwig Fischer⁵²³, governor of the Warsaw district⁵²⁴; Rudolf Höss⁵²⁵, commandant of the camp KL Auschwitz-

⁵¹⁷ T. Cyprian, J. Sawicki, *Siedem wyroków NTN*, Poznań 1962; Cz. Pilichowski, *Ekspertyzy i orzeczenia przed NTN*, vol. I-IX, Warszawa 1980, 1981 [vol. VIII: *Eksterminacja Żydów w Polsce i innych krajach Europy w latach 1939-1945*]; A.V. Prusin, “Polska Norymberga: siedem procesów przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym, 1946-1948”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2013, no. 9, pp. 116-140.

⁵¹⁸ M. Podgóreczny, *Albert Forster, gauleiter i oskarżony*, Gdańsk 1997; R. Gamm, *Swastyka nad Gdańskiem*, Warszawa 1960.

⁵¹⁹ *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Götha*, Warszawa 1947.

⁵²⁰ *Proces Artura Greisera przed NTN*, Warszawa 1946; A. Wietrzykowski, *Powrót Artura Greisera*, Poznań 1946.

⁵²¹ This was the last public execution in Poland.

⁵²² J. Gumkowski, T. Kulakowski, *Zbrodniarze hitlerowscy przed NTN*, Warszawa 1961.

⁵²³ K. Dunin Wąsowicz, “Gubernator warszawski Ludwik Fischer”, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, Y. 13, 1982, no. 1-2.

⁵²⁴ There were also three other co-defendants in this trial: J. Meisinger, M. Daume and J. Leist.

⁵²⁵ J. Rawicz, *Dzień powszedni ludobójcy*, Warszawa 1973; *Autobiografia Rudolfa Hössa, komendanta obozu oświęcimskiego*, Warszawa 1989; *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu*, vol. 7 [the whole volume is devoted to Höss]. For Höss’s autobiography written in jail, see *Kommandant in Auschwitz; autobiographische Aufzeichnungen*, Stuttgart

Birkenau; and 40 members of the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau camp staff, among them Johann Paul Kremer, a physician; Artur Liebehenschel, a commandant of KL Majdanek and KL Auschwitz, and staff member at KL Sachsenhausen; and Maria Mandel, commandant of the women's camp Auschwitz II. The files of all these cases contain very important evidentiary material in the form of original (or official copies of) documents of the occupying authorities and the statements of many witnesses, as well as scientific expert opinions conducted at least in part on the basis of crime scene investigations. Sometimes, evidentiary material includes objects found at sites where crimes were committed, in particular in extermination camps. Most of the NTN files are well furnished with finding aids: indexes of personal names, geographical names, sometimes of victims, and even (as in the case of the trial of J. Bühler), lists of all the documents held in the files. Supplementary to the court files held in the AIPN and its constituent branches are the following collections: Sąd Najwyższy w Warszawie 1945-1980 (Supreme Court in Warsaw, AAN, RG 932), Prokuratura Generalna RP w Warszawie (General Prosecutor of the Republic of Poland in Warsaw, AAN, RG 842), the collection on the office of the national general prosecution office, whose functions included issuing opinion statements on draft laws and ordinances, and Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości 1945-1976 (Ministry of Justice, AAN, RG 285, 11,033 items). Moreover, the archives of the IPN's Central Prosecution Commission (Główna Komisja Ścigania) and of its branch commissions hold the files of investigations conducted in respect of crimes committed in the years 1939-1945. These are accessible to scholars following the formal closure of the investigation by the presiding prosecutor or with the consent of the director of the relevant commission. Aside from trial and investigation files, the IPN Archives also hold the files of the "Sierpniówki prokuratorskie" ("August prosecutor cases") – over 23,000 inquiries that were discontinued for one reason or another. Similar content is held in the dossiers of documents gathered as legal assistance to courts, public prosecutors and other prosecution services across the world conducting investigations into crimes committed during World War II. Several of the publications of the Central Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation (GKBZpNP) in the 1960s were on inquiries, investigations, trials and verdicts by Austrian and German courts⁵²⁶; many of the crimes dealt with by those institutions were committed on Polish territory, and many of the victims were Jews from Poland and other European countries.

1958; Polish edition: *Wspomnienia Rudolfa Hoessa komendanta obozu oświęcimskiego*, Warszawa 1956. English edition: *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, Buffalo, N.Y. 1992.

⁵²⁶ "Wykaz dochodzeń, śledztw i wyroków w sprawach o zbrodnie hitlerowskie prowadzonych na terenie Austrii", *Informacja Wewnętrzna*, no. 2, GKBZpNP, Warszawa 1967; "Wykaz procesów o zbrodnie hitlerowskie prowadzonych lub przygotowanych przez RFN", *Informacja Wewnętrzna*, no. 3, GKBZpNP, Warszawa 1968.

7. Prison and camp files

The archival holdings of the Polish State Archives (AP) include the following collections of prisons from the occupation period⁵²⁷: Niemiecki Zakład Karny w Częstochowie (German Penitentiary in Częstochowa, 1939-1944), Janowie Lubelskim (in Janów Lubelski, 1940-1944), Piotrkowie (in Piotrków, 1940-1945) and Krasnymstawie (in Krasnystaw, 1944-1945); Więzienie w Kielcach, Sandomierzu i Radomiu (the Prison in Kielce, Sandomierz and Radom, 1939-1944); Więzienie Karne Warszawa-Mokotów (the Penitential Prison in Warszawa-Mokotów, 1916-1944); Zakłady Karne w Łodzi (the Penitentiaries in Łódź, 1939-1945); Zakład Karny w Sieradzu (the Penitentiary in Sieradz, 1939-1945); Więzienie Łódzkie i w Sieradzu (Łódź Prison, 1929-1940 and in Sieradz, 1917-1940); Więzienie Karno-Śledcze w Kaliszu (the Penitentiary and Remand Prison in Kalisz, 1939-1945) and Ostrowie Wielkopolskim (in Ostrów Wielkopolski, 1940-1945); Więzienie Sądu Krajowego w Lesznie (the Regional Court Prison in Leszno, 1941-1944); Więzienie Policji w Poznaniu (the Police Prison in Poznań, 1940-1945); Więzienie Sądowe w Grodzisku Wielkopolskim (the Court Prison in Grodzisk Wielkopolski, 1939-1945); Więzienie Sądowe w Szamotulach (the Court Prison in Szamotuly, 1939-1944); Więzienie Sądowe w Kole (the Court Prison in Koło, 1940-1944); Więzienie Karne w Płocku (the Penitential Prison in Plock, 1939-1945); Więzienie przy ul. Daniłowiczowskiej w Warszawie (Daniłowiczowska Street Prison in Warsaw, 1940-1944); Więzienie w Katowicach (the Prison in Katowice, 1939-1945); Więzienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Nowym Targu (the Prison of the Court of First Instance in Nowy Targ, 1939-1943) and Grodzisku Mazowieckim (in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, 1940-1944); Więzienie w Cieszynie (Stammlager Teschen I, II, Gefängnis Teschen III, Stalag Teschen I, II, Prison III in Cieszyn 1939-1945⁵²⁸); Więzienie Policji Bezpieczeństwa i Służby Bezpieczeństwa na Zamku w Lublinie (the Security Police and Security Service Prison in Lublin Castle); Niemiecki Dom Karny w Nowym Wiśniczu (the German Penitentiary in Nowy Wiśnicz, 1940-1945); and over a dozen other facilities.

As a rule, the prison files contain homogeneous mass material including not only information on the type of crimes for which prisoners had been incarcerated, but also fairly detailed personal data on the prisoners themselves, entered on questionnaires or the prisoners' personal data sheets. There are

⁵²⁷ The German names of these institutions are: Deutsche Strafanstalt (German penitentiary), Deutsche Zuchthaus (German prison), Gefängnis (jail), Untersuchungsanstalt (remand prison), Gerichtsgefängnis (Court Prison), Landesgerichtsgefängnis (Regional Court Prison), Polizeigegefängnis (Police Prison).

⁵²⁸ *Więzienia hitlerowskie na Śląsku, w Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim i w Częstochowie 1939-1945*, ed. A. Szefer, Katowice 1983.

personal files for Jews in all the prisons (up to 1942). In large collections, and those that have been preserved almost intact, such as that of Warszawa-Mokotów Penitential Prison (at Rakowiecka Street), there are over 1,500 dossiers for Jewish inmates. Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski's analysis of this collection⁵²⁹ indicates that the "crime" most frequently committed by Jews during the war was theft, followed by failure to wear the armband with the Star of David and being outside the ghetto illegally, trading in hard currency, handling stolen goods, illegal trading, storage of goods, fraud, counterfeit, black marketeering, and illegal slaughter. In all, the authors established several dozen types of crimes for which Jews were sentenced pursuant to various articles of the German Criminal Code and occupation-specific laws, and subsequently imprisoned.⁵³⁰ Jews in other cities and other regions were sentenced for analogous crimes, but more in-depth research of this issue would require archive searches and detailed studies. These crimes offer indirect insight into the conditions of day-to-day life for the Jews, and into the restrictions to which they were subjected by extraordinary laws, and hence relegated to the fringes of social and economic life. In Warsaw, from the summer of 1941, Jews convicted of crimes were incarcerated in the remand prison inside the ghetto, at Gęsia Street, and not on Rakowiecka Street. No documents have survived, and so the history of the Warsaw ghetto prison can only be researched via indirect sources and testimonies. In 1943, after the uprising in the ghetto, this prison became the remand prison for the members of the Sonderkommando, and was renamed KL Warschau.⁵³¹ Its inmates were freed during the Warsaw city rising in 1944. Other large ghettos also had internal prisons or remand cells; one such was the Łódź ghetto; the documentation of this prison is an integral part of the collection *Przełożony Starszeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkim* (Head of the Council of Jewish Elders in the Łódź Ghetto, AP Łódź).⁵³²

⁵²⁹ B. Engelking, J. Grabowski, *„Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!” „Przestępczość” Żydów w Warszawie 1939-1942*, Warszawa 2010.

⁵³⁰ Other crimes committed by Jews during the occupation were: usury, smuggling, bribery, blackmail, pandering, extortion, armed robbery, defamation and use of violence, disturbances, fights, grievous bodily harm, negligent homicide, killing, poisoning, non-payment of fines, damage to forestry, criminal trade in alcohol, bigamy, political crimes, perjury, concealment of origins, assistance in concealing an officer of Wojsko Polskie (WP, the Polish Army), non-disclosure of identity as an officer of the WP, possession of arms, a radio or marks, crossing a border, travelling by rail, working illegally, violation of regulations binding on Jews, refusal to work for the German authorities, escape from a labour camp, illegal commandeering, insulting the police, violation of German authority, malice, "persecution of Germans", and assistance to a Soviet POW.

⁵³¹ Cf. B. Kopka, *Konzentrationslager Warschau, Historia i następstwa*, KŚZpNP-IPN, Warszawa 2007; R. Domańska, "Obozy w getcie warszawskim", *Biuletyn GKBZpNP*, IPN, 1992, no. 34; T. Berenstein, A. Rutkowski, "Obóz koncentracyjny dla Żydów w Warszawie (1943-1944)", *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1967, no. 62; P. Matusak, "Obóz koncentracyjny dla Żydów w Warszawie", *Biuletyn ŻIH*, 1973, no. 86/87.

⁵³² A. Galiński, "Centralne więzienie dla Żydów w getcie łódzkim", [in:] *Dzieje Żydów Łodzi, Łódź 1820-1944*, Łódź 1991, pp. 324-337.

Some of the prison collections held in the state archives are very well processed and have indexes of personal names that are even accessible online. One such is Więzienie w Radomiu 1939-1944 (Prison in Radom).⁵³³ Of the more than 14,000 personal files in this collection, around 2,000 are those of Jews. The information in these files includes personal data such as given name, surname, father's given name, mother's given name, mother's maiden name, date and place of birth, last place of sojourn, date and reason for imprisonment, and other information relating to the person, including dates. Some files contain annexes in the form of prison guards' reports, official correspondence, official copies of the indictment and sentence, health information sheet, death certificate in case of death, clandestine notes between prisoners (a rarity), etc. Only a small percentage of the collection of prison files are administrative documents of the prison itself and its staff, though information of this type may be found in correspondence referencing particular individuals. In some cases prisoner registers in alphabetical and chronological order have been preserved. Information of immense significance to Holocaust research is the fact that among those imprisoned were Poles convicted of aiding Jews. This issue has been researched to some extent.⁵³⁴ The ŻIH archive also contains two collections of prison files directly relating to Jews: Kartoteka Więźniów Obozu Hasag-Pelcery w Częstochowie 1943-1945 (Card File of Prisoners in the Hasag-Pelcery Camp in Częstochowa; 4,736 cards) and Kartoteka Jeńców Wojennych – Żydów z obozu w Lublinie przy ul. Lipowej 4 (Card File of Jewish Prisoners of War from the camp at 4 Lipowa Street in Lublin; 2,980 cards).⁵³⁵ Some occupation-era files are held in the IPN archive – those of the prisons in Rzeszów⁵³⁶, Tarnów, Poznań and Nowy Wiśnicz⁵³⁷. This archive also holds materials relating to postwar prisons and remand cells in which prisoners included those being tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity pursuant to the “August decree”, among them prisoners who were not citizens of Poland, but were deported from Germany and Austria (from the zones of occupation) after the war to be tried by the Polish judicial system for crimes committed on Polish territory.⁵³⁸ There are indexes of

⁵³³ T. Opoka, “Więzienie hitlerowskie w Radomiu 1939-1945”, Master's thesis written at Zakład Historii Najnowszej UMCS (Department of Recent History, Maria Skłodowska-Curie University), typescript, AIPN, RG GK 165, p. 102.

⁵³⁴ A. Namysło, “Represje na polskich obywatelach za udzielanie pomocy ludności żydowskiej w świetle akt procesowych niemieckich sądów specjalnych”, [in:] *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji*, Łódź 2012, pp. 367-407.

⁵³⁵ Both are furnished with databases; see information on these databases in the chapter on AŻIH.

⁵³⁶ Deutsches Strafanstalt Reichshof 1940-1944, 119 items – files on matters including employment of Jews; materials include a list of Jews incarcerated in this prison.

⁵³⁷ Deutsches Zuchthaus Neu-Wisnitz 1940-1944, 87 items, a maximum-security prison in which prisoners included Jews and re-offenders.

⁵³⁸ E. Kobierska-Motas, *Ekstradycja przestępców wojennych do Polski z czterech stref okupacyjnych Niemiec 1946-1950*, Parts I-II, GKBZpNP-IPN, Warszawa 1991-1992.

prisoners' names (some of them originals) from many German prisons in Poland among the materials in the collection AIPN GK 165 (Ob. Obozy, Camps).

A separate issue is research into the history of the labour camps set up by the Germans as one means of indirect annihilation of the populations of the subjugated lands and maximum exploitation of human resources. In respect of the GG, this subject has been studied in greatest detail by Józef Marszałek.⁵³⁹ One seminal study was that by Zofia Czyńska and Bogumił Kupś.⁵⁴⁰ Forced labour camps for Jews in the GG and the lands annexed to the Reich have been the subject of many articles and extensive, highly detailed monographs.⁵⁴¹ According to the typology adopted by Marszałek, these differed by type of labour: hydro-engineering and agriculture, renovation work, upgrading and construction of roads, industrial, and fortification work. The archive materials facilitating study of these issues are widely dispersed. Above all, the administrative files of labour camps are often missing, with only prisoners' or staff personal dossiers surviving, as in the collection Obóz pracy przymusowej do celów zbrojeniowych Degusa w Ligocie Gliwickiej 1942-1944⁵⁴² (Rü-Lager Degussa Gleiwitz-Steigern, Degussa Gleiwitz-Steigern Armaments Camp). All male Jews aged between 16 and 60 were subject to mandatory forced labour (Arbeitseinsatz).

Documents and information on this subject are to be found in many different collections – in the files of German administrative bodies; among documents of Jewish Councils, and works and factories using forced labour; city, borough and county files; the papers of German labour offices (Arbeitsämter); testimonies and memoirs; postwar materials from criminal trials and investigations; the files amassed by the Main and Regional Commissions for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in

⁵³⁹ J. Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939-1945*, Lublin 1998.

⁵⁴⁰ Z. Czyńska, B. Kupś, "Obozy zagłady, obozy koncentracyjne i obozy pracy na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939-1945", *Biuletyn GKBZN*, 1946, vol. I.

⁵⁴¹ Cf. A. Ziolkowska, *Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej (1941-1943)*, Poznań 2005; T. Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa ludności żydowskiej w tzw. dystrykcie Galicja", *BŻIH*, 1969, no. 69; eadem, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w dystrykcie lubelskim", typescript in the Archive at PMM; A. Rutkowski, "Hitlerowskie obozy pracy dla Żydów w dystrykcie Radomskim", *BŻIH*, 1956, no. 17-18; M. Janczewska, "Obozy pracy dla Żydów na terenie dystryktu warszawskiego", [in:] B. Engelking, J. Leociak, D. Libionka, *Prowincja noc. Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, Warszawa 2007; S. Szwedowski, "Hitlerowskie obozy pracy dla Żydów na Opolszczyźnie", *BŻIH*, 1975, no. 4 (96); J. Oszytko, "Obóz pracy przymusowej dla Żydów na Górze Świętej Anny (1941-1945)", [in:] *Żydzi i Judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*. Materiały z konferencji Kraków 24-26 XI 1998, ed. K. Pilarczyk, S. Gąsiorowski, Kraków 2000, pp. 325-337; J. Kosiński, *Niemieckie obozy koncentracyjne i ich filie*, compiled by W. Sobczyk, Stephanskirchen 1999; *Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos. Einzelveröffentlichungen des DHI Warschau*, ed. J. Hensel, S. Lehnstaedt, Osnabrück 2013; articles on the forced labour camps in Budzyń, Poniatowa, Trawniki and at Lipowa Street in Lublin were published in the collective work: *Erntefest 3-4 listopada 1943. Zapomniany epizod Zagłady*, ed. W. Lenarczyk, D. Libionka, Lublin 2009.

⁵⁴² AP Gliwice, RG 319.

Poland; and in collections of occupation-era labour record books and card files of people working in the various camps or sent as forced labour to Germany. In Upper Silesia, pursuant to an order issued by Heinrich Himmler in October 1940, the exploitation of Jewish labour was entrusted to a *Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsführers SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien* (Special Plenipotentiary of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police for Employment of Foreign Nationals in Upper Silesia). The post of this plenipotentiary was held by SS-Oberführer Albrecht Schmelt, hence the popular name for this office of “Organizacja Schmelt” (Organization Schmelt).⁵⁴³ Virtually no files of this body have survived, and therefore research has had to be based on other sources, above all documents of the firms and institutions that cooperated with Schmelt, and on testimonies.⁵⁴⁴ Exploitation of Jewish forced labour in the construction of roads and motorways, in particular in the Warta region, was monopolized by Organization Todt (OT).⁵⁴⁵ The files of this organization are also vestigial, but it is nonetheless possible to research the history of the OT labour camps and the fates of the Jews employed in them.⁵⁴⁶ In the GG, forced labour camps were established pursuant to the Ordinance of Governor Hans Frank of 26 October 1939 and the attendant executive ordinances. Within the GG there were at least 491 camps in which Jews were employed; they were run by the GG administration (including employment offices) and the SS and police to meet the needs of the government, the Wehrmacht, the Luftwaffe, the Eastern Railways (Ostbahn), the SS and police, and businesses in many different branches of industry.⁵⁴⁷ Starting in March 1943, a limited liability company known as “Osti” (Ostindustrie – Eastern Industry) conducted a broad range of operations in the GG:

“The company’s headquarters were in Berlin and it could set up branches. (...) Krüger’s orders were that ‘Osti’ was to administer all Jewish assets with the exception of cash, jewels and clothing. In particular it was to guarantee a supply of Jewish labour within the General Government in work for the German Reich. At a conference held by Krüger on 1 June 1943, the company’s operations were scaled down to the following tasks: 1) exploitation of Jewish forced labour in the GG by establishing enterprises combined with Jewish labour camps in the territory of the GG; 2) taking over industrial

⁵⁴³ A. Konieczny, “Rola Organizacji Schmelt w eksploatacji żydowskiej siły roboczej na Śląsku”, [in:] *Zagłada Żydów zagłębińskich*, ed. A. Namysło, Będzin 2004, pp. 32-37.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. “Some consequences of ‘Organization Schmelt’ as Experienced by Affected Individuals”, Seminar at KL Gross-Rosen Museum, 8-11 December 1998, Polanica Zdrój [reproduced manuscript].

⁵⁴⁵ AP Łódź, Organizacja Todta, II Grupa Operacyjna, Kierownictwo Budownictwa w Łodzi 1944 (Organisation Todt – Einsatzgruppe II, Oberbauleitung Litzmannstadt, Organization Todt, Einsatzgruppe II, Łódź Construction Headquarters), RG 216/2.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. information on the Museum of Martyrdom in Żabikowo near Poznań, in Part I Chapter 4 of this *Guide*.

⁵⁴⁷ J. Marszałek, *Obozy pracy...*, op. cit., p. 14.

plants maintained by the offices of the SS and police commanders in the GG; 3) seizure of Jewish moveable assets, above all plant and raw materials (...); 4) exploitation of plant, tools and goods that had fallen into ‘Aryan’ hands in the meantime.”⁵⁴⁸

The most important information about all the camps, ghettos and prisons, together with source references, was published in 1979 in a vast encyclopaedic work edited and prefaced by Czesław Pilichowski.⁵⁴⁹ This publication, compiled by a group of scholars from the GKBZHWP and Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa (ROPWiM, the Council for the Protection of Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom), is still used today as the starting-point for further research and a source of salient facts. Its authors distinguished the following main categories of camps: concentration camps and extermination centres, POW camps, labour camps, resettlement and transit camps, ghettos, and prisons and remand cells. Most files on the concentration camps are held in the archives of the respective museums of martyrdom that are the custodians of the sites of the former camps. The holdings of these institutions are profiled in Part I of this *Guide*. Aside from original documents dating from the war, another source of immense significance are the postwar testimonies and memoirs of former prisoners gathered by all these centres, whether as written records or oral history recorded on tape. Study of the history of the extermination camps is far more difficult, as none of the documentation of their administrative systems has survived. In this case, all available sources of information are thus drawn upon⁵⁵⁰: testimonies, eye-witness accounts, interviews, diaries, correspondence (including that gathered in the Ringelblum Archive [ARG]), documents containing indirect information on a particular camp, reports and information gathered by Polish underground cells, archaeological evidence, and photographs. Of great significance are the files of the trials of members of the camp staff, as well as all the various types of materials amassed after the war by the GKBZHWP, its prosecutors, and investigating judges.

The AIPN collection GK 165 entitled “Ob.” (Obozy, Camps) mentioned in Part I Chapter 3 of this *Guide* comprises 415 items. The files reference many of the extermination, concentration and labour camps in the territory of both the GG and the Reich. At this point we will profile a few of the most important archival units as per the inventory:

⁵⁴⁸ S. Piotrowski, *Misja Odyla Globocnika*, Warszawa 1949, pp. 45-47.

⁵⁴⁹ *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945. Informator encyklopedyczny*, ed. Cz. Pilichowski, Warszawa 1979.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. *Mówią świadkowie Chełmna*, collective work, Konin–Łódź 2004; *Ośrodek zagłady Żydów w Chełmnie nad Nerem w świetle najnowszych badań. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, Konin 2004.

File no. 2. Ośrodek zagłady Bełżec (Bełżec extermination camp). 1945-1946, 1948.

File sewn and bound, 231 pp., index, 44 pp., typescripts, manuscripts, photocopies. Records passed on by the Public Prosecutor at the District Court in Zamość. Reports on forensic inspections; site sketches; witness interrogation transcripts; photographs showing the martyrdom of the Jewish population of the Lublin region, scenes from the camps, members of camp staff, and overviews of the site of the camp after its liquidation; and accompanying correspondence. Also included as an addendum are GKBZNwP records containing a report by the prosecuting bodies on the investigation into the extermination camp in Bełżec, accounts and eye-witness interrogation transcripts sent in by other bodies, and accompanying correspondence.

File no. 19. Chełmno nad Nerem extermination centre. 1945-1946, 1950.

Printed booklet, typescripts, 297 pp. A work by the investigating judge Władysław Bednarz of Łódź entitled *Obóz straceń w Chełmnie nad Nerem* (Warszawa 1946), and a report on the investigation conducted by him in his capacity as judge, together with accompanying correspondence.

File no. 33A. Sobibór extermination centre. 1945, 1950. Loose papers, typescripts, manuscripts. Materials of Judge Józef Skorzyński of the GKBZNwP on the investigation into the camps in Sobibór, Bełżec, Chełmno nad Nerem, Treblinka, Oświęcim, Majdanek and Stutthof, and execution sites in Włodawa, Adam pol, Rudka, Jamne, Bójki and Radzymin – operational report on the investigation and its findings, and a statement by a former officer of the SS Main Economic and Administrative Department (WVHA), Kurt Gerstein, with his observations regarding the above camps.

File no. 60. Sobibór extermination centre. 1945. Index, typescripts, manuscripts, 51 pp. Files passed on by Polska Misja Wojskowa Badania Zbrodni Wojennych (PMW BZW, the Polish Military Mission to Investigate War Crimes) and the Public Prosecutor's Office at the District Court in Lublin. Transcripts of interrogations of witnesses, former prisoners and local residents regarding the camp and the prisoners' revolt in October 1943. Report by the Public Prosecutor at the District Court in Lublin on his investigation, and lists of uncovered names of staff members. Accompanying correspondence appended.

Files no. 66 and 66A. Extermination centre and forced labour camp in Treblinka.

1945-1962. Index, typescripts, manuscripts, 58 pp. and 32 pp. Files of the investigation headed by a judge from the District Court in Siedlce, Jerzy Maciejewski, into the organization and operation of the extermination centre and the camp – witness interrogation transcripts, eye-witness accounts (statements), a report on the investigation and prosecution, a partial list of names of former staff members, official copies of German legal instruments concerning the establishment and operation of the camp, and accompanying correspondence. Text of a Czechoslovakian radio report on the trial of former staff members appended, along with material evidence from the files of the case against the former governor of the Warsaw District, Ludwig Fischer, before the Supreme National Tribunal (NTN). Files passed on by the District Court in Siedlce. Files of the investigation conducted by PMW BZW in Germany (the “London Mission”) into the establishment and operation of the centre (camp). Copies of Polish complaints no. 15 and 20 to the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), transcript of the interrogation of a suspect, a former staff member, the guard Kurt Eggerle, accompanying correspondence. Files passed on by PMW BZW.

There is a collection with an analogous name, Obozy, among the archival holdings of ŻIH. In terms of its content relating to the Polish lands, it contains materials on the following camps⁵⁵¹ (labour, concentration and extermination camps): Belżec (files no. 1-2), Chelmno nad Nerem (files no. 3-6), Lwów, the Janowska camp (file no. 7), KL Lublin (files no. 8-19), KL Płaszów (files no. 20-28), Poniatowa (file no. 29), Przemyśl – transit camp (file no. 30), Skarżysko-Kamienna – the “Hasag” camp (file no. 31), Sobibór (file no. 32), Stalowa Wola (file no. 33), Szepietów (file no. 34), Trawniki (file no. 35), Treblinka (file no. 36-43), Annaberg-Judenlager/Góra św. Anny, Jewish camp (file no. 44), KL Auschwitz and its sub-camps (file no. 45-79), KL Gross-Rosen and its sub-camps (file no. 82-124), Lamsdorf/Łambinowice (file no. 126-129) and the camps in the Warta region (file no. 130-209), i.e. AL Fölisch, Główno, Górno, AL Grünweiler (Nadstaw), AL Kolmar (Chodzież), Kutno, Lissa (Leszno), Nekla, AL Orlahöh (Jutrosin), Osorkau (Ozorków), AL Paulseck (Pawłowo), AL Rossfeld (Rozstępniewo), AL Sandhofen (Kubeczki), Sieradz, AL Spitzwald (Dubin), AL Steineck (Krzyżowniki), AL Sud-Park (Rawicz), AL Wiessberg (Przemęt), WL Weisser Adler (Biały Orzeł), AL Wiesenfurt (Łąka), and AL Wollendorf (Woszczkowo). Documentation generated in recent years (eye-witness accounts, statements, and copies of original documents, etc.) connected with

⁵⁵¹ Unfortunately for the most part copies from other files and collections.

forced labour has also been amassed thanks to the work of Fundacja Polsko-Niemieckie Pojednanie (FPNP, the Polish-German Reconciliation Foundation) for compensation purposes.

8. The press, public announcements, posters and ephemera, telephone and address books

The press is one of the main historical sources used by scholars, irrespective of the subject and period under study; in the case of the Holocaust it also has an important place in historical research. Some monographs focus on the occupation-era press, and Polish-Jewish relations and the programmes and attitudes of underground political groups as analysed on this basis; others examine the content and means of influence of German propaganda. There are also studies on the attitude of Polish society to the extermination of the Jews in Polish territory which take as their sole basis for research the clandestine press from the period of the occupation.⁵⁵² Most important among recent publications are two extensive articles by Ewa Koźmińska-Frejłak, the first an analysis of press content released in the years 1939-1945 in respect of the broadly conceived Jewish question in this period⁵⁵³, and the second relaying the discourse on the Holocaust in the Polish-language press in the years 1945-1968⁵⁵⁴.

The leading underground press titles will be discussed below. It is sufficient to note here that a separate bibliographical publication exists detailing the many papers written on the wartime press.⁵⁵⁵ Given that the Polish Underground State, the Polish Government-in-Exile, and the papers and other sources generated by them are the subject of a separate chapter of this *Guide*, at this point we will merely outline the types of press in circulation during the war and the bibliographies available, and indicate the institutions that hold the largest press collections. As in the case of any other type of historical source, above all propaganda, source criticism must be exercised percipitently by any scholar who includes press items in their research.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² Dariusz Libionka has had many articles based on underground press sources published on the attitudes of the Polish underground to the Holocaust, see above all: idem, "Zagłada na wsi w optyce polskiej konspiracji (1942-1944)", [in:] *Zarys krajobrazu. Wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów*, ed. B. Engelking, J. Grabowski, Warszawa 2011, pp. 72-77; idem, "Biedni AK-owcy patrzą na Zagładę na prowincji", *Więź* 2009, no. 4, pp. 87-116.

⁵⁵³ E. Koźmińska-Frejłak, "Prasa: Wprowadzenie, Prasa wydawana oficjalnie na wschodzie, Prasa „gadzinowa”, Prasa konspiracyjna", [in:] *Literatura polska wobec Zagłady (1939-1968)*, ed. S. Buryła, D. Krawczyńska, J. Leociak, Warszawa 2012, pp. 240-272.

⁵⁵⁴ Eadem, "Prasa: Dyskurs o Zagładzie w prasie polskojęzycznej. Konteksty. Wzorce myślenia, retoryka", [in:] *Literatura polska wobec Zagłady*, op. cit., pp. 583-611.

