

Noten

INLEIDING: STRIJDBIJLEN

- 16 *Freuen in di Ghetto's*: Leib Spizman, ed. *Women in the Ghetto's* (New York: Pioneer Women's Organization, 1946). *Women in the Ghetto's* is a compilation of recollections, letters, and poems by and about Jewish women resisters, mainly from the Polish Labor Zionist movement, and includes excerpts of longer works. The text is in Yiddish and is intended for American Jews, though much of its content was originally published in Hebrew. The editor, Leib Spizman, escaped occupied Poland for Japan and then New York, where he became a historian of Labor Zionism.
- 18 *Wat als Joodse verzetsdaad 'telt'*: For discussion on the definition of "resistance," see, for instance: Brana Gurewitsch, ed. *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters: Oral Histories of Women Who Survived the Holocaust* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 221–22; Yehudit Kol- Inbar, " 'Not Even for Three Lines in History': Jewish Women Underground Members and Partisans During the Holocaust," in *A Companion to Women's Military History*, ed. Barton Hacker and Margaret Vining (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 2012), 513–46; Yitchak Mais, "Jewish Life in the Shadow of Destruction," and Eva Fogelman, "On Blaming the Victim," in *Daring to Resist: Jewish Defiance in the Holocaust*, ed. Yitzchak Mais (New York: Museum of Jewish Heritage, 2007), exhibition catalogue, 18–25 and 134–37; Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, "Resistance and Rescue," in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 171–74; Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw 1940–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 7–15; Joan Ringelheim, "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research," in *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, ed. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 1993), 383, 390; Nechama Tec, *Resistance: Jews and Christians Who Defied the Nazi Terror* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), especially 12–13; Lenore J. Weitzman, "Living on the Aryan Side in Poland: Gender, Passing, and the Nature of Resistance," in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 187–222. Paulsson and Weitzman stress that hiding should be considered a form of resistance; Paulsson says the same for flight.
- 19 *Netwerken (...)om andere Joden te redden*: For discussion of Jewish rescuers, see Mordechai Paldiel, *Saving One's Own: Jewish Rescuers During the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, University of Nebraska Press, 2017). According to Paldiel, large-scale rescue was less prominent in Poland than in other countries.
- 19 *medegevangenen in de armen te nemen om ze warm te houden*: Vera Slymovicz testimony, p. 27, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives, Montreal.

- 20 *uitgebreide memoires*: Renia Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings* (Ein Harod, Isr.: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1945).
- 20 (*volgens sommigen zelfs het allereerste*): See, for instance, the description of Renia's book in <https://images.shulcloud.com/1281/uploads/Documents/Narayever-News/news-jan-feb-2014.pdf>.
- 20 *in het Engels*: Renya Kulkielko, *Escape from the Pit* (New York: Sharon Books, 1947). Sharon Books shared the same address as the Pioneer Women's Organization. (In 2018 Renia's family had no idea that this English edition existed.)
- 20 *relatief kleine overwinningen*: Though stories of the Jewish resistance had not reached my Jewish cultural sphere, they are told in survivor communities and discussed in academic circles in Israel. Some have claimed that these efforts were so miniscule they do not deserve attention; others have stated that there was a "mass" of resistance activity. It is worth mentioning that many statistics in this story are estimates and are often contested. Much Holocaust "data" is drawn from Nazi records, and in the case of resistance, these records were biased. On the Jewish end, despite a few successful attempts at creating and saving archives, so much information was lost, or had to be kept secret – it was not recorded at all or was recorded in code. Many numbers come from personal memories.
- 21 Oost-Europese getto's waren *gewapende Joodse verzetsbewegingen actief*: Mais, "Jewish Life in the Shadow of Destruction," 24. Other sources offer slightly different numbers. According to the USHMM Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/jewish-uprisings-in-ghettos-and-camps-1941-44>, approximately a hundred ghettos had underground movements. (It does not specify if they were armed.) According to Agnes Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust: In Their Own Words* (Stroud, UK: Amberley, 2018), 180–81, seventeen ghettos in Poland and Lithuania each had an organized resistance group, and an estimated sixty-five ghettos in the Belarus area had armed groups that later fought from the forest.
- 21 *Będzin, Vilna, Białystok en Tarnów*: Wall text, "Fighting to Survive: Jewish Resistance," Montreal Holocaust Museum, Montreal. Wall text, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw, also includes: Będzin, Braslaw, Brzesc, Kobryn, Krzemieniec, Mir, Nieswiez, Tuczyn and Vilna. USHMM Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/jewish-uprisings-in-ghettos-and-camps-1941-44> also includes: Lachva, Kremenets, Nesvizh. Mark Bernard, "Problems Related to the Study of the Jewish Resistance Movement in the Second World War," *Yad Vashem Studies* 3 (1959): 45, mentions that Jewish resistance acts also took place in: Kazimierz, Biala Podlaska, Pulawy, Radzyn, Jaslo, Sandomierz; he mentions that partisan units were formed in ghettos in Lukow, Pulawy, Biala Podlaska, Minsk Mazowiecki, Brest, Lublin, and Pinsk; he also refers to an uprising in the Trawniki camp. According to Yad Vashem, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206316.pdf, fighters in Grodno also attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate ghetto commandants.
- 21 *vijf grote concentratie- en vernietigingskampen*: Tec, *Resistance*, 148.
- 21 *Dertigduizend*: Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, <http://www.jewishpartisans.org>.
- 21 *Joodse netwerken boden financiële steun aan twaalfduizend ondergedoken Joden*: The number of Jews supported by these networks is contested. See endnotes in chapter 20.

- 21 *weinig aandacht voor vrouwen*: Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 228–29, notes that when Zivia's granddaughter became a fighter pilot, the UK *Daily Telegraph* wrote an article about her and how her grandfather was a fighter in Warsaw, not even mentioning Zivia. In Matthew Brzezinski's *Isaac's Army: A Story of Courage and Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Random House, 2012), women are listed under men in the cast of characters, and referred to as the "girlfriend of." Men are not described as "boyfriend of."
- 22 '*glamour girl*', *een pittige*, '*vrijgevochten*' *meid*: Ziva Shalev, *Tossia Altman: Leader of Hashomer Hatzair Movement and of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Moreshet, 1992), 32–33. For more on "hussies," see Anna Legierska, "The Hussies and Gentlemen of Interwar Poland," Culture.pl, <https://culture.pl/en/article/the-hussies-and-gentlemen-of-prewar-poland>, 16 Oct 2014.
- 22 '*De Joodse meisjes vormden het zenuwcentrum van de beweging*': Chaika Grossman, "For Us the War Has Not Ended," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 180–82.
- 22 '*Zonder morren (...) de geschiedenis van het Jodendom tijdens de huidige oorlog*': From Emanuel Ringelblum's diary entry, May 1942. One translation can be found in: Emanuel Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emanuel Ringelblum*, ed. and trans. Jacob Sloan (New York: iBooks, 2006). Many leaders sang similar praises at the time. Jan Karski, the famous Polish resistance leader, also honored the couriers, stressing that they were more exposed than organizers and executors and carried out the hardest work for the least reward. Cited in Vera Laska, ed., *Different Voices*, 255.
- 22 '*de grote schatten van onze natie*' *zijn en een essentieel deel zouden uitmaken van de Joodse overlevering*: Ruzka Korczak, "Women in the Vilna Ghetto," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 126.
- 22 *het boek van de eeuwige nagedachtenis*: Gusta Davidson Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, trans. Roslyn Hirsch and David H. Hirsch (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 33. As she wrote: "From this prison cell that we will never leave alive, we young fighters who are about to die salute you. We offer our lives willingly for our holy cause, asking only that our deeds be inscribed in the book of eternal memory."