⁵⁵⁵ J. Jarowiecki, E. Wójcik, G. Wrona, *Bibliografia opracowań prasy ukazującej się w Polsce w l. 1939-45*, Kraków 1992.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. T. Głowiński, *O nowy porządek europejski. Ewolucja hitlerowskiej propagandy politycznej wobec Polaków w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939-1934*, Wrocław 2000; J. Grabowski, "German Anti-Jewish Propaganda in the Generalgouvernement, 1939-1945: Inciting Hate through Posters, Films, and Exhibitions", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 2009, 23, no. 3, pp. 381-412; L. Jockheck, *Propaganda im Generalgouvernement. Die NS-Besatzungspresse für Deutsche und Polen 1939-1945*, Osnabrück

Like court files, the press may be divided into a number of categories, by language of publication (German, Polish, Yiddish or Ukrainian), legality (whether legal or underground), place of issue and area of distribution (the GG, the Third Reich⁵⁵⁷ and the Polish lands incorporated into the Reich, or the Eastern Borderlands), and period of publication (before the war, during the occupation, or after the war). The largest collections of press (both legal and underground) in Poland are held by the Central Archive of Modern Records (AAN) and the National Library (BN) in Warsaw⁵⁵⁸, but almost the only surviving underground Yiddish press is in the archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH). Another useful category of collections for research are collections of press cuttings gathered during the war by various government offices (e.g. those of information and propaganda) such as those in the Wiener Library (see Part I Chapter 8 of this *Guide* on institutions in Israel), the papers of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government-in-Exile⁵⁵⁹, the Office of Defence within the GG (Abwehrstelle in Wehrkreis Generalgouvernement Krakau)⁵⁶⁰, and other archival collections⁵⁶¹.

THE LEGAL PRESS IN POLISH AND GERMAN

We begin this discussion of press titles with papers published in Polish in the GG with the consent and knowledge (and sometimes on the orders) of the occupiers. Among the salient studies of this issue are those by Lucjan Dobroszycki, published first in Germany and subsequently in the United States⁵⁶², and the books by Władysław Wójcik⁵⁶³ and Ewa Cytowska⁵⁶⁴. Dobroszycki profiles the Germans' policy in successive periods, lists the titles published in the capitals of the various districts and in Łódź, and outlines their content. In the second part of his book he discusses the principles,

2006; A. Żbikowski, "Eksploracja ekonomiczna i grabież majątku żydowskiego w propagandzie", [in:] *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych, 1939-1950*, ed. Jan Grabowski, Dariusz Libionka, Warszawa 2014, pp. 113-180.

⁵⁵⁷ It is worth noting that there is a very extensive Archiwum Wycinków Prasowych Ministerstwa Propagandy Trzeciej Rzeszy (Archive of Third Reich Ministry of Propaganda Press Cuttings) at Koszalińska Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Humanistycznych (the Koszalin Institute of Humanities).

⁵⁵⁸ <http://www.bn.org.pl/>.

⁵⁵⁹ Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji (Ministry of Information and Documentation), RG A.10.2.25, cuttings from the Jewish press in the West 1941-1943.

⁵⁶⁰ AIPN, Urząd obrony w obrębie GG (Defence Office within the GG), cuttings from the Polish press.

⁵⁶¹ E.g. AP Poznań, Zbiór wycinków prasowych z Niemieckiego Biura Informacji w Berlinie 1933-1944 (Collection of press cuttings from the German Office of Information in Berlin), RG 2069.

⁵⁶² L. Dobroszycki, *Die legale polnische Presse im Generalgouvernement 1939-1945*, München 1977; L. Dobroszycki, *Reptile journalism: the official Polish-language press under the Nazis, 1939-1945*, Yale University 1994.

⁵⁶³ W. Wójcik, *Prasa gadzinowa GG (1939-1945)*, Kraków 1988.

⁵⁶⁴ E. Cytowska, *Szkiełce z dziejów prasy pod okupacją niemiecką (1939-1945)*, Warszawa-Łódź 1986.

aims, methods and organization of German propaganda and censorship, gives the titles of Polish-language Catholic press publications during the occupation⁵⁶⁵ and the titles of German and specialist Polish papers, and describes their readership structures and content. He also analyses the mechanisms and organizational structure of the press (press concerns) in the Third Reich and the GG.

The legal press in Polish in this period may be divided into 1) news and propaganda, 2) propaganda with general news sections, targeting specific social groups, 3) specialist publications. In the GG the monopoly was held by the state concern Zeitungsverlag Krakau-Warschau GmbH.⁵⁶⁶ Its photographic archive, running to some 18,000 photographs, is at present in the collections of Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe (NAC, National Digital Archives) in Warsaw.⁵⁶⁷ On 26 October 1939 an ordinance was issued prohibiting the publication of anything without the consent of the Department of Public Education and Propaganda in the GG (Wydział Oświaty Ludowej i Propagandy Urzędu GG).⁵⁶⁸ All press publications, except underground ones, naturally, were subject to German control and censorship. The number of titles published was slashed, access to and circulation of information were highly complicated, and listening to the radio and possession of radio receiver sets or antennas were forbidden.⁵⁶⁹ All this contributed to a flourishing underground press and burgeoning demand for it.

The leading titles that were issued legally at the time were eight dailies each 4-8 pages in length, with an imprint of between 20,000 and 200,000 each⁵⁷⁰: *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*⁵⁷¹, *Goniec Krakowski*⁵⁷², *Kurier Częstochowski*⁵⁷³, *Nowy Głos Lubelski*⁵⁷⁴, *Kurier Kielecki*⁵⁷⁵, *Dziennik Radomski*⁵⁷⁶, *Gazeta Lwowska*⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁶⁵ *Kielecki Przegląd*, *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, *Postaniec Serwa Jezusowego*, *Intencja Miesięczna Apostolstwa Modlitwy*, *Rycerz Niepokalanej*, *Biuletyn Informacyjny Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża* and *Wiadomości RGO* (this last one was never published).

⁵⁶⁶ This German concern took over the assets of Polish press publishers that were closed down, among them "Dom Prasy" in Warsaw, cf. A. Czernik, *Prasa w Trzeciej Rzeszy: organizacja i zakres działania*, Gdańsk 1976.

⁵⁶⁷ <http://www.nac.gov.pl/>.

⁵⁶⁸ J. Jarowiecki, "Prasa polska w latach 1939-1945", [in:] *Historia prasy polskiej*, ed. J. Łojek, vol. IV, Warszawa 1980, p. 16.

⁵⁶⁹ Ordinance on the confiscation and surrender of radio sets of 15 December 1939: *Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*, 1939, no. 13, pp. 225-226.

⁵⁷⁰ *Goniec Krakowski* had a circulation of 60,000 and *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* of 200,000.

⁵⁷¹ BN, R. 1939-1944, on microfilm.

⁵⁷² BN, R. 1939-1944, on microfilm.

⁵⁷³ BN, R. 1939-1945, call no. P.100844.

⁵⁷⁴ BN, R. 1941-1944, call no. P.101246.

⁵⁷⁵ BN, R. 1940-1943, call no. P.100920.

⁵⁷⁶ BN, R. 1940-1943, call no. P.100617.

⁵⁷⁷ BN, R. 1941-1944, call no. P.100745; G. Hryciuk, *"Gazeta Lwowska" 1941-1944*, Wrocław 1996.

and *Dziennik Poranny*. This was the so-called “reptile press” (i.e. legal, sanctioned by the authorities), which published propaganda, including strongly antisemitic material. The best known “reptilian” paper in Warsaw (commonly known as “szmatławiec”, “szmata” [both meaning “rag”] or “kurwar” [a pun on its name and the extremely strong epithet “kurwa”, meaning “whore”]) was *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* (NKW), which was modelled on the prewar Polish daily *Kurier Warszawski*. Its 15 editors were tried after the war under the August decree by the Warsaw District Court for collaboration.⁵⁷⁸ Irrespective of the character of this and other reptilian papers, in addition to the information they supply on the Germans’ propaganda methods, they are also a source of certain data not available elsewhere (e.g. the classified advertisements, obituaries, or local news sections⁵⁷⁹). The weekly and monthly papers in Polish were the subject of a blanket boycott by the Polish underground; they were all of very poor literary and graphic quality, and sometimes contained pornographic material: *Ilustrowany Kurier Polski*⁵⁸⁰, *7 Dni. Tygodnik Ilustrowany*⁵⁸¹, *Fala*⁵⁸², *Co Miesiąc Powieść*⁵⁸³, *Siew. Gazeta Włościańska*⁵⁸⁴, *Nowiny. Gazetka Ścienna dla Wsi Polskiej*, which village officials were under obligation to display in a prominent location, *Kolejowiec. Czasopismo dla Pracowników Kolejowych*⁵⁸⁵, and *Nowy Czas*⁵⁸⁶. There were also niche and specialist papers, to date little researched and largely unused in works on the occupation; their content, reach and influence is not known.⁵⁸⁷ “In all, in the Polish lands occupied by the Nazis in the years 1939-1945, just under 40 ‘reptilian’ press titles were published in Polish, of which 8 were dailies, 6 weeklies, 2 monthlies, and around 20 specialist journals.”⁵⁸⁸ In Lwów there was the Polish-language *Gazeta Lwowska*.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Z. Schnepf, “Losy pracowników niemieckiej gadzinówki „Nowy Kurier Warszawski” w świetle powojennych procesów z dekretu sierpniowego”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 132-159.

⁵⁷⁹ NKW published information such as statistics from the subsequently destroyed files of the Warsaw City Council in its “Kronika lokalna” section.

⁵⁸⁰ BN, R. 1939-1945, call no. P.36240.

⁵⁸¹ BN, R. 1940-1944, call no. P.35671.

⁵⁸² BN, R. 1940-1943, call no. P.4548.

⁵⁸³ BN, R. 1940-1943, call no. P.20557.

⁵⁸⁴ BN, R. 1940-1945, call no. P.23222.

⁵⁸⁵ BN, R. 1943-1944, call no. P.25003.

⁵⁸⁶ BN, R. 1940-1943, call no. P.39571.

⁵⁸⁷ These included *Mały Ster*, *Ster. Ilustrowane Czasopismo dla Młodzieży*, *Miesięcznik Teatru Miasta Warszawy*, *Medycyna Współczesna*, *Las i DREWNO (Wald und Holz)*, *Rolnik*, *Rzemiosło*, *Weterynaryjne Wiadomości Terapeutyczne*, *Wiadomości Międzyzwiązkowej Spółdzielni Powierniczej*, *Spółdzielca*, *Wiadomości Terapeutyczne*, *Zawód i Życie*, *Wiadomości Aptekarskie*, *Zdrowie i Życie*, *Dziennik Urzędowy Izby Zdrowia w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, *Die Wirtschaftliche Leistung (Twórczość gospodarcza)*; all titles accessible in the Polish National Library (BN).

⁵⁸⁸ J. Jarowiecki, *Katalog krakowskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939-1945*, Kraków 1978, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁹ Polish-language papers were also published during the Soviet occupation (in Lwów and Tarnopol), e.g. *Almanach Literacki*, *Czerwony Sztandar*, *Młodzież Stalinowska*, *Nowe Widnokręgi*, *Pionierzy*, and *Słowo Żołnierza*, as well as *Der Royter Shtern* in Yiddish.

In addition to the Polish-language press, there were also German daily newspapers, though fewer of them. Among those that should be mentioned are *Warschauer Zeitung*, published from no. 1 to no. 257 in 1941 as *Krakauer Zeitung*⁵⁹⁰ (and thereafter under its former name); in the incorporated areas *Lodz̋er Zeitung*⁵⁹¹, later published as *Litzmannstädter Zeitung* with the subtitle “Mit den amtlichen Bekanntmachungen der deutschen Militär- und Zivilbehörden” (with official announcements by the German military and civilian authorities); *Kattowitzer Zeitung. Amtliches Blatt der NSDAP sowie aller Behörden*⁵⁹² (Katowice Newspaper, official paper of the NSDAP and all other authorities); and as journals *Das Generalgouvernement*, and *Das Vorfeld* (the NSDAP organ) – both from autumn 1940. There was also a paper for city and county governors, *Der Ratgeber*, which initially came out under the title *Informationsdienst für die Wojts*. German press titles circulating in the Third Reich, such as *Das Reich* and *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, were distributed in the GG, as was the French reptilian title *La Gerbe*.⁵⁹³ The daily press carried information on the Jews, and even photographic reports on life in the ghettos, including the Warsaw ghetto; articles of this type were published in *Krakauer Zeitung* and *NKW*, and also in the reptilian press in other countries. Press cuttings on this subject were collected by the Oneg Shabat team.⁵⁹⁴ Of the German publications, the most important for research into the Nazis’ policy on the local populace of subjugated lands are the various official gazettes issued by city governors’ offices, the authorities of the various districts and the GG as a whole, or by particular offices and institutions. These items are of particular importance in view of the extent to which the German authorities’ internal documentation was destroyed:

- Dziennik Rozporządzeń Generalnego Gubernatorstwa dla Okupowanych Polskich Obszarów. Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete, Warschau, Krakau (Official Legislation Gazette of the General Government for the Occupied Polish Territories)⁵⁹⁵,
- Dziennik Rozporządzeń dla Obszarów Okupowanych w Polsce. Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete in Polen, Berlin (Official Legislation Gazette for the Occupied Territories in

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. A. Dresler, “Die Presse im GG für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete”, *Zeitungswissenschaft. Monatsschrift für die Internationale Zeitungsforschung*, 1940, no. 15, H. 4; idem, “Die Presse des GG”, *Zeitungswissenschaft*, 1942, no. 17.

⁵⁹¹ BN, R. 1939-1944, call no. P.101303.

⁵⁹² BN, R. 1940-1944, call no. P.101662; published by Gauverlag NS-Schlesien.

⁵⁹³ T. Szarota, *Okupowanej Warszawy dzień powszedni. Studium historyczne*, Warszawa 1978, p. 434.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 1281-1285.

⁵⁹⁵ BN, R. 1939-1944, call no. P.21795, P.23085.

Poland)⁵⁹⁶,

- Dziennik Urzędowy dla Generalnej Guberni. Amtlicher Anzeiger für das Generalgouvernement, Krakau (Official Legislation Gazette for the General Government)⁵⁹⁷,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Szefa Okręgu Warszawskiego. Gubernatorstwo Generalne dla okupowanych polskich obszarów. Amtsblatt des Chefs des Distrikts Warschau für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete, Warszawa (Official Legislation Gazette of the Head of the Warsaw District General Government for the Occupied Polish Territories)⁵⁹⁸,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Starosty Miasta Warszawy Okręgu Warszawskiego Generalnego Gubernatorstwa. Amtliches Mitteilungsblatt des Stadthauptmanns in Warschau, Distrikt Warschau, Warschau (Official Legislation Gazette of the Warsaw City Governor, Warsaw District of the GG)⁵⁹⁹,
- Dziennik Obwieszczeń Miasta Warszawy. Mitteilungsblatt der Stadt Warschau (Public Announcements Gazette for the City of Warsaw)⁶⁰⁰,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Szefa Dystryktu Radom w Gubernatorstwie Generalnym dla Okupowanych Polskich Obszarów. Amtsblatt des Chefs des Distrikts Radom im Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete, Radom (Official Legislation Gazette of the District Governor of Radom in the GG for the Occupied Polish Territories)⁶⁰¹,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Szefa Krakowskiego Dystryktu w Gubernatorstwie Generalnym dla Okupowanych Obszarów Polskich. Amtsblatt des Chefs des Distrikts Krakau im Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete. Teil 2. Polnische und Ukrainische Angabe (Official Legislation Gazette of the District Governor of Krakow in the GG for the Occupied Polish Territories. Part 2. Information in Polish and Ukrainian, Krakow)⁶⁰²,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Okręgu Szefostwa Lublin przy Generalnym Gubernatorze na Zajętych Obszarach Polskich. Amtsblatt des Chefs des Distrikts Lublin im Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete, Lublin (Official Legislation Gazette of the District Governor of Lublin in the GG for the Occupied Polish Territories)⁶⁰³,

⁵⁹⁶ BN, R. 1939, call no. P.25040.

⁵⁹⁷ BN, R. 1940-1945, call no. P. 23091.

⁵⁹⁸ BN, R. 1939-1942, call no. P.25060A.

⁵⁹⁹ BN, R. 1942-1944, call no. P.25061.

⁶⁰⁰ BN, R. 1939-1942, call no. P.70909.

⁶⁰¹ BN, R. 1939-1940, call no. P.281021A, P.281019A, P.281020A.

⁶⁰² BN, R. 1940, call no. P.77181A.

⁶⁰³ BN, R. 1939-1942, call no. P.77185A.

- Dziennik Urzędowy Starosty Powiatu Grójeckiego. Amtliches Kreisblatt für den Kreis Grójec [or: Amtliches Mitteilungsblatt des Kreishauptmanns in Grojec], Grójec (Official Legislation Gazette of the Grójec County Governor)⁶⁰⁴,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Starosty Powiatowego Łowickiego w GG dla Okupowanych Polskich Obszarów Okręgu Warszawskiego 1940-1943 (Official Legislation Gazette of the County Governor of Łowicz in the GG for the Occupied Polish Territories of the Warsaw District)⁶⁰⁵,
- Dziennik Rozporządzeń Starosty Powiatowego w Krasnymstawie. Kreisblatt des Kreishauptmanns in Krasnystaw, Krasnystaw (Official Legislation Gazette of the Krasnystaw County Governor)⁶⁰⁶,
- Dziennik Ogłoszeń dla Ludności Polskiej Powiatu: Bendsburg, Bielitz, Blachstadt, Ilkenau, Krenau, Saybusch, Sosnowitz, Warthenau. Bekanntmachungsblatt für die polnische Bevölkerung, Kattowitz (Public Announcements Gazette for the Polish Populace of Katowice County)⁶⁰⁷,
- Politischer Informationsdienst. Gruppe B. Hrsg. Vom Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei beim Generalgouverneur (Political Information Service, Group B, compiled by the Commander of the Orpo affiliated to the General Governor)⁶⁰⁸,
- Sonderdienst Generalgouvernement. Mitteilungsblatt der Inspektion (Mitteilungsblatt für den Sonderdienst Hilfspolizei im Generalgouvernement) (Legislation Gazette for the Auxiliary Special Police Service in the GG)⁶⁰⁹,
- Dziennik Urzędowy Izby Zdrowia w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie, Kraków (Legislation Gazette for the Chamber of Health in the GG, Krakow)⁶¹⁰.

Many other legislation and information gazettes and other official German papers were published, mostly relating to the economy (e.g. by the Chambers of Industry and Commerce for each district), propaganda⁶¹¹, and professional and sector issues, or for training purposes⁶¹². Finally, there was also

⁶⁰⁴ BN, R. 1940-1942, call no. P.77179A, P.77180A.

⁶⁰⁵ AP Łowicz, library collections, call no. 461.

⁶⁰⁶ BN, R. 1941, call no. P.70038A.

⁶⁰⁷ BN, R. 1942-1945, call no. P.280652.

⁶⁰⁸ BN, R. 1941-1943, call no. P.25083.

⁶⁰⁹ BN, R. 1942-1944, call no. P.25083.

⁶¹⁰ BN, R. 1940-1944, call no. P.25010.

⁶¹¹ Mitteilungsblatt der Hauptabteilung Propaganda, Regierung des Generalgouvernements Krakau, BN, R.1942-1943, call no. P.23092.

⁶¹² E.g. the paper for railway workers, *Amtliches Nachrichtenblatt der Generaldirektion der Ostbahn in Krakau*, BN, R. 1940-1944, call no. P.25028.

the pseudo-scientific quarterly *Die Burg*⁶¹³, published in Krakow by the Institute for German Work in the East (IDO, Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit) and devoted to matters such as proving the ethnic Germanity of the occupied Polish territories (including the capital of the GG, Krakow); this also included material on Jews.⁶¹⁴ A department for “Jew studies” (Judenforschung) was established at IDO, run by Josef Sommerfeld, the author of many anti-Jewish texts including a very extensive paper on Jews in Polish proverbs.⁶¹⁵

THE LEGAL PRESS FOR JEWS IN POLISH AND YIDDISH

For a certain period during the war there were two papers legally published and distributed among Jews in the Polish lands, one in the GG in Polish, *Gazeta Żydowska (Yidishe Tzaytung)* for Jews living in the ghettos, and the other in Yiddish, *Geto Tzaytung*⁶¹⁶, which came out in the Łódź ghetto for seven months in 1941; this was not circulated outside Łódź to other Jewish centres and in view of its content was intended specifically for Łódź Jews. The full title of this latter was *Geto Tzaytung. Far Informatziye, Farordnungen un Bakantmaklungen* (Ghetto Newspaper. For News, Orders and Announcements). It came out regularly every week from 7 March 1941 until 21 September 1941 – in all, 18 issues each 4-6 pages in length, giving a total of 76 pages of text. Copies of *Geto Tzaytung* are hard to find nowadays; some have been preserved and are held in AŻIH⁶¹⁷ and AP Łódź⁶¹⁸. The Łódź ghetto newspaper was the brainchild of Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski, the head of the Council of Jewish Elders in the Łódź Ghetto, who from the establishment of the ghetto sought permission for its publication and for the acquisition of a printing press. It was essentially Rumkowski’s personal property and a propaganda instrument of his own; it ceased to be distributed owing to lack of paper. The editor, and author of virtually all the articles in *Geto Tzaytung* was Samuel (Szmul) Rozensztajn, head of the ghetto’s press department and a close colleague of Rumkowski’s, before the war a Hebrew teacher and journalist writing for papers including the Zionist daily *Haynt*.⁶¹⁹ According to the author of the only paper on this subject, Monika Polit, *Geto Tzaytung* “fulfilled its assigned

⁶¹³ *Die Burg. Vierteljahresschrift des Instituts für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Krakau.*

⁶¹⁴ Cf. A. Rybicka, *Instytut Niemieckiej Pracy Wschodniej. Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit Kraków 1940-1945*, Warszawa 2002, chapter entitled “Oddźwięk antyżydowskiej polityki niemieckiej w publikacjach Instytutu”, pp. 113-118.

⁶¹⁵ J. Sommerfeld, “Die Juden in den polnischen Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten”, *Die Burg*, 1942, H. 3, pp. 313-354.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. M. Polit, “‘Geto Cajtung’ – gazeta Mordechaja Chaima Rumkowskiego”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 392-403.

⁶¹⁷ Biblioteka ŻIH (ŻIH Library), call no. PJ.21.

⁶¹⁸ AP Łódź, RG PSŻ.

⁶¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 393. Rozensztajn wrote a diary in Yiddish, see: AŻIH, call no. 301/115, translated by Monika Polit and published: Szmul Rozensztajn, *Notatnik*, trans. and ed. Monika Polit, Warszawa 2008.

propaganda mission perfectly. In its selective use of materials it in fact virtually never actually provided information, i.e. it did not allow its readers to make subjective judgements or individual assessments (...). It gave no information on the world beyond the barbed wire of the ghetto. The reasons for this were prudence and fear, for of course every issue (translated into German) was sent to the Gestapo and the German Ghetto Administration (Gettoverwaltung, Niemiecki Zarząd Getta)."⁶²⁰ It used typical propaganda-style language: persuasive, stigmatizing, and judgmental. It is one of the sources for research into Rumkowski's role in the Łódź ghetto and the means he employed to execute the functions designated to him by the Germans.

The other legal press title, also subject to full control by the German censorship and police, was *Gazeta Żydowska* (GŻ), which was published in the GG between 23 July 1940 (R. I, no. 1) and 30 August 1942 (R. 3, no. 103⁶²¹) and printed officially by Jüdische Presse GmbH (Jewish Press Ltd.) in Krakow, under trustee administration, whose editorial offices were at 49 Dietla Street; the paper also had offices and editorial (administrative) offices in Warsaw, Częstochowa, Lublin, Radom and Kielce. GŻ had a circulation of probably 6,500 copies, cost 30 groszy, and came out every Tuesday and Friday. In all, 47 issues were published in 1940, 129 in 1941, and 103 in 1942 (in total 279 issues, each numbering 8-12 pages).

The editor-in-chief of GŻ was Fritz Seifter of Bielsko, a controversial figure with a colourful prewar past involving personal commitment to building Jewish-German relations during the period when he worked as a journalist for, and from 1934 editor-in-chief of the weekly *Jüdische Wochenpost* (Jewish Weekly Post)⁶²², published in Bielsko for the German-speaking Jewish community. In the occupation-era GŻ, considered a collaborative, reptilian Jewish paper, articles were written under pseudonyms.⁶²³ Even so, some names are mooted as probable contributors. As well as Marcel Reich-Ranicki, these also included Edmund Stein (a lecturer in Jewish studies), Majer Balaban (a professor of history), and the journalists Hilel Zajdman, Abraham (Aron) Rogowoj, Szulim Rozenfeld, Szaul (Szymon) Stupnicki and Langier (Langer). GŻ was a way for German propaganda to reach the Jewish

⁶²⁰ "Geto Cajtung", op. cit., p. 401.

⁶²¹ This is the last issue preserved in the BN collections, call no. P.3102207.

⁶²² L. Jockheck, "Od agenta do kolaboranta? Współpraca żydowskiego publicysty Fritza Seifera z Bielska z władzami niemieckimi w latach trzydziestych i czterdziestych", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 163-176.

⁶²³ The now well-known German literary critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki, who was in the Warsaw ghetto during the war and in view of his excellent knowledge of German found employment in the Judenrat, has admitted to being the author of articles on music signed by Wiktor Hart, cf. L. Jockheck, "Od agenta...", op. cit., p. 165.

communities in the GG: “the sole task of the newspaper is to inform Jews in the GG of Jewish issues in the manner we desire” reads a statement in a memorandum released by the Abteilung Volksaufklärung und Propaganda on 27 July 1940.⁶²⁴ In spite of its character as an official paper controlled by the occupiers (and thus giving a false picture), *GŻ* is a very good source for researching some aspects of wartime day-to-day life and reality, with a considerable volume of detailed information on a range of subjects such as occupation law, regulations and ordinances affecting Jews in the GG, and economic life, including restrictions on paid employment, tax obligations, trustee administrations, cultural and religious life, and the Jewish health service and judiciary. It also contains information on the work of the Judenräte and the ŻSS, and even touches on cases of emigration to Palestine (sic!), which was a way of masking the situation in which the Jews found themselves and awakening in them hope of the possibility of taking action which in reality was impossible. *GŻ* published novels in instalments, had a regular chess section, and contained satirical cartoons, various texts for mental exercise, and homecare tips. Of great interest is the “Classified ads” section (for Warsaw and the provinces) with regular sections such as: medical, positions vacant, positions sought, wanted, for sale, education and care, matrimonial, local, and miscellaneous. It contains numerous announcements and advertisements for funeral parlours. *GŻ* advertised itself as “the only Jewish newspaper in the General Government (...) and the only Jewish advertising medium”, and as such had to take the place of the hundreds of Jewish press titles that were published in prewar Poland.⁶²⁵ In spite of all the scholar’s reservations and its limitations, it is a superb source for research into areas such as the everyday life of the Jews under the German occupation. Information from *GŻ* must, of course, be read and interpreted appropriately, and supplemented with news from other sources. It has been the subject of only a few monographic works⁶²⁶, but it has been used as a primary source for articles by Marian Fuks on the subject of the Judenräte and life in small ghettos⁶²⁷, while for the authors of *Getto warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście*⁶²⁸ it was a valuable source of much information on the Warsaw ghetto not available from any other sources.

⁶²⁴ “Prasa polska 1939-1945”, op. cit., p. 32.

⁶²⁵ Cf. M. Fuks, “Prasa żydowska w Polsce XIX i pierwszej połowie XX wieku (do końca drugiej wojny światowej)”, *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1973, vol. 12, bk 1.

⁶²⁶ T. Cieślak, “Z historii prasy niemieckiej w języku polskim. II: Hitlerowska „Gazeta Żydowska” w Krakowie. (23 VII 1940 – 30 VIII 1942)”, *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 1969, vol. VIII, booklet 4, pp. 579-588; M. Janczewska, “„Gazeta Żydowska” (1940-1942)”, [in:] *Studia z dziejów trójjęzycznej prasy żydowskiej na ziemiach polskich (XIX-XX w.)*, ed. J. Nalewajko-Kulikow, Warszawa 2012.

⁶²⁷ M. Fuks, “Małe Judenraty w świetle „Gazety Żydowskiej” 1940-1942”, *BŻIH*, 1983, no. 2-3 (126-127), pp. 169-199; 1983, no. 4 (128), pp. 99-117; idem, “Życie w gettach Generalnej Guberni na tle „Gazety Żydowskiej” 1940-1942”, *BŻIH*, 1971, no. 3 (79), pp. 3-47; 1971, no. 4 (80), pp. 23-41; 1972, no. 1 (81), pp. 41-69.

⁶²⁸ B. Engelking, J. Leociak, *Getto warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście*, Warszawa 2013, p. 19.

THE POLISH UNDERGROUND PRESS

All in all, the Polish underground press numbered around 1,500 titles, perhaps even as many as 2,000. Of several hundred of these we know no more than that they existed, for not even isolated copies have been preserved. These papers, as the only historical source type other than personal documentary literature not subject to German censorship, portray real opinions, moods and knowledge regarding the reality of the occupation from the point of view of Polish groups of all shades of ideological, political and military opinion; they also offer insight into the degree to which Polish society was informed and aware of the ongoing issues and position of the Jewish population. Study of Polish-Jewish relations during the occupation without resort to the underground press is impossible. Among the most important archives and museums holding Polish underground press titles are the National Library (BN) with around 500 titles, the Central Archive of Modern Records (AAN) with 1,282 titles, including 109 underground press titles from the period of the Warsaw city rising in 1944, the National Archive in Krakow (ANK) with 221 titles issued by various organizations and parties, the Jagiellonian University Library (BUJ)⁶²⁹, the Tatra Museum in Zakopane⁶³⁰, and the Polish collections in London⁶³¹. Many of the Polish and Jewish underground press titles are held in AŻIH in Zbiór dokumentów konspiracyjnych, w tym prasy [varia okupacyjne] (Collection of conspiratorial documents, including press [occupation miscellanea]) 1939-1945. These are not the only archives and institutions holding underground press, of course – and there are doubtless interesting holdings in Ukrainian and Lithuanian private collections and archives. In Vilnius there were at least 28 titles, in Navahrudak 7, in Białystok 16, in Polesia 3; most of these were published by Służba Zwycięstwa Polski (Service for Poland's Victory, SZP), the Armed Combat Union (ZWZ), and the Home Army (AK) and are at present held in Lithuanian archive collections. In the Lwów, Tarnopol and Stanisławów voivodships some 70 press titles were published under the German occupation (as well as around 16 underground press titles under the Soviet occupation), and these

⁶²⁹ The collections of BUJ include 12 titles not in the possession of the BN: *Małopolska Agencja Prasowa*, *Dziennik Poranny*, *Głos Ludu*, *Głos Wolności*, *Jutro Polski*, *Komunikat W[alki] C[ylwilnej]*, *M[ałopolska] A[lgencja] R[adiowa]*, *Odra-Nysa*, *Polska Walczy*, *Prasa Angielska*, *Wolna i Zjednoczona* and *Wolność*.

⁶³⁰ Titles in the collections of the Tatra Museum: *Biuletyn Informacyjny (ZWZ AK)*, *Der Frontkämpfer*, *Głos Podbala*, *Goniec Krakowski*, *Hyr Tatrzański*, *Insurekcja*, *Jutro PN*, *Rzeczpospolita Polska*, *Żołnierz Polski*, *Żołnierz Polski w Drugiej Wojnie Światowej*, *Wiadomości Polskie*, *Wiadomości Codzienne*, *Wiadomości*, *Walka*, *Słowo Polskie*, *Przegląd Polski*, *Przegląd Polski Dzwon*, *Polska żyje*, *Polska i Świat*, *Odnova*, *Komunikat Wojenny*, *Na ucho*, *Nova Polska*, *Komunikaty z Frontów Wojennych*.

⁶³¹ "Polska prasa podziemna (1939-1945) w zbiorach londyńskich. Zestawienie czasopism i numerów polskiej prasy podziemnej (1939-1945), których nie zawiera „Katalog polskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939-1945”, wydany w kraju w roku 1962 w opracowaniu Dobroszyckiego, a które znajdują się w zbiorach londyńskich Biblioteki Polskiej (B.P.), Polish Research Center (P.R.C.) i Studium Polski Podziemnej (S.P.P.)”, compiled by J. Galiński, Londyn 1962 [reproduced manuscript]. Contains information on 59 titles.

are for the most part kept in archives in Lwów and the Stefanyk Library in Lwów (formerly the Ossolineum). The underground press has been profiled in many publications on the various political alliances, the areas where the Polish underground was active, or the archives holding underground printed matter.⁶³² The monograph edited by Jerzy Łojek⁶³³ offers a useful overview of the whole subject, not just the underground press. Full sets of titles have survived in few cases, and those that have were the most widely circulated ones distributed across an extensive area by the largest organizations.

Many papers would change their graphic design, and even title and other information such as publishers' cryptonyms, which minimized the likelihood of deconspiracy during the war, but today sadly complicates archive searches and research into this material. Underground newspapers were issued by several dozen political and military organizations operating at the time: above all the AK and the Government Delegation for Poland (DR), *Miecz i Plug* (Sword and Plough)⁶³⁴, various right-wing groups in the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe), the Konfederacja Narodu (National Confederation), *Szaniec* (Rampart), *Znak* (Sign), *Pobudka* (Awakening), *Unia* (Union), *Polscy Socjaliści* (the Polish Socialists) and dozens of others. It has become standard practice to group underground publications according to their political and organizational provenance, and by genre.⁶³⁵

⁶³² Cf. J. Cieślakiewicz, H. Falkowska, A. Paczkowski, *Polska prasa konspiracyjna (1939-1945) i Powstania Warszawskiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej – Katalog*, Warszawa 1984 [713 titles]; A. Cieślakowa, *Prasa okupowanego Lwowa*, Warszawa 1997; L. Dobroszycki, W. Kiedrzyńska, *Centralny katalog polskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1962 [1,123 titles]; B. Golka, *Prasa konspiracyjna ruchu ludowego 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1975; A. Przygoński, *Prasa konspiracyjna PPR*, Warszawa 1966; M. Adamczyk, *Kieleckie czasopiśmiennictwo konspiracyjne 1939-1945*, Kielce 1976; A. Słomkowska, *Prasa PPR, GL-AK, KRN na Kielecczyźnie 1942-1945*, Warszawa 1976; Z. Hirs, *Lubelska prasa konspiracyjna*, Lublin 1968; J. Jarowiecki, *Konspiracyjna prasa w Krakowie w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939-1945*, Kraków 1980 [158 titles]; J. Jarowiecki, "Prasa w Polsce w latach 1939-1945", [in:] *Polska prasa w latach 1939-1945*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1980; St. Lewandowska, *Polska konspiracyjna prasa informacyjno-polityczna 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1982; eadem, *Prasa okupowanej Warszawy 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1992; W. Mroczkowski, H. Nowosad-Łaptiew, *Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1939-1945. Prasa Powstania Warszawskiego 1944. Katalog*, Warszawa 1979 [1,089 titles]; T.K. Kozłowski, H. Szczepanik, *Spis tytułów prasy barwerskiej 1939-1945 (Konspiracja i Powstanie Warszawskie)*, Zespół Historyczny GK ZHP, Warszawa 1985; P. Szapiro, "Katalog polskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939-1945 w zbiorach polskich i zagranicznych", typescript [approx. 1,200 titles]; M. Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego w latach 1939-1947*, Poznań 2006; *Broszury konspiracyjne Stronnictwa Narodowego z lat 1939-1946*, selected and ed. Mirosław Orłowski, Poznań 2010; R. Macyra, *Prasa konspiracyjna w Kraju Warty w latach 1939-1945*, Poznań 2006.

⁶³³ "Prasa polska w latach 1939-1945", op. cit.

⁶³⁴ Organization founded in 1939 by Fr Leon Poeplau (pseud. "Wolan"), from 1940 a member of the Komitet Porozumiewawczy Organizacji Niepodległościowych (KPN, Independence Organizations Liaison Committee). From 1942 its head, Anatol Słowikowski, maintained contacts with the German police, for which he was eliminated by members of the organization. In 1944 the military units of Sword and Plough joined the NSZ and thus also the AK.

⁶³⁵ Classification employed in "Prasa polska 1939-1945", op. cit.: 1) Press publications by SZP, ZWZ and AK, 2) Press publications of the DR, 3) Press publications by Szare Szeregi (the underground Scouting movement), 4) Press by "akcja N" (Operation N, diversionary and propaganda activities conducted among the Germans in the years 1941-1944 with the aim of weakening morale and battle-readiness), 5) Press publications by the Popular Movement, 6) Socialist press publications, 7) Democratic and syndicalist press publications, 8) Press publications by Stronnictwo Pracy (Labour Party)

The most important press title of the Polish underground in AK (SZP and ZWZ) circles was *Biuletyn Informacyjny*⁶³⁶, the first issue of which came out on 5 November 1939 and the last in January 1945. Its founder and editor-in-chief was Aleksander Kamiński, and from 1940 the paper was incorporated into the publishing structure of the AK High Command's Office of Information and Propaganda (BIP KG AK). Its contributors tapped many different sources of information. *Biuletyn Informacyjny* was the benchmark for all the AK's local papers, and was subject to preventative censorship by the BIP KG AK. It had a print run of 24,000 copies (1942), later 43,000 (1943-1944), and was distributed throughout the country. In all, 317 issues of the paper were published. In AK circles there were dozens of papers edited and distributed by its various area and regional units. The main press organ of the DR was *Rzeczpospolita Polska*; it also published the weekly *Kraj* for underground activists. Its political rival in the underground, the National Armed Forces (NSZ), probably extended its patronage to around 140 titles⁶³⁷, of which fewer than half have been preserved to today. There is no space in this publication for even a brief profile of the content of articles published by the various groups.

Of greatest importance and impact were the titles with the highest circulation, among them *Biuletyn Informacyjny* (imprint of 50,000); *Wiadomości Polskie* (7,000-10,000); *Trybuna Wolności*, *Trybuna Ludu* and *Głos Warszawy* – papers published by the PPR (approx. 7,000); and *Przegląd* – the paper of the peasant movement (6,000). On the basis of these papers it is possible to trace not only the degree to which underground activist circles were informed of the fates of the Jewish population interned in the ghettos and deported to the extermination camps (i.e. what was known), but also their attitudes to these facts (what was thought) and the action that they took (what was done). This is an invaluable source for the study of the evolution of opinions on the Holocaust and the place of the Jews among the various Polish groups and circles in postwar Poland.⁶³⁸ Owing to the breadth of this subject, which includes the part of the Jews in the partisan units and the attitudes of partisan formations

and “sanacja” publications (Sanacja [Lat. Sanatio, “healing”] – name of the political forces around Józef Piłsudski that wielded power in Poland in the years 1926-1939), 9) Press publications by the “national camp”, 10) Press by the pro-Soviet Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and related organizations, 11) Press publications from the 1944 Warsaw city rising, 12) Other and unidentified (including private initiatives).

⁶³⁶ Other AK titles were: *Wiadomości Polskie*, *Agencja Prasowa*, *Sprawy Polskie*, *Dziennik Radiony* and *Głos Ojczyzny*.

⁶³⁷ Cf. W.J. Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę*, Warszawa 2000.

⁶³⁸ Cf. D. Libionka, “Polska konspiracja wobec eksterminacji Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim”, [in:] *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. B. Engelking, J. Leociak, D. Libionka, Warszawa 2007; idem, “ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu Polskiego wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich”, [in:] *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939-1945. Studia i materiały*, ed. A. Żbikowski, Warszawa 2006, pp. 15-207.

toward Jews⁶³⁹, as well as the question of aid to and rescue of Jews⁶⁴⁰, and in view of the vast number of press titles and the degree of advancement of the research, all that is possible here is to cite the major works published to date in which the reader will find further information on the Polish underground press and its usefulness for Holocaust research. Among Polish scholars, the most extensive study has been conducted by Paweł Szapiro⁶⁴¹; it is also worth looking at the work of Andrzej Friszke⁶⁴², Jerzy Jarowiecki⁶⁴³, Władysław Bartoszewski⁶⁴⁴ and other scholars⁶⁴⁵. The most recent publications by Dariusz Libionka on the subject of attitudes in the Polish underground to the Holocaust make extensive use of press materials, while the broadest monograph on Polish-Jewish relations in light of the Polish underground press was written by the German historian Klaus-Peter Friedrich.⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁹ Cf. A. Puławski, “Postrzeganie żydowskich oddziałów partyzanckich przez Armię Krajową i Delegaturę Rządu na Kraj”, *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, 2003, no. 2; A. Bańkowska, “Partyzantka polska lat 1942-1944 w relacjach żydowskich”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 148-164.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. T. Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942-1945*, Warszawa 1982; K. Iranek-Osmecki, *Kto ratuje jedno życie... Polacy i Żydzi 1939-1945*, Londyn 1968; M. Urynowicz, “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej”, [in:] *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką*, op. cit., pp. 209-364.

⁶⁴¹ P. Szapiro, *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka. Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1943-1944 o powstaniu w getcie Warszawskim*, selected and compiled by P. Szapiro, Londyn 1992; idem, “Prasa konspiracyjna jako źródło do dziejów stosunków polsko-żydowskich 1939-1945”, *BŻIH*, 1988, no. 3-4 (147-148), pp. 197-210.

⁶⁴² A. Friszke, “Publicystyka Polski Podziemnej wobec zagłady Żydów 1939-1944”, [in:] *Polska-Polacy-mniejszości narodowe. Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX wieku*, vol. VIII, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1992, pp. 193-213.

⁶⁴³ J. Jarowiecki, “Holokaust w okresie hitlerowskim w polskiej prasie konspiracyjnej”, *Rocznik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 51-80; idem, “Holokaust w polskiej prasie konspiracyjnej (1939-1945)”, [in:] *Holokaust lekcja historii zagłady Żydów w edukacji szkolnej*, ed. J. Chrobaczewski, P. Trojański, Kraków 2004, pp. 14-33.

⁶⁴⁴ W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej. Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939-1945*, Kraków 1969; W. Bartoszewski, “Polska Podziemna a walka getta warszawskiego. Wybrane zagadnienia”, *BŻIH*, 1973, no. 2-3 (86-87), pp. 45-66.

⁶⁴⁵ *Polskie podziemie polityczne wobec zagłady Żydów w czasie okupacji niemieckiej. Referaty z sesji Warszawa, 22 kwietnia 1987*, GKBZHWp-IPN, Informacja wewnętrzna no. 96, Warszawa 1988 [controversial angle]; *Spółeczeństwo polskie wobec martyrologii i walki Żydów w latach II wojny światowej. Materiały z sesji w Instytucie Historii PAN w dniu 11 III 1993 r.*, preface and scientific ed. Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, Warszawa 1996; A. Michałowska, “Postawy wobec Holocaustu Żydów w polskiej prasie konspiracyjnej. Analiza wybranych czasopism”, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 1990, no. 2; S. Krakowski, “Podziemie polskie wobec zagłady Żydów”, *Odra*, 1991, no. 4; B. Chrzanowski, “Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w świetle polskich wydawnictw konspiracyjnych”, *BŻIH*, 1985, no. 1-2; S. Rudnicki, “Mogą żyć, byle nie u nas... Propaganda NSZ wobec Żydów”, *Więź*, 2006, no. 4, p. 102; A. Pawelczyk, “Konspiracyjna organizacja katolików Front Odrodzenia Polski”, praca doktorska napisana pod opieką promotorską profesora Jerzego Kłoczkowskiego, KUL, Lublin, 1989, praca niepublikowana [unpublished doctoral dissertation].

⁶⁴⁶ In 2002 he defended a PhD thesis at Cologne University entitled “Der nationalsozialistische Judenmord in polnischen Augen: Einstellungen in der polnischen Presse 1942-1946/47” (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/volltexte/2003/952/>), which later appeared in print in a slightly altered version: K.P. Friedrich, *Der nationalsozialistische Judenmord und das polnisch-jüdische Verhältnis im Diskurs der polnischen Untergrundpresse (1942-1944)*, Marburg 2006; cf. idem, “Nazistowski mord na Żydach w prasie polskich komunistów (1942-1944)”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 54-75.

THE JEWISH UNDERGROUND PRESS

The total elimination from the life of society of a legal press not subject to German control and censorship meant that the Jews, isolated and enclosed within the walls of the ghettos, took independent action to keep the Jewish community informed of the true course of the war and occupation, and to encourage particularly young people to mount operations in self-defence. In spite of the immense difficulties with procuring paper and printing presses, around 60 Jewish underground press titles came out, most of them in the Warsaw ghetto, a few in the Krakow ghetto⁶⁴⁷, and a few in the Łódź ghetto⁶⁴⁸. The majority were in Yiddish (and Hebrew), but around 20 Warsaw press titles were in Polish.⁶⁴⁹ Some of the papers were not printed but copied out on a typewriter using carbon paper, while others distributed as “printed papers” were actually copied out again and again by hand by members of a given organization. There was essentially none among the larger parties or youth organizations that did not have a press mouthpiece in the ghetto. The Warsaw ghetto was the main centre in which these papers were published and distributed, but they also reached other centres across the GG via the network of underground connections. They circulated in very varying numbers – from a few dozen to a thousand copies.

The sources of outside information for the Jews editing these papers were radio taps, the Polish underground press, and personal contact with people outside the ghettos. Underground Jewish newspapers came out more or less between September 1940 and the end of 1942, when most of the ghettos in the GG were liquidated and those who were still alive were concentrated into the secondary ghettos and labour camps. The longest-running titles were those promoted by the ŻOB, which came out in Krakow until the second half of 1943. Issues of the following Jewish papers have been preserved (listed by political orientation of the parties and organizations publishing them)⁶⁵⁰:

– the Communists (in all 11 titles): *Morgen Fray* (Tomorrow Free), published between March and December 1942 by the group Młot i Sierp (Hammer and Sickle) and continued under the

⁶⁴⁷ *Głos Demokratji* and *Hehalutz Halokhem*, both published by the Jewish Combat Organization (ŻOB).

⁶⁴⁸ *Biuletyn* (the Bund paper), *Hamesaper* (Heb. “Narrator”) and the literary supplement *Min Hametzhar* (Heb. “From the Abyss”). Cf. M. Fuks, “Żydowska prasa w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Polsce 1940-1943”, *Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej*, 1977, no. 2; in the Łódź ghetto a Zionist youth paper from Marysin II also came out, *Kol Hebażit* (at least five issues), copied out by hand and illustrated with colour drawings (preserved issues in the collection PSŻ, AP Łódź).

⁶⁴⁹ Some papers were issued in three languages in parallel.

⁶⁵⁰ Cited after: *Prasa polska 1939-1945*, op. cit., pp. 119-121, inventory of the collection ARG, AŻIH, Ring. I and Ring. II, and the inventory of Zbiór dokumentów konspiracyjnych, w tym prasy [varia okupacyjne] 1939-1945 (Collection of conspiratorial documents, including press [occupation miscellanea]), AŻIH.

amended title *Morgen Frayhayt* (Freedom Tomorrow), *Der Hammer* (The Hammer), *Der Arbeyter* (The Worker);

– the Trotskyites (2 titles): *Czerwony Sztandar* (The Red Standard) and *Przegląd Marksistowski* (The Marxist Review);

– the socialist left wing (the Bund and Cukunft, in all 14 papers): *Yunge Gvardiye* (The Young Guard, for young people), *Trybuna Młodych* (Youth Tribune), *Za naszą i waszą wolność* (For Our Freedom and Yours, targeting Polish readers), *Tzayt-fragn* (Current Affairs), *Biuletyn* (Bulletin), *Yugnt Shtime* (The Voice of Youth), *Podziemne Ghetto* (The Underground Ghetto), *Der Veker. Informatziye biuletin* (Awake. News Bulletin), *Oyf der Vakh* (On Guard), *Das Freye Vort* (The Free Word), *Der Glock* (The Bell), *Shturm* (Storm), *Nova Młodzież* (New Youth);

– the Zionist left wing (Poalei Zion Left, the General Zionists, Hashomer Hatzair, Hehalutz, Gordonia and Dror): *Awangarda* (The Avant-Garde), *Awangarda Młodzieży* (The Youth Avant-Garde), *Nasze Hasła* (Our Slogans), *Jutrznia* (Dawn), *Przedwiośnie* (Early Spring), *Yugnt Ruf* (Call of the Young), *Zarzewie* (The Touchpaper), *Płomienie* (The Flame), *Dror*, *Payn un Gvure* (Torture and Heroism), *Hehalutz Halokhem* (The Pioneer in Struggle), *El-Al* (To the Skies), *Iton Hatnua* (The Movement Paper), *Yediyes* (News), *Neged Hazerem* (Against the Flow), *Nowe Tory* (New Tracks), *Der Oyfbroysz* (Boiling Point), *Oysdoyer* (Resolve), *Proletarisher Gedank* (Proletariat Thought), *Słowo Młodych. Pismo Młodzieży Gordonistycznej* (Youth Word. Gordonian Youth Paper), *Shviv* (The Spark), *Unzer Hofnung* (Our Hope), *Unzer Weg* (Our Way);

– the Zionist right wing (Poalei Zion Right): *A Kol in der Midbar* (A Voice in the Desert), *Bafrayung* (Liberation);

– the assimilationists: *Żagiew* (expanded from the acronym ŻGW – Żydowska Gwardia Wolności, Jewish Freedom Guard, bimonthly for Jewish combatants, or, according to I. Gutman, assimilated Jews⁶⁵¹);

– other groups (e.g. Zionist Revisionists): *Magen David* (The Star of David), *Der Ruf* (The Call, the paper of the Anti-Fascist Bloc).

The largest collections of Jewish press are in AŻIH in Warsaw and in Israeli archives. AŻIH collects press titles in two record groups: ARG and Zbiór dokumentów konspiracyjnych, w tym prasy (varia okupacyjne) 1939-1945. ARG contains both reptilian and German press titles, as well as

⁶⁵¹ Cf. I. Gutman, *Żydzi Warszawy 1939-1943*, Warszawa 1993, p. 231.

underground Polish and Jewish papers. At this point we will look further only at the latter category. ARG has two issues of the Bund paper from the period of the 1939 September campaign⁶⁵², as well as daily and weekly papers from the Warsaw ghetto⁶⁵³ and even the USSR⁶⁵⁴. The daily papers compiled by Oneg Shabat from radio taps⁶⁵⁵, and *Wiadomości ARG*, profiled as the underground paper of the Żydowska Komisja Koordynacyjna (Jewish Coordination Committee), which brought together the Jewish National Committee (ŻKN) and the Bund⁶⁵⁶, are worthy of separate note. Whether *Wiadomości ARG* was compiled by members of Oneg Shabat is not entirely certain, though the ARG scholar Ruta Sakowska leans towards that interpretation.⁶⁵⁷ Few studies have been made of the underground Jewish press, perhaps partly due to the language barrier, as without a knowledge of Yiddish (and Hebrew), work on this source is impossible. A full edition of the press titles from the Warsaw ghetto has been published in Israel (in Hebrew) in six volumes; the first five edited by Joseph Kermish and the sixth by Israel Shechem: *The Jewish Underground Press in Warsaw – Itonut hamakhberet hayehudit be-Varsha*, vol. 1-6, Jerusalem 1980-1997. An abridged edition has also been published, also in Hebrew, edited by David Blatman, called *The Warsaw ghetto – a history of the press: a selection of the underground press 1940-1943*, Jerusalem 2003 (for the French edition, see: *En direct du ghetto: la presse clandestine juive dans le ghetto de Varsovie (1940-1943)*, Paris 2005). Havi Ben-Sasson's article on Polish-Jewish relations in the underground Jewish press that was recently translated into Polish is one of the few studies on this subject; it contains information on other publications about the Jewish press, chiefly Israeli ones.⁶⁵⁸ Two articles based on the press titles published in the Warsaw ghetto by left-wing groups have been released in recent years by Piotr Kendziorok.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵² AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 1272 (*Folkstszaytung* of 19 September 1939) and Ring. II, call no. 414 (*Naye Folkstszaytung* of 16 September 1939).

⁶⁵³ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 1295-1347 and Ring. II, call no. 419-428.

⁶⁵⁴ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 1294 (*Der Shtern* of 22 June 1941, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Ukraine).

⁶⁵⁵ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I, call no. 1339.

⁶⁵⁶ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. II, call no. 423.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. R. Sakowska, "Wiadomości ARG i raporty o Zagładzie. Status Archiwum Ringelbluma w getcie szczątkowym Warszawy", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2005, no. 1 (213), pp. 30-50; eadem, "Biuro Informacji i Propagandy KG Armii Krajowej a Archiwum Ringelbluma (luty-lipiec 1942)", *BŻIH*, 1992, no. 2-3 (162-163), pp. 19-34.

⁶⁵⁸ H. Ben-Sasson, "„Chcemy wierzyć w inną Polskę”. Stosunki żydowsko-polskie w podziemnej prasie żydowskiej getta warszawskiego", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 96-113.

⁶⁵⁹ P. Kendziorok, "Społeczno-polityczna ocena charakteru II wojny światowej w prasie konspiracyjnej getta warszawskiego", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2006, no. 3 (219), pp. 341-353; idem, "Prasa trockistowska w getcie warszawskim – próba charakterystyki", [in:] *Żydzi a lewica. Zbiór studiów historycznych*, ed. A. Grabski, Warszawa 2007, pp. 119-154.

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS, POSTERS AND EPHEMERA

Public announcements and posters are a source used on an occasional basis by historians seeking information disseminated on a broad scale by the occupiers. They were displayed publicly and printed in relatively large quantities as they were designed to convey particular information to the largest possible number of people. In this chapter we will look only at those relevant to the Jewish populace (i.e. addressed to this group) or in which the Jews were the subject of propaganda – usually “warnings” – directed at other groups. Aside from German posters and public announcements printed by the various administrative offices to inform the population of new legal regulations and ordinances, public announcements have also been preserved (from Lublin and Łódź, and remnants of such sheets from Warsaw and Krakow) issued and signed by the heads of the Jewish councils of large ghettos, who were forced by the occupying authorities to relay German orders to the Jews in the ghettos. A very large number of public announcements (nearly 500) bearing the signature of Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski are held in all the collections devoted to the Rumkowski Archive, and also in *Zbiór afiszy i plakatów*.⁶⁶⁰ A vast number of printed materials of this category are also held in the Polish State Archives, many of them in separate collections entitled “*Zbiór plakatów i druków ulotnych*” (Collection of posters and ephemera). A few years ago the NDAP and USHMM ran a joint project with the objective of “creating a computer database of all public printed matter (information) issued by various agencies (the occupying authorities or local governing bodies acting on their behalf) targeting or concerning the Jewish population and disseminated in the form of public announcements (bills), posters, and ephemera”. The project was completed, and the results of the archive searches conducted by archivists throughout the country were entered into a centralized database, “*Afisiz*”. On that occasion the archive search covered materials from the years 1933-1945-1950, and generated positive results in the following archives and collections:

AAN Warsaw: Regierung des GG (3 records), Niemieckie władze okupacyjne (29 records).

AP Częstochowa: Akta miasta Częstochowy (2 records), Zarząd Miejski w Częstochowie (4 records), Zbiór afiszy i druków z terenu Częstochowy (24 records), Obóz w Częstochowie (1 record).

AP Gdańsk: Komisarz Generalny RP w Gdańsku (2 records), Główny Urząd Powierniczy Wschód. Urząd Powierniczy Gdańsk Prusy Zachodnie (1 record), Rękopisy elbląskie (4 records).

AP Katowice: Zbiór materiałów ulotnych (10 records), Starosta Powiatu Będzińskiego (1 record), Akta miasta Będzina (7 records).

⁶⁶⁰ In AŻIH, AP Łódź, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and YIVO Institute in New York.

AP Gliwice: Zbiór materiałów ulotnych (6 records).

AP Kielce: Akta gminy Duraczów (4 records).

AN Krakow: Akta Starosty miasta Krakowa (13 records), Akta niemieckich władz, instytucji, osób z czasów okupacji ziem polskich 1939-1945 (12 records), Zbiór afiszy i plakatów (28 records), Komisarz Wojewódzki dla Spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Krakowie (1 record), Wojewódzki Urząd Informacji i Propagandy w Krakowie (7 records).

AP in Bochnia: Zbiór afiszy (5 records).

AP Tarnów: Zarząd Miejski w Tarnowie (36 records).

AP Lublin: Akta miasta Lublina (1 record), Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (12 records), Kreishauptmannschaft Lublin-Land (1 record), Gemeindeverband Puławy (1 record), Zbiór afiszy i druków ulotnych (3 records), Judenrat in Lublin (678 records).

AP Łódź: Przełożony Starszeństwa Żydów w Getcie Łódzkim (563 records), Zbiór druków i pism ulotnych (8 records).

AP Piotrków Trybunalski: Akta miasta Piotrkowa (20 records), Zbiór plakatów i druków ulotnych (11 records).

AP Tomaszów Mazowiecki: Starostwo powiatowe Brzezińskie (1 record), Zbiór plakatów i druków ulotnych (13 records).

AP Płock: Akta miasta Płocka (14 records).

AP Łęczyca: Akta z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej (3 records).

AP Poznań: Reichsstatthalter im Reichsgau Wartheland – Posen (1 record).

AP Przemyśl: Akta miasta Przemyśla (1 record), Akta miasta Jarosławia (3 records), Akta Józefa Benbenka (2 records).

AP Radom: Okręgowy Komitet Żydowski w Radomiu (4 records), Zbiór afiszy, plakatów i druków ulotnych (66 records), Gubernator Dystryktu Radomskiego (1 record).

AP Rzeszów: Akta miasta Rzeszowa (24 records), Akta miasta Błażowej (1 record), Akta gminy Raclawówka (1 record).

AP Sanok: Akta miasta Gorlic (84 records).

AP Siedlce: Akta gminy Korczew (1 record), Akta gminy Tuchowicz (1 record), Zbiór afiszy okupacyjnych powiatu sokołowskiego (3 records), Zbiór afiszy okupacyjnych powiatu siedleckiego (8 records), Zbiór afiszy powiatu węgrowskiego (3 records).

AP m.st. Warszawy: Zbiór afiszy cz. IV wrzesień 1939-1944 (1 record), Amt des Gouverneurs des Distrikts Warschau, Der Kommissar für den Jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau, Transferstelle

Warschau (1 record), Kreishauptmannschaft Warschau-Land (2 records), Zarząd miasta Płocka (5 records).

AP Grodzisk Mazowiecki (collections removed from AP Góra Kalwaria): Akta gminy Goszczyn (5 records), Akta gminy Jeziorna (1 record), Akta miasta Grójca (10 records), Akta miasta Piaseczna (15 records).

AP Łowicz: Akta miasta Łowicza (7 records), Akta gminy Bolimów (2 records), Łowickie Zakłady Przemysłowe i Cukrownia „Irena” w Łyszkowicach (1 record), Zbiór afiszy (10 records).

AP Otwock: Akta miasta Otwocka (66 records), Akta miasta Mińska Mazowieckiego (16 records), Akta gminy Iwowe (1 record), Akta gminy Kuflew (14 records), Akta gminy Podlęż (2 records).

AP Rawa Mazowiecka: Zbiór afiszów (17 records).

AP Zamość: Zbiór afiszy, ogłoszeń, druków ulotnych (12 records).

In all, over two thousand bill posters, public announcements (Ger. *Bekanntmachungen*⁶⁶¹) and ephemera relating to the Jewish populace were located in the State Archives. AIPN also has a very large collection of several hundred original “Obwieszczenia, afisze i plakaty” (Public announcements, bills and posters) from the period of the German occupation, ordered by administrative category, and chronologically within each category. There is an analogous collection (Obwieszczenie i zarządzenia władz okupacyjnych, Public announcements and orders issued by the occupying authorities) in AŻIH, in which eight hundred original public announcements, posters and other printed matter from the occupation era are collected, including a huge collection of public announcements from the Łódź ghetto signed by Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski. These relate above all to the legal status of the Jews, and convey information on matters such as the following: establishment of the Jewish districts and their boundaries; prohibition of or restrictions on entry to certain areas (justified by the need for protection from typhoid fever); punishments for leaving the ghettos (up to and including the death penalty⁶⁶²); the death penalty for offering support to Jews outside the Jewish district without permission⁶⁶³; rewards for people denouncing Jews (e.g. those at large in the Mińsk Mazowiecki county without permission⁶⁶⁴); resettlements; compulsory domicile

⁶⁶¹ German public announcements were usually printed in both Polish and German, on very brightly coloured paper.

⁶⁶² Cf. public announcement of 17 March 1942 signed Der Gouverneur – Abteilung Justiz in Lublin on the execution, pursuant to a verdict by the Extraordinary Court in Lublin, on 4 March 1942 of the named Jews for wilfully leaving their place of residence, AP Lublin, Kreishauptmannschaft Lublin Land 1939-1944, call no. 501/75.

⁶⁶³ Cf. Public announcement by the HSSPF for the Warsaw District (Obwieszczenie Wyższego Dowódcy SS i Policji dla Okręgu Warszawskiego) of 5 September 1942, APW, Zbiór afiszów, part IV, call no. 204/A/IVP-52.

⁶⁶⁴ APW, Zbiór afiszów cz. IV, call no. 204/IV/P-51. Ogłoszenie Kreishauptmanna pow. mińsko-mazowieckiego z lutego 1942 r.

and population registration, especially of Jews capable of working (all males aged 12 to 60); the duty to report for snow and ice clearing; the obligation for all aged over 12 to wear identification and for Jewish shops and workshops (i.e. those at least 50% owned by Jews) to be marked as such (mostly with a white Star of David and an appropriately worded sign) ; the obligation to carry official identification (Ger. *Kennkarte*); the obligation to register Jewish assets (owned by individuals, companies, associations, enterprises, whether capital or material), including real property, financial assets, valuables and other assets; the exclusion of Jews from economic life and administration of real property; the prohibition of storage, sale or gifting of Jewish property on pain of harsh punishment⁶⁶⁵; punishments for failure to report assets, and confiscation thereof; registration and legalization of weights and measures; the obligation to register cars and other mechanical vehicles and the prohibition on using them; the confiscation of furs; the prohibition of Jews bowing to Germans in public places; the prohibition of use of the Hebrew language and the “Jewish jargon” in public life; curfews (from 8 p.m. or 9 p.m. until 5 a.m.); travelling in the rear section of tramcars (separated from other passengers by partitions); the prohibition of walking along the Planty park ring or in the Main Square, or entering the Cloth Hall in Krakow (public announcement of 29 April 1940); the prohibition on Jews attending evening circus performances (public announcement in Krakow dated 13 June 1940); and hundreds of other prohibitions and orders from across the country. Among the surviving bills and posters there are also materials containing typical propaganda, among them the famous bill poster “Jews – lice – typhus”⁶⁶⁶; posters on the spread of Jewish populations throughout the world, e.g. one showing a picture of the figure of a Jew peering round a curtain made from the US, British and Soviet flags, another entitled “Żyd to oszust jedyny twój wróg” (The Jew is a fraud[,] your only enemy)⁶⁶⁷, and another showing photographs of several faces with the caption “Europa nie chce więcej widzieć tej twarzy!” (Europe never wants to see this face again)⁶⁶⁸; posters and flyers advertising the exhibition entitled “Światowa zaraza żydowska” (Global Jewish plague) held in the Cloth Hall in Krakow in October 1943⁶⁶⁹; and many others whose

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. Rozporządzenie Naczelnego Wodza Szefa Zarządu Cywilnego w Krakowie z dn. 6 IX 1939 r., AN Kraków, Zbiór afiszów i plakatów, call no. 665/1503.

⁶⁶⁶ APW, Zbiór afiszów cz. IV, call no. 204/A/IV/P-7.

⁶⁶⁷ ANK, Zbiór afiszów i plakatów, call no. 665/7, no date.

⁶⁶⁸ ANK, Wojewódzki Urząd Informacji i Propagandy 1945-1947, call no. 720/WUIP 62/VIII 54, no date.