PROLOOG: VOORUITBLIK – VERDEDIGEN OF REDDEN

- 23 '*Będzin (...) was gesticht als*: Information about Będzin is from "Będzin," Virtual Shtetl, <https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/b/406-bedzin/99-history/137057-history-of-community>; Bella Gutterman, "The Holocaust in Będzin," in *Rutka's Notebook: January–April 1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007); Aleksandra Namyslo, *Before the Holocaust Came: The Situation of the Jews in Zagłębie During the German Occupation* (Katowice: Public Education Office of the Institute of National Remembrance, with the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and Yad Vashem, 2014); Anna Piernikarczyk, "Będzin," *Polskie Dzieje*, <https://polskiedzieje.pl/dzieje-miast-polskich/bedzin.html>; Avihu Ronen, "The Jews of Będzin," in *Before They Perished ... Photographs Found in Auschwitz*, ed. Kersten Brandt et al. (Oświęcim, Pol.: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2001), 16–27; Marcin Wodziński, "Będzin," *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bedzin>; Ruth Zariz, "Attempts at Rescue and Revolt; Attitude of Members of the Dror Youth Movement in Będzin to Foreign Passports as Means of Rescue," *Yad Vashem Studies* 20 (1990): 211–36.

- 24 *Bijna de helft*: “Będzin,” The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bedzin>. Other sources offer statistics ranging from 45 percent to 80 percent.
- 24 *vermoordden vervolgens tientallen Joden*: Varying sources offer numbers ranging from forty to two hundred. According to The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, forty-four Jews were killed.
- 24 *de Jodenster op hun mouw*: Jews in different regions were forced to wear different badges. In many areas of Poland, Jews had to wear white armbands with a blue star of David; in others, they had to wear yellow stars. See: “Holocaust Badges,” Holocaust Memorial Center, <https://www.holocaustcenter.org/visit/library-archive/holocaust-badges>.
- 24 *‘geliquideerd.’ (...) ‘Endlösung’*: The Nazis used euphemisms for their murderous plans. The “Final Solution” refers to their plan to annihilate all of Europe’s Jews. “Liquidation” is code for eliminating a ghetto by deporting its population to a death camp or mass murder sites.
- 25 *Vandaag moest de beslissing worden genomen*: This scene is an elaboration, based on a mention in Renia’s memoir. Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 74–75.
- 26 *‘zoveel Joods volkskarakter in zich’*: Description of Hershel is from Chajka Klinger, *I Am Writing These Words to You: The Original Diaries, Będzin 1943*, trans. Anna Brzostowska and Jerzy Giebułtowski (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Moreshet, 2017), 69.
- 27 *‘raciale vuilnisbelt’*: “Generalgouvernement,” Yad Vashem Shoah Resource Center, http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206246.pdf.
- 27 *hoge jukbeenderen en donkere, doordringende ogen*: This is based on photos of Sarah held in the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive.
- 27 *listen met paspoorten*: Zariz, “Attempts at Rescue and Revolt,” 211–36. For discussion of additional passport schemes, see, for instance, Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall*, trans. Steven Meed (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1993), 175–80; Paldiel, *Saving One’s Own*, 361–62; Avihu Ronen, *Condemned to Life: The Diaries and Life of Chajka Klinger* (Haifa and Tel Aviv, Isr.: University of Haifa Press, Miskal-Yidioth Ahronoth and Chemed, 2011), 234–94.

I GETTOMEISJES

- 29 *Lemberg*: Lemberg was the Yiddish name for Lvov (in Polish), a city which is currently called Lviv (in Ukrainian).
- 29 *‘Heldhaftige meisjes (...) zijn onvermoeibaar’*: Ringelbaum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, 273–74.

1 PO-LIN

- 31 *10 oktober 1924*: Renia’s birth date varies on different documents, but this is the date recognized by Yad Vashem’s catalogue and by her children.
- 31 *sabbat*: I constructed this birth scene based on Renia’s testimony in the Yad Vashem archives and historical context. All the information about Renia and her family in this chapter was taken from her Yad Vashem testimony unless indicated otherwise.
- 31 *Jiddische en Poolse gebabbel*: According to Renia’s testimony at Yad Vashem, the family spoke Yiddish at home, and she spoke Polish with her friends. According to her oral testimony at Ghetto Fighters’ House, she spoke Polish at home. Her nephew

- claimed they spoke Yiddish and Polish at home; personal interview, Yoram Kleinman, Telephone, 11 February 2019.
- 32 *De naam Kukielka lijkt op het Poolse Kukielo – de naam van de familie die generaties lang de plaatselijke uitvaartonderneming had geleid*: As told to me by a Jędrzejów local, June 2018.
- 32 *gezinsleden*: The *Jędrzejów Yizkor Book* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Irgun Ole Yendz'eyov be-Yiśra'el, 1965), lists five branches of the “Kukielka” family as having been killed by the Nazis.
- 32 *stond die dag vol met heerlijkheden*: “Food and Drink,” The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Food_and_Drink. See also: Magdalena Kasprzyk-Chevriaux, “How Jewish Culture Influenced Polish Cuisine,” Culture.pl, <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-jewish-culture-influenced-polish-cuisine>.
- 33 *Jędrzejów*: The information about Jędrzejów in this chapter is primarily from: “Jędrzejów,” Virtual Shtetl, https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/j/40-Jędrzejów/99-history/137420-history-of-community#footnote23_xgdnzma; “Jędrzejów,” Beit Hatfutsot: My Jewish Story, The Open Databases of the Museum of the Jewish People, <https://dbs.bh.org.il/place/Jędrzejów>; “Jędrzejów,” Holocaust Historical Society, <https://www.holocausthistoricalsociety.org.uk/contents/ghettosj-r/Jędrzejów.html>; “Jędrzejów,” JewishGen, https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00259.html – originally published in *Pinkas Hakehillot: Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Poland*, Volume VII (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem), 259–62.
- 33 *zouden er de komende Jaren nog drie aan worden toegevoegd*: These birth dates are estimates, but it appears that Aaron was born in 1925, Esther, in 1928, and Yaacov, in 1932.
- 33 *honderddertig in het Jiddisch, vijftwintig in het Hebreeuws en vijftwintig in het Pools*: Wall text, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw.
- 34 *‘De strijd voor een Joods Palestina’ (in May 1937)*: “Jędrzejów,” Virtual Shtetl.
- 34 *dol op uitstapjes*: Personal interview with Merav Waldman, Skype, October 23, 2018.
- 34 *wit met blauwe matrozenblouse, plooirok en kniekousen*: Anna Legierska, “The Hussies and Gentlemen of Interwar Poland.” This was the common dress of the day, and I extrapolate to Renia.
- 34 *lange mouwen en kousen*: As cited in “Jędrzejów,” Virtual Shtetl.
- 34 *naar een openbare Poolse school*: According to Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony, she briefly attended the Beit Yakov school, but it was far from their house so she changed to a Polish public school.
- 35 *voor het leven tekende*: In her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia relays that one teacher insisted on calling her “Kukielchanka” because Kukielka sounded too Polish for a Jew.
- 35 *Polen (...) was zich vanaf zijn stichting blijven ontwikkelen*: The information in this chapter on the history of Poland and of Poland’s Jews comes primarily from “Poland,” The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Poland>; Samuel D. Kassow, “On the Jewish Street, 1918–1939,” *POLIN, 1000 Year History of Polish Jews – Catalogue for the Core Exhibition*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Antony Polonsky (Warsaw: POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2014), 227–85; Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- 35 *Het vroege Polen was een republiek*: Adriel Kasonata, “Poland: Europe’s Forgotten Democratic Ancestor,” *The National Interest*, May 5, 2016,