⁶⁶⁹ This touring exhibition of antisemitic propaganda, commissioned by the Propaganda Department of the Government of the GG, was shown in many cities across the GG to great acclaim. It was opened in Krakow in October 1943, and shown for the last time in June 1944 in Ostrów Mazowiecka. Exhibits including photographs have survived from this exhibition, some of which are in the collections of the NAC (Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe); a photoreport on the exhibition was published in *Ilustrowany Kurier Polski* 1943, no. 41. Polish visual artists from Krakow were involved in the exhibition preparations. I am grateful to Prof. Jan Grabowski for information on this subject.

content referenced the stereotype of the Communist Jew, and identified Bolshevism with Jewish ideology and the desire to rule the world attributed to the Jews. Stalin was depicted as a puppet in the hands of Western powers, which according to German propaganda were in turn steered and manipulated by a “global Jewish conspiracy”. Posters of this type, and their content, reach and impact are very interesting source material that has not to date been processed on a mass scale. The same propaganda role was played by antisemitic publications in Polish that came out in the GG throughout the occupation; these have been discussed in an article by Krzysztof Woźniakowski.⁶⁷⁰ Among the authors of these publications were Stanisław Brochwicz, Henryk Borkowski, Dr Feliks Burdecki, Fr Józef Radliński, Władysław Bocquet, Walerian Wąsowicz, Feliks Zdrojewski, Władysław Wardziński, Fryderyk To Gaste (probably a pseudonym), Ludwik Bronowski, Zbigniew Kowalewski and Hannes Kremer. Also during the war the tenth Polish edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published.⁶⁷¹ “In all, in the years 1940-1944 a total of 20 poisonously antisemitic books and propaganda leaflets came out in Polish (this is apart from works of literature, which we do not discuss here); three in 1940, five in 1942, eight in 1943, and four in 1944. The leading publishers in this field were the Warsaw firms Wydawnictwo Polskie (5 titles) and Wydawnictwo Glob (7 titles). Aside from these, 1-2 antisemitic pamphlets must be attributed to publishers such as Wydawnictwo Nowoczesne, Buchverlag Ost, Nauka i Sztuka, Księgarnia Powszechna and Hauptabteilung Propaganda. This latter institution masterminded, promoted and coordinated the whole campaign, and as such its ‘contribution’ is disproportionately greater than the modest number of titles advertised under its name might suggest.”⁶⁷²

TELEPHONE DIRECTORIES AND ADDRESS BOOKS

Official German information publications and address books may also be useful for research purposes. Below are those found in library and archive collections, though this is almost certainly not an exhaustive list:

⁶⁷⁰ K. Woźniakowski, “Hitlerowskie antysemityczne wydawnictwa propagandowe w języku polskim w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie (1939-1945)”, [in:] *Holokaust lekcja historii zagłady Żydów w edukacji szkolnej*, op. cit., pp. 34-46.

⁶⁷¹ *Protokoły Mędrców Syjonu czyli wykłady mędrców syjońskiego wtajemniczonego w plany podboju świata przez Żydów*, ed. B. Rudzki, Krakau 1943.

⁶⁷² “Hitlerowskie antysemityczne wydawnictwa”, op. cit., p. 45. For another General Government-issued news bulletin, see the Pressedienst des Generalgouvernements, online under <http://zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/list/title/zdb/24368568/>.

- Amtliches Gemeinde- und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement auf Grund der summarischen Bevölkerungsbestandsaufnahme am 1. März 1943, Herausgegeben vom Statistischen Amt des Generalgouvernements, Burgverlag Krakau 1943. This is a list of localities in the whole of the GG, divided into three sections. Part I is a general section listing collective data on districts and county governors' offices in each district, as well as 37 cities with populations of over 20,000.⁶⁷³ Part II is a systematic directory of the towns and villages in each district, county and borough, including numbers of residents. Part III is an alphabetical list of all the cities, towns and villages with location by district.
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Distrikt Radom, Deutsche Post Osten 1942 (Official Telephone Book for the Radom District, German Post Office in the East 1942)⁶⁷⁴.
- Fernsprech-Verzeichnis. Der Gouverneur des Distrikts Krakau, Krakau [1942] (Telephone Directory. Governor of the Krakow District, Krakow [1942]).
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Distrikt Warschau (Official Telephone Book for the Warsaw District)⁶⁷⁵.
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Distrikt Lublin, Krakau-Warschau 1942 (Official Telephone Book for the Lublin District)⁶⁷⁶.
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Breslau 1940 (Official Telephone Book for the Area Reich Post Office Directorate Breslau/Wrocław 1940).
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Köslin 1941 (Official Telephone Book for the Area Reich Post Office Directorate Köslin/Koszalin 1942).
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der früheren Oberpostdirektion Liegnitz 1940 (Official Telephone Book for the Area of the Former Reich Post Office Directorate Liegnitz/Legnica 1940).
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Posen 1942 (Official Telephone Book for the Area Reich Post Office Directorate Posen/Poznań 1942).

⁶⁷³ This includes area covered, number of residents in total and by gender, population density per 1 km², number of administrative centres (county and city governors' offices), and number of boroughs and villages. As at 1 March 1943 the total number of residents in the five districts of the GG was 14,853,798.

⁶⁷⁴ http://gov.genealogy.net/item/show/source_386794.

⁶⁷⁵ Available online: <http://sbc.wbp.kielce.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=13459&from=publication>

⁶⁷⁶ Available online: <http://mbc.cyfrowemazowsze.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=9817&from=FBC>

⁶⁷⁶ Available online: <http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=1736&from=FBC>

- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Stettin 1941 (Official Telephone Book for the Area Reich Post Office Directorate Stettin/Szczecin 1941).
- Amtliches Fernsprechbuch für den Bezirk der Reichspostdirektion Oppeln 1942 (Official Telephone Book for the Area Reich Post Office Directorate Oppeln/Opole 1942)
- Skorowidz gmin Śląska Dolnego i Opolskiego z niemieckimi i polskimi nazwami miejscowości według stanu z dn. 1 I 1941 roku, Katowice 1945 (Quick reference of boroughs in Lower Silesia and the Opole region with German and Polish place names as at 1 January 1941, Katowice 1945).

9. First-person documentary literature: journals, memoirs, diaries, letters, eye-witness accounts

The term “first-person documentary literature” (fpdl) was coined by the literature scholar Roman Zimand, who used it to describe the whole field of autobiographic writing in its various genre variants.⁶⁷⁷ Holocaust-era fpdl is an extremely valuable source for research into this period that has long been used by historians. One might even claim that it is the most valuable of all sources, given that journals, memoirs, letters and other types of fpdl are the voices of the victims, who were the most immediate witnesses to the Holocaust. In most texts of this type, especially those written during the war, the authors state directly their motivation for writing. They usually stress the fact that their need to record their experiences in writing is rooted in their sense of moral obligation toward their murdered brethren. They write “for future generations” or “for a future tribunal”, in which expression they emphasize the factographic side of their texts and their value as testimony. The motivations of authors recording their memoirs after the war seem somewhat more complicated (memory therapy, overarching attempts to interpret their own lives, etc.), but very often they, too, exhibit the much expounded theme of preservation of the victims’ memory and passing on the truth about the Holocaust to subsequent generations. Hence in and of itself, Holocaust-era fpdl incorporates a declaration of faithfulness to the facts rooted in its authors’ sense of moral obligation.

On the other hand, the reader approaches all autobiographical texts with the awareness that they speak of events that took place in the real world. This attitude on the part of the reader arises out of the element of prior knowledge with which he or she comes to autobiographic forms as reading matter, and which is founded on the “autobiographical pact”. The author of this term, Philippe Lejeune, defines it as a certain understanding between the author and the reader that both parties assume the existence of a fundamental unity of identity between the author, narrator and protagonist of a text.⁶⁷⁸

The vast heterogeneity of fpdl texts and the fluidity of their categorization by genre are due to the personalized nature of the narrative, which in every case is focused on the first-person narrator. All

⁶⁷⁷ Roman Zimand, *Diarysta Stefan Ż.*, Wrocław 1990.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Philippe Lejeune, *Wariacje na temat pewnego paktu. O autobiografii*, ed. R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, trans. W. Grajewski et al., Kraków 2001.

literary forms of this type are grouped around two basic poles (according to Zimand's classification): "the world of writing about the self directly" and "the world of the eye-witness". The former group is characterized by authorial declaration focused on a unique personal reception of the outside world, through which the writer attempts to understand the self. The latter comprises texts written from the position of witness, who shifts the focal point of the narrative from their own experiences to events in the outside world.

What is the value of first-person documentary literature as a historical source? In terms of establishing the cognitive status of autobiographical forms and defining their referential value, there are two possible research approaches. The first takes "real facts", events and people as the subject of analysis, i.e. concentrates on studying the referential value of texts. It assumes that what is described (i.e. the autobiography) should constitute the most faithful reflection possible of what was experienced (i.e. the biography). This assumption causes autobiographical forms to be treated with suspicion and distance, and the research process to focus on sifting "authentic events" and the "real world" from the "subjective" rest. For this approach, fpdl is thus at once a precious and troublesome source, as it forces the scholar to compare the autobiographical text with "objective" materials (as official papers are usually considered to be). The other research approach comes from a different angle. It assumes that the autobiography, as a unique form of expression of the individual, is also a product of culture, and is thus historically and culturally conditioned. Every autobiographical form is essentially a forum for confrontation between intimacy and conventionality. Unique experiences can only be expressed in language, which is in essence communal and is the only medium through which the past and the individual's experiences may be revealed.⁶⁷⁹ Together with language we also inherit cognitive patterns, and thus our perception of the world and the way we describe it are more a question of our socio-cultural structures than the unfettered expression of the individual. For this reason, a life history as recorded in an autobiography cannot exist independently of the way it is represented, i.e. of the narrative strategy selected more or less deliberately by its author. The model of identity chosen by an author to talk about their story and life must be rooted in their culture. This choice (of which the author is not always fully aware) enables them to understand themselves. In this research approach, in the reading of autobiographical texts, rather than focusing on their objective references (i.e. their referentiality) the scholar follows the author's project to gain an understanding of themselves, and as such emphasizes the hermeneutical dimension of fpdl.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. H. White, *Poetyka pisarstwa historycznego*, ed. E. Domańska and M. Wilczyński, Kraków 2000.

Likewise, in the field of Holocaust research, some historians treat fpdl as supplementary to standard historical sources such as court files, official reports, etc., which they consider more credible and valuable for being more objective. This approach to sources is based on amassing as many “objective facts” as possible. The other side of the story is that Holocaust research (and historical methodology in general) is exhibiting an increasing fascination with the category of memory. This approach stresses the fact that eye-witness accounts, journal and memoirs express their authors’ bruised and damaged memory. Thus the past is less a set of incontrovertible facts to which we have direct access than a construct created by the narrator, whose active role is invaluable – the facts do not exist independently of or separately from the cognizant subject. The autobiographical form is a space where the wounded memory of the author has the chance to work through its trauma.⁶⁸⁰ Hope remains that the discourse advocating faithful reconstruction of the factography and the discourse of memory (a term coined by Frank Ankersmit, which its author considers the antithesis of objectifying scientific description⁶⁸¹) need not be radically mutually exclusive.

What methodological challenges do fpdl texts present in the context of Holocaust research? The scholar confronts the sources with a dual mission: on the one hand she must attempt a reconstruction of the past, yet on the other she cannot ignore the emotional charge of the victims’ suffering that is present in these texts. Her duty is not only integrity in her approach to her craft but also empathy toward these narrators.⁶⁸² She is thus burdened with an unusual obligation – she must demonstrate both talent and the tact “to know when and how to avoid the pitfalls of inappropriacy”.⁶⁸³ As such, then, the use of fpdl sources is a form of responsibility that every scholar takes on.⁶⁸⁴

Division of first-person documentary literature⁶⁸⁵:

1. By form of communication and type of record:

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2001.

⁶⁸¹ F. Ankersmit, “Pamiętając Holocaust: żaloba i melancholia”, trans. A. Ajschtet, A. Kubis, J. Regulska, in: idem, *Narracja, reprezentacja, doświadczenie. Studia z teorii historiografii*, ed. E. Domańska, Kraków 2004.

⁶⁸² Dominik LaCapra has drawn attention to the tension between objectivity and the need for empathy in the work of the Holocaust scholar. Cf. D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, op. cit.

⁶⁸³ According to Ankersmit, the aesthetic category of appropriacy “will help us to steer clear of the blind alleys in which the quest for a sole truth and ethical good might be lost” (F. Ankersmit, *Pamiętając Holocaust: żaloba i melancholia*, p. 403).

⁶⁸⁴ For more on the issues addressed here, see J. Leociak, “Literatura dokumentu osobistego jako źródło do badań nad zagładą Żydów. Rekonesans metodologiczny”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1.

⁶⁸⁵ Cited after: J. Leociak, *Literatura dokumentu osobistego jako źródło do badań nad zagładą Żydów*, op. cit.

- written sources (texts),
- oral sources (oral history).

2. By time at which the source was created:

- *hic et nunc*,
- *post factum*.

Typology of first-person documentary literature:

A. Texts written *hic et nunc* – written during the occupation, i.e. with no knowledge of the end of the war, in a state of permanent danger and uncertainty, which is reflected in the form of record and type of expression used by the author:

1. The diary and daily chronicle – characterized by regular note-taking; the time of note-taking is close in time to the events described; the author's personal perspective and subjective world view are exposed (cf. the diaries of Abraham Lewin, Aron Chaim Kaplan, Mary Berg, Dawid Sierakowiak, Dawid Rubinowicz); the diary or daily chronicle is characterized by an attempt to objectivize description and offer a panorama of the life of the entire community (cf. the diaries of Ludwik Landau and Emanuel Ringelblum).
2. The journal – written at a certain distance in time in relation to the events described, which has a significant impact on the composition and narrative strategy assumed, usually in ordering and evaluating the events experienced. Journals written during the Holocaust were usually written in hiding “on the Aryan side” (cf. the journals of Marian Berland, Calel⁶⁸⁶ Perechodnik and Stefan Ernest).
3. Letters – most often sent from the ghettos and camps; especially dramatic are messages thrown from trains travelling to extermination camps; cf. *Listy o Zagładzie* (compiled by Ruta Sakowska).
4. Eye-witness accounts, answers to questionnaires, etc. and other elicited sources, such as eye-witness accounts gathered in the Warsaw ghetto by the Oneg Shabat team in the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archive.

⁶⁸⁶ “Calek”, as Perechodnik referred to himself, is a diminutive form of the Hebrew name Betzalel or Besaleel; Perechodnik figures in various documents, including official papers, as Calel. The first Polish edition of his journal is: Calel Perechodnik, *Czy ja jestem mordercą?*, compiled by P. Szapiro, Warszawa 1993; the second edition, revised on the basis of the manuscript, was published, like the first, by Ośrodek KARTA: Calel Perechodnik, *Spowiedź. Dzieje rodziny żydowskiej podczas okupacji w Polsce*, compiled by D. Engel, Warszawa 2004. In AŻIH, where the typescript (a faithful transcription of the manuscript) of the journal is held, under call no. 302/55, the author figures as “Calek Perechodnik” – as in the text.

B. Texts written *post factum* – a very extensive collection of texts recorded after the war by Holocaust survivors. A significant role here is played by the time when these works were written, which ranges from very soon after the end of the war to even decades after the events. The time of writing plays a significant role in interpretation of the texts.

1. The journal.
2. The autobiography – an attempt at an overview of the survivor's life, in which the Holocaust is one of many elements, though usually dominant.
3. The memoir – restricted to a selected theme, often published in periodicals.
4. Elicited sources, including eye-witness accounts made to historical commissions and in court trials.
5. The interview – e.g. Barbara Engelking's *Na łące popiołów* (1993).
6. The reconstructed journal – cf. e.g. Henryk Grynberg *Szmyglery* (2001; based on the experiences of Jan Kostański).

The latter two forms are “dual author” texts (which is visible in particular in reconstructed journals); no less significant than the “material”, i.e. the experiences of the protagonist, is the contribution of the second author compiling and editing the material – the way the questions are asked, the type of questions, the composition, etc.

The form most characteristic for *belles lettres* on the subject of the Holocaust is autobiography, i.e. an authorial approach in which the experiences of the writer are given a voice in their creative writing. It is important to emphasize, however, that the writer's autobiographical position is never a documentary reflection of their life, but merely a convention that permits the use of the author's (or other person's) experiences in a literary work, but on the author's terms at every stage. Here the writer is not bound by the autobiographical pact, meaning that the persona of the protagonist, while it may demonstrate some attributes of the author, is not identical with the latter. *Belles lettres* in the traditional sense is the realm of the author's imagination, and the world created in a work (whether that work is epic, dramatic or poetry) is of the author's invention. Literary texts do not stand up to questioning regarding the truth of the events portrayed (in the traditional meaning of the word) – in every case they can lay claim to the status of true only within the world created in the work, irrespective of the fact that the author uses real events as material. Literary texts influenced by the Holocaust, which are also known as literature of witness, encompass many works that are a response by their authors to their wartime experiences (the oeuvres of authors including Primo Levi, Elie Wiesel, Henryk Grynberg, Bogdan Wojdowski and Adolf Rudnicki). Although the dividing line

between the narrative of the novel and autobiographical prose is hard to establish with any clarity and the boundaries between fiction and non-fiction are often fluid, the works of the authors mentioned above should be considered *belles lettres* in view of the convention adopted in the writing. Yet more subtle distinctions should be applied to any examination of poetry, in which radical separation between the experiences of the author and those of the “writing self” is the accepted critical approach.

In summary, *belles lettres* may be used as a source for Holocaust research only subject to certain extensive reservations. Of key significance is the question posed by the scholar of the source: whether the element of interest are events, the “story” (which cannot be verified solely on the basis of a literary text), or whether the work of literature is treated as a reflection of certain processes from the sphere of the consciousness (this latter approach permits the recognition of works by many authors as a fundamental source for Holocaust research).⁶⁸⁷

The foremost collections of texts in the categories referred to in this chapter are held in AŻIH and in the manuscript collections of the Biblioteka Narodowa (BN, National Library). There are extremely valuable collections of memoirs and eye-witness testimonies in the archives of museums of martyrdom (as mentioned in Part I of this *Guide*), and in addition, detailed archive searches would be expedient in the archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), Muzeum Literatury (the Museum of Literature) in Warsaw, the manuscripts sections of all major libraries and museums, the archive of the Ossolineum Foundation in Wrocław, and any and all other archives, museums and libraries with collections of legacies and papers or manuscripts. Outside Poland, the most valuable collections of directly Holocaust-related original diaries, memoirs and eye-witness testimonies are to be found in the archive of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and in other archives and collections in Israel (see Part I of this *Guide*).

There is a remarkable collection of some 6,500 letters and postcards from the war years in the Massuah Institute in Israel. Naturally, much correspondence is still in the hands of the private individuals to whom it was addressed. One of the irrational “phenomena” of the Holocaust that is

⁶⁸⁷ For more on the subject of the relations between the literary work and the historical source, see *Dzieło literackie jako źródło historyczne*, ed. Z. Stefanowska and J. Sławiński, Warszawa 1978; Z. Wojtkowiak, *Nauki pomocnicze historii najnowszej. Źródłoznawstwo. Źródła narracyjne*, Part I. *Pamiętnik, tekst literacki*, Poznań 2001; *Stosowność i forma. Jak opowiadać o Zagładzie?*, ed. M. Głowiński, K. Chmielewska, K. Makaruk, A. Molisak, T. Żukowski.

incomprehensible to us is the fact that the ghettos had a functioning system of telephone communication and mail, often right up until the final day, until the liquidation of the ghettos. That was certainly the case in Warsaw, Łódź and several other cities. It was also possible to correspond with people incarcerated in labour camps or concentration camps. Whether this was a deliberate camouflage on the part of the occupying Nazi order or an oversight or ignoring of this mode of communication between people condemned to victimhood in the Holocaust and the rest of the world, we do not know. Neither do we know why people condemned to death were nevertheless allowed to conduct correspondence and maintain contacts with the outside world (under the eye of the censor, of course).⁶⁸⁸ Correspondence is a unique and very subjective source, to date relatively rarely processed, used or published.⁶⁸⁹ Among the exceptions to this rule are the letters collected in the Ringelblum Archive and released in print by Ruta Sakowska, who furnished them with detailed back matter, writing in her preface that “in their expression they are possibly the most dramatic documents in ARG”.⁶⁹⁰ All the museums of martyrdom have large collections of letters from the camps, many of them sent by prisoners on special forms. Characteristic of many of them (in particular those sent from KL Auschwitz, where many visual artists were imprisoned) was decoration in the form of drawings or coloured inscriptions, as an expression of the unique creativity of camp prisoners. There is correspondence never sent by the ghetto postal system to relatives and friends in the GG, the German Reich and other countries, including some in America and Asia, in the collection PSŻ w Łodzi, under the call numbers 2316-2325. USHMM in Washington, D.C. also holds very interesting collections of private letters donated by family members now living in the USA. Recently, a collection of letters written and sent from ghettos, concentration camps and other places was also published in Israel.⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. A. Piwowarczyk, “Poczta getta łódzkiego”, [in:] *50-lecie ruchu filatelistycznego w Łodzi*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 110-137; R. Sakowska, “Łączność pocztowa getta warszawskiego”, *BŻIH*, no. 1-2 (45-46), I-VI 1963, pp. 94-109; B. Engelking, J. Leociak, *Getto warszawskie*, op. cit., pp. 356-369.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. *Adresat nieznan*, compiled by Ewa Koźmńska-Frejłak, Warszawa 2009: letters from members of the family of Jakub (Janek) Gelbart, sent to him from the Warsaw ghetto between May 1940 and 21 July 1942; W. Lubelska, *Listy z getta*, Warszawa 2000; Hanka (Hana) Goldszajd, *Listy z getta. Letters from the Ghetto*, Wydawnictwo Charaktery, Kielce 2007.

⁶⁹⁰ *Listy o Zagładzie. Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, vol. 1, (compiled by) R. Sakowska, Warszawa 1997, p. XXIV; see M. Urynowicz, “Listy o Zagładzie. Kryptoinformacja”, *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, no. 1 (1), 2002, pp. 121-131.

⁶⁹¹ *Last Letters from the Shoah: Testimonies from 1945*, ed. Z. Bacharach, Yad Vashem, Devora Publishing, Jerusalem 2004 [Hebrew version: *Ele dvaray baakharonim – mikhtavim akharonim min hashoa*, ed. Z. Bacharach, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2002].

There are two collections in AŻIH to which we wish to draw particular attention: *Relacje*⁶⁹² (no. 301) and *Pamiętniki*⁶⁹³ (no. 302). *Relacje* contains about 7,000 archival units and was an open collection until 2011. The core of the collection are several thousand eye-witness testimonies gathered shortly after the war by employees of the Jewish Historical Commission (ŻKH) affiliated to the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland (CKŻP).⁶⁹⁴ Work was begun as early as in August 1944 in Lublin, and before long other historical commissions also began to operate in other cities: Białystok, Łódź, Krakow, Katowice, Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Włocławek, Toruń, Częstochowa, Kielce, Kutno, Radom, Przemyśl, Szczecin, Sosnowiec, Dzierżoniów, Wałbrzych and Wrocław.⁶⁹⁵

When the Central Jewish Historical Commission (CŻKH) was relocated to Łódź in the spring of 1945, a set of instructions designed to make the gathering and ordering of the materials easier was drawn up.⁶⁹⁶ The eye-witness testimonies in the ŻIH collections are an immensely important, universal and irreplaceable source used in almost all works and studies on the Holocaust; they have also been used as evidentiary material in war crimes trials. Among the testimonies (statements) in this collection are some by Poles who aided Jews and others who witnessed their fates. A representative selection of 107 texts of testimonies from 71 localities across the Polish lands occupied by the Third Reich was published some years ago by Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska.⁶⁹⁷ The other record group in AŻIH that must not be forgotten is *Pamiętniki* (RG 302, Memoirs). This material, too, was first gathered by employees of the ŻKH. At present the collection *Pamiętniki* numbers 339 items. Some of these texts have been published and are widely known, while others have remained manuscripts. The majority of journals (and testimonies) were written in Polish and Yiddish. The collection includes such important documents of the age as the diary of Dawid Sierakowiak from the Łódź ghetto, that of Chaim Aron Kaplan from the Warsaw ghetto, and the account of Calel Perechodnik from Otwock. There are also two precious manuscripts by Emanuel Ringelblum: “*Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej. Uwagi i spostrzeżenia*” (Polish-Jewish

⁶⁹² *Relacje z czasów Zagłady. Inwentarz. Archiwum ŻIH-INB, zespół 301*, compiled by M. Józwik, T. Mahorowska, A. Umińska, M. Czajka, vol. I-VII, Warszawa 1998-2011. This finding aid is in both Polish and English.

⁶⁹³ M. Czajka, *Inwentarz zbioru pamiętników. Archiwum ŻIH, zespół 302*, Warszawa 2007.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna przy CKŻP 1944-1947, Archiwum ŻIH, RG 303/XX.

⁶⁹⁵ AŻIH, RG CŻKH, 303/XX.

⁶⁹⁶ Cf. the bibliography of CŻKH publications at the end of this *Guide*.

⁶⁹⁷ *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939-1945. Relacje świadków*, selected and compiled by M. Grynberg and M. Kotowska, Warszawa 2003.

relations during WWII. Remarks and observations)⁶⁹⁸ and a collection of biographical sketches about Jewish activists⁶⁹⁹. The new inventory to this collection (in Polish and English) by Michał Czajka includes, in addition to an archival description of each diary, also a summary of its contents, information on the author, and a bibliography of publications.⁷⁰⁰ It has two indexes – an index of authors and a geographical index. Over sixty of the diaries in this collection relate to the Warsaw ghetto. An interesting and representative selection of excerpts from the diaries held by ŻIH has been published by Michał Grynberg.⁷⁰¹ Aside from the two collections above, AŻIH also has diaries and eye-witness testimonies in the Ringelblum Archive. These are very important texts, written “there and then”.

There are also texts that should not be ignored in locations beyond Poland. Among the papers of the Ministry of Information and Documentation of the Polish Government-in-Exile (1939-1945)⁷⁰² is a remarkable collection known as the “Palestine protocols” – these are testimonies and accounts of Jews deported deep into the USSR from various towns and villages, who in the spring of 1943 found themselves in the Middle East with Anders’ Army as it was leaving Russia. Among these testimonies, most of which were made orally and transcribed by recording clerks, are chilling testimonies by children. These texts cover both the fates of the Jews under the German occupation before they managed to flee east, and the conditions in which they survived in the distant territories of Siberia, in the Archangelsk and Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg) oblasts. These testimonies, 170 texts in all, have been published by Feliks Tych and Maciej Siekierski, the curator of the East European collections at the Hoover Institution Archives (HIA).⁷⁰³ The last collection to be profiled here is that of manuscripts in the Polish National Library (BN) in Warsaw.⁷⁰⁴ Unlike the two ŻIH collections, the manuscripts in the BN are for the most part texts written by Poles in Polish about the Polish world of their authors. The world of their Jewish neighbours is sketched in the background to or on the

⁶⁹⁸ AŻIH, call no. 302/337, cf. E. Ringelblum, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej. Uwagi i spostrzeżenia*, Warszawa 1988; E. Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish relations during the second World War*, Evanston 1992.

⁶⁹⁹ AŻIH, call no. 302/338, cf. E. Ringelblum, “Sylwetki”, [in:] *Kronika getta warszawskiego wrzesień 1939 – styczeń 1943*, Warszawa 1983.

⁷⁰⁰ Michał Czajka, *Inwentarz zbioru pamiętników (Archiwum ŻIH, zespół 302). Memoirs Collection Catalogue (Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 302)*, Warsaw 2007.

⁷⁰¹ *Pamiętniki z getta warszawskiego. Fragmenty i regesty*, compiled by M. Grynberg, Warszawa 1988.

⁷⁰² HIA, Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Rządu Polskiego na Uchodźstwie, boxes 46, 59, 123 and 124. Materials also accessible on microfilm at the AAN.

⁷⁰³ M. Siekierski, F. Tych, *Widziałem anioła śmierci. Losy deportowanych Żydów polskich w ZSRR w latach II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 2006.

⁷⁰⁴ *Pamiętniki i relacje w zbiorach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Narodowej*, compiled by D. Kamolowa with T. Sieniatycka, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1998.

margins of the main subjects being related. For some of these authors the extermination of the Polish Jews was one of the major strands of their wartime memories, while by others it was barely noticed, passed over in silence, or even desirable, as in the recently published war diaries of Franciszek Wyszyński, an author of National Democratic convictions.⁷⁰⁵ These texts are a crucial source for research into Polish-Jewish relations during the occupation; of exceptional significance, for instance, is the hitherto unpublished “Dziennik z lat 1939-1944” (Diary of the years 1939-1944) of Aurelia Wyleżyńska⁷⁰⁶ and Zygmunt Klukowski respectively⁷⁰⁷, extensive excerpts of which focus on the extermination of the Jews in Szczepieszyn and the reactions of Polish society to that event.⁷⁰⁸ There are a number of very important wartime diaries held in the AAN, among them a text by Ludwik Landau.⁷⁰⁹

Scholars who use first-person documentary literature will surely appreciate the assistance offered by bibliographic publications such as that by Józef Skrzypek⁷¹⁰, as well as *Centralny katalog relacji i wspomnień z lat 1939-1945* compiled by IH PAN⁷¹¹. As the authors of the catalogue mention in the preface, the number of memoirs, eye-witness testimonies and other first-person documents from this period held in various institutions and organizations is in all certainty in excess of 20,000. The IH PAN catalogue lists around 13,000⁷¹²; it does not include the results of the dozens of chronicle competitions calling for the submission of memoirs which were announced in the years 1945-1970. The geographical index of this publication features 2,700 entries and 240 names of organizations and

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. F. Tych, “Świadkowie Shoah. Zagłada Żydów w polskich pamiętnikach i wspomnieniach”, [in:] idem, *Długi cień zagłady. Szkice historyczne*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 9-54, H. Kirchner, “Holocaust w dziennikach Zofii Nalkowskiej i Marii Dąbrowskiej”, [in:] *Literatura polska wobec zagłady*, collective work, ed. A. Brodzka-Wald, D. Krawczyńska and J. Leociak, Warszawa 2000, pp. 105-122; F. Wyszyński, *Dzienniki z lat 1941-1944*, compiled by J. Grabowski and Z.R. Grabowski, Warszawa 2007.

⁷⁰⁶ In the Polish National Library (BN) in Warsaw, collection of manuscripts, IV.6456, III.10786, III.10787.

⁷⁰⁷ The original of this diary is held in the Library of the Catholic University of Lublin.

⁷⁰⁸ Z. Klukowski, *Zamojszczyzna 1918-1958*, vol. 1-2, Warszawa 2007; Z. Klukowski, *Diary from the years of occupation, 1939-44*, trans. from the Polish by George Klukowski, ed. Andrew Klukowski and Helen Klukowski May, Urbana 1993; cf. D. Libionka, “Polacy wobec eksterminacji Żydów. Kilka uwag na marginesie czytania źródeł”, [in:] *Wojna, doświadczenie i zapis. Nowe źródła, problemy, metody badawcze*, ed. S. Buryła, P. Rodak, Kraków 2006, pp. 73-90.

⁷⁰⁹ L. Landau, *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, compiled by Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski, vol. 1-3, Warszawa 1962.

⁷¹⁰ J. Skrzypek, *Bibliografia pamiętników polskich do 1964 roku*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1976. This publication lists both works published as autonomous items and excerpts of diaries and journals printed in periodicals.

⁷¹¹ *Centralny katalog relacji i wspomnień z lat 1939-1945. Indeksy nazwisk i pseudonimów, nazw geograficznych, organizacji konspiracyjnych*, compiled by E. Duraczyński and S. Lewandowska, IH PAN, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1972.