- <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/poland-europes-forgotten-democratic-ancestor-16073>.
- 37 *Het gehele programma van deze partij was gericht op het zwartmaken van Poolse Joden (...) deze rechtse partij droeg een nieuwe Poolse identiteit uit die specifiek werd gedefinieerd als 'niet-Joods'*: Paul Brykczynski lecture given at “In Dialogue: Polish Jewish Relations During the Interwar Period,” November 15, 2018, at Fordham University, with Columbia, YIVO.
- 37 in *Jędrzejów nam het antisemitisme in de jaren dertig toe*: Accounts given in “Jędrzejów,” Virtual Shtetl.
- 37 *Dzigan en Schumacher*: Shimen Dzigan and Yisroel Schumacher met as part of a comedy performance troupe in Łódź. By the 1930s, they were so popular, they founded their own cabaret company in Warsaw.
- 38 *'De laatste Jood in Polen'*: Samuel D. Kassow alerted me to this sketch in his lecture given at “In Dialogue: Polish Jewish Relations During the Interwar Period.” Discussion of the sketch can be found in Ruth R. Wisse, *No Joke: Making Jewish Humor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 145–46.
- 38 *Na verloop van tijd groeide de Bund (...) uit tot de grootste partij*: The Bund became the largest party in 1938 because immigration to Palestine seemed impossible due to the British White Papers and the Polish government was not heeding the religious party's requests. Before that, the population was split fairly equally between all three parties.
- 38 *Het is aannemelijk dat Renia als jonge tiener met haar oudere zus Sarah meeding naar activiteiten van de jeugdbeweging*: Renia's children speak of how, while Moshe was Renia's intellectual influence, Sarah was her leadership influence. However, seeing as Sarah was older and lived at various *hachshara* kibbutzim, it's possible that Renia also accompanied Bela. In her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia claims that before the war, when she was younger than fifteen, she was focused on her life at school and not all that interested in the youth movements.
- 39 *'Je kunt de hele schoen zien!'*: “She was wearing a very wide skirt made of navy wool, extremely short – as one could see the entire shoe from underneath it ... People are going to point their fingers at you!” As cited in Legierska, “The Hussies and Gentlemen of Interwar Poland.”
- 39 *Op een foto uit de jaren dertig draagt Sarah*: Photos of Sarah Kukielka are from the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum archive.
- 39 *collectieve somberte*: The YIVO, the eminent Yiddish Institute in Vilna, noted this crisis and organized a memoir competition, asking young Jews to write about their lives in the hopes of better understanding them and helping to improve morale.
- 39 *die gelieerd waren aan de verschillende politieke partijen*: The Young Guard was not affiliated with any political party, but were socialist Zionists.
- 39 *Op sommige foto's*: Photos of the *hachshara* in Jędrzejów are from “Jędrzejów,” Beit Hatfutsot: My Jewish Story.
- 39 *lid van Vrijheid*: “Dror” (Freedom) was based on a 1938 amalgamation of Hechalutz HaTsair (Young Pioneer) and Freiheit (Freedom, in Yiddish), which was a Yiddish-based group that attracted working class members. Freedom, then, was a Zionist group where Yiddish was spoken alongside Hebrew, and which included more working youth. It was affiliated with the Poalei Zion political party, and is still active. Freedom comrades had the reputation for being older, less pretentious, and more down to earth than The Young Guards (Bella Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People: Zivia Lubetkin, 1914–1978*, trans. Ora Cummings [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014], 132).

- 40 *ontleenden hun identiteit aan de organisatie waartoe ze behoorden*: For instance: “I myself was never really much of a movement person. I was stuck with the name Akiba, since everybody in the ZOB took the name of his movement as part of his own, as if it were another last name.” Simha “Kazik” Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 22. There were rivalries between groups, and some attacked others’ headquarters.
- 40 *stemrecht*: Women, however, were not allowed to vote for the Jewish community council.
- 41 *Joodse vrouwen*: For discussions of both Polish and Jewish women in interwar Poland, see, for instance, Gershon Bacon, “Poland: Interwar,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/poland-interwar>; Judith Taylor Baumel-Schwartz and Tova Cohen, eds. *Gender, Place and Memory in the Modern Jewish Experience: Re-Placing Ourselves* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003); Anna Czocher, Dobrochna Kałwa, et al., *Is War Men’s Business? Fates of Women in Occupied Kraków in Twelve Scenes*. trans. Tomasz Teszner and Joanna Bełch-Rucińska. (Kraków: Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2011); Nameetha Matur, “‘The New Sportswoman’: Nationalism, Feminism and Women’s Physical Culture in Interwar Poland,” *The Polish Review* 48 (2003), no. 4: 441–62; Jolanta Mickute, “Zionist Women in Interwar Poland,” on *The Macmillan Report*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TrYt4oI4Mq4>; Lenore J. Weitzman and Dalia Ofer, “Introduction to Part 1,” Paula E. Hyman “Gender and the Jewish Family in Modern Europe,” Gershon Bacon, “The Missing 52 Percent: Research on Jewish Women in Interwar Poland and Its Implications for Holocaust Studies,” and Daniel Blatman, “Women in the Jewish Labor Bund in Interwar Poland,” all in *Women in the Holocaust*; Puah Rakovsky, *My Life as a Radical Jewish Woman: Memoirs of a Zionist Feminist in Poland*, trans. Barbara Harshav with Paula E. Hyman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Avihu Ronen, “Poland: Women Leaders in the Jewish Underground in the Holocaust,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/poland-women-leaders-in-jewish-underground-during-holocaust>; Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland Before the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Anna Zarnowska, “Women’s Political Participation in Inter-War Poland: Opportunities and Limitations,” *Women’s History Review* 13 (No. 1, 2004): 57-68.
- 41 *‘feministisch’*: Most Polish “feminists” at the time would have called themselves “radical” or “revolutionary.”
- 41 *genoten jonge vrouwen bij de socialistische jeugdbewegingen een zekere mate van gelijkheid*: Avihu Ronen, “Young Jewish Women Were Leaders in the Jewish Underground During the Holocaust,” *Jewish Women’s Archive: The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Poland-women-leaders-in-jewish-underground-during-holocaust>. On the other hand, Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 514, claims that women did not have a great role in the youth movements in Poland.
- 41 *In sommige verslagen weet Renia dit aan het antisemitisme, in andere legde ze uit dat ze geld moest verdienen*: The first is from Renia’s prologue in *Escape from the Pit*; the second is from Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony.
- 42 *arts*: See, for instance, the women’s testimonies in the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives, Montreal.

- 44 *allemaal slachtoffers van de niet-aflatende luchtaanvallen van de nazi's*: Hitler's blitzkrieg strategy involved extensive bombing to destroy the enemy's means of transportation and communication lines, followed by a massive-scale land invasion. The Polish army was under-equipped and antiquated (they attempted to fight the Germans head-on with horsed cavaliers) and was no match for the mechanized, modern German military.
- 45 *'krijgend tegen de hemel'*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 4. This chapter is based on material from Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 3–8, and her Yad Vashem testimony.
- 45 *'Iedereen probeerde aan het gevaar te ontkomen maar belandde in de klauwen van het kwaad'*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 4.
- 46 *trok snel en geruisloos de ladder van de zolder naar boven*: In Renia's Yad Vashem testimony, she says they hid in the basement.
- 46 *tachtig procent uit Joden*: "Chmielnik," Beit Hatfutsot: My Jewish Story, The Open Databases of the Museum of the Jewish People, <https://dbs.bh.org.il/place/chmielnik>.
- 46 *de eerste nacht*: An alternate account of that first night with different details is offered in "Chmielnik," Virtual Shtetl.
- 47 *Brood – voortaan een grauwe, harde, bittere substantie*: Naomi Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka, One of the Few: A Resistance Fighter and Educator, 1939–1947*, trans. Naftali Greenwood (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 133.
- 47 *Renia eerder niet van deze tijd van het jaar hield*: Renia's Yad Vashem testimony.

3 HET VROUWENVERZET KRIJGT VORM

- 48 *oudjaar*: All the scenes about Zivia in this chapter are based on Zivia Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt*, trans. Ishai Tubbin and Debby Garber, ed. Yehiel Yanay (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Am Oved; Hakibbutz Hameuchad; Ghetto Fighters' House, 1981). Additional information is primarily from: Zvi Dror, *The Dream, the Revolt and the Vow: The Biography of Zivia Lubetkin-Zuckerman (1914–1978)*, trans. Bezalel Ianai (Tel Aviv, Isr.: General Federation of Labor [Histadrut] and Ghetto Fighters' House, 1983); Chana Gelbard, "In the Warsaw Ghetto," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 3–16; Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*; Yitzhak "Antek" Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, trans. Barbara Harshav (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- 48 *'beefde van angst bij het vooruitzicht door de nazi's te worden opgepakt'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 16.
- 50 *'Als ik, Zivia, ooit besluit een roman te schrijven (...) zal ik hem de titel Van Byteń naar Genève geven'*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 9.
- 50 *zij en haar medeleidsters*: These included Frumka Płotnicka, Hantze Płotnicka, Leah Pearlstein, and Tosia Altman.
- 51 *Antek*: According to *The Zuckerman Code*, directed by Ben Shani and Noa Shabtai, Israel, 2018, Antek was his "internal moniker." He used different names when facing the Germans and Poles.
- 51 *'trokken we van hot naar her in een poging in contact te komen met leden van de beweging die we waren kwijtgeraakt of die ver weg zaten'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 14.
- 51 *'Het was voor ons simpelweg onmogelijk om geen verzetsbeweging van jonge pioniers op te richten'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 14.

- 51 *verzocht (...) haar vriendin Zivia ook terug te laten keren [naar Warschau]:* According to Eyal Zuckerman, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 15, 2018, it is possible she went to Warsaw looking for Shmuel. Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 107, on the other hand, suggests she postponed going to Warsaw because of Shmuel's capture.
- 52 *'We aten, dronken, en hadden plezier,' schreef Zivia later, 'en discussieerden over de beweging en welke koers we zouden volgen.'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 13.
- 52 *Ondanks de smeebedes van Antek:* Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 110. According to Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 14, it was "the following evening." Lubetkin does not mention Antek in her account.
- 52 *'Terwijl dit soort sombere gedachten nog door mijn hoofd speelden,(...) wurdmen de mensen zich de wagons in.'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 15.
- 53 *'Ik klemde mijn kaken op elkaar en bleef zitten waar ik zat'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 17.
- 54 *De Grote Synagoge:* "The History of the Great Synagogue," Jewish Historical Institute, <http://www.jhi.pl/en/blog/2013-03-04-the-history-of-the-great-synagogue>.
- 54 *375.000 Joden:* "Warsaw," The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. Dalia Ofer, "Gender Issues in Diaries and Testimonies of the Ghetto: The Case of Warsaw," in *Women in the Holocaust*, 144–45, states a prewar population of 359,000 and includes a demographic breakdown.
- 54 *in 2020 vormden Joden grofweg dertien procent van de bevolking van New York:* 1.1 million Jews out of 8.6 million total. Statistics are from 2016, as reported in Uriel Heilman, "7 Things to Know About the Jews of New York for Tuesday's Primary," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 18, 2016, <https://www.jta.org/2016/04/18/politics/7-things-to-know-about-the-jews-of-new-york-for-tuesdays-primary>.
- 54 *Er reden veel fraaie auto's, rijkwielen en rode trams (...) kinderwagens voortduwen:* Footage of prewar Warsaw can be seen on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=igv038Pqr34>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQVQQQDKyoo>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zk_8ITLGLTE.
- 55 *'Er hing een aangename sfeer, alsof er niets was gebeurd'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 19.
- 55 *'uit moediger hout waren gesneden'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 21.
- 56 *'In saaie tijden (...) moederlijke zorg'*: Eliezer, "In the Movement," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 87–91.
- 56 *'Van onbeduidende voorvallen (...) kon geven'*: Lutke, "Frumka," in *Hantze and Frumka*, 169.
- 56-7 *'betoverende taal' ... als vuur'*: Y. Perlis, "In the Hachshara and the Movement," in *Hantze and Frumka*, 155.
- 57 *Een vriendin schreef:* Zruvevel, "Meeting and Separation," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 91–95.
- 57 *verraste haar familie met haar leidersrol:* Eliyahu Plotnicki, "Childhood Home," in *Hantze and Frumka*, 10.
- 57 *naar Warschau:* Yudka, "Catastrophe," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 95–102. According to this account, it seems that her zeal may have been spurred by a false rumor that Hantze had been killed in occupied Poland.
- 58 *'hunkerden de Pioniers (...) geen woede'*: Gelbard, "Warsaw Ghetto," 5–7.

- 58 *Ze won altijd*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 104. Leah Pearlstein was a resistance leader at a movement farm, in Łódź and in Warsaw. She likely died in the Warsaw Aktion of January 1943.
- 59 *vaak jonge juristen en andere academici*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 244.
- 59 *‘alleen het ergste slag mensen’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 12. At other times, Renia recognizes that some militiamen tried to use their position to help others.
- 59 *De Jodenraden warden (...) verschilden per getto*: Bernard, “Problems Related to the Study,” 61–62. According to Ronen, “The Jews of Bedzin,” 21, the Zagłębie Judenrat had 500 officials. Documents from the JDC archives report that 2,000 Jewish police served in Warsaw.
- 59 *heterogene groepen*: See, for instance, Tec, *Resistance*, 14, for a review of literature on the complexity of Judenrats. Other accounts of Judenrats that supported the resistance, as well as considered discussions of their role, can be found in, for instance, Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 124–25, 140; Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 15; Don Levin and Zvie A. Brown, *The Story of an Underground: The Resistance of the Jews of Kovno (Lithuania) in the Second World War* (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2018); Mira Shelub and Fred Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road: A Partisan’s Life* (Berkeley, CA: Lehrhaus Judaica, 2015), 78. Similar discussions exist about the Jewish police. See Bernard Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness*, trans. Leonard Shatzkin (London: Victor Gollancz, 1950), 34–36, for a take on the development of the Judenrat and labor forces.
- 59 *marionet van de Gestapo*: Zivia wrote at length about her disdain for the Judenrat, Jewish police, and Jewish collaborators. Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 39–42.
- 59 *‘woede oploste in de kringeltjes rook die ze uitblies’*: Chana Gelbard, “Life in the Ghetto,” *The Pioneer Woman*, No. 97, April 1944, 11.
- 61 *‘Ik stond te kijken (...) sprak tegen me als een echtgenote’*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 44–45.
- 61 *en werd verliefd*: Personal interview, Eyal Zuckerman, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 15, 2018.
- 61 *‘Joodse neus’ en ‘onzekere’ Pools*: Naomi Shimshi, “Frumka Plotniczki,” Jewish Women’s Archive, The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/plotniczki-frumka>.
- 62 *Ze voelde diepe genegenheid (...) naar haar beste vriendin*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 130, mentions rumors about their love triangle. Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 101, 127, 134, 135, speculates about it.
- 62 *voor de gehele beweging in Polen*: Ibid., 132. According to Sharon Geva *The Zuckerman Code*, and *Blue Bird*, directed by Ayelet Heller, Isr., 1998, “Zivia” was a code word for all of Poland.

4 EEN ANDERE MORGEN – ANGST IN HET GETTO

- 63 *secretaresse aan een gerechtshof*: According to Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony, a neighbor offered her a job as a courtroom secretary, and she readily accepted it.
- 63 *Renia’s leven werd op zijn kop gezet*: Unless otherwise indicated, the scenes in this chapter, as well as descriptions and information offered, are based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 9–36. Additional information about the Jędrzejów ghetto can be found in sources cited in chapter 1.
- 64 *Singer naaimachine*: Renia Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony. According to Renia, they never saw him or their valuables again.