⁷¹² It covers the collections amassed by ŻIH, the KC PZPR Zakład Historii Partii (Department for Polish United Workers' Party History), the Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe (ZSL, United People's Party) Zakład Historii Ruchu Ludowego (Department for the History of the Popular Movement), the Okręgowe Komisje Historyczne ZBoWiD (Area Historical Commissions of the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy) in Katowice, Gdańsk, Koszalin and Lublin, and the Polish History Department at IH PAN.

institutions (including virtually all the underground organizations operating during the war). “This initiative was born out of a tangible need for better organization of the historian’s research environment and in connection with the persistent debate on the value of depositions as a historical source. These disputes relate to many aspects, one of the foremost among which is the question of whether the method employed for fpdl research to establish attitudes and opinions is equally suitable for establishing real behaviours. Some sociologists and the majority of historians, while recognizing the shortcomings of the method, nevertheless believe that first-person documents (diaries, memoirs, survey questionnaires) can supply information on both objective societal facts and subjective attitudes. Regardless of the further discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of the methods for research into first-person documents, however, the significance of these in the study of various communities and phenomena is indisputable.”⁷¹³

A special place in Holocaust literature in the Polish milieu is the publication *Literatura polska wobec Zagłady (1939-1968)*, edited by Sławomir Buryła, Dorota Krawczyńska and Jacek Leociak (Warszawa 2012). This is a monographic synthesis of various different forms of record of the experience that was the Holocaust set against a broad historical and anthropological context. The authors profile literary and documentary testimony of the Holocaust created both “there and then” [*hic et nunc*], i.e. in the years 1939-1945, and *post factum* (up to 1968). The book addresses both theoretical issues connected with the poetics of texts on the Holocaust (including the key problem of inexpressibility) and questions of genre (including a typology of fpdl and the characteristics of Socialist Realist prose), and also offers numerous interpretative angles on both specific works on the Holocaust and entire collections (such as the Ringelblum Archive). The common perspective of these examinations of fpdl, poetry and *belles lettres* on the Holocaust is their interpretation as literature of testimony that is an expression of the direct experience of their authors, their scream about the Holocaust. The final section of the book is a supplementary chapter on the public debate surrounding the Holocaust, and the fullest Holocaust bibliography in Polish literature, ordered by genre: *belles lettres* – fpdl – press.

Marta Janczewska and Alina Skibińska

⁷¹³ Ibidem, p. 7.

10. Oral History

Recounting past times, experiences and in particular major, extraordinary or tragic events (of which war is certainly one) is as old as human history. Passing down knowledge from generation to generation, by word of mouth, i.e. oral history, began well before the era of the written word, for obvious reasons, but as a fundamental form of interpersonal communication and transfer of information will, for equally obvious reasons, never disappear, just as human speech and conversation will never disappear. In accordance with the definition assumed here, oral history is “a self-conscious, disciplined conversation between two people about some aspect of the [experienced] past considered by them to be of historical significance and intentionally registered for the record. Although the conversation takes the form of an interview (...) oral history is, at its heart, a dialogue. The interviewer’s questions, derived from a particular frame of reference or historical interest, elicit certain responses from the narrator, derived from that person’s frame of reference, that person’s sense of what is important or what he or she thinks is important to tell the interviewer.”⁷¹⁴ It is a dynamic interaction. Sometimes audio recordings constitute the fundamental source material for historians, because the texts transcribed from tapes and subject to the author’s selection and editing are the only narrative material available to work with. In some cases, audio recordings constitute the fundamental source material for historians, because the texts transcribed from tapes and subject to the author’s selection and editing are the only narrative material available to work with⁷¹⁵, others are scientific (chiefly sociological and anthropological) studies in which oral history is an equal and very important source base.⁷¹⁶ It is also worth mentioning here the project “Europa według Auschwitz” (Europe according to Auschwitz) run by Laboratorium Reportażu (Reportage Laboratory) at the University of Warsaw’s Department of Journalism. “Using an editing technique developed by our laboratory, we manage to combine the interviews of several witnesses into homogeneous reportage

⁷¹⁴ L. Shopes, *Making sense of oral history*, text accessible on the Internet at:

<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/oral.pdf>, pp. 2-3 (date of access 5 June 2014).

⁷¹⁵ Cf. B. Engelking, *Na łące popiołów... Ocaleni z Holocaustu*, Warszawa 1993; A. Grupińska, *Ciągle po kole. Rozmowy z żołnierzami getta warszawskiego*, Wołowiec 2013; A. Grupińska, *12 opowieści żydowskich*, Wołowiec 2013; M. Grynberg, *Ocaleni z XX wieku. Po nas nikt już nie opowie, najwyżej ktoś przeczyta...*, Warszawa 2012; M. Grynberg, *Oskarżam Auschwitz. Opowieści rodzinne*, Wołowiec 2014.

⁷¹⁶ Cf. A. Cała, *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*, Warszawa 1992; B. Engelking, *Zagłada i pamięć*, Warszawa 2001; M. Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość. Polscy Żydzi ocaleni „na aryjskich papierach”. Analiza doświadczenia biograficznego*, Warszawa 2004; K. Kazimierska, *Doświadczenia wojenne Polaków a kształtowanie tożsamości etnicznej. Analiza narracji kresowych*, Warszawa 1999; A. Rokuszewska-Pawełek, *Chaos i przymus. Trajektorie wojenne Polaków – analiza biograficzna*, Łódź 2002; *Ocaleni z Mauthausen. Relacje polskich więźniów obozów nazistowskich systemu Mauthausen-Gusen*, ed. Katarzyna Madoń-Mitzner, Warszawa 2010; German edition: *Errettet aus Mauthausen : Berichte ehemaliger Häftlinge des NS-Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen-Gusen*, bearb. von Katarzyna Madoń-Mitzner, Warszawa 2010.

texts talking about events from the history of the camp, famous figures, and recurring issues, without the use of commentary.”⁷¹⁷ For more information see:

http://www.reporter.edu.pl/europa_wg_auschwitz.

Oral history as recorded on tape has one fundamental objective that is absent from depositions recorded solely in writing: to hear and see the narrator as they are talking and retelling. It is all about recording the wealth of non-verbal information they convey: their body language, movements, pronunciation, accent, the tone and timbre of their voice, emotions, moments of silence, hesitations, and tensions. In oral history, body language is as significant as verbal language.⁷¹⁸ These are qualities that we will never have from an archival document or written testimony.

In oral history both the story itself and the person telling it are important – both these factors are received, analysed and evaluated. The point is to record individual, subjective history as experienced by that particular person. That person is the main character in their story. In the course of the narrative interview a process of retrieval from memory of images from the past and attribution to them of contemporary meanings is enacted. The story told is not a story of facts, but of remembering facts and understanding them today. Giving an interview is consenting to giving access to what are in part intimate, private areas of one’s life, both literally and symbolically, for in talking about our feelings and expressing them, we draw closer to our listeners and allow them to come closer to us. This produces a remarkable emotional bond between the interviewee and the listener, which creates a unique, incomparable situation in which past events are retrieved from memory. James E. Young draws attention to some very interesting linguistic aspects of interviews with survivors recorded on tape: “After the war, many survivors decided to speak and tell their own stories in English, which they consider neutral, innocent and – and this sounds ironic – devoid of memory. Although they spoke Yiddish, Polish or German at the time of the events, they often found

⁷¹⁷ Excerpt from a letter from Paweł Sawicki, a project participant, to the author of this *Guide*. To date, the following strands have been created, using excerpts from many different interviews previously recorded onto video: Pierwszy transport więźniów do obozu (The first transport of prisoners to the camp), “Arbeit macht frei”, Ernest Krankemann, Najdłuższy apel (The longest roll-call), Otto Küssel, Boks (Boxing), Gerhard Palitzsch, O. [Fr] Maksymilian Kolbe, Szpilowanie (Phenol infections to the heart), Cyklon B. (Zyklon B), Orkiestra (The orchestra), Rudolf Höss, Bunt w karnej kompanii (Revolt in the penal company), Lagermuseum, Architekci (Architects), Maria Mandel, Sonderkommando, Zigeunerlager, Transporty węgierskie (The Hungarian transports), Serenata in Messico, Piłka nożna (Football), Ucieczka Cyli Cybulskiej i Jerzego Bieleckiego (The escape of Cyla Cybulska and Jerzy Bielecki), Wigilie (Christmas Eves), Marsze śmierci (The death marches), Wyzwolenie (Liberation), Po wojnie (After the war).

⁷¹⁸ Cf. A. Skibińska, “Wywiady z mieszkańcami Chełmna przeprowadzone przez The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum”, [in:] *Ośrodek zgłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem w świetle najnowszych badań. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, Konin 2004, pp. 44-56.

that English served both as an intermediary between them and the experience, and as a vehicle for describing it. In film and video testimonies this simultaneous interpretation of events from memory into language and from one language into another recorded in front of the camera is striking in a way that literature never can be. The text of the video comprises the visual record of this metamorphosis of memory into language, the search for the right words, and the simultaneous interpretation of the events in the search for the language.”⁷¹⁹ Thus a recording session may be evocative of a psychotherapy session, during which successive deposits of memory are uncovered, layer after layer, and new meanings are discovered that are on occasion unexpected either by the narrator or by the interviewer.

The method most widely used is the biographical method (equivalent to the biographical method and in-depth interview in sociology), which allows the interviewee to speak freely about their own life. The oral history method is a means by which the words of “ordinary people”, who would otherwise have left no testimony to their experiences, may be recorded. People unaccustomed to writing down or otherwise documenting their experiences and feelings, or who consider them insignificant, have to be prompted to talk, drawn out, so to speak. This, in turn, permits a reconstruction of their life and the daily lives of people in the background in the context of major historical events.

In parallel with the development of interest in oral history techniques and the benefits inherent in this source of knowledge about the past, since the 1960s university centres have opened and evolved that specialize in recording, archiving and releasing interviews, above all in the US. Some of these include the Yale University Library Fortunoff Video Library for Holocaust Testimonies, and the University of California and Columbia University video archives.

It is two non-university projects that have produced the largest numbers of interviews, however; the Shoah Visual History Foundation (with over 50,000 testimonies by Holocaust survivors), and USHMM in Washington, D.C. “Oral history collections in Western Europe are far more modest. Two important centres are the University of Essex in Britain and the archive Deutsches Gedächtnis in Lüdenscheid in Germany.”⁷²⁰ And of course we must not fail to mention the institutions in Israel,

⁷¹⁹ J.E. Young, “Holokaust w świadectwach filmowych i w świadectwach wideo. Dokumentowanie świadka”, *Literatura na Świecie*, 2004, no. 1-2 (390-391), p. 250.

⁷²⁰ P. Filipkowski, *Historia mówiona i wojna*, 2005, pp. 9:
http://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/dlibra/Content/9618/Historia_mowiona_i_wojna.pdf.

above all Yad Vashem and the Oral History Division at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which were profiled in Part I of this *Guide*.

For the purposes of Holocaust research, the potential interviewees sought are (were): Jewish Holocaust survivors; people who helped, rescued and liberated; members of the underground and partisan units; incidental eye-witnesses; perpetrators and executors; collaborators; employees of various institutions; and members of organizations. The primary rule is to seek out people who have something to tell and can do so; people who are incapable of expressing their feelings or describing their experiences should not give interviews except in exceptional circumstances. These include people who are the only surviving witnesses to a very important event, or whose role in a particular event was so significant that recording an interview with them is interesting and worthwhile irrespective of their verbal skills or expression. Moreover, the oral interview is the only way of recording the testimonies of people who are illiterate.

The brief rules and guidelines outlined below were drawn up by the USHMM Department of Oral History. Those who work there have extensive experience in preparing and recording interviews on this subject. “Conducting an interview is not a science but an art”⁷²¹ – the witness should tell the story as she herself remembers it, from her own point of view, i.e. subjectively, and in the way she thinks and feels. The interview is supplementary to our knowledge obtained from archival and written documentation, and as such does not replace the former in any way. It is an absolutely subjective individual statement. It is important to be inquisitive and ask questions in such a way as to stimulate the story, which should flow fluently. There is no one accepted technique for conducting interviews; any technique is good in as far as it proves effective and produces the desired result. It is important to know that the same question asked of the same person by different interviewers and in different circumstances may elicit different answers, which in no way means that they are untrue. The basic rules that must always be adhered to are the following:

– Do not argue with the interviewee, even if she makes obvious mistakes; it is not the job of the interviewer to correct them – he must remain in the shadow, and he must absolutely not exploit the situation to manifest his knowledge.

⁷²¹ J. Ringelheim, A. Donahue, A. Rubin, *Oral History Interview Guidelines*. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Department of Oral History, Washington 1998. Cf. *Historia mówiona. Elementarz*, ed. Marta Kurkowska-Budzan, Warszawa 2008.

- The interview is not intended to be an ordinary conversation, but active reception of the story, which does not rule out asking questions, of course; true listening means hearing exactly what is said, and not one's own intentions, interpretations or expectations.
- Every interview should include basic, vital information such as names, dates, place names, and historical context.
- The interviewer is a guide, not a director, and as such should help the witness to recall, but may not manipulate her memory or knowledge with suggestions or hints.
- The witness must be permitted the comfort of silence.
- Given the subject matter of the interviews, it is also important to identify one's own fears and emotions, because we have a tendency to avoid them, and thus to avoid listening to the interviewee's words; we should be prepared to hear everything and ask every question in the simplest, most direct form possible. If the interviewer reacts too emotionally, e.g. by crying, the interviewee will attempt to protect him from such reactions.
- The idea is to try and feel one's way into the narrator's role, and to listen as though nothing else existed; the interviewer must also attempt to understand the narrator – this is the art of empathetic, but attentive, scrupulous and critical listening.

It is a good idea to use a range of thematic areas to guide the interview, such as education, skills acquired that were later useful in surviving, family, religion, politics, and gender-related issues. The interview should include details about day-to-day life, feelings, family members, friends, and colleagues: what they knew, saw, heard, and felt, and how their senses functioned. Prior to the interview proper, which will be recorded on tape, a preliminary interview should be conducted, which is vital in order to decide whether a particular candidate really is suitable for an audio interview recording:

- At this stage all the basic information should be gathered and questions asked that will not be asked again during the interview proper.
- A list of questions should be prepared if plans are to conduct interviews with a larger group of people.
- The questions from the questionnaire should be asked with tact and delicacy; these are difficult subjects and people one does not know.
- The basic questions that must be asked are: given name (names) and surname (surnames), date and place of birth, and chronology of places lived in during the war.

- If the plans are to release the completed questionnaires to scholars, the informed, written consent of the interviewee must be obtained; contact information such as address and telephone number must of course not be released.
- During the preliminary interview it is important to grasp the chronology of events and experiences, and their localization; this will permit the appropriate prior research to be conducted and the right questions to be formulated for the interview proper.
- The most difficult aspect is to weight the questions astutely: not too many should be asked, and they should not be too detailed, though it is important to remember that too much information is always better than significant gaps.
- The preliminary interview should be conducted suitably ahead of the interview proper – at least a week, and ideally a few weeks beforehand, in order to avoid reactions such as: “As I said a week ago...”
- In evaluating a potential witness for an audio or video recording, it is important to take into consideration not only what she said but also how: the clarity of her words, the state of her memory, and her ability to verbalize and organize her story into a cohesive whole.
- A written summary should be edited and compiled directly after the interview is conducted; if this is not possible, we suggest that the preliminary interview should be recorded, not merely notes taken, but even then, the recording should not be treated as a substitute for a written summary.

A superb introduction to the history of gathering oral history materials on the extermination of the Jews, and the interpretation of these materials, is the article by Piotr Filipkowski, which should be studied by anyone using materials of this nature for their own research.⁷²² “The paper presents the development of oral history about the Holocaust from the first research projects undertaken immediately after the war to the modern, global initiatives of recording interviews with survivors, an archive providing thousands of such audiovisual testimonies. This development forms a part of the broader perspective of collective memory – especially in the US – about the Holocaust and the changes in the perception of survivor-witnesses and their testimonies. A special place within such memory was given to the historiography of the Holocaust – using several vivid examples, the author shows different approaches to these sources: from wary and even suspicious, to uncritically

⁷²² P. Filipkowski, “Pozagładowe historie mówione: nagrania, archiwa, sposoby lektury”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2013, vol. 9, pp. 86-115.

affirmative. The conclusion outlines other than purely historical possible interpretations of these sources”.⁷²³

In Poland, oral history projects covering World War II, and as such in part the extermination of the Jews, have been or are being conducted by the institutions and individuals in the bullet list below, and also by the Ośrodek Pogranicze (Borderlands Centre) in Sejny, Studio Historii Mówionej (Oral History Studio) at Radio Lublin, the EFKA Foundation in Krakow, the Warsaw Rising Museum, the State Museum at Majdanek (PMM) in Lublin, and the Stutthof State Museum in Sztutowo.

- Centropa (Central Europe Center for Research and Documentation) – this is an institution that conducted interviews in Poland⁷²⁴ in the years 2003-2006 under the umbrella title “Witness to a Jewish Century”. It is administered by the organization Jewish Heritage in Central and Eastern Europe, based in Vienna and Budapest. Centropa collaborators make audio recordings of fascinating extended interviews on the whole lives of people who identify with the Jewish tradition, religion and culture who still live in Europe. Recorded and subsequently transcribed, and then edited in accordance with the principles of oral history and ultimately translated into English, these interviews are accessible online at <http://centropa.org>. One of the main principles of this project is to record and publish on the internet the interviewee’s family photographs alongside the interview. In Poland, the project, run for several years by writer and journalist Anka Grupińska⁷²⁵, has now come to a close. In the course of its duration over eighty interviews were recorded, among them one with the late Michał Friedman, a pre-eminent translator of Yiddish literature and for many years the president of the ŻIH Association.

- The Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum (PMAB) in Oświęcim has amassed almost 1,300 audio tape recordings of a total duration of some 1,600 hours. PMAB cooperates with the radio station Polskie Radio Katowice. The PMAB collections include more than 700 documentary films incorporating some 1,300 statements by former prisoners, and 100 complete film recordings with an overall running time of more than 120 hours. The interviews are with former prisoners, and their subject is the history of KL Auschwitz and its sub-camps. There are dedicated inventory ledgers, subject

⁷²³ Ibid., Abstract [of the paper], p. 115.

⁷²⁴ Centropa runs similar projects in many countries on virtually every continent.

⁷²⁵ Extensive excerpts of a dozen of the interviews have been published by Grupińska in book form: A. Grupińska, *12 żydowskich opowieści*, Wołowiec 2013.

indexes and indexes of personal names for the audio-video collections. The oldest interview recordings made by the museum date from 1959. There are also copies of interviews with former prisoners conducted by USHMM, the Imperial War Museum, the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, Holocaust Museum Houston, TV Katowice, and other institutions.

- PMM in Lublin records interviews with former prisoners on audio tape (in all, it has some 415 recordings), and now also on video (around 100). Janina Kielboń⁷²⁶, for many years the head of the PMM archive, reports that the testimonies were recorded in many areas from which camp prisoners came: Zamość and the area, Warsaw, Krakow, Gdańsk, Szczecin, Wrocław, Białystok and Lublin, as well as present-day Belarus. The recordings are used in documentary films and programmes about the camp.

- Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica-Walbrzych has been recording interviews since 1984. To date some 275 video and 206 audio recordings have been made (totalling around 150 hours). These are mostly interviews with former prisoners of KL Gross-Rosen and its sub-camps in the regions of Lower Silesia, the Sudeten Mountains, Moravia, Lusatia and Saxony. The museum keeps an alphabetical catalogue of the people it has interviewed.

- Archiwum Historii Mówionej (the Oral History Archive), founded in 2004 at the KARTA Centre, gathers oral history testimonies about the twentieth century. It ran a Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project in which 164 testimonies were recorded. Thirty interviews with former female prisoners of camps including Ravensbrück and Auschwitz were recorded for another project, “Świadectwa kobiet – kobiety wobec totalitaryzmu” (Women’s testimonies – women and totalitarianism). Most of these interviews are based on the biographical narrative interview method. As early as in 1987 the KARTA Centre launched the first project in Poland specifically intended to record on tape interviews about World War II. It was a project designed to document the fates of the Poles in the East, in the camps, gulags, prisons and in exile, and was part of a broader project, Archiwum Wschodnie (the Eastern Archive). Around 1,200 audio recordings were made, which are accessible at the Dom Spotkań z Historią (History Meeting House) in Warsaw.

⁷²⁶J. Kielboń, “Warsztat naukowy Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku”, *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1995, vol. XVI, p. 81.

- Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich (The Museum of the History of Polish Jews) runs a project developed by Anka Grupińska entitled “Zapisywanie świata żydowskiego w Polsce” (Recording the Jewish world in Poland). It focuses on three periods in the lives of the interviewees: before the war, the war, and after the war. Beyond a chronological account of life in these three different historical periods, the other major theme of these interviews are facts and reflections on issues of identity, concealing Jewishness in the Polish People’s Republic, and the revival of the cultural and religious life of Poland’s Jews. Grupińska continues to seek out interesting interview candidates throughout Poland. To date around 30 interviews have been recorded.

- Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN (Grodzka Gate, No Name Theatre) in Lublin has been recording oral history interviews since 1998; over the years of its work it has amassed and edited more than 150 testimonies. Their main subject is prewar Lublin, and they last around an hour on average. Some of them may be found on the website <http://www.tnn.lublin.pl>. Many of the interviews make direct reference to the war years and the history of the camp at Majdanek. The interviews gathered by Brama Grodzka are used in documentary films, educational exhibitions and radio programmes.

- In the mid-1990s the Department of Sociology of Culture at the Institute of Sociology, University of Łódź, ran a project called “Biografia a tożsamość narodowa” (Biography and national identity).⁷²⁷ This involved the recording of several dozen interviews on the subject of experiences of the occupation in central Poland and in the East.

- The project “Witnesses, Collaborators, and Perpetrators” (recording interviews with non-Jewish witnesses and perpetrators of the Holocaust) was launched in Poland in 1996 by USHMM.⁷²⁸ It takes in other victims of Nazi repressions, people who helped and rescued them, and collaborators and direct perpetrators of crimes – the latter more in intent than in practice, as no such individuals have been found who agreed to give an interview. The project takes place in several European countries beside Poland.⁷²⁹ Interviews with Holocaust survivors are also, naturally, made in the US and Israel. This project is a video project; in recent years its preliminary interviews have also been recorded (as digital audio material), and some materials run to several hours. Most of these focus on witnesses

⁷²⁷ *Biografia a tożsamość narodowa*, ed. M. Czyżewska, A. Piotrowski, A. Rokuszewska-Pawełek, Łódź 1997.

⁷²⁸ This project is sponsored by Jeff and Toby Herr.

⁷²⁹ The project “Witnesses, Collaborators, and Perpetrators” is run also in Estonia, France, Germany, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. In addition, USHMM also records interview for its Oral History section in other European countries: Greece, Macedonia, the Czech Republic, the former Yugoslavia, and outside Europe also in Israel.

living in the provinces. Over the past ten years, some 300 interviews have been made in Poland, and the project is now completed; the interviews are available online. The USHMM Oral History Section not only pursues its own projects, but also archives copies of interviews recorded by other institutions. At present its holdings run into the thousands. All these materials are being successively processed; the texts are transcribed onto paper, and the final stage is their translation into English. Excerpts of some interviews are accessible on the museum's website; others have been used in its permanent exhibition, and all the tapes are accessible to scholars on site in Washington.

- Recording of interviews on film is very often an integral part of the production process of documentary films, and as such post-production materials not destroyed by the producer should be taken into consideration as very valuable material, especially after some time has elapsed. One example of this is the approximately 350 hours of recordings made over eleven years by Claude Lanzmann for his film *Shoah*, which lasts nine and a half hours.⁷³⁰ Today these recordings, only a few percent of which were actually used by the director in his film, are held in the collections of USHMM. Among those whom Lanzmann interviewed are two survivors of Chelmno nad Nerem (Szymon Srebrnik and Michał Podchlebnik), a Treblinka survivor (Abraham Bomba), insurgents from the Warsaw ghetto (Symcha Rotem, real name Kazik Ratajzer, and Icchak Cukierman), peasants from the areas around Treblinka, Malkinia, Chelmno, Oświęcim, Belżec, Grabów, Włodawa, etc., and Polish underground courier Jan Karski, with whom an interview was recorded in Washington, D.C.

- USC Shoah Foundation. The Institute for Visual History and Education (at University of Southern California) – an American foundation established by film director Steven Spielberg. In the years 1994-1999 around 53,000 interviews were recorded in 61 countries, in 39 languages, approximately 1,500 of them in Poland. Over ninety per cent (48,362) were interviews with Jewish Holocaust survivors; the remainder were Roma, camp prisoners of various other nationalities, forced labourers, postwar witnesses in war crimes trials, soldiers who had liberated the camps, and others. The Shoah Foundation moved to its permanent home at the University of Southern California in January 2006. The catalogue of the interviews in the collection is accessible online (<http://vhaonline.usc.edu/login.aspx>), as is further information on the project, at: <http://sfi.usc.edu>.

⁷³⁰ A. Bikont, "Reżyser Claude Lanzmann o swoim filmie „Shoah”, o Zagładzie, o polskim antysemityzmie, o sobie samym", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 4 Oct. 1997.

On the worldwide scale, access to the interviews is possible in 50 institutions in 12 countries; in Poland in Warsaw, in the History Meeting House and at the Museum of the History of Polish Jews.

- The Polish Righteous – Recalling Forgotten History. A project run by the Museum of the History of Polish Jews documenting rescue stories and presenting them on a bilingual website (www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl; www.righteous.org.pl). This collection of stories comprises several hundred texts, accompanied by photographs, documents and excerpts of recorded interviews. The website also features educational materials such as lesson plans, a virtual exhibition and albums about the Righteous.⁷³¹

⁷³¹ Information sourced from the MHŻP webpage: <http://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/cms/polish-righteous/>.

11. Memorial books

The books that are the subject of this chapter are publications usually written in the original in Yiddish and/or Hebrew.⁷³² They are usually called *sefer* (Heb. “book”), *sefer zikaron* (Heb. “book of memory”) or *bukh* (Yid. “book”). The generic name for these works, known in English as “memorial books” (cf. also Ger. “Memorbuch”), is taken from the name sometimes attributed to them in Yiddish, *izkor-bukh* (from Heb. *yizkor*), which means “may [the Lord] remember [your soul]”. These are the first words of the prayer for the dead and murdered. The term *izkor-bukh* thus means literally “book of prayers for the dead” and is a symbolic form of remembrance of the victims of the Holocaust, a memorial erected by those who survived to those who perished. Another name sometimes used to denote these books is *pinkas*⁷³³ (chronicle).⁷³⁴ On occasion the words *khurban*, *umkum* or *shoah* feature in the title, meaning catastrophe, extermination or destruction. Memorial books are the product of the work and efforts of several hundred Jewish organizations known from the Yiddish as *landsmanshaftn*. The history of the *landsmanshaftn* is connected to the nineteenth-century wave of Jewish emigration from Central and Eastern Europe (including the Polish lands) to the USA, Latin America and Palestine. At first the *landsmanshaftn* were akin to fraternities; they were communities of people from the same towns gathering for prayer in the same synagogue. In the 1880s the *landsmanshaftn* evolved into secular organizations. A major revival in their activities came after the end of World War II, when groups of Jewish Holocaust survivors from Europe began to arrive. This presented the *landsmanshaftn* with new challenges: first they had to provide the survivors with care and lift their spirits, and later they set about commemorating their native towns that had been destroyed and their residents murdered. They organized memorial evenings, built centres to host meetings of the *landsmanshaftn* (“houses” named for the various towns), built symbolic *matzevot* in their local Jewish cemeteries (both outside Poland and in the towns from

⁷³² The main language of the memorial books is Hebrew, followed by Yiddish; bilingual editions are often also published, or versions with a mixture of languages, e.g. with certain parts in English. A minority of them are written in English, French, German and Spanish. A few have been translated into Polish – the books from Bilgoraj, Chorzele, Ostrołęka, Sierpc and Szczekociny. Most of the textual content of the memorial books is accessible online (as scans) on the New York Public Library website at http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/jws/yizkorbooks_intro.cfm.

⁷³³ The word *pinkas* originally meant “book of the kehile”, and was the word used to denote a community’s records, which included notes on its history and minutes of the elders’ gatherings; hence the name *pinkas ha-kehila* (community book).

⁷³⁴ Cf. S. Bojczuk, “„Księgi Pamięci” – geneza i charakterystyka”, *Scriptores – Pamięć – Miejsce – Obecność*, 2003, no. 1, pp. 73-76. This article is the introduction to the Master’s thesis “Dziedzictwo kulturowe Żydów lubelskich w świetle „Sefer Zikaron Lublin” („Księga pamięci Lublina”)", Tel Aviv 1957”, written under the supervision of Dr R. Marcinkowski, Zakład Hebraistyki, Instytut Orientalistyczny UW.

which their members came) to commemorate the annihilated communities, and wrote memorial books. In the 1940s there were around 600 landsmanshaftn in Chicago⁷³⁵; in the 1970s in Israel approximately 300. Later on, once their primary mission – often the publication of a book commemorating their native town – had been accomplished, these organizations began to wind up or scale down their work. Today many of them still exist, but focus primarily on second-generation Holocaust survivors.

Before the landsmanshaftn began to receive the waves of émigrés from Europe, they were already involved in sending aid to survivors in the countries where they were still living after the war. Landsmanshaftn were founded in Poland as well as elsewhere; their purpose was to bring together people from the same town who since the war had been living elsewhere, or frequently moving around. A joint organization was actually crucial to these people in order to remain in contact, exchange information, and facilitate the fair distribution of material aid sent from abroad by others who had moved on before them.⁷³⁶ Contact between the existing landsmanshaftn in Poland and those abroad was coordinated by Wydział Ziomkostw (the Landsmanshaftn Department) at the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (CKŻP). A twin department was established in Warsaw at the headquarters of the largest of the aid organizations, the Joint (AJDC). Members of these organizations set about gathering materials for the memorial books while they were still in Poland, and they were published years later, abroad. Memorial books were written in many countries that accepted survivors – Israel, North America, South America, Australia and France. Their time of publication ranged from the 1940s⁷³⁷ to the 1980s. The decision to create a memorial book was taken by a convention of the landsmanshaft board; on occasion it might be an individual initiative that was subsequently taken up by other members. The board shouldered the burden of procuring the funds for publication, which it raised by charging its members subscription fees and asking wealthier compatriots for targeted donations for specific aspects of the publishing process, such as paper, printing, or distribution. The board also encouraged landsmanshaftn operating in other countries to contribute to the book itself and to the costs of its publication. It selected from among its members an editor, who was responsible for gathering, collating and preparing materials. The editor might be

⁷³⁵ Cf. *Polski słownik judaistyczny. Dzieje, kultura, religia, ludzie*, compiled by Z. Borzymińska, R. Żebrowski, Warszawa 2003, vol. 2, p. 828.

⁷³⁶ Cf. A. Skibińska, “Powroty ocalałych”, [in:] *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. B. Engelking, J. Leociak, D. Libionka, Warszawa 2007, pp. 505-599.