- 64 *enige bescherming zou bieden*: See, for instance, Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 104, 133.
- 64 *verslagen over moeders*: See, for instance, Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein- Bielicka*, 104–15.
- 64 *gouden armband werd in de mouw van een trui genaaid*: Barbara Kuper, “Life Lines,” in *Before All Memory Is Lost: Women’s Voices from the Holocaust*, ed. Myrna Goldenberg (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017), 198.
- 64 *Geld ging in het deeg*: Myrna Goldenberg, “Camps: Forward,” in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 272.
- 64 *op een meelzak*: Renia Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.
- 64 *Vijftig mensen samengepropt*: See, for instance, Faye Schulman, *A Partisan’s Memoir: Woman of the Holocaust* (Toronto, Canada: Second Story Press, 1995), 77.
- 64 *de gangbare sociale orde verstoorde*: Tec, *Resistance*, 52–54.
- 65 *op het dak van de burens te drogen*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 108–10.
- 65 *in Polen meer dan vierhonderd getto’s*: Tec, *Resistance*, 52.
- 65 *En toch...*: This scene about smuggling was based on a mention in a testimony Renia gave to the Israel National Library in 1985, held in the library archive. It is not clear whether she smuggled before or after the ghetto was “closed.” I constructed this scene based on the stories of many Jewish women smugglers; for instance, see the chapter “Women” in *Warsaw Ghetto: Everyday Life*, The Ringelblum Archive, Volume 1, ed. Katarzyna Person, trans. Anna Brzostowska et al. (Warsaw: Jewish Historical Institute, 2017), 232–55.
- 66 *negen uur ’s avonds*: In Renia’s account she claims to have gone in the morning, but in most accounts, women smugglers left the ghettos at night.
- 66 *de fourageurs*: examples are from “Women,” *Warsaw Ghetto: Everyday Life*.
- 66 *rollen omgedraaid*: Lenore J. Weitzman, “Resistance in Everyday Life: Family Strategies, Role Reversals, and Role Sharing in the Holocaust,” in *Jewish Families in Europe, 1939–Present: History, Representation and Memory*, ed. Joanna Beata Michlic (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2017), 46–66.
- 67 *gemeente of privéondernemingen*: Tec, *Resistance*, 59. Large ghettos had both.
- 67 *om ouder te lijken*: Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*, 78.
- 67 *‘niemand zegt een woord ... te huizen’*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein- Bielicka*, 120–22.
- 68 *Bitter maisbrood ... aardappel*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 111.
- 68 *zwarte markt*: Chasia Bielicka explains that they came into the ghetto in many ways, sometimes through hidden areas in waste trucks. Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*.
- 68 *‘de ergste dood’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 21.
- 68 *huwelijksproblemen*: See discussions in: Ofer, “Gender Issues in Diaries and Testimonies of the Ghetto,” 143–67; Ringelheim, “Women and the Holocaust,” 378–79; Tec, *Resistance*, 55–57; Michael Unger, “The Status and Plight of Women in the Łódź Ghetto,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, 123–42.
- 68 *eerste generatie die uit liefde was getrouwd*: Dalia Ofer, “Parenthood in the Shadow of the Holocaust,” in *Jewish Families in Europe*, 3–25.
- 68-9 *Vrouwen, die hadden geleerd hoe ze het huishouden moesten doen de honger*: See, for instance, Brana Gurewitsch, “Preface,” *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, xi–xxi; Esther Katz and Joan Miriam Ringelheim, eds., *Proceedings of the Conference on Women Surviving the Holocaust* (New York: Institute for Research in History, c1983), 17–19; Ringelheim, “Women and the Holocaust,” 373–418; Tec, *Resistance*, 50, 55.
- 69 *In Krakau ... te ontkomen*: Agi Legutko, tour of the Kraków ghetto, Jewish Culture Festival, Kraków, June 2018.
- 69 *gebrek aan werk en structuur*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 111.

- 69 *Kinderen speelden ... zonder zijn documenten*: Izhar, Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka, 112, and Shelub and Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road*, 80–81.
- 69 *gelijk zou staan aan zestig dollar: Who Will Write Our History*, directed by Roberta Grossman, USA, 2019. Similar amounts are recorded in JDC reports held in the JDC archive and *Warsaw Ghetto, Everyday Life* (Ringelblum archive), chapter on Women. According to this chapter, in Warsaw in 1940, female factory workers earned three zlotys per day; skilled women workers earned six zlotys a day. A bowl of soup cost one zloty. Prices were sky-high compared with earnings in this irregular wartime economy. According to a JDC report, in Warsaw in 1942, it cost sixty groszy to ride the Jewish bus, and eighteen groszy for a glass of water. In general, 1 zloty in 1940 is equivalent to about US \$3.30 in 2020. Rates are not exact because conversions cannot fully take into account the massive fluctuation of currency value during the war – which occurred for many reasons – as well as inflation rates in the United States. Also, different currency notes were used in different occupied areas of Poland, but it seems that they corresponded with the zloty rate, which was actually set by the Nazis against the reichsmark to bolster the Germany economy. Some ghettos used their own currencies.
- 70 *de muntjes in haar zak*: It is difficult to estimate the prices of smuggled goods in this part of Poland at that time. Renia may have bartered for goods rather than for money.
- 70 *Janowska-kamp*: “Janowska,” USHMM Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/janowska>. This camp was established in September 1941. It is not clear from Renia’s account when Aaron was taken.
- 70 *meer dan veertigduizend*: Goldenberg, “Camps: Forward,” 267. “Nazi Camps,” The USHMM Encyclopedia, states that the Nazis set up more than 40,000 camps and other incarceration sites (this includes ghettos). Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 340, says there were 8,000 camps in Poland. According to Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, “Labor Camps and Concentration Camps: Introduction to Part 4,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, 267, the Nazis established at least 437 labor camps for Jews in occupied Poland.
- 70 *De SS verpachtte sommige kampen aan privéondernemingen*: Goldenberg, “Camps: Forward,” 266–67. The SS was the Nazi force responsible for the Final Solution.
- 70 *vrouwen minder kosten ... voor het zware werk*: Ofer and Weitzman, “Labor Camps and Concentration Camps,” 268. According to Felicja Karay, “Women in the Forced Labor Camps,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, 285, the Skarzysko-Kamienna labor camp paid the SS five zlotys per day for each male and only four zlotys for each woman.
- 71 *voederwikke, die naar gekookte paprika smaakte*: Dyna Perelmuter, “Mewa (Seagull),” in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 179.
- 71 *de familie Kukielka*: The way Renia writes about this in her memoir makes it difficult to discern whether her family was included; however, according to her Yad Vashem testimony, her family was moved to Wodizłów.
- 73 *‘Nu is het ieder voor zich ... zijn broeders te stelen’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 18.
- 73 *Als je een lijk op straat zag liggen, jatte je de schoenen’*: Jon Avnet mentioned this “rule of the ghetto” in discussion of his film *Uprising* at the Directors Guild, New York City, April 22, 2018.
- 73 *‘Niemand kon ademen, hoesten of huilen zonder dat het werd gehoord’*: Izhar, Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka, 112.
- 75 *‘Het lijkt alsof ze door de aarde worden verzwolgen’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 28.

- 75 *als represaille zou worden uitgemoord*: Schulman, *Partisan's Memoir*, 79–80.
- 75 *'Oekraïense barbaren'*: A small percentage of Ukrainians collaborated with the Nazis; some of them were POWs who were commanded to carry out the Germans' "dirty work." This subject is beyond the scope of this book, but many of the women's memoirs describe Ukrainian collaboration. As with Poles, the women were likely deeply hurt by this betrayal by their neighbors.
- 75 *de nazi's en de collaborateurs*: In her diaries, Gusta Davidson attempted to analyze the psychology of the violent: "The Schupo, who occupy the lowest rung, are the ones most often in contact with the prisoners. They are more likely than the others to show mercy and even compassion. But in the presence of their superiors, they become hangmen, the cruelest of prison guards. ... It's not the German or Ukrainian who tortures the Jew or the Pole. It is the beast lodged in human form that wields the levers of power inflicting pain on us. And yet not all of them are the same. Not in all has savagery taken root so deep that they cannot occasionally suspend it. There are S.D. people who, in spite of their ideological antisemitism or hatred of Poles, are unable to torture or inflict pain" Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 20–21.
- 75 *'Voor hen ... sigaret'*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 27.

5 HET GETTO VAN WARSCHAU – SCHOLING EN HET WOORD

- 76 *van de boerderijen naar Warschau waren gereisd voor een bijeenkomst*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 65.
- 76 *Hantze, Frumka's jongere zus*: All information about Hantze in this section comes from *Hantze and Frumka*.
- 76 *bijzondere allure*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 37, writes about how moved she was by Hantze's talk.
- 76 *'Ik heb daarna nooit meer ... bezielend was'*: Rachel Katznelson-Shazar, "Meeting Hantze," in *Hantze and Frumka*, 153.
- 77 *verfijnde smaak en voorliefde voor poëzie*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 104. Antek describes her as a fragile and sophisticated "flower bud" who was born in the wrong time.
- 77 *'Hij heeft beloofd ... terwijl ik zijn korte verhalen verknl'*: From a letter to Z-L, Łódź, June 1939, Ghetto Fighters' House Museum archive.
- 77 *'van gezelligheid, van mensen, van leven'*: Eliezer, "In the Movement," 87–91. He describes their relationship at length.
- 77 *'Ik zal nooit het moment vergeten ... hulp van God.'*: Yudka, "Catastrophe," 95–102.
- 78 *meer dan vierhonderdduizend*: Irene Zoberman, "The Forces of Endurance," in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 221, states that 460,000 Jews were crowded into one square mile. This meant that eight to ten Jews had to share one room. The ghetto walls, which shifted as the population bloated and then was murdered, were composed of existing structures and ten-foot-high walls built specifically for the purpose of imprisonment.
- 78 *wel dertig podia in één straat*: Chaya Ostrower, *It Kept Us Alive: Humor in the Holocaust*, trans. Sandy Bloom (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014), 237. Ostrower includes a chapter on cabarets and performances, 229–330. *Women in the Ghettos*, 160, mentions Miriam Eisenstat, the daughter of the director of the well-known Warsaw synagogue choir. In the Warsaw ghetto, in her late teens, she quickly became popular as the "nightingale of the ghetto." She sold out concerts at the thousand-seat Femina theater, located in the ghetto, on the ground floors of an apartment building, not far from the Great Synagogue.

- 78 *De Bund organiseerde ook concerten*: For the Bund’s social activity in the ghetto, see, for instance, Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 41–42, 45, 82–84, 102–3. According to Vladka Meed, there were 85 illegal schools in the Warsaw ghetto (Katz and Ringelheim, *Proceedings of the Conference on Women*, 80).
- 78 *Aangezien politieke bijeenkomsten ... ontmoetingsplaats*: In some accounts, Jews were not allowed to gather for prayer, ostensibly to avoid spreading disease. In other accounts, all Jewish meetings were banned; for instance, in Gelbard, “Life in the Ghetto,” 7: “It was strictly forbidden for anyone to hold meetings or gatherings.” She goes on to explain that with time, gatherings resumed. In several accounts, when Jews got together to lecture and learn, they blacked out windows and guarded the doors. Some claim that although Jewish gatherings were banned in the Warsaw ghetto, the Nazis were much more concerned with illegal smuggling (they did not believe that Jews could meet to discuss resistance).
- 78 *scholing prioriteit*: Freedom’s educational and social programs are discussed in Gelbard, “Warsaw Ghetto,” 3–16; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 58–72; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 52–64, 114–25.
- 79 *kweekvijvers voor toekomstige verzetsstrijders*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 21.
- 79 *‘Met alle macht ... leeftijd paste’*: Gelbard, “Warsaw Ghetto,” 3–16.
- 80 *Een dagboek ... eveneens strafbaar: Who Will Write Our History*.
- 80 *een eigen fonds*: For more on their press, see Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 66–67; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 55–56.
- 80 *later gaven de leden*: The first in 1940; the latter, in 1942.
- 80 *‘Politieke publicaties ... uit de grond’*: Wall text, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw.
- 81 *In total ... meerdere mensen gelezen*: Information on these publications is from Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 683–88.
- 81 *‘Als we ... bewoners beschikbaar komen’*: Gelbard, “Warsaw Ghetto,” 3–16.
- 81 *geheime huisbibliotheken opgezet*: Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 49–50, on how they saved a Bund library. Antek also saved and created libraries.
- 81 *Henia Reinhartz*: Henia Reinhartz, *Bits and Pieces* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2007), 24–30.
- 81 *Autobiografische geschriften ... individualiteit*: Analysis by Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *Writing as Resistance: Four Women Confronting the Holocaust* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).
- 82 *in het schrijven*: Visual artists also created work to defy dehumanization and maintain sanity, identity, and a reason to live. For instance, Warsaw-born painter Halina Olomucki painted her experiences in the Warsaw ghetto, smuggling her artworks to Polish acquaintances while she was being taken out for forced labor. Her artistic talent gave her special status in concentration camps; she was given better food and art supplies to paint barracks and camp staff. She used these materials to make secret drawings of her barrack mates. Her striking drawing *Women of Birkenau Camp* is a haunting portrait of three emaciated women in striped uniform, their eyes dark with horror, exhaustion, despair. She used a soft pencil that she’d stolen. See: Rochelle G. Saidel and Batya Brudin, eds., *Violated!: Women in Holocaust and Genocide* (New York: Remember the Women Institute, 2018), exhibition catalogue.
- 82 *het enige geschiedverhaal*: Mordechai Tenenbaum, a Freedom leader in Białystok, also created an archive, which was hidden and is now accessible. Antek attempted to compile a Freedom archive.

- 82 *‘Ik vraag niet om lof ... Margot Lichtensztajn’*: Wall text, Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw.
- 82 *‘Overbevolking ... luchtten hun hart’*: Gelbard, “Warsaw Ghetto,” 3–16.
- 83 *het geschreeuw van kinderen om brood, dat de hele nacht te horen was, hartverscheurend*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 38–39. Gelbard says that those Jews who could buy bread were allowed “an eighth of a kilo three times per week.” In 1941 the food ration for Jews in the Warsaw ghetto was 184 calories per day. According to Tec, *Resistance*, 60, 20 percent of the ghetto population in Poland died of hunger.
- 83 *Tallose Joodse vrouwen*: See Tec, *Resistance*, 62–65, on how the JDC and other organizations supported soup kitchens, many run by women. For more women, see: *Women in the Ghettos*; Meilech Neustadt, ed., *Destruction and Rising*; Katarzyna Person, ed., *Warsaw Ghetto: Everyday Life*, “Women” chapter.
- 83 *Bijna tweeduizend ‘Huiscomités’ verstrekten medische zorg en organiseerden culturele activiteiten – vrijwel allemaal werk van vrijwilligsters.*: According to Vladka Meed, in Katz and Ringelheim, *Proceedings of the Conference on Women*, 34, 80.
- 83 *Rachela Auerbach*: See, for instance, “A Bit Stubborn: Rachela Auerbach,” Jewish Historical Institute, <http://www.jhi.pl/en/blog/2018-05-30-a-bit-stubborn-rachela-auerbach>, and Ofer, “Gender Issues in Diaries and Testimonies of the Ghetto,” 143–67.
- 83 *zelfverzekerde, Grieks ogende*: Yakov Kenner, “Paula Elster,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 148–50. She was a courier and died fighting in the Warsaw uprising in 1944.
- 83 *nog op de middelbare school zat gearresteerd was wegens politieke activiteiten*: During certain periods, youth movement activity – especially of a Communist leaning – was illegal in Poland. See Ido Bassok, “Youth Movements,” trans. Anna Barber, *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Youth_Movements.
- 83 *Basia Berman, een bevlogen onderwijzeres.*: Information from Paldiel, *Saving One’s Own*, 32–42. Later in the war, she was deeply involved in rescue missions. Her memoir *City Within a City* was published in 2012.
- 83 *lid van de Bund, ... medisch verzorgden*: Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 82.
- 83 *Shayndl Hechtkop*: Information is from *Women in the Ghettos*, 162–163.
- 83 *om tijd te besparen*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 150.
- 84 *hun op een ‘vijf’ te creëren*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 57.
- 84 *Chana Gelbard was een van de eerste koeriers*: She married Yitzhak Fiszman. Chana and Renia became friends at Kibbutz Dafna, after the war. More about her in Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 47.
- 84 *‘Het was gevaarlijk ... ‘Zivia’s meiden’*: Gelbard, “Warsaw Ghetto,” 3–16. Literally, “Zivia’s children.”
- 84 *speelden een rol*: According to Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 47, the Bund also had a countrywide courier system that covered sixty towns.

6 VAN GEESTKRACHT NAAR STRIJD – DE TOTSTANDKOMING VAN DE ŻOB

- 85 *Tosia Altman liet zich echter niet afschrikken door de Duitse bezetting*: Information about Tosia Altman in this chapter comes primarily from Shalev, *Tosia Altman*.
- 86 *‘glamour girl’*: Anna Legierska, “The Hussies and Gentlemen of Interwar Poland.”
- 87 *‘ijzeren zachtheid’*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 215.

- 87 'een stoot elektrische energie': Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 163.
- 87 'onuitputtelijk optimisme': Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 157.
- 87 'levenskunst': Chaika Grossman, *The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto*, trans. Shmuel Beer (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987), 42.
- 87-8 *Als je niet ... liefde en licht*': Ruzka Korczak, "Men and Fathers," in *Women in the Ghettos*, 28–34.
- 88 *tafels en op deuren die uit hun hengsels waren getild*: Grossman, *Underground Army*, 42.
- 88 'Ze opened ... krachtig lied opklonk': Korczak, "Men and Fathers," 28–34.
- 88 *een jong meisje uit Vilnius*: According to Kovner in *Partisans of Vilna*, she was an eleven-year-old girl (she is not named). According to Rich Cohen, *The Avengers: A Jewish War Story* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 38, she was seventeen. There are several stories about Ponary survivors bringing back their tales to the ghettos where they were often not believed. This account is from Cohen, 43–45
- 88 *vijfzeventigduizend*: Roughly seventy-five thousand Jews and twenty- five thousand non-Jews were shot here over the course of three years.
- 89 'Geloof degenen ... slachtbank voeren!': From the Yiddish leaflet Abba read at the meeting, as read in *Partisans of Vilna*.
- 89 *Toen Zivia het nieuws*: The following two sections are based on Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 83–99.
- 89 *Andere Joden ... verteld*: Some of their writings were kept in the Ringelblum archive and are held in the Jewish Historical Institute archives.
- 90 *Talloe koeriersters, onder wie Frumka*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 159, lists messengers. According to Shimshi, "Frumka Plotniczki," Frumka was "the first to bring word of the scope of the extermination of Polish Jewry in the eastern districts."
- 90 *niet geloofd*: Lenore J. Weitzman, "Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust," in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/kashariyot-couriers-in-jewish-resistance-during-holocaust>. For additional reasons why Jews did not suspect or believe: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 114; Mais, "Jewish Life in the Shadow of Destruction," 18–25; Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 31, 47; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 68, 72.
- 91 'Joden sterven ... muur te verbrijzelen met je hoofd?': Ziva Shalev, "Tosia Altman," *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/altman-tosia>.
- 91 'Deze trein brengt u naar het ergste vernietigingskamp ... Stap niet in deze trein': Vera Szymovicz testimony, pp. 23–24, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives, Montreal.
- 91 'Dit is een geplande massamoord': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 88.
- 91 'Ze verweten ons ... onder de bevolking': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 92–93 (JDC leaders on 108). See also Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 194. In Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 186–207, others argued that armed resistance was forbidden by Jewish law.
- 92 *gefrustreerd en voelden zich machteloos*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 93.
- 92 'Het is onze plicht de waarheid onder ogen te zien': Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 163.
- 92 'Valse hoop was onze grootste vijand': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 92.
- 92 'De Duitsers ... over twee revolvers beschikten': Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 161. In some accounts, they had one single gun. It's not clear where these initial guns came from.

- 92 *Voor de oorlog hadden de Bund ... gevechtseenheden op te zetten*: Bela Hazan and Ruzka Korczak write about taking self-defense classes where they were taught to use weapons as part of Freedom and The Young Guard respectively. Self-defense was part of training for life in Palestine. Ronen, however, in a personal interview, stressed that the Bund and the Revisionists were much better prepared. Prior to the war, the Bund had established “Tzufunkt Shturem” (Future Storm), a militia to protect the community from antisemitic attacks (POLIN holds their poster from 1929). The Bund participated in a “cold armed” resistance effort early on in the war, using iron pipes and brass knuckles to strike back against a massive pogrom in which Nazis paid Poles four zlotys per day to attack Jews. They were the only party who fought and the first to call for armed defense in the ghetto. They also set up a protection force that patrolled the Jewish streets during the chaos of people moving into the ghetto. See Marek Edelman, *The Ghetto Fights* (New York: American Representation of the General Jewish Workers’ Union of Poland, 1946), 3; Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 45–65.
- 93 *maar de Bund ... aantal wapens beschikte*: Marek Edelman, *The Last Fighters*, directed by Ronen Zaretsky and Yael Kipper Zaretsky, Isr., 2006. According to other Bundists, they were not anti-Zionist; they simply didn’t see a point in fighting without Polish backing. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 166, 173, 221, 249, describes his frustration with the Bund.
- 93 *Bloednacht*: This occurred on a Friday night. According to Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 167, it was called “Bloody Saturday.” Other sources refer to it as “Bloody Friday.” To Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 178, it was “The Night of Blood.” Shalev, 141, calls it “The Day of Blood.”
- 93 *kwam Frumka terug met nieuws over het bestaan van Sobibor*: Frumka’s report of June 15, 1942, was on display at the Jewish Historical Institute, in Warsaw.
- 94 *juli 1942 in het getto*: This section is based on Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 9–67.
- 94 *‘Angst voor wat ons daar te wachten stond ... ons eigen hachje te redden’*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 22.
- 95 *Vrouwen gingen het gevecht aan ... ze sprongen van treinen*: Tec, *Resistance*, 68.
- 95 *dan werden ze zelf samen met hun gezin afgevoerd*: Tec, *Resistance*, 67.
- 95 *‘Zo werd het leven van een Jood een snee brood waard’*: Klinger, “The Pioneers in Combat,” in *Women in the Ghettos*, 23–28. A literal translation: “Later, the Nazis claimed that the price of a captured Jew was a half kilo of bread and a quarter kilo of marmalade. That’s how the life of the Jew became cheap.”
- 96 *een ‘sneeuw’ van dons – de ‘ingewanden van opengereten Joods beddengoed’*: “The Liquidation of Jewish Warsaw,” a report drawn up by the Oneg Shabbat group, November 1942, on display at the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw.
- 96 *‘Maak je geen zorgen ... mama’*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 65.
- 97 *Joodse Strijdorganisatie*: Also known in English as the Jewish Combat Organization. The Hebrew Eyal is the acronym for Irgun Yehudi Lochem.
- 97 *‘Doodgeschoten worden in het getto is beter dan sterven in Treblinka!’*: The text of the poster is printed in Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 112. There are several accounts of who reported on Treblinka first, including escapees (who drew maps of the site), a Bund messenger, and a Freedom courier.
- 98 *‘Missie geslaagd! ... zo lang naar hadden verlangd’*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 115.
- 98 *was het niet gelukt hem te doden*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 70; Tec, *Resistance*, 72–73. Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 116, describes that after his first shot, the gun jammed, but he threatened to kill anyone who approached him. It was Kanal’s first time firing a gun.

- 98 *naar het getto*: For discussion on Jews bringing weapons into the Warsaw ghetto, see, for instance, Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 155, 174–75.
- 99 *betaalden een Poolse bewaker ... weg te grissen*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 174.
- 99 *‘Je kunt je de ... in een mand met zich mee kon dragen’*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 213.
- 99 *‘verpletterende klap’*: Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 183.
- 99-100 *driehonderdduizend ... schreef Zivia later*: According to “Warsaw,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Holocaust Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/warsaw>, there were four hundred thousand Jews in the Warsaw ghetto at its largest. Three hundred thousand were deported to death in summer 1942. Up to seventy thousand remained afterward.
- 100 *Ik verwerp het voorstel ... van voren af aan beginnen’*: This quotation merges accounts of the speech given in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 189; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 122; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 214.