⁷³⁷ Some books were published at a very early stage: the first Łódź memorial book came out in 1943 in Melbourne, and that on Krasnystaw in 1948 in the DP camp in Munich.

an external specialist with experience in this type of work; in the 1960s, editing of memorial books was even a recognized profession, and as such the same names often figure in the editorial committees of very different books. Some editors were well-known historians, among them Rafal Mahler, the editor of the memorial book for Nowy Sącz, his own home town; Nachman Blumental, a member of the committee for the Lublin book; and Bernard Mark, for many years the director of ŻIH and an editor of several books. It is important to mention that while the coordinating editor appointed might be someone from outside a given landsmanshaft, all the commemorative articles on people, places, facts, organizations or any other matters were written by people from within the original community. The editor's responsibilities included searching the archives of YIVO and other organizations, above all those of ŻIH⁷³⁸, on the town in question, writing to survivors and survivor organizations in other countries to source memoirs for inclusion in the memorial book, generating new texts, and gathering photographs, maps, etc. From a contemporary perspective it is hard to say how the editors of these books worked and how they selected the materials that were to be included. We do not know whether any archival materials relating to work on the books have been preserved and are still in the possession of the landsmanshaft committees, or how long their work took. Other than actually collating the materials and readying them for print, the editors tended not to edit the reminiscences either in terms of their literary qualities or in any other respect. This might be considered amateur, but from our perspective, in particular that of the scholar, this was the right approach to take with regard to these original texts. They are spiked with mistakes, distortions and repetitions that bestow on them the quality of authenticity. It is worth mentioning that the Central Jewish Historical Commission (CŻKH) in Poland planned to publish a monumental documentary study called *Pinkas Poyln*, or the Memorial Book of Poland, though it never reached the publication stage. Another project by the same organization was a lexicon of all the murdered Polish Jews credited with service to their people.⁷³⁹ There was probably no formal common format for editing the memorial books, yet the editors of the various individual volumes intuitively adopted a similar categorization of the materials they gathered and (again probably), basing their work on books previously published, over time developed a relatively homogeneous convention that may be defined as a format. This structure is as follows:

– editorial preface,

⁷³⁸ Documents from fonds in the ŻSS, Joint and Ringelblum archives were often published in these books.

⁷³⁹ AŻIH, CŻKH, call no. 303/XX/195, Wykazy imienne zasłużonych osób (Named lists of distinguished people); call no. 196-198, Fiszki biograficzne do leksykonu (Biographical notes for a lexicon); call no. 231-233, Kartoteka zmarłych – faktografia miejscowości (Card index of the dead – local facts).

- a history of the town and Jewish settlement there (varying vastly in terms of accuracy),
- a history of political parties, associations, other organizations, and institutions there,
- the history of its religious life, its rabbis and synagogues,
- monographic articles on outstanding members of the community, activists, well-known characters, etc. (for the most part reminiscences by people who remembered them),
- a variety of materials on the Holocaust,
- articles on the shtetl and the fates of its residents in the work of Jewish artists,
- commemorative texts and photographs; sometimes these included an empty frame with the caption: “This is a space for family members who for various reasons could not be included in this book”,
- lists of those murdered and obituaries, including members of the landsmanshaft who died after the war,
- information on landsmanshaftn and other organizations in Israel and elsewhere in the world.

The section on the Holocaust in the Lublin memorial book⁷⁴⁰ contains the following chapters: “Jak piszę o Tobie, Lublinie?” (How do I write about you, Lublin?), “O zagładzie Żydów w Lublinie” (The extermination of the Jews in Lublin), “Lubelskie getto – Majdan Tatarski” (The Lublin Ghetto, Majdan Tatarski), “Cierpienie dzieci w getcie lubelskim” (The suffering of the children in the Lublin ghetto), “Majdanek”, “W szponach gestapo” (In the clutches of the Gestapo), “Światła z getta” (Lights from the ghetto), and “Majdanek 1946”. For the purposes of comparison, the analogous section of the memorial book for Kozienice and Garbatka, around 200 pages in length, is composed of many short chapters with characteristic titles such as “Pociemniałe niebo” (The darkened sky), “Myśli dziecka ocalałych” (Thoughts of a survivors’ child), “Moje tragiczne doświadczenia” (My tragic experiences), “Oni mieszkali z nami” (They lived with us), “Zamiast kamienia nagrobnego” (In place of a tombstone), “Wybaczcie mi, drodzy rodzice” (Forgive me, dear parents), “Żydzi nie mają prawa żyć” (The Jews have no right to live), “Przerażające dni i lata” (Terrifying days and years), “Siedem stopni piekła przeszło obok mnie” (Seven degrees of hell passed by me), “Potworny koszmar” (A monstrous nightmare), “Nigdy tego nie zapomnimy” (We will never forget it), “Kozienice bez Żydów” (Kozienice without Jews).⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ *Sefer zikaron Lublin*, Tel Aviv 1957.

⁷⁴¹ *The Book of Kozienice on the 27th Anniversary of the Savage Destruction of Our Former Home*, ed. B. Kaplinsky, Tel Aviv 1969, New York 1985.

Most of the materials on the period of the occupation are eye-witness testimonies, by people not necessarily originally from the place in question; they might have been people deported to the ghetto there, staying there temporarily, working in nearby labour camps, etc. Among the most frequently recurring themes in these testimonies and reminiscences are the fates of the Jews and the town itself in the first weeks of the war, forced labour, daily life in the ghettos including the organization of the Judenräte, the work of the ŻSS, aid for children, study and school in the ghettos, life in the camps, liquidation of the ghettos, Jewish participation in armed struggle and the resistance movement, relations with local people (lots of information about assistance rendered), the fates of refugees in the USSR, emigration from Poland to Palestine or other countries, and the history of its population (landsmanshaft) after the Holocaust.

There were texts in a variety of genres on the history of the shtetl from the very earliest times (its settlement by Jews) until after the war, and its social, cultural, religious and political life. The balance of accents between these various themes largely depended on the orientation, views and membership of particular organizations of the editors of each volume. Generally speaking, there was a tendency to play down the role of religion in day-to-day life and inflate the significance of political (e.g. Zionist) organizations and parties relative to their actual position. The world of the goyim – the non-Jewish, Christian populace – tends to be mentioned in the margins, or in a negative context, e.g. anti-Jewish demonstrations, operations or excesses (such as during Corpus Christi processions). Most books contained lists of names of Jewish residents and Holocaust victims, and reproductions of prewar maps or street plans.

Memorial books are not scholarly works; neither are they purely testimonies or memoirs or any other single form of scholarly or literary expression known to us. This is why they are discussed in this *Guide* in a separate chapter, as a form and source unique to themselves. They are compilations of very varied genres, and thus as a whole highly syncretic and eclectic in form. Among the materials they contain are reprints of archival documents, official papers, encyclopedic entries, song lyrics, prayers, tales, poems, literary texts, testimonies, memoirs, lists of all sorts, the statutes of various organizations, newspaper cuttings, photographs, maps, drawings, obituaries, lists of names, etc. Memorial books reference a medieval tradition (in Germany, Switzerland, and Alsace) of writing

*Memorbücher*⁷⁴² – books dedicated to the memory of deceased members of the community, in which their names were inscribed, along with the circumstances of their deaths, particularly if they had been killed in a pogrom.⁷⁴³ As such they were a type of lamentation, threnody, or elegy – a form of grieving and mourning characterized by a powerful emotional charge, and often a lack of objectivity and distance. As S. Bojczuk writes, “They may be used as examples through which to trace two cultural phenomena – the mythologization of the past, and the unintentional creation of the myth of the Jewish shtetl. The circumstances in which these authors left their towns were tragic, and intrinsically connected with experiences that preclude a balanced approach to the events described and a critical approach to the past.”⁷⁴⁴ For many years *yizkor books* were hardly used at all by historians – for the most part undervalued, sometimes quite simply unknown to them, and hard to access because of the language barrier.⁷⁴⁵ We should remember that the members of the landsmanshaftn wrote them for their own use, so they were never released into mainstream circulation. In recent times, memorial books have seen a kind of continuation⁷⁴⁶, in the works of writers such as Eva Hoffman, Teo Richmond, Jaffa Eliach and Rafael F. Scharf.⁷⁴⁷ Published in small print runs (probably a few thousand at most), they are today accessible only in highly specialized libraries⁷⁴⁸ and online. In Poland there are memorial books in the ŻIH Library⁷⁴⁹ and in the collections of the centre run by Prof. Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska at UMCS in Lublin (she was the coordinating editor of an anthology of texts from a range of memorial books⁷⁵⁰). In all, a probable total of 526 memorial books have been published throughout the world, 428 of which refer to places within the 1939 borders of the Second Republic of Poland.⁷⁵¹ They in fact reference more Jewish settlements than this, however (approximately 547), because many of them take in several

⁷⁴² A more recent reference to the same tradition was made by Henryk Grynberg, cf. idem, *Memorbuch*, Warszawa 2000.

⁷⁴³ Cf. S. Bojczuk, „„Księgi pamięci””, op. cit., p. 73.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 75.

⁷⁴⁵ Some memorial books (or excerpts of them) have been translated into English and are online at <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/translations.html>.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, “Uzupełnianie pamięci – izkor bicher jako świadectwo i inspiracja”, [in:] *Zagłada Żydów. Pamięć narodowa a pisanie historii w Polsce i we Francji*, ed. B. Engelking et al., Lublin 2006, pp. 161-172.

⁷⁴⁷ E. Hoffman, *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews*, Polish edition: *Sztetl. Świat Żydów polskich*, Warszawa 2001; T. Richmond, *Uporczywe echo: sztetl Konin. Poszukiwanie*, Poznań 2001; R. F. Scharf, *Co mnie i Tobie Polsko... Eseje bez uprzedzeń/ Poland, What Have I To Do With Thee... Essays without Prejudice*, Kraków 1996; J. Eliach, *There Was Once a World: a nine-hundred-year chronicle of the shtetl of Eishyshok*, Boston 1998.

⁷⁴⁸ Outside Poland e.g. in USHMM, Yad Vashem.

⁷⁴⁹ The memorial books accessible in the ŻIH Library are listed in the Bibliography at the end of this *Guide* (compiled by Monika Polit).

⁷⁵⁰ This anthology includes around 150 texts from some 100 memorial books. *Tam był kiedyś mój dom... Księgi pamięci gmin żydowskich*, ed. M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, A. Kopciowski, A. Trzciński, Lublin 2009.

⁷⁵¹ O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, “Księgi pamięci („Memorbücher”) a mit żydowskiego miasteczka”, *Etnografia Polska*, 1991, vol. XXXV, bk 2.

neighbouring places or a whole area. On the other hand, some towns have been commemorated in more than one book, e.g. by rival *landsmanshaftn*⁷⁵², or when a second book is published years later as a supplement to a first. There are several bibliographies of memorial books, including one devoted specifically to *yizkor-bikber* for places in the Polish lands.⁷⁵³ The books vary considerably in size, which was not subjected to any limitations other than those posed by funding at the editorial stage. Some are very short (e.g. the book for Rejowiec is just 46 pages long), while others are vast, running into hundreds of pages, or even up to a thousand (the book for Slonim, for instance, is four volumes long).

Today we are discovering the importance of memorial books as an original source and sign of the times in which they were written. Aside from their emotional, cultural or anthropological value, they also contain a plethora of information and facts, photographs (most of which are inaccessible via any other source or archive), and depositions often gathered very shortly after the war's end. Their emotive, sometimes even exalted tone lends the descriptions of places and events a sense of unreality, abstraction, which well reflects the attitudes of the Jewish survivors to the irrevocably lost world that they had retained and encoded in their memory, imagination, dreams and reminiscences.

And finally and most importantly, for many places memorial books are the only source of information and eye-witness testimony on the Holocaust. To the Jews themselves who recorded them, in turn, they gave a kind of closure to the Polish part of their history, a form of mourning and grieving for its tragic end. These books also represented a symbolic burial for the Holocaust victims, and at the same time a tombstone. In many cases they were a sign of a definitive departure from a Poland where there was no longer a place for the Jews, even though some of them had attempted to make one. For among the most dramatic parts of the memorial books are the survivors' memories of their – mostly brief – forays back to their native regions shortly after the war, before definitively leaving for good.

Monika Polit and Alina Skibińska

⁷⁵² Bilgoraj, for instance, has two books, Gliniany three, Częstochowa four.

⁷⁵³ D. Bass, "Bibliographical List of Memorial Books Published in the Years 1943-1972", *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1973, vol. 9, pp. 273-321, pp. 279-316; A. Wein, "Memorial Books as a Source for Research into the History of Jewish Communities in Europe", [in:] *Yad Vashem on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance*, vol. IX, Yad Vashem, 1973, pp. 255-272; A. Kopciowski, *Księgi pamięci gmin żydowskich. Bibliografia. Jewish Memorial Books. A Bibliography*, Lublin 2008.

12. Other archival sources

The archival materials described in the previous chapters do not, of course, constitute an exhaustive list of the types of documents that scholars may use relevant to the subject, issues and period addressed in their research. All kinds of papers from the period of the occupation contain information and data on specific facts or the context of contemporary events. Even where documentation does not directly reference the situation of the Jews and their extermination, it is still vital to an overview of the situation as a whole in Poland or a particular area. Comprehensive research into the complete holdings of a particular institution or archive (e.g. for the needs of USHMM in Washington, D.C.) takes in a large range of diverse files and collections including many not directly referencing the theme of the Holocaust but vital to conducting broad-based historical, sociological and other research into the World War II period, above all regarding the fates of the civilian population, in particular those groups that were condemned to total annihilation or elimination by other methods from the life of society in a particular region, e.g. by forced resettlement or debilitating labour.

Papers of such fundamental significance to any historical research as the files of city and community authorities, many of which date back decades and even centuries, have not been given a separate chapter. In these collections, the occupation, prewar and postwar periods are one element of a larger whole, and the relevant materials held in such fonds have been listed and profiled in Part I of this *Guide*, in the chapter on the holdings in the archives administered by the Head Office of the State Archives (NDAP). At this point what must be reiterated is that research into all aspects of the causes and effects of the Holocaust must encompass also archive materials from the periods both before and after World War II; these will be addressed in more detail below. Among archive materials generated during the war, scholars should also look at other types of collections and record groups than those described above; here we shall mention only a few in order to show how diverse and universal archive searches can be, and how issues seemingly distant from our main subject may in fact be connected, either directly or indirectly, with the Nazi plan to annihilate all the Jews, and with the complete transformation of social, political, economic, population and all manner of other relations in Europe. One such strand is the vast quantity and variety of documents connected with

the looting of Jewish property⁷⁵⁴ (moveable assets, real property, monies, artworks, cultural assets and intellectual property) and all operations and official actions undertaken by the occupying authorities virtually from the first day of their invasion of Poland. One such document is the ordinance of the Head of the Civilian Authorities (Chef der Zivilverwaltung, Szef Zarządu Cywilnego) (on behalf of the Supreme Führer) issued on 6 September 1939 with retroactive effect, i.e. from 1 September 1939, prohibiting the storage, sale or gifting of Jewish property on pain of severe punishment.⁷⁵⁵ The subject of the expropriation of the Jews, the looting of their property – in Nazi nomenclature termed “Aryanization” – and the historical, sociological, psychological and of course legal dimensions of what subsequently happened to that property requires further in-depth study in the future. Continuation of the documentation connected with these issues that was generated during the war is found in fonds of government offices in the Polish People’s Republic, such as the Urzędy Ziemskie (Land Offices), Urzędy Likwidacyjne (Liquidation Offices), in court, prosecution and solicitors’ files, and in mortgage registers. Groups of occupation-era archive materials worth exploring and not profiled elsewhere in this *Guide* are:

- The files of the Gesundheitskammer (Izby Zdrowia, Chambers of Health) in Krakow and Warsaw;
- The files of hospitals, sanatoria, other healthcare institutions and spa commissions, e.g. those in Obrzyce, Warsaw, Falenica and Otwock;
- The files of Państwowy Instytut Higieny (the State Institute of Hygiene), Warsaw;
- County and local offices of the NSDAP;
- The files of government offices and institutions responsible for or collaborating in the plunder of property and the administration of confiscated property belonging to the subjugated populace, above all Jews, e.g. trustee administration offices (Treuhandstellen)⁷⁵⁶ and real property administration boards, real property associations, and companies administering confiscated land, e.g. those in Warsaw, Krakow, Katowice, Bielsko-Biala, Chodzież and Leszno;
- The Polish and German Red Cross organizations;
- The files of banks, savings and loans societies, currency offices and insurance companies⁷⁵⁷;

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych*, ed. J. Grabowski, D. Libionka, Warszawa 2014.

⁷⁵⁵ AN Krakow, Zbiór afiszów i plakatów, RG 665, file no. 029/665/1503.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. J. Grabowski, “Polscy zarządcy powierniczy majątku żydowskiego. Zarys problematyki”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2005, no. 1, pp. 253-326; idem, “Zarząd Powierniczy i nieruchomości żydowskie w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie. „Co można skonfiskować? W zasadzie wszystko””, [in:] *Klucze i kasa*, op. cit., pp. 73-112.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. I. Loose, *Kredite für NS-Verbrechen. Die deutschen Kreditinstitute in Polen und die Ausraubung der polnischen und jüdischen Bevölkerung 1939-1945*, München 2007.

- The files of revenue and customs offices, e.g. in Wrocław;
- The files of employment offices (Arbeitsämter), including their card files of people forcibly employed and sent as labour to the Third Reich⁷⁵⁸;
- The files of enterprises that used forced labour, in particular those involved in the war economy (mines, foundries, machine production plants and explosives factories, and construction and road-building firms);
- The files of various spatial and economic planning offices, and Hauptgruppe Ernährung und Landwirtschaft in der Distriktskammer für Gesamtwirtschaft in Warschau (Grupa Główna Wyżywienia i Rolnictwa w Izbie Okręgowej dla Gospodarki Ogólnej, Warszawa; Central Group for Nutrition and Agriculture at the District Office for the General Economy in Warsaw);
- The files of the offices and institutions established to deport and resettle population groups, implement Germanization operations, establish racial provenance, etc., in Poznań, Łódź, Lublin and Zamość;
- The files of the Jewish registry offices (isolated surviving materials);
- Statistical materials, e.g. the Statistical Office of the GG;
- The files of other organizations, association and unions.

FILES FROM THE PREWAR PERIOD

Documentation from before 1939 is only of interest to Holocaust historians in some areas; these are specifically where an outline of the historical context and a description of a point of reference is necessary, e.g. in research into the history of the Holocaust in particular Jewish communities. In such cases, the files of Jewish communities held in the State Archives, AŻIH or Yad Vashem are particularly valuable. Among those communities whose files have been preserved more or less in their entirety are those in Łódź, Leszno, Skulsk, Krakow, Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Włocławek, Żychlin, Pakość, Zabłocie, Białogard, Koszalin, Lublin, Dobromil, Tarnopol, Rzeszów, Czudec, Tyczyn, Siedlce, Toruń, Wrocław, Gliwice, and others in the Province of Silesia. In terms of material generated by government and regional administrative offices⁷⁵⁹, the documentation of greatest significance for research is that of the voivodeship offices' social and political departments, which include reports as well as monthly and weekly situational profiles that are crucial to exploring moods

⁷⁵⁸ Very extensive evidentiary material, as well as statements and testimonies given by those concerned, has been amassed by Fundacja Polsko-Niemieckie Pojednanie (the Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation) for compensatory purposes. In the future this will provide historians with extra research material.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. J. Ogonowski, *Sytuacja prawna Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1918-1939. Prawa cywilne i polityczne*, Warszawa 2012.

in society and attitudes among various population groups, political parties, etc. Also worthy of attention are those of their general and religious affairs departments, where there is information on the entire population of a given region, in particular those confessing Judaism.⁷⁶⁰ The files of government ministries, above all the ministries of Internal Affairs (MSW) and Foreign Affairs (MSZ), and of the various embassies and consulates, relate to a very broad spectrum of issues ranging from state politics at the highest level to attempts by individuals to leave a country under threat of armed invasion, and seeking assistance from Polish representations and offices. The years immediately preceding the outbreak of war are also studied in connection with issues such as antisemitism, the economic boycott of the Jews, the *numerus clausus* and *numerus nullus* policies at universities, incidents and pogroms, state policy in respect of national minorities, emigration, and the expulsion of Jewish citizens of Poland from the Third Reich, which one historian of these events, Jerzy Tomaszewski, has called “the prelude to the Holocaust”.⁷⁶¹ What follows is a brief description of the contents of a few selected fonds which are directly relevant to these issues.

KOMITET POMOCY UCHODŹCOM ŻYDOWSKIM Z NIEMIEC W POLSCE, ODDZIAŁ W CHRZANOWIE, XII 1938 – VIII 1939 (Committee for Aid to Jewish Refugees from Germany in Poland, Chrzanów Branch, Dec. 1938 – Aug. 1939), AP Katowice, RG 2426

These files contain material including correspondence with Ogólny Komitet Pomocy Uchodźcom z Niemiec, Ośrodek Zbąszyń (the General Committee for Aid to Refugees from Germany, Zbąszyń Centre), letters from various people regarding assistance, and from lawyers from Chrzanów to the MSW, correspondence regarding material aid collected, correspondence with various communities in Poland and in Berlin regarding documents for the refugees, and individual requests for assistance.

POLICJA WOJEWÓDZTWA ŚLĄSKIEGO (Silesian Voivodeship Police) 1922-1939, AP Katowice, RG 38

Files include a dossier (call no. 178, approx. 470 pp.) containing very detailed lists of the Jews expelled from Germany. The personal data sheets contain the following information: given name and surname, date and place of birth, parents' given names, profession, previous place of residence, intended destination, and what identity papers the person held. Most of the lists originate from the Silesia voivodeship, but there are also lists of several hundred Jews expelled from Germany living in

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. J. Pawlak, *Żydzi w dokumentach administracji państwowej w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym (1918-1939)*, Toruń 2007.

⁷⁶¹ J. Tomaszewski, *Preludium Zagłady. Wypędzenie Żydów polskich z Niemiec w 1938 r.*, Warszawa 1998.

Warsaw. This dossier also includes correspondence and police telegrams containing information on forthcoming transports of Jews expelled from Germany. The police in various cities also issued statistics of re-emigrants. Among correspondence dating from 1939 there are letters from the Committees for Aid to Jewish Refugees from many areas. Also worthy of note are descriptions of anti-Jewish incidents in testimonies by Jewish re-emigrants forcibly expelled from Germany, e.g. the devastation of Jewish shops by the Gestapo and the German police, arrests and beatings of Jews, and burning of synagogues.

LISTA ŻYDÓW DEPORTOWANYCH Z TRZECIEJ RZESZY DO POLSKI PRZEZ OBÓZ W ZBĄSZYNIU W 1938 R. (List of Jews Deported from the Third Reich to Poland via the Camp in Zbąszyń in 1938), AIPN, Collection “Z”, file no. 1141

The original list, compiled in 1938 (no more specific date) by a person who knew Polish (228 pp., large format, filled on both sides, includes 4,560 people (“Lista wydanych Żydów w Zbąszyniu”, List of expelled Jews in Zbąszyń). For each of these people, the following data were given: surname and given name (incl. maiden name for married women), parents’ given names and maiden name of mother, date, place and country of birth, religion, marital status, full current address, status in respect of military service (military rank or category), profession, knowledge of written and spoken Polish, place and date of issue of passport and issuing authority, consulate registration number, passport serial number.

KRAJOWY ZAKŁAD LECZNICZY W MIĘDZYRZECZU–OBRZYCACH (LANDESHEILANSTALT MESERITZ-OBRAWALDE, Regional Treatment Institute in Międzyrzec-Obrzyce) 1904-1945, AP Gorzów Wielkopolski, RG 256

This was a hospital for mental and nervous illnesses.⁷⁶² Most of the surviving files (in all 4,626 items) are the personal and case notes of patients (call no. 148-4626) and the personal files of nurses and auxiliary personnel. The papers of the hospital’s director and the doctors who took part in the euthanasia programme are missing, however. From 1933 and throughout World War II, Obrzyce was the site of crimes against individuals both sick and healthy who came into conflict with the German Nazis. From 1939 the hospital in Obrzyce was a transit point for sick people destined for sites of mass extermination. Further changes occurred in 1941, when Walter Grabowski was appointed its director. He was charged with the implementation of a euthanasia programme for

⁷⁶² Cf. W. Lemiesz, *Zbrodnia w Obrzycach*, Warszawa 1966.

terminally sick or high-dependency patients; euthanasia was carried out on site from 1942. The decision on a patient's fate was taken immediately on their arrival at the hospital. Patients who were unfit for labour, and small children, were sent for immediate "liquidation". In the years 1942-1945 the Germans murdered probably around 10,000 people in Obrzyce. Most of these were German citizens, but there were also Poles, Russians, French, Belgians, Italians, Dutch and others in that number.

POLSKO-BRYTYJSKIE TOWARZYSTWO OKRĘTOWE S.A. (Polish-British Shipping Company) 1928-1939, AP Gdańsk, RG 1034

Files include official correspondence regarding reservations, copies of tickets, lists of émigré passengers, among whom were large numbers of Jews, and shipping documents. These materials are an interesting source for research into emigration of Jews from Poland on the eve of the outbreak of World War II. They contain considerable information on mutual aid campaigns by Jewish organizations, which assisted with all the formalities surrounding emigration. There is also a large volume of correspondence regarding reservations and information.

GDYNIA-AMERYKA. LINIE ŻEGLUGOWE S.A. (Gdynia-America Shipping Lines) 1930-1945, AP Gdańsk, RG 1036

The shipping company Gdynia–Ameryka Linie Żeglugowe S.A. was founded in 1930 to carry émigrés on the line Gdynia–Halifax–New York. In 1932 a "Palestine line" was launched, serving the route Constanța–Haifa–Pireus–Istanbul–Constanța. In 1938 this line was suspended as financially non-viable, and from then on GAL ships served lines to ports in South America. The surviving files include contracts for transport of Jewish passengers on the Palestine line, official correspondence regarding people of Jewish birth being smuggled on the MS Pilsudski in the years 1935-1937, collective lists of passengers and names lists (e.g. of those travelling to Buenos Aires), passenger traffic statistics, and personal files of some passengers, including Jews from Poland and Germany.

POSTWAR FILES

The State Archives contain many collections that must certainly be searched by anyone wishing to study the period after the Holocaust and all that may be classified as the aftermath of the war and the extermination policies of the Third Reich in every sense and aspect. The files of the Land and

Liquidation Offices⁷⁶³ have been mentioned above; their role was to adjudicate formally on cases related to “discarded and abandoned” property (in particular real property – land and buildings) left behind by murdered Jews and also by Germans or Ukrainians who left regions that fell within Poland’s postwar borders. These were also matters that were dealt with by courts of the first instance and other courts, in particular in terms of establishing the circumstances of death and inheritance rights, and issuing replacements of documents destroyed during the war but vital for functioning normally within society. Scholars should also take an interest in issues connected with the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens from the USSR. There are materials on this subject in the very numerous files of the Repatriation Offices⁷⁶⁴, among others. The papers of the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR (Związek Patriotów Polskich, ZPP), held in the Central Archive of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych, AAN) are directly related to the return of Jews from the USSR, as are the legacies and papers of some political activists held in the AAN, e.g. those of Szymon Zachariasz. Collections of files of city and community governors’ offices, voivodeship and county national councils, county offices, voivodeship committees of the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR), and voivodeship offices, in particular their socio-political and religious departments, contain materials such as statistics, and above all data on postwar Polish-Jewish relations and moods in society.⁷⁶⁵ The pogroms and attacks on Jews in the first two to three years after the war need researching in the files of criminal courts, branches of the Security Office (UB, Urzędy Bezpieczeństwa), branches of the Civic Militia (MO, Milicja Obywatelska), and many others.⁷⁶⁶ The most interesting and important archive materials on this period, however, have been amassed by AŻIH; some of these, as especially precious, will be discussed here in slightly more detail. Above all, these are a large group of sub-collections of the CKŻP.⁷⁶⁷ These papers are profiled in *Przewodnik po zespołach archiwum Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w*

⁷⁶³ There are around 117 collections of District and Regional Liquidation Office files in State Archives all over Poland.

⁷⁶⁴ Some 220 collections of Repatriation Offices from all over Poland have been preserved.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. N. Aleksion-Mądrzak, “Materiały dotyczące historii Żydów w Polsce w latach 1945-1950 w archiwach wojewódzkich”, *BŻIH*, 1994, no. 169-171, pp. 159-162.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. A. Cichopek, *Pogrom Żydów w Krakowie 11 sierpnia 1945 r.*, Warszawa 1998; B. Szaynok, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach 4 lipca 1946*, Wrocław 1992; D. Engel, “Patterns of Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland 1944-1946”, *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1998, vol. 26, pp. 43-85; A. Żbikowski, “Morderstwa popełnione na Żydach w pierwszych latach po wojnie”, [in:] *Następstwa zagłady Żydów. Polska 1944-2010*, ed. F. Tych, M. Adamczyk-Garbowska, Lublin 2011, pp. 71-93; English edition: *Jewish Presence in Absence. The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1944-2010*, Jerusalem 2014, pp. 67-93.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. J. Adelson, “W Polsce zwanej Ludową”, [in:] *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie (do 1950 roku)*, ed. J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1993, pp. 387-477; A. Grabski, *Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (1944-1949). Historia polityczna*, Warszawa 2014.

*Polsce ze zbiorów Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie*⁷⁶⁸ by Tadeusz Epsztein, the historian and archivist who personally put most of the CKŻP collections in order. He is also the author of many detailed inventories for collections of files that he himself processed.⁷⁶⁹ He writes: “A significant percentage of the more than 200,000 surviving Polish Jews had some form of contact with the CKŻP or its agencies in the years 1944-1950. Tens of thousands of people took advantage of the various forms of aid at the Committee’s institutions. A reflection of the multilateral contacts maintained by people with the CKŻP is to be found throughout its preserved archive. The CKŻP not only provided material aid and medical treatment to the Jewish populace, and ran schools, orphanages and old people’s homes, but it also kept a register of survivors, conducted searches for missing people, gathered information and secured documentation on the Holocaust, as well as historical documentation and museum collections, etc. In every aspect of its work, at virtually every stage, the recent and tragic past surfaced. Particular emphasis was placed on personal matters, and as such, references to the Holocaust period are frequently found in personal files. Clerks registering new people at local Jewish committees would ask where they spent the war, employees of the Education Department interviewing children would record their occupation-era experiences, people seeking relatives through the CKŻP gave extensive biographical details of their own, and those requesting material aid also supplied information as to where they had been rescued or where they had survived. Many typical forms, questionnaires, surveys, etc., included a point about the applicant’s experiences during the occupation. These diverse testimonies and data submitted to the CKŻP in hundreds and thousands of documents created a database of information on a vast number of people and events. They enable us not only to recreate an approximate image of Jewish society in Poland after the war, but also to reconstruct many biographies and facts from the time of the war and the occupation. It is for this reason that anyone with an interest in the Holocaust and those who survived it should not fail to make use in their research of the personal files in the CKŻP archives.”⁷⁷⁰ The CKŻP was formally founded at the beginning of February 1945 from the Temporary Central Committee of Jews in Poland established in Lublin immediately after the Soviet forces entered the city. The CKŻP was the only body representing the entire Jewish community in

⁷⁶⁸ T. Epsztein, “Przewodnik po zespołach archiwum Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce ze zbiorów Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie. Holocaust, ewidencja ocalonych, poszukiwania, materiały biograficzne”, Warszawa 2005 [typescript accessible at AŻIH].

⁷⁶⁹ Archiving work on the CKŻP files has been underway since 1996 thanks to the financial support of USHMM in Washington, D.C. All the inventories this work has generated include introductions, indexes of personal and geographical names, and in some cases also appendices of persons for particular archival items containing lists, personal files, etc.

⁷⁷⁰ T. Epsztein, *Przewodnik po zespołach archiwum...*, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Poland after the war in relations with both domestic authorities and institutions abroad. Pursuant to an agreement, the CKŻP authorities were composed of all the Jewish political organizations operating legally after the war (this excluded the Zionist Revisionists, whose party was not legalized). To pursue its statutory operations, the CKŻP formed a number of departments active both at the central level in Warsaw and in the field, through local (provincial, municipal and county) committees – in Białystok, Krakow, Lublin⁷⁷¹, Łódź⁷⁷², Przemyśl, Warsaw, Tarnów, Świdnica, Żary, Szczecin⁷⁷³, Wrocław⁷⁷⁴ and other cities.⁷⁷⁵ The CKŻP archive holds archival materials from each of its departments: the Presidium & Secretariat, and the Organization, Records and Statistics, Culture and Propaganda, Finance, Legal, Productivity Improvement, Youth, Education, Landsmanshaftn, Repatriation, Emigration, Building, and Personnel Departments, as well as its Special Commission, the Central Jewish Historical Commission, its People's Court, the Health Care Organization⁷⁷⁶ (TOZ), and the Jewish committees (provincial and local) under the CKŻP. The CKŻP archives hold few original papers from the occupation period; most were generated after the war by the organization's work devoted to the fate of the Jews who had survived the Holocaust. The names of the various departments of the CKŻP tend to indicate the thematic scope to which particular documents might refer, but it must be remembered that all the CKŻP's documentation contains information, some of which is very scattered and "hidden" in the text of the documents on the many hundreds of thousands of Poland's Jews, both those who survived and those who perished. Among these documents are various questionnaires, forms, card files, certifications, records, named lists of

⁷⁷¹ A. Kopciowski, "Żydzi w Lublinie w latach 1944-1949", AŻIH, 347/206 [Master's thesis, typescript].

⁷⁷² Cf. L. Olejnik, "Wojewódzki Komitet Żydowski w Łodzi – powstanie i główne kierunki działalności (1945-1950)", BŻIH, 1998, no. 187, pp. 3-22.

⁷⁷³ Cf. I. Białostocki, "Wojewódzki Komitet Żydów Polskich w Szczecinie (1946-1950)", BŻIH, 1969, no. 71-72, pp. 83-105.

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Żydów na Dolnym Śląsku za 1946 rok* [Wrocław 1947]; J. Egit, *Tzu a naye lebn [Ku nowemu życiu]*, Wrocław 1947; idem, "Rok życia żydowskiego na Dolnym Śląsku", *Nowe Życie*, 15 lipca 1946; idem, *Grand Illusion*, Toronto 1991; B. Szaynok, "Początki osadnictwa żydowskiego na Dolnym Śląsku po II wojnie światowej (maj 1945 – styczeń 1946)", BŻIH, 1994-1995, no. 2-4 (172-174), pp. 45-63; eadem, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1950*, Wrocław 1992; P. Wieczorek, "Żydzi wałbrzyscy po II wojnie światowej", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 2003, R. LVIII, no. 4, pp. 389-403; idem, "Żydzi w Wałbrzychu i powiecie wałbrzyskim 1945-1968" [Ph.D. thesis, typescript in AŻIH].

⁷⁷⁵ The files of the committees listed here have been preserved in the CKŻP archives; the others probably went missing or were destroyed in some other way for reasons now unknown. All the archival materials of the field committees, with the exception of those generated by the Wojewódzki Komitet Żydowski (WKŻ, Provincial Jewish Committee) in Wrocław (AP Wrocław) and the Okręgowy Komitet Żydowski (Local Jewish Committee) in Radom (AP Radom), are held in AŻIH, cf. M. Chmielewska, "Źródła archiwalne do historii Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu", *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia*, no. 1182, R. 84, pp. 159-170.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. I. Einhorn, *Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1921-1950*, Toruń 2008.

various collectivities, indexes of personal names, correspondence, etc.⁷⁷⁷ It is not always the case that the name of a department supplies clear information on the content of the papers its archive collection holds. Only well-informed historians of the subject know, for instance, that among the Building Department⁷⁷⁸ papers, in file no. 2, is documentation from the postwar search (1949-50) among the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto for the third part of ARG at 34 Świętojerska Street. Ten metal crates and the two milk cans hidden during the war containing the documents of the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archive (ARG) were located and retrieved at 68 Nowolipki Street in 1946 and 1950.⁷⁷⁹ A number of themes may be identified in the CKŻP archive materials:

- materials discussing the experiences of the Jewish population in the years 1939-1945 (forced labour, the ghettos, the camps, the “Aktionen” (round-ups and deportations), the “Aryan side”, the partisan life, cultural life under the occupation, etc.),
- documentation registering losses in the Jewish population,
- registration of surviving Jews,
- Poles bringing aid to the Jewish population,
- commemoration of the Holocaust,
- prosecution of war criminals.⁷⁸⁰

Often, however, there is no way of separating the individual themes from each other, as the same documents can serve to study many different issues. Among the most important parts of the CKŻP archive are the files of its **Presidium & Secretariat**⁷⁸¹, and within that the full set of the minutes of its meetings from 8 January 1945 until 31 December 1949 complete with all the annexes thereto (reports, documents, memos); its Personnel Department⁷⁸², in which the most precious elements are the personal forms and files of the employees of the CKŻP and its local committees, in geographical order; and its **Records and Statistics Department** (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki, WEiS)⁷⁸³, whose remit was registering survivors, searches (its information section) and statistics. The most prominent

⁷⁷⁷ Monika Taras, “Źródła autobiograficzne w zbiorach Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2013, no. 9, pp. 508-520.

⁷⁷⁸ AŻIH, Wydział Budowlany CKŻP, 303/X, 42 items.

⁷⁷⁹ Epsztein Tadeusz, *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego. Inwentarz Archiwum Ringelbluma*, Warszawa 2011.

⁷⁸⁰ T. Epsztein, *Przewodnik po zespołach...*, op. cit., p. 7.

⁷⁸¹ AŻIH, CKŻP Prezydium 303/I, 278 items.

⁷⁸² AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Personalny, 303/III, 186 items.

⁷⁸³ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki, 303/V, 1,465 items.

deliverable of the WEiS's work is the Centralna Kartoteka Żydów Polskich⁷⁸⁴ (Central Card File of Jews in Poland), which comprises some 300,000 registration cards, as well as card files (or the vestiges thereof) from Lublin, Łódź, Warsaw, Gliwice, Bielsko Biala and Lwów. The WEiS files also hold alphabetical lists of the names of Holocaust survivors from dozens of localities throughout Poland, lists of former prisoners in many of the camps, a large body of correspondence regarding searches, and many other valuable archive materials that may serve the scholar of the postwar vicissitudes of Polish Jews.⁷⁸⁵ The **Repatriation Department** (Wydział Repatriacji)⁷⁸⁶ was established in June 1945 to assume the care of the large groups of Jews (approx.136,000) who began to return from the USSR in organized transports as part of the repatriation operation launched at the beginning of the next year. These files contain lists of those being repatriated, certifications, correspondence, the documents of demobilized soldiers, lists of the transports, type of aid given, etc.⁷⁸⁷ The **Social Welfare Department** (Wydział Opieki Społecznej, WOS)⁷⁸⁸ took care of all the groups of Jews who needed particular special care: children, repatriates, the sick and elderly, and invalids. WOS ran soup kitchens, night shelters and old people's homes. The files in this collection are vital to an understanding of the physical and mental state of the Jewish population after the war. Also held here are materials on the care afforded to those who had aided and rescued Jews during the war. The **Education Department** (Wydział Oświaty, WO)⁷⁸⁹ was founded in order to guarantee Jewish children a certain level of care. The work of its employees focused on registering and searching for children, establishing and running pre-school and nursery settings and in particular children's homes, residential treatment and care homes, and clinics. In 1945 around 5,000 children were under the care of the WO, which also ran Jewish schools, courses, summer camps and boarding schools.⁷⁹⁰ The **Culture and Propaganda Department** (Wydział Kultury i Propagandy)⁷⁹¹ ran information campaigns, published bulletins, gathered materials connected with both the day-to-day life of the Jews in Poland and the period of the war and the occupation (e.g. press cuttings),

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. Part I of this *Guide*, chapter on AŻIH and its electronic databases.

⁷⁸⁵ Cf. T. Epsztein, "Żydzi w powojennej Polsce w świetle archiwaliów Wydziału Statystyki i Ewidencji Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce (1945-1950)", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, ŻIH-IN-B, 2006, no. 3 (219), pp. 391-405.

⁷⁸⁶ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Repatriacji, 303/VI, 67 items.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. E. Hornowa, "Powrót Żydów Polskich z ZSRR oraz działalność opiekuńcza Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce", *BŻIH*, 1985, no. 133-134, pp. 105-122.

⁷⁸⁸ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Opieki Społecznej 303/VIII, 582 items.

⁷⁸⁹ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Oświaty, 303/IX, 1880 items.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. H. Datner-Śpiewak, "Instytucje opieki nad dzieckiem i szkoły powszechne Centralnego Komitetu Żydów Polskich w latach 1945-1946", *BŻIH*, 1981, no. 119, pp. 37-51; eadem, "Szkoly Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce w latach 1944-1949", *BŻIH*, 1994, no. 169-171, pp. 103-119; N. Bażowska, *To był mój dom. Żydowski dom dziecka w Krakowie w latach 1945-1957*, Warszawa 2011.

⁷⁹¹ AŻIH, Wydział Kultury i Propagandy, 303/XIII, 248 items.

organized anniversary ceremonies (e.g. to commemorate the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto), and published newspapers aimed at Jews, such as *Dos Naye Lebn* (New Life), *Yidishe Naves fun Poylin* (Jewish News from Poland), *Nidersblezje* (Lower Silesia) and *Tygodnik Informacyjny*.⁷⁹² Within the department there was a Jewish news agency, Żydowska Agencja Informacyjna, whose *Biuletyny* (Bulletins, 1944-1950) are an invaluable source of information. The **Emigration Department** (Wydział Emigracyjny)⁷⁹³ was founded with the aim of bringing assistance to those resolved to emigrate from Poland. This assistance consisted above all in issuing registration certificates to the Polish passport authorities. Tens of thousands of these documents have been preserved; they are often complete with a photograph and contain the personal data of the applicant. The **Legal Department** (Wydział Prawny)⁷⁹⁴ was established in order to provide all-round legal services not only to the CKŻP itself and its various branches, but also to individuals who requested them. It contains files relating to matters including replacements of documents, inheritances, restitution of property, prosecution of criminals, exhumations, and care of children. The CKŻP's **Central Special Commission** (Centralna Komisja Specjalna)⁷⁹⁵ operated from July 1946 until the spring of 1947 as a response to “the redoubled activity of the reactionary underground, anti-Jewish provocations, attacks on trains and killing of Jews on them, and ultimately the culminating point of the activity of anti-Jewish fascist gangs – the Kielce pogrom”. Groups of armed guards (some 2,500) operated in the field, protecting a total of around 390 different sites: Jewish committee offices, children’s homes, schools, warehouses, etc.⁷⁹⁶ The **Landmanshaftn Department** (Wydział Ziomkostw)⁷⁹⁷ coordinated the work of the spontaneously emerging organizations bringing together Jews originally from the same town or place. When their members left Poland, these landsmanshaftn were the initiators and publishers of the memorial books that were the subject of the previous chapter of this *Guide*. The **Central Jewish Historical Commission** (Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, CZKH)⁷⁹⁸, mentioned above as an institution gathering survivor testimonies and other materials on the

⁷⁹² Cf. J. Korzeniowski, “Bibliografia czasopism żydowskich wychodzących w PRL (1944-1950)”, *BŻIH*, 1986, no. 3-4, pp. 143-154.

⁷⁹³ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Emigracyjny, 303/XIV, 648 items.

⁷⁹⁴ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Prawny, 303/XVI, 197 items.

⁷⁹⁵ AŻIH, CKŻP Centralna Komisja Specjalna, 303/XVIII, 74 items.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. J.T. Gross, “Cena strachu”, [in:] idem, *Upiorna dekada. Trzy eseje o stereotypach na temat Żydów, Polaków, Niemców i komunistów 1939-1948*, Kraków 1998, pp. 93-113; A. Ciało, *Ochrona bezpieczeństwa fizycznego Żydów w Polsce powojennej. Komisje Specjalne przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa 2014.

⁷⁹⁷ AŻIH, CKŻP Wydział Ziomkostw, 303/XIX, 165 items.

⁷⁹⁸ AŻIH, CKŻP Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, 303/XX, 692 items. Cf. N. Aleksion, “The Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland 1944-1947”, *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 2008, vol. 20, pp. 74-97; L. Jockusch, *Collect and Record! Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe*, Oxford University Press 2012.

Holocaust⁷⁹⁹, also kept an archive and a library, conducted research and publishing work (cf. CŻKH publications in the Bibliography at the end of this *Guide*). In 1947 the CŻKH was transformed into the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH), which exists to this day, since 2010 as ŻIH im. Emanuela Ringelbluma (the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute). The **CKŻP People's Court** (Sąd Społeczny (Obywatelski) przy CKŻP)⁸⁰⁰ passed sentence: “a) in cases where members of the Jewish community did not preserve a stance worthy of a Jewish citizen, by participating in and conducting detrimental activity in the Judenräte, the order service, the administration of the concentration camps, or other form of collaboration with the occupiers to the detriment of society; b) in matters where members of the Association of Committees of Jews in Poland violate the statutes of the association or act in opposition to their duties and good custom”.⁸⁰¹ These collections include the files of particular cases (over 150) that were heard by the court, as well as correspondence, regulations, and other materials referencing the work of the court. The **Health Care Organization** (Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia, TOZ)⁸⁰² carried on the mission of the organization operating under the same name in prewar Poland.⁸⁰³ After the war the TOZ took over the running of institutions established and run by the CKŻP's Department of Health (closed down in early 1946). It offered all kinds of medical services for the Jewish population: out-patient clinics, doctors' surgeries, hospitals and sanatoria. This collection holds a vast amount of information on the subject of the state of the Jews' health after World War II.

AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE IN POLAND 1945-1949⁸⁰⁴

The AJDC (the Joint) was founded in 1914 as an American-Jewish mutual aid organization to bring aid to Jews in Europe, whose situation had deteriorated dramatically. The Joint operated in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from the end of World War I and continued its mission throughout World War II (see chapter on collections of welfare and aid institutions). It was reactivated in Poland in July 1945, with its headquarters in Warsaw, under Dawid Guzik, a social activist already during the war; after his death, his successor as director of the Joint was William Bein,

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. N. Grüss, *Rok pracy Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej*, Łódź 1946; M. Horn, “Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce w latach 1944-1949”, *BŻIH*, 1979, no. 109, pp. 3-15.

⁸⁰⁰ AŻIH, Sąd Społeczny przy CKŻP, 313, 146 items. Cf. G.N. Finder and A.V. Prusin, “Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944-1956”, *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 2008, vol. 20, pp.122-148; A. Żbikowski, *Sąd Społeczny przy CKŻP. Wojenne rozliczenia społeczności żydowskiej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2014.

⁸⁰¹ AŻIH, Sąd Społeczny przy CKŻP, 313, file no. 150, Regulamin Sądu przy CKŻP.

⁸⁰² AŻIH, CKŻP TOZ, 324, 2122 items.

⁸⁰³ Cf. H. Kroszczor, R. Zablotniak, “Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w latach II Rzeczypospolitej”, *BŻIH*, 1978, no. 1 (105), pp. 53-68.

⁸⁰⁴ AŻIH, Joint 1944-1950, 350, 2445 items.

and its secretary-general Józef Gitler-Barski. The mission and objective of the Joint was to render all manner of aid to Jewish survivors of the war, many of whom had been left with literally nothing, often not even the most basic assets or means of survival. The Joint sent food, medication, clothing, blankets, machines, raw materials and other goods to Poland, which were then disseminated by its own distribution network and the offices of the CKŻP. In all, up to the delegalization of this institution in Poland (in 1949) some 600 transports were sent here, the majority by sea. Aside from sending consignments of material goods, it also subsidised the work of Jewish organizations and political parties – the CKŻP (in the years 1945-1949 it obtained around 3.5 billion zloty), the TOZ, all the political parties and youth organizations, as well as the religious organizations Komitet Organizacyjny Żydowskich Kongregacji Wyznaniowych (the Organizational Committee of Jewish Religious Congregations), Naczelna Rada Religijna (the Supreme Religious Council), and the Aguda kibbutz. In addition, material aid was supplied to landsmanshaftn, religious schools (with instruction in Hebrew), and scientific, cultural, artistic and economic organizations and associations. Indeed, it is hard to imagine how Jewish life could have existed and continued in postwar Poland without the subsidies and aid of the Joint. As well as the Jewish populace, individual Poles and some Polish institutions such as children's homes and religious houses that had concealed Jewish children during the war also received monetary grants totalling around one million zloty from the AJDC.⁸⁰⁵ The Joint also helped individuals: it conducted searches all over the world, and offered support in seeking somewhere to start a new life to those resolved to emigrate and needing visas, money, tickets, and contacts. The few years of the Joint's activity in Poland from the end of World War II left a vast legacy – these are papers vital and fundamental to study of the life of the surviving Jews.⁸⁰⁶ As I bring to a close this discussion of the postwar archive materials and documentation based on selected examples, I would like to draw attention to the legacies and papers amassed in AŻIH and generated by the first Holocaust scholars, themselves survivors, who undertook the immense effort of researching, describing and publishing materials on those most tragic of events. To this day we use their work, draw on their knowledge, and turn to their publications; those people are Tatiana Berenstein, Szymon Datner, Artur Eisenbach, Filip Friedman and Bernard (Ber) Mark.

⁸⁰⁵ T. Epsztein, "Wstęp do inwentarza archiwum American Joint Distribution Committee w Polsce 1945-1949", Warszawa 2005, p. 4 [typescript].

⁸⁰⁶ Cf. Y. Bauer, *Out of the Ashes. The Impact of American Jews on Post-Holocaust European Jewry*, Oxford–Toronto 1989; *Midrasz*, 2004, no. 11 (91).

13. Photography, film, material objects

This final chapter will be about a particular type of source not generated as a result of the work of an office, newspaper editorial board or other organization, or under the influence of an inner need to record experiences, thoughts, reflections or memories. For the most part these are not records on paper at all, though some of them are on photographic paper. The history of the Holocaust can also be read from non-textual sources – pictures, photographs, films, artworks, pieces of music, but also buildings, street paving, working tools such as sewing machines, and objects of all sizes, from a tiny Mickey Mouse toy that was with a child murdered in Chelmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof), to a railway goods wagon, one of thousands used to transport people. There is no way of discussing these sources in just a dozen pages; all we can do is stress the importance of their existence and the need to use the knowledge that we can draw from them.

We will devote the least space here to film, as the Holocaust was essentially not recorded on film. We do know from other sources that the Germans did film some of the anti-Jewish incidents and pogroms that they incited, but these tapes have probably not survived, aside from a brief sequence showing a pogrom in July 1941 in Lwów, during which several thousand people perished, cruelly murdered on the city's streets. Brief sequences, scenes and isolated takes have also survived, from various places, including the Łódź ghetto, Kutno, Dąbrowa Górnicza and Będzin, and the Jewish quarter in Krakow; there is a pseudo-documentary from 1942 titled *Żydzi, mszy, tyfus* (Jews, lice, typhus)⁸⁰⁷, and above all also propaganda material filmed in April and May 1942 in the Warsaw ghetto.⁸⁰⁸ The Germans never used this in the production of a film to be shown publicly in the Third Reich, however. Perhaps from their point of view it had ceased to be useful or necessary given that a few months later the “Final Solution” was to be virtually completed. We also know of one short, eight-minute piece of footage shot on colour film in the Warsaw ghetto, probably in 1941. The Holocaust as a theme of both documentary and feature films is such a broad, unique subject that the

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. B. Ziolkowski, “Film na usługach niemieckiej propagandy w Generalnej Guberni”, [in:] *Historia filmu polskiego*, vol. III: 1939-1956, Warszawa 1974.

⁸⁰⁸ M. Kubicki, “O niemieckim filmie propagandowym z warszawskiego getta. Przyczynek do analizy”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 351-373. Film materials from the World War II period and documentary films are collected in Archiwum Wytwórni Filmów Dokumentalnych i Fabularnych (Archive of the Documentary and Feature Film Production Company) in Warsaw (now part of the FilMOTEKA Narodowa) and in FilMOTEKA Narodowa (the National Film Library).

reader should be directed to the relevant literature⁸⁰⁹, and here only a few salient titles should be mentioned: *Majdanek – cmentarzysko Europy* (Majdanek, Burial Ground of Europe, 1944), *Mir leben gebliben*⁸¹⁰ (We Who Survived; 1948), *Nasze dzieci* (*Unzere kinder*, Our Children; 1948), *Ostatni etap* (The Last Stage, 1948), *Powszedni dzień gestapowca Schmidta* (An Ordinary Day for Gestapo Officer Schmidt, 1962), *Requiem dla 500 tysięcy* (Requiem for the Five Hundred Thousand, 1963), *Pasażerka* (Passenger, 1963), *Archeologia* (Archaeology, 1967), *Zdażyć przed Panem Bogiem* (To Outwit God, 1981), *Wybór Zofii* (Sophie's Choice, 1982), *Shoah* (1985), *Nadzieja umiera ostatnia* (Hope Dies Last, 1992), *Miejsce urodzenia* (Place of Birth, 1992), *Kronika powstania w getcie warszawskim według Marka Edelmana* (A Chronicle of the Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto according to Marek Edelman, 1994), *Fotoamator* (Photographer, 1998), *Pianista* (The Pianist, 2001), *Portrecista* (The Portraitist, 2005).

Just as the “prelude to the Holocaust” for Polish Jews was the expulsion of Jews with Polish citizenship from Germany in 1938, so one of the Nazis’ first criminal acts in the occupied Polish territories was the execution of 22 Jews in Końskie, carried out on 12 September 1939 by the Germans in revenge for the deaths of a few German soldiers. This was sufficiently remarkable for its victims, witnesses and perpetrators to have been immortalized on photographs; among them was the famous Leni Riefenstahl, the queen of German film propaganda. The German forces marched into Końskie on 8 September, and the next day Hitler paid a visit to the staff corps of Gen. Walter von Reichenau, while Riefenstahl pursued the trail of victories and triumphs of “her Führer”, which she intended to immortalize. By an irony of fate, at the very beginning of her route, she witnessed heinous acts: a whole day’s pogrom on the Jews, looting and destruction of their shops, their synagogue set alight, acts of violence and humiliation of a group of Jews selected to dig a grave for the soldiers who had been killed, and the shooting of those Jews once their work had been done. Some of the photographs show Riefenstahl crying with pain, and the caption beneath one reads:

⁸⁰⁹ M. Hendykowski, *Film jako źródło historyczne*, Poznań 2000; A. Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność. Kinematografia polska w latach 1944-1949*, Bielsko-Biała 2002; J.E. Young, “Holocaust w świadectwach filmowych i świadectwach wideo”, *Literatura na Świecie*, 2004, no. 01-02 (309-391), pp. 245-266; H. Loewy, “The Mother of All Holocaust Films?: Wanda Jakubowska’s Auschwitz trilogy”, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 2004, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 179-204; K. Tomczak, “Oglądanie Holocaustu. Między etyką a sztuką filmową”, Master’s thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University, Faculty of Polish and Classical Philology, Poznań 2006 [typescript]; *Jewish Film Directory: A guide to more than 1200 films of Jewish interest from 32 countries over 85 years*, Wiltshire 1992; *Bibliografia polskich wydawnictw filmowych 1945-1972*, compiled by A. Dembowska, Filmoteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1974 [reproduced typescript]; B. Kwieciński, *Obrazy i klisze. Między biegunami wizualnej pamięci Zagłady*, Kraków 2012; A. Skibińska, “Film polski o Zagładzie. Filmografia w układzie chronologicznym”, *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2010, no. 1 (233).

⁸¹⁰ Cf. N. Gross, *Film żydowski w Polsce*, Kraków 2002.

“Die ohnmächtige (fainting) Leni”.⁸¹¹ We may – and should – debate the purport and significance of these photographs, for they bring into focus later events multiplied so many times.

The roles of perpetrator, victim or bystander certainly did not have to be the only roles that the majority of people were forced to play.⁸¹² Research into the history of the Holocaust, and as such of the extreme situations in which people found themselves during the war, shows that being a witness can lead to being a participant and an active perpetrator or, in the positive sense, an actor – a bringer of assistance and rescue. In certain conditions – defined as extreme – these “roles” may be interchangeable. Unequivocal definitions and concepts are often inadequate to describe real, extremely complex human behaviours. In certain specific circumstances it was impossible to remain an observer, an innocent witness. Such situations and circumstances were the product of a totalitarian system that deprived people of their freedom in every sense of the word, of their privacy, and of their dignity.⁸¹³ There was no neutral, uncontaminated space to which one could “retreat” and isolate oneself. The totalitarianism based on Nazi doctrine and violence pervaded every sphere of human life, including art. The photographs that have been preserved from this period beg the question of the boundaries of individual responsibility for the effects of words, actions and involvement, but also for passivity and silence. Riefenstahl expressly refused to take part in the “ceremony” of the execution of innocent, defenceless people, but she also refused ever to admit that her professional, perfect and aesthetically refined films that heralded the apotheosis of power made any contribution to the triumph of the army, whose soldiers committed cruel, horrendous acts.

The surviving photographs are stored in the Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance (AIPN) in the largest collection of wartime photographs in Poland, which numbers over 68,000, largely unique images.⁸¹⁴ They were taken by German war correspondents and photojournalists, soldiers of the Wehrmacht, SS and Gestapo officers, policemen, and civilians in the service of the

⁸¹¹ Cf. A. Gass, “Turystka na wojnie”, *Sztuka*, 1987, no. 4.

⁸¹² Cf. R. Hilberg, *Sprawy, ofiary, świadkowie. Zagłada Żydów 1933-1945*, Warszawa 2007.

⁸¹³ Cf. A. Pawelczyńska, *Wartości a przemoc. Zarys socjologicznej problematyki Oświęcimia*, Warszawa 2004; eadem, *Głowa hydry. O przetrwałości współczesnego zła*, Warszawa 2004.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. T. Stempowski, K.W. Ślusarski, „Wydzielony zbiór fotografii byłej Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu”, *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2013, no. 6, pp.171-203; P. Chojnacki, K. W. Ślusarski, „Zbiór fotograficzny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej i jego cechy specyficzne”, *Przegląd Archiwalny Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2009, no. 2, pp. 159-194..

Third Reich.⁸¹⁵ Others were taken by Polish and Jewish photographers hoping to capture on film evidence of daily life and crimes under the occupation. It is important to note that AIPN holds photographic documentation as important as the original report by Jürgen Stroop documenting the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto (the caption on the title page reads: “Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr”; it contains 53 photographs) and the report by SS-Gruppenführer Friedrich Katzmann on “the solution to the Jewish question in the district of Galicia” (which contains 152 photographs and photocopies of various documents).⁸¹⁶ Aside from thousands of photographs showing military operations, devastated cities, daily life under the occupation, executions, the fate of the Jews in the ghettos and camps, resettlements and suppressions, these collections also include photographs from the postwar trials of the criminals, and of exhumations.

In foreign archives, chiefly German (esp. <https://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/>), Israeli (first and foremost the Yad Vashem Photo Archive) and American (NARA, USHMM and others), there are tens of thousands of photographs, most of them taken by the perpetrators, both anonymous and those whose names are known to us, amateurs and professionals. Names include Arnold Becker, Hellmuth Bienieck, Walter Genewein, Heinrich Jöst⁸¹⁷, Willi Georg⁸¹⁸, Joe J. Heydecker⁸¹⁹ and Hans-Joachim Gerke⁸²⁰. The photographic archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH) numbers some 40,000 photographs, of which only a minority (around 8,000) date from the period of the occupation. Some are “originals”, i.e. original prints from the war years, sometimes in albums; the others are copies of photographs stored in other archives, and most of them have unclear copyright status.⁸²¹ Among the originals are three albums of the Order Service (OD, the Jewish police) from the ghetto; one shows the structure of the police force in the Warsaw ghetto in the years 1940-1941 and is dedicated to Inspector M. Händl, deputy commandant of the OD, presented to him by

⁸¹⁵ Cf. I. Kurz, “Codzienne i niecodzienne w obiektywie „fotoamatorów”. Niemieckie fotografie i polska pamięć o okupacji”, [in:] *Wojna. Doświadczenie i zapis. Nowe źródła, problemy, metody badawcze*, ed. S. Buryła, P. Rodak, Kraków 2006, pp. 55-69.

⁸¹⁶ <http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/action/ExternalIdSearch?pid=6003996>, http://pamiec.pl/ftp/ilustracje/Raport_STROOPA.pdf, F. Katzmann, *Rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej w Dystrykcie Galicja. Lösung der Judenfrage im Distrikt Galizien*, Warszawa 2001.

⁸¹⁷ G. Schwarberg, *Im Ghetto von Warschau, Heinrich Jösts Fotografien*, Göttingen 2001.

⁸¹⁸ W. Georg, *In the Warsaw Ghetto Summer 1941. Photographs by Willy Georg with Passages from Warsaw Ghetto Diaries*, New York 1993.

⁸¹⁹ J.J. Heydecker, *Das Warschauer Getto. Foto-Dokumente eines deutschen Soldaten aus dem Jahr 1941*, München 1983.

⁸²⁰ *Warszawa 1940-1941 w fotografii dr. Hansa-Joachima Gerke*, photographs selected and compiled by Danuta Jackiewicz and Eugeniusz Cezary Król, Warszawa 1996.

⁸²¹ Like all other original works, photographs are protected by copyrights, which accrue to the author of the photograph or their heirs unless the author names a third party as their beneficiary. In the case of wartime photographs it is often very difficult to establish authorship and rights.

officers on 1 March 1942; the second was presented on 12 July 1942 to Major Franciszek Przymusiński, a lieutenant in the Polish Police, by the Directorate of the Central Remand Prison in the ghetto (at 24 Gęsia Street); and the third contains private photographs belonging to Przymusiński (among them six of streets in the ghetto and nine of the ghetto on fire). The collections at ŻIH also contain two albums from the Łódź ghetto found in Bydgoszcz in 1954.⁸²² The first is titled “Łodzer Juden. 1937 und Getto” (Łódź Jews. 1937 and the ghetto), the second “Die Polizei greift durch!” (The police steps in). Four other albums of original photographs from Łódź are: “Kronika Sądu... 1942” (Court Chronicle, 62 photographs), “Przesiedlenie 1940” (Resettlement, 176 photographs), “Areszt Centralny” (The Central Remand Prison, 69), and “Chronik des Land und Amtsgericht Litzmannstadt” (Chronicle of the Łódź regional and local court) of 1942, with several dozen photographs interspersed between sections of text. A further 763 loose photographs have been tentatively identified as coming from the Łódź ghetto. The ŻIH collections also contain one original album of photographs from the Warsaw ghetto (of a probable five that existed⁸²³) made by “Foto Forbert” to a commission from the Joint, which financed the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) and aid to the ghetto population, in particular children. These albums hold many photographs of children in orphanages, canteens, playgrounds, and in medical settings; they were designed to illustrate the efficacy of the aid provided by the Joint. It is also important to note the photographs from the Ringelblum Archive (ARG), only a dozen or so of which, unfortunately, can in all certainty be attributed to ARG, i.e. are originals.⁸²⁴ The rest are probably prints of photographs gathered by members of Oneg Shabat. A list of them has been preserved, together with the descriptions made in 1946 by the archivists who were processing the documents retrieved from the metal boxes at that time. In all, there were 76 of these photographs, showing a wide range of subjects, including the construction of the wall, traffic on the street, a group of women, distribution of bread, potato digging, smugglers throwing goods over the wall, Jewish policemen, Czerniaków, head of the Judenrat, with a rescued girl, a child by the wall, and other scenes from ghetto life in Warsaw.⁸²⁵

⁸²² They were most probably abandoned there by SS-Brigadenführer Dr Karl Albert as he fled from the Soviet forces; the dedication in the album reads: “To the President of the Police, Dr Albert, as a memento of our work together on the solution to the Jewish question in Litzmannstadt”.