7 DE TIJD VAN RONDDOLEN – VAN DAKLOZE TOT DIENSTMEISJE

- 102 *streed, maar vervolgens neerviel als een vlieg ... Ik ben onoverwinnelijk!’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 37. This chapter is based on Renia’s memoir and her Yad Vashem testimony.
- 102 *‘Maar die arme kindertjes ... wordt gespaard’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 38.
- 104 *‘Moeder huilt vast ... Waar is mama?’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 42.
- 105 *‘De wijzen ... Where can they go?’*: Ibid., 43.
- 105 *de meeste Joden dwaalden doelloos rond*: “Jędrzejów,” Virtual Shtetl.
- 105 *politie*: “Police” can refer to German or Polish police. The Nazis took over the Polish police force to create the “Blue Police.” The German police were known as Orpo, or the “Green Police.” The cities had more German officers, the rural areas, more Polish police. “Gendarme” seems to generally refer to a German police officer. The issue of Polish police collaboration with the Nazis is addressed in Jan Grabowski, “The Polish Police: Collaboration in the Holocaust,” Lecture at USHMM, November 17, 2016, text accessed online.
- 106 *een operatie om de besnijdenis ongedaan te maken*: According to Grunwald-Spier, *Women’s Experiences in the Holocaust*, 245, the cost was between 3,000 and 10,000 zlotys. See also Zoberman, “Forces of Endurance,” 248; Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side, 201–5.
- 106 *De kleine Associatie van Tartaarse Moslims ... besnijdenis*: Paulsson, *Secret City*, 4.
- 106 *‘Schmaltzovniks,’ of affpersers*: See Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 482–83, for a discussion of types.
- 106 *twee pond suiker of een fles whisky*: Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side,” 188.
- 107 *‘Wat er ook gebeurt, beloof dat jullie altijd joods blijven’*: Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.
- 107 *lukte het Renia*: The following two sections, including dialogue, are culled from Renia’s memoir, 45–47, and her Yad Vashem testimony; the details differ in each account.
- 107 *aan de rand van Sędziszów*: According to Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 45, she met him at a camp in Sedziszow. I haven’t found much information about this particular camp, but here is another personal account that mentions a labor camp on the outskirts of Sedziszow: <https://njjewishnews.timesofisrael.com/dor-ldor-a->

- polish-town-remembers-its-holocaust-victims/. According to “Jędrzejów,” Holocaust Historical Society, <https://www.holocausthistoricalsociety.org.uk/contents/ghettos-j-r/Jędrzejów.html>, men from Jędrzejów were sent to a labor camp at the Sedziszow railway depot, so it is likely men from Wodisław were also sent here. According to records from the ITS archive (International Tracing Service), however, Aaron was at the Skarzysko-Kamienna labor camp from March 1942 to July 1943, the Czenstochau labor camp from July 1943 to April 1944, and Buchberg from April 1944 to May 1945. The Skarzysko-Kamienna camp, however, was very large and it does not seem to fit Renia’s description. From Skarzysko, Renia would have had to walk for days to reach Charsznica, the town where she meets the railway acquaintances in a later scene. From Sedziszow, it was only thirty kilometers. The ITS archive records also show a debatable birth date for Aaron, so all in all, I am inclined to think he was at Sedziszow at this time and at Skarzysko-Kamienna later. Renia includes a longer story about her brother and the work camps in her Yad Vashem testimony, where she mentions that he was sent to build train tracks; the Sedziszow camp was at a railway depot.
- 107 *vermomd als rondtrekkende Pool*: Renia describes his journey in her Yad Vashem testimony.
- 108 *En dat was niet alles*: This scene is based on a combination of Renia’s slightly differing accounts in *Underground Wanderings* and her Yad Vashem testimony.
- 110 *‘Vanaf dat moment stond ik er alleen voor’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 47.
- 110 *12 September ... En toch wil ik niet dood*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 47.
- 110 *kwam ze eindelijk aan bij een klein dorp*: Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony offers a different account.
- 110 *bij de kennis aan*: The story of Renia and her acquaintance, as well as the dialogue, are based on Renia’s accounts in *Underground Wanderings*, 48–50, and her Yad Vashem testimony, which differ slightly from each other.
- 111 *Mijn gezicht is kwabbig ... maar wat maakt het uit?’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 48.
- 111 *in een ander verslag*: According to Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 485–86, explains that patriotic priests collected the names and papers of the dead and gave them to the Polish underground, who sold some to Jews.
- 111 *De valse documenten*: See Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 226–27; Paldiel, *Saving One’s Own*, 37, 218–19; Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side,” 213–15; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 485–86.
- 113 *Met een schok kwam de trein in beweging, en opeens sloeg de angst haar om het hart*: This section and dialogue is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 49–51.
- 114-5 *een lid van de Judenpolizei* : Renia gives a different account of how she met him in her Yad Vashem testimony
- 115 *bij een half-Duits gezin*: This scene and dialogue are based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 52.
- 116 *‘Overal waar ik ga, moet ik toneelspelen’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 53.
- 116 *‘Ik had nooit geweten ... kon vertolken’*: Ibid.

8 VERSTEEND

- 118 *Oktober 1942*: Renia provides conflicting dates for this scene, even within *Underground Wanderings*. The main Sandomierz ghetto liquidation took place in

- October. It appears that this chapter took place in either late October or early November.
- 118 *Sarah had alles geregeld*: This chapter, including quotations and dialogue, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 56–62. In her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia tells a different story about how the smuggler came to the Hollanders.
- 120 *vooroorlogse glorie*: Będzin’s architecture was an idiosyncratic mix of Beaux Arts, Art Nouveau, Polish Neoclassical, Art Deco, Italian Fascist (the train station) and Dutch revival styles, indicating that the city had wealth from the 1870s to the 1930s.
- 121 *het laatste vaarwel*: According to Kukielka’s Yad Vashem testimony, Leah and Moshe were forty-five and forty-eight, respectively, when they were killed.
- 122 *Meer dan vijftigduizend*: Skarzysko-Kamienna, Yad Vashem Shoah Resource Center, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206028.pdf.
- 123 *ging hun vrijheid gepaard met verdriet en schuldgevoelens, maar putten ze er ook kracht uit*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 111–12. Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side,” 192–93, explains that youth were particularly motivated once their mothers were killed. According to one account in the film about Jewish women partisans on JPEF, “When my mother died, I got tough.”

9 DE ZWARTE RAVEN

- 124 *Chajka Klinger*: This scene of Chajka distributing leaflets is based on a mention in her diaries where it is ambiguous as to who was carrying out this activity. The scenes in this chapter are based on Klinger, *Writing These Words*, and adaptations “Girls in the Ghettos” and “Pioneers in Combat,” in *Women in the Ghettos*. Additional information is primarily from Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, as well as testimony offered by Fela Katz (in JHI archives) and in Jerzy Diatłowski, ed., *Jews in Battle, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Association of Jewish Combatants and Victims of World War II and Jewish Historical Institute, 2009–2015). I have also drawn on the sources on Będzin mentioned above.
- 124 *korte bruine krulhaar*: According to her son, she hadn’t wanted it to be too short, because that would seem American-Hollywood bourgeois. Personal interview, Avihu Ronen, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 16, 2018.
- 124 *al vrij vroeg zionistische bewegingen*: According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 29–38, one of the first cells of The Young Guard was established in Będzin.
- 126 *‘de ogen van een dromer’*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 167.
- 126 *‘jonge boom’*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 167.
- 126 *‘te leven, te groeien en te sterven’*: Ibid., 81.
- 126 *‘stinkende atelier zit te naaien’*: Rutka Laskier, *Rutka’s Notebook: January–April 1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), 54.
- 127 *Een opmerkelijk voorbeeld hiervan was Alfred Rossner*: See, for instance Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 125–43. According to some accounts the Zonder pass was yellow; in others it was blue.
- 128 *Wij laten ons niet ... onze eigen weg’*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 84. Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 104–24, relays a similar celebration, but says it was for the holiday of Chanukah.
- 128 *Op foto’s is te zien dat groepen jongeren*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, photo insert.

- 128-9 *Op een andere foto zitten Sarah Kukielka*: Photos from 1943 are in the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum archive.
- 129 *'Honderden jongeren kwamen ... een stukje groen gras'*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 104–24.
- 129 *vuurpotten op de muur fonkelden alsof het een feestdag was'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 131–32.
- 129 *En toen was er op een nacht een razzia*: This section is based on Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 136–43, but the scenes appear in a different order. Parts appear in *Women in the Ghettos*.
- 130 *Samen met Nacia bracht ze*: In one account, this was Leah; in another, it was Nacia.
- 131 *Gutan-Bricke ... Markstädt ... Klatendorf'*: These names are from Klinger, "Girls in the Ghettos," in *Women in the Ghettos*; it is not clear what they refer to. *Writing