⁸²³ Three of the other Joint albums are in the collections of the Jagiellonian University Library, and the fifth in a Yad Vashem collection.

⁸²⁴ AŻIH, ARG, Ring. I/683.

⁸²⁵ Cf. *Getto warszawskie 1940-1942: zdjęcia wykonane przez ludność żydowską*, ed. J. Jagielski, U. Kobiałka-Fuks, Warszawa 1996.

The first album of photographs documenting the Holocaust was collated and published as early as in 1945 by the Central Jewish Historical Commission (CŻKH); it contains 252 photographs from across occupied Poland.⁸²⁶ There were plans for two more, on the Łódź and Warsaw ghettos, but they were never published. Many of the photographs in the CŻKH album are incredibly drastic, and provide an excellent illustration of the magnitude of the suffering visited on the Jews during the occupation. Among them are some taken in the Łódź ghetto by Arie ben Menachem (Arie Printz during the war) using the photomontage and collage technique and included under the joint title *Terra Incognita*⁸²⁷, and though the original album has been lost, the glass negatives made from them have been preserved in the ŻIH photographic archive, and the prints published in this CŻKH album. The photographic collections at ŻIH, which are still expanding thanks to donations and acquisitions, also contain many other photographs documenting the Holocaust in various places in occupied Poland; sadly, only some of them have been recognized and identified in terms of their author, the place and people they show, and the circumstances in which they were taken. The Polish-language literature available to date on war and Holocaust photographs, and in particular their identification and interpretation, is meagre, which is why those books and publications that are available are all the more noteworthy; these include *Holokaust w fotografiach* by Janina Struk and *Z historii fotografii wojennej* by Henryk Latoś.⁸²⁸

The Łódź ghetto is the only ghetto in the Polish lands for which a vast archival legacy, both documentary and iconographic, has been preserved. Among the papers in the fonds PSŻ at the State Archive in Łódź there are 27 albums containing contact sheets – very small format contact photographs; unfortunately their negatives have not survived.⁸²⁹ These photographs were taken by two Jewish photographers working in the Statistical Department of the Łódź Judenrat, Henryk Ross and Mendl Grossman. Well in excess of ten thousand photographs show primarily the work of the many different council departments in the ghetto, street scenes, the interiors of the ghetto

⁸²⁶ *Zagłada żydostwa polskiego. Album zdjęć. Album 1* Wydawnictwa Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej przy C.K. Żydów Polskich, Łódź 1945.

⁸²⁷ Cf. *Getto. Terra Incognita. Sztuka walcząca Ariego Ben Menachema i Mendla Grosmana. The Struggling Art of Arie Ben Menachem and Mendel Grosman*, Łódź 2009; A. Pietroni, “Fotomontaż jako sposób opisu Zagłady. Analiza albumów fotograficznych z łódzkiego getta”, Master’s thesis written at the University of Warsaw, Faculty of Polish Studies, Warszawa 2007 [typescript].

⁸²⁸ J. Struk, *Holokaust w fotografiach. Interpretacja dowodów*, Warszawa 2004; H. Latoś, *Z historii fotografii wojennej*, Warszawa 1985; cf. also J. Leociak, “Niecodzienna codzienność. Wokół zdjęć niemieckich żołnierzy i policjantów z okupowanej Polski”, paper delivered at an international conference at the University of Ottawa, September 2006 [typescript].

⁸²⁹ “The negatives of these photographs have probably not survived. They survived the war and were taken to Israel, and were stored in the Nizanim kibbutz. During the fighting in 1948 they were seized by Egyptian soldiers and disappeared”, cf. J. Baranowski, *Łódzkie getto 1940-1944. Vademecum*, Łódź 2003, p. 131.

administration offices, Chaim Rumkowski, and various ceremonies and events. They have all been scanned and are accessible to view on screen in the Łódź archive. Many of them were published in Julian Baranowski's book *Łódzkie getto 1940-1944*.⁸³⁰ In addition to these, at the end of the 1980s a large collection of several hundred colour photographs taken by the bookkeeper of the German ghetto management, the Austrian-born Walter Genewein, came to light. In view of both the person of their author and the fact that they were taken on colour film, they are exceptional for their time. These photographs are held in the collection of the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt am Main, and many of them also in the collections of USHMM in Washington, D.C. They were the inspiration for the documentary film *Fotoamator* (*Photographer*) directed by Dariusz Jabłoński, which also made use of an interview with a doctor from the ghetto who survived, Arnold Mostowicz, and other archival documents.⁸³¹

The collections of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim include around 39,000 negatives of photographs taken of prisoners on their arrival at the camp. These photographs were for use for identification purposes. The photographs from the Auschwitz collection were taken by the photographer Wilhelm Brasse, who survived the camp and succeeded in salvaging a considerable proportion of them. A documentary film was made about these photographs also, called *Portrecista* (*The Portraitist*).⁸³² Brasse, the son of an Austrian and a Polish woman, was sent to Auschwitz as a form of repression for refusing to sign the Volksliste; he was assigned the number 3444. It was not until the making of the film that the photographer, who lived in the town of Żywiec, found himself able to talk about what he had experienced and seen. He admitted that since the war he had never been able to return to his profession. In the camp he photographed prisoners (three police-style shots), made portraits of Gestapo and SS officers, and also took photographs of the sick children on whom Mengele carried out his experiments. On the orders of the camp doctors he also photographed prisoners' tattoos. A unique album contains around 200 photographs taken by members of the SS in 1944 during the arrival of the transports of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau.⁸³³ This is known as the Lili Jacob album; it was presented at the trial of the Auschwitz camp staff in Frankfurt by Lili Zelmanovic⁸³⁴, who was called as a witness (she had found it in Mauthausen). On

⁸³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 131-151.

⁸³¹ *Fotoamator*, dir. Dariusz Jabłoński, Apple Film Production 1998.

⁸³² Dir. Ireneusz Dobrowolski, Poland 2005.

⁸³³ *The Auschwitz Album. The Story of a Transport*, ed. Israel Gutman, Bella Gutterman, Caracas 2002.

⁸³⁴ Lili Jacob's married name was Zelmanovic, and then Meier. After the war she settled in the US, where she died in 1999.

the first page of the album there is a dedication: “As a memento of your dear, unforgotten Heinz”. Today this famous document is in the collections of Yad Vashem. Another six photographs of exceptional importance and significance taken by members of the Sonderkommando during the burning of corpses of prisoners gassed at Birkenau have also survived. They were taken in secret by the camp underground using a camera stolen from the store known as “Kanada”. Around 500 photographs of various buildings and other camp structures have also been preserved; these were photographed on the orders of the SS by the special camp identification services, the Erkennungsdienst.⁸³⁵ We are also familiar with the several dozen aerial photographs taken by Allied pilots⁸³⁶ and obtained by the museum in 1980. Over 2,500 prewar photographs of Jews later sent to Auschwitz from the ghettos in Będzin and Sosnowiec⁸³⁷ have also been preserved, as have many others.

The State Museum at Majdanek (PMM), like all other museums of martyrdom, also keeps photographs of prisoners, the camp, and its state at liberation. Few of them – just 25 – date from the period 1941-1944, however; these show the construction of the camp (they bear a stamp reading “Nur für den Dienstgebrauch” – Only for official use) and an overall view of it. Around 600 photographs of former prisoners have also been amassed, as well as some 150 of members of the camp staff. The largest number of photographs date from shortly after liberation – these were taken by soldiers or members of the commission appointed to investigate the crimes committed there. Indeed, this was also the case in Auschwitz-Birkenau and all the other camps, including those in Germany and liberated by Western Allied forces. These circumstances produced thousands of photographs that shocked public opinion all over the world; they were displayed at many exhibitions.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁵ There was an Erkennungsdienst in every camp, but the largest number of surviving photographs was taken by that in KL Auschwitz-Birkenau.

⁸³⁶ These photographs show the various parts of the camp complex, including the crematoria, the gas chambers, the barracks, the guard towers, the nearby IG Farbenindustrie plant in Monowice-Dwory; it is even possible to make out a group of prisoners walking towards the crematorium.

⁸³⁷ *Zanim odeszli... Fotografie odnalezione w Auschwitzu*, edited and compiled by K. Brandt, H. Loewy, K. Oleksy, Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Oświęcim 2001.

⁸³⁸ J. Struk, *Holocaust w fotografiach*, op. cit., pp. 170-201.

As Bärbel Schmidt wrote in an article on the prisoners' striped uniforms, "historiography is at risk of cutting itself off too much from material evidence"⁸³⁹ owing to the way they are displayed in exhibitions, which has made them more akin to relics than authentic pieces of evidence and testimonies on an equal footing with all other kinds of communication, to be subjected, like them, to academic study (or research), description and analysis. The striped uniforms were a means by which the prisoners were stigmatized and segregated, and often their condition was decisive to survival in the camp.⁸⁴⁰ It is well known that the lack of shoes in KL Auschwitz-Birkenau could rapidly reduce a prisoner to a "muselmann"⁸⁴¹, and this, in turn, led to death. Survival was a struggle – in the most fundamental sense of the word.⁸⁴² Three-dimensional material objects are a fragment of past reality that cannot be distorted because they do not communicate in words. Yet in order for these objects to "speak", we must "grant history its appropriate meaning by drawing attention to the object, which comes to life through contact with it (...) For we can only build the future in a normal manner if we have the facility to look back."⁸⁴³ Today, the camps are no more – they are the sites of the former camps; and the ghettos are no more – there are only the districts where the ghettos once were, and here and there in those districts the same houses are still standing in which people lived in the ghettos. Although this may seem incomprehensible, many objects, original documents and photographs are abroad, in part because the surviving Jews took them with them when they left Poland. One example is one of the many exhibits on display in the permanent exhibition at USHMM.⁸⁴⁴ This is a 1:5000 scale model of the Łódź ghetto made by Leon Jakubowicz (Jacobsen), which could be packed into a protective carrying case. Its author worked on it throughout the many years of his life in the ghetto, which was his personal strategy for survival. From the window of his apartment he could see Zgierska Street and the bridge built over it. His model includes miniatures of the buildings that housed offices and workplaces, factories and workshops, as well as samples of all

⁸³⁹ B. Schmidt, "Pasiaki więźniarskie: relikwia czy dokument historyczny?", *Pro Memoria. Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2004, no. 20, pp. 37-41.

⁸⁴⁰ Cf. A. Pajęczkowska, „Obraz odzyskany. Fotograficzne portrety ocalonych”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2012, no. 8, pp. 383-402.

⁸⁴¹ "Muselmann" - a colloquialism used by concentration camp prisoners to describe the weak, those who had lost the will to live, and were doomed to selection. Cf. W. Witek-Malicka, *Lagerszpracha – narzędzie rekonstrukcji czy kreowanie rzeczywistości?*, Katowice-Oświęcim 2013.

⁸⁴² Cf. P. Levy, *If This is a Man*, New York 1959 (in Polish: *Czy to jest człowiek*, Warszawa 1996); idem, *The Drowned and the Saved*, New York 1988 (in Polish: *Pogrążeni i ocaleni*, Kraków 2007); J. Améry, *At the Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and its Realities*, Bloomington 1980 (in Polish: *Poza winą i karą*, Kraków 2007).

⁸⁴³ M. Budziarek, "Liście historii albo ślady życia i śmierci w getcie łódzkim", translation and summary of the article: A. Bodek, "Laub der Geschichte oder Spuren des Lebens und Sterbens im Getto Lodz gesichtet und gesammelt", [in:] *Judaica łódzkie w zbiorach muzealnych i zasobach archiwalnych*, collective work, ed. M. Budziarek, Łódź 1994, pp. 184-185.

⁸⁴⁴ J. Nowakowski, "Krzyk łódzkiego getta" w waszyngtońskim Muzeum Holocaustu", [in:] *Judaica łódzkie*, op. cit., pp. 117-126.

the banknotes and ration cards, and a collection of the stamps used by the ghetto administration, coins, and medals. Buried in the cellar of the house in which Jakubowicz lived, the model fortunately survived, and its author took it with him when he emigrated to the US after the war. Another very large object on display at USHMM is the characteristic Kasa Chorych (Patients' Fund) hospital door from Łagiewnicka Street in the ghetto. It was from this hospital (today in ruins) that patients and children were brutally "selected" for transport to the extermination camp in Chelmno, some of them being thrown out of the windows onto the street below. The author of an article on the history behind the creation of the exhibition in the Washington museum, the curator of its collections, Jacek Nowakowski, remembers the dilemmas that accompanied the selection of objects to be included in the exhibition: "What exhibits could possibly convey the terror of the continuous deportations to and from the ghetto, the hunger and poverty, the dreadful sanitation conditions, and the work that was beyond human strength? We decided to show it all using objects as symbols."⁸⁴⁵ These include tools used for the work that was thought to be the route to salvation: sewing machines, cobbler's chisels, carpentry tools. "As we walked the streets of Bałuty in Łódź, we realized the importance of the road surface on which we were walking, so different from modern American sidewalks. The walls, the windows, the doorways, the stairwells – all this 'cried out' to us."⁸⁴⁶ From Warsaw the authentic cobblestones from Chłodna Street by the intersection with Żelazna Street went on display – the same ones walked a few decades previously by people incarcerated in the ghetto. These are traces of the Holocaust, and sometimes only traces of traces, such as an object identical to one on a photograph. There are similar "trace objects" in the collections of the ŻIH Museum, which collects above all artworks and Judaica (objects of religious cult)⁸⁴⁷, but in its Pamiątki historyczne (Historical mementos) section preserves with equal care objects directly connected with the fate of the Jews during the war. Naturally, the largest number of such objects comes from the Łódź ghetto, because Łódź was not destroyed, and the Germans left the city literally at the last moment before the Red Army marched in. These include various greetings cards, posters and albums made by representatives of various workplaces and schools for the Head of the Jewish Council in the Łódź Ghetto, Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski, e.g. a card for Rosh Hashanah made by school teachers (inv. no. B-179/11); functionaries' armbands, e.g. one for an OD officer (inv. no. B-185/2); banknotes from the ghetto,

⁸⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 121.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁸⁴⁷ In all, around 11,000 objects connected with the history, tradition and culture of the Polish Jews.

known as “rumki” after Rumkowski⁸⁴⁸; designs for postage stamps with portraits of Rumkowski, for use within the ghetto⁸⁴⁹; everyday items such as children’s shoes woven from cotton tape⁸⁵⁰; commemorative objects such as cigarette cases and wooden boxes⁸⁵¹; ornaments from wrought metal, such as signs and lettering; and propaganda materials and drawings.

Another large collection of objects from the Łódź ghetto is held in Muzeum Miasta Łodzi (the Museum of the City of Łódź)⁸⁵²: “negatives and photographs, documents of the life of society, official forms, forms of payment, commemorative jewellery and souvenirs, decorations of the order services, objects of everyday use”.⁸⁵³ It has two full sets of banknotes and aluminium coins from the ghetto (these are frequent exhibits in museum collections, as large numbers have been preserved; they were printed and struck in large quantities).⁸⁵⁴ These were valid currency only inside the ghetto and were designed as a way of draining the ghetto population of standard currency, which they had to exchange for “rumki”. The three-dimensional objects in the collections of the museum in Łódź include two stamp matrices⁸⁵⁵; decorations of the OD and the cemetery service (Friedhofsdienst); and other objects including the signboard for a shop where bread and other food was distributed (at 9 Drewnowska Street), a milk bottle, mementos made from metal (pendants, brooches, bracelets, signet rings, engraved plaques), wooden boxes, and other evidence of the day-to-day ghetto existence, such as ration cards for food and other products, and postal forms. Many often beautifully and skilfully made metal brooches bearing the characteristic motif of a ration card or a “panorama” of the ghetto have also survived. Other items in the collections include works of three-dimensional art, among them two wooden sculptures depicting a young Jew and an elderly Jew, made by Icchak (Wincent/Wincenty) Brauner and M. Winiarski, commissioned by the German Institute for Research of the Jewish Question (intended as exhibits in a planned museum of “race”⁸⁵⁶), a sculpted model by an anonymous author entitled “Przesiedlenie do getta łódzkiego” (Resettlement into the Łódź ghetto) made in the years 1942-1943, and other objects.

⁸⁴⁸ The Łódź ghetto had its own internal ghetto currency produced by the Judenrat, with banknotes of the denominations 50 pfennigs, 1 mark, 2 marks, 5 marks, 10 marks and 20 marks. Coins were also struck, with the Star of David and the word “Getto” on the reverse, cf. inv. no. B-615 ab.

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. inv. no. B-522/2. *Początki w Łódzkim Getcie 1940-1944 ze zbiorów Manfreda Schulze (Berlin)*, Łódź 2004 (exh. cat. from Muzeum Tradycji Niepodległościowych [the Museum of Independence Traditions] in Łódź).

⁸⁵⁰ Inv. no. B-198.

⁸⁵¹ Inv. no. B-619.

⁸⁵² M. Jaskulski, “Judaica w zbiorach Muzeum Historii Miasta Łodzi”, [in:] *Judaica łódzkie*, op. cit., pp. 74-89.

⁸⁵³ Ibidem, p. 86.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. G.M.Y. Franquinet, “Geld Gettos Litzmannstadt”, *Money Trend*, 1993, no. 10, pp. 4-9.

⁸⁵⁵ Der Älteste der Juden in Lods and Postabteilung des Ältesten der Juden in Lods.

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. *Skarby Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, exh. cat., May–October 2006.

Of objects salvaged from the Warsaw ghetto, among the most precious in the collections of ŻIH are the two milk cans and three (of an original ten) metal crates in which the documents making up the Ringelblum Archive were buried.⁸⁵⁷ Aside from these, there are also drawings, ghetto armbands with the Star of David, and OD functionaries' armbands⁸⁵⁸, as well as metal decorations from that service, and craft items made illegally for sale, such as a notebook.⁸⁵⁹ From other localities there are drawings depicting scenes from life and the German repressions⁸⁶⁰, as well as everyday objects such as suitcases and musical instruments fashioned from pieces of Torah scroll (drums⁸⁶¹). One recent acquisition is a scroll of public announcements from the ghetto that had been buried in the cellars of a house in Warsaw not far from present-day Anielewicz and Zamenhofa Streets. It was unearthed during archaeological digs that preceded the construction of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. In another site within the former Warsaw ghetto, on the premises of the lot at 34 Świątojerska Street (today the Chinese embassy), some ordinary metal objects and scraps of paper – pages from a book – were retrieved from the ground in 2003. Unfortunately, searches for the third part of the Ringelblum Archive in the same place were fruitless. All the objects sought by historians, museum workers or collectors, or found by chance years on, are material evidence of the conditions in which the Jews lived during the war, and the circumstances in which they died.

In the collection of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum in Oświęcim, vast quantities of objects from the camp or belongings of prisoners are kept; they are all proof of the mass crimes committed there, whose traces the Germans did not manage to obliterate and destroy. These collections include more than 80,000 shoes, some 4,000 suitcases and baskets, 12,000 pots, bowls and mugs, around 40 kg of spectacles, 460 artificial limbs, 830 items of camp clothing (striped uniforms) and civilian attire, 260 prayer shawls (tallith), 40 m³ of metal objects from the “Kanada” stores in Birkenau, and around 6,000 exhibits in the collection of art, including some 2,000 objects made in the camp workshops by prisoners, either as commissions from SS officers or illegally as their own work. Another aspect of these collections are around 8,000 camp letters and cards, often beautifully

⁸⁵⁷ One of the cans is on display in the permanent exhibition at USHMM in Washington, D.C., and one of the crates is exhibited at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

⁸⁵⁸ Inv. no. B-196, 246/91.

⁸⁵⁹ Inv. no. B-647.

⁸⁶⁰ E.g. that by Kuba Guterman of Plock, a ten-year-old boy, inv. no. B-513/5.

⁸⁶¹ Inv. no. B-620; the museum description reports that the Germans ordered Jewish craftsmen to make various items from Torah scrolls.

decorated, as well as several stories written by prisoners for children – also illustrated. Moreover, almost two tonnes of hair shorn from female prisoners' heads, intended as raw material for the production of industrial fabrics, has survived.⁸⁶² The museum at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau is spread over a total area of some 191 hectares (20 ha are Auschwitz I, and 171 ha Birkenau), spread across which there are a great many buildings and vestiges of buildings, e.g. the ruins of the gas chambers and crematoria, wooden and brick barracks, the remains of wooden barracks (brick chimney flues), the sewerage and drainage network, roadways, fences, guard towers, the building of the “sauna”, and many others. In all, after the war there were 197 buildings on the site; many of them were demolished, others fell into decay owing to disuse and non-conservation. Today the Auschwitz Museum has a large and excellently equipped conservation laboratory. Among the objects left on the site of the former concentration and extermination camps were objects used for the mass killings, torture, and individual executions, including instruments of torture, a whipping rack for carrying out floggings, Zyklon B canisters, a gallows, and the gas chamber in Auschwitz I.⁸⁶³ But the objects amassed in the museum's collection are not restricted to the remains of buildings and evidence of the daily crimes and the agonies suffered by the prisoners. There are also very numerous proofs of their resistance and attempts to survive through artistic output.⁸⁶⁴ In all, some 1,600 artworks have been preserved that were made in KL Auschwitz-Birkenau: paintings, drawings, sculpture, prints, among them the famous “gypsy portraits” made by Dinah (Babbitt) Gottliebova on the orders of camp doctor Josef Mengele, who conducted his pseudo-medical experiments on Sinti and Roma prisoners.⁸⁶⁵ The genre represented in greatest number is the portrait – prisoners made portraits out of a need to record their appearance in the “here and now”, to convey their image to a loved one, and also out of a desire “to plumb the mysteries of the human soul by observing the face and persona of the prisoner”.⁸⁶⁶ The prisoners on these portraits “are different, but yet what is striking in them is a vague similarity, a particular mental expression. Perhaps it is the tell-tale gaze, which the author himself described as follows: ‘the eyes terribly hopeless and strange, and in virtually every one

⁸⁶² W. Niessner, “Problemy konserwatorskie i etyczne zachowania włosów – szczątków ludzkich”, *Pro Memoria. Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 2004, no. 20, pp. 43-45; M. Zawodna, “Wokół tego co pozostało. Biograficzne podejście do badań nad szczątkami ludzkimi na przykładzie włosów eksponowanych w Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau”, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 2007, vol. LI, no. 2, pp. 65-90.

⁸⁶³ R. Pióro, W. Smrek, “Materialne świadectwa zbrodni”, *Pro Memoria*, 2007, no. 27, pp. 63-66.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. *The Last Expression. Art and Auschwitz*, ed. D. Mickenberg, C. Granof, P. Hayes, Evanston 2003; *Last Traces. The Lost Art of Auschwitz*, photography and text by J.P. Czarnecki, introduction by Ch. Potok, New York 1989; *Spiritual Resistance. Art from Concentration Camps 1940-1945, A selection of drawings and paintings from the collection of Kibbutz Lobamei Hagbataot, Israel*, New York 1978; “Kunst und Holocaust, Bildliche Zeugen vom Ende der westlichen Kultur”, *Loccumer Protokolle*, 1993, no. 14/89.

⁸⁶⁵ L. Ostalowska, *Farby wodne*, Wołowiec 2011.

⁸⁶⁶ I. Szymańska, “Portret w obozie oświęcimskim”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1985, no. 1 (42), pp. 93-104.

of them lurks the egotistical will to survive’.”⁸⁶⁷ This will to survive prompted people to seek out every possible method of preserving their inner freedom and independence, and to occupy their minds with positive, defensive activities, which included art, camp humour⁸⁶⁸, literary and poetic output, and even music-making⁸⁶⁹ there. Most of these arts, aside from their aesthetic values and the natural need for creativity, also had a therapeutic role.⁸⁷⁰ It is also important, however, to remember one more aspect of camp art: it was often “conducted” by force and on the orders of the SS officers in the camps, who would use this means on the one hand to take advantage of prisoners’ artistic talents⁸⁷¹, and on the other as a way of humiliating and degrading them. In KL Auschwitz there was a camp “museum”⁸⁷², which even employed Jews to translate texts from Hebrew; in both Auschwitz and Birkenau there were also prisoner orchestras.

The former camp complex at the State Museum at Majdanek is the best preserved of all the concentration camp sites. It comprises some 70 buildings and facilities: a crematorium, gas chambers, bathhouses, 24 barracks in Field III, 17 guard towers, 5 control guard houses, 15 ancillary barracks, and the fences. The moveable objects that have been preserved and are kept in the Collections Department are divided into the following groups:

1. Former camp textiles.
2. Personal effects looted from prisoners.
3. Wooden camp footwear and civilian shoes.
4. Objects connected with life and labour in the camp.
5. Instruments of terror.
6. Exploitation of corpses.
7. Objects of religious cult.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 95.

⁸⁶⁸ Z. Jagoda, S. Kłodziński, J. Masłowski, “Śmiech w obozie koncentracyjnym”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1973, no. 1 (30), pp. 84-99.

⁸⁶⁹ A. Kulisiewicz, “Z zagadnień psychopatologii muzyki i pieśni w obozach hitlerowskich”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1974, no. 1 (31), pp. 39-45; idem, “Muzyka i pieśń jako współczynnik samoobrony psychicznej więźniów w obozach hitlerowskich”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1977, no. 1 (34), pp. 66-77; S. Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, Oxford 2005; J. Jacobson, “Music in the Holocaust”, *Choral Journal*, 1995, no. 5, pp. 9-21.

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. A. Kępiński, S. Kłodziński, “O dodatniej aktywności psychicznej więźniów”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1973, no. 1 (30), pp. 81-84.

⁸⁷¹ A great many SS “commissions” were for portraits made from photographs, or for landscapes – the Germans would send these pictures to their families as souvenirs. How many of them still exist today, and are their present-day owners aware of the circumstances in which they were created?

⁸⁷² I. Stefańska, “Muzeum w KL Auschwitz”, *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1982, no. 1-3 (39), pp. 111-117.

“Aside from the exhibits mentioned above, the museum also has a collection of artistic objects and items of everyday use fashioned by prisoners in the camp. Artistic activity, which was forbidden and frowned upon, was carried out in secret by both professionals and amateurs incarcerated in the camps.”⁸⁷³ The group of exhibits that represent the surviving vestiges of the prisoners’ day-to-day lives includes prisoners’ attire, the striped prison uniforms (and caps) and the civilian clothing in which they arrived at the camp, functionaries’ armbands (those of Kapo, Läufer, Schreiber, etc.), the camp numbers designating the various categories of prisoners⁸⁷⁴, a wide array of everyday items brought in suitcases, such as personal hygiene items (toothbrushes, shaving kits, cleaning brushes and pastes), spectacles, combs, hair clasps, crockery and cutlery, a vast quantity of footwear, playing cards, and dolls and other toys. Items of religious cult include tallith, tefillin and prayer books. Objects used by the prisoners that were elements of the fittings in the barracks have also survived, such as wooden bunks, stools, chairs, cupboards, and also a roller for compressing road surfaces, medical instruments, and number tags that were hung round the prisoners’ necks. The group of instruments of extermination includes SS whips, Zyklon B canisters, a gallows, and the crematorium oven, and of the group of relics connected with exploitation of corpses the Majdanek collections include human bones and skulls, urns for ashes, dentures and artificial limbs, human hair, and industrial fabrics made from it. Taking photographs in the camp was essentially forbidden, and information to this effect has been preserved on the bilingual (Polish-German) sign reading: “Attention! Camp premises! Halt! Photography prohibited! Shooting without warning! The Commandant”. Another original camp sign was found some two decades ago in Belżec.⁸⁷⁵ It should be remembered that people undressed themselves immediately prior to entering the gas chamber, deceived to the last moment as to their fate. This was designed to prevent panic, facilitate looting of any precious items they still possessed, and help to make the murder process “efficient”, rapid and “economical”. The sign reads as follows: “ATTENTION! Complete surrender of clothing! All items brought, with the exception of money, valuables, documents and (...) [illegible] should be left in a place (...) [illegible]. Money, valuables and documents to be kept on the person until surrender at the window, and not to be relinquished. Footwear to be tied in pairs and surrendered at the place indicated. In all fully undressed proceed for bath and inhalation.” Similar fabrications were in place at each of the extermination camps. The station building at the railway ramp in Treblinka, where the

⁸⁷³ J. Kielboń, “Warsztat naukowy Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku”, *Zeszyty Majdanek* 1995, vol. XVI, pp. 86-87.

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. *Żywe numery II od 19 września 2006 r. do 31 grudnia 2006 r.*, exh. cat., curator Wiesława Złot, Lublin 2006.

⁸⁷⁵ Now property of the Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, on display in the museum in Belżec as a deposit.

transports of people who were to be dead within half an hour were unloaded, looked like a film set. There was even a (fake) train timetable.

Our current knowledge of the way the camps functioned, exactly where they were situated, and their boundaries, buildings and other camp facilities, the locations of mass graves and the amount of bodies these could hold, and also the way in which the victims were murdered is the sum of the information gleaned from documents, testimonies, photographs, surviving relics, and those “reclaimed” from the earth. For wherever those murdered were buried there is also evidence of the murder – bones and ashes, and small items belonging to the victims, which they had wanted to keep with them: the keys to their homes, wedding rings, other rings, medallions, spoons, glass ampoules with medication, mirrors, silver ornaments, combs, boxes for medications, plastic plaques with the Star of David, cigarette cases, padlocks, scissors, and many other items. All these were found during archaeological digs on the site of the former extermination camp in Belżec⁸⁷⁶ conducted in the years 1997-1999 and 2003-2005 in connection with the construction of the new museum and site of memory.⁸⁷⁷ In the years 2000-2011 digs were also conducted in Sobibór, and archaeological work continues there to this day.⁸⁷⁸ Even earlier than this, in 1986, the first, pioneering excavations were held on the site of the former camp in Chelmno nad Nerem; these were then continued on the site of the “castle”, where people were loaded into the gas chamber lorries under the pretext that they were to be taken to the bathhouse, to the showers.⁸⁷⁹ Would we know this much about the Holocaust if it were not for the objects, photographs and material traces of the former camps and ghettos, and if the only information available to us were the words recorded in the documents preserved in archives? And would we interpret these written words⁸⁸⁰ in the same way were it not for the surviving objects, photographs and material traces?

⁸⁷⁶ A. Kola, *Hitlerowski obóz zagłady Żydów w Belżcu w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, Badania 1997-1999, Warszawa – Waszyngton 2000.

⁸⁷⁷ In Belżec a traditional monument was not built; the whole site of the former camp was transformed into a protected memorial as part of a project to commemorate the events that occurred here; hence its name is Museum-Memorial Site in Belżec: <http://www.belzec.eu/>.

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. M. Bem, W. Mazurek, *Sobibór. Badania archeologiczne prowadzone na terenie po byłym niemieckim ośrodku zagłady w Sobiborze w latach 2000-2011*, Warszawa – Włodawa 2012.

⁸⁷⁹ Ł. Pawlicka-Nowak, “Badania archeologiczne na terenie byłego ośrodka zagłady w Chelmnie nad Nerem”, [in:] *Mówią świadkowie Chelmina*, Konin – Łódź 2004, pp. 42-66; eadem, “Badania archeologiczne w Chelmnie n. Nerem”, *Przeszłość i Pamięć*, 1997, no. 2 and 3; J. Budziarek, “Naznaczone „oddechem śmierci”. Biżuteria żydowska znaleziona w ośrodku zagłady Kulmhof”, [in:] *Mówią świadkowie Chelmina*, op. cit., pp. 64-75; C. Sturdy Colls, “O tym, co minęło, lecz nie zostało zapomniane: Badania archeologiczne na terenie byłego obozu zagłady w Treblince”, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 2012, no. 8, pp. 83-120.

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. N. Blumental, *Słowa niewinne*, Part 1, Warszawa – Łódź – Kraków, 1947; V. Klemperer, *LTI Lingua Tertii Imperii, notatnik filologa*, Toronto 1992.

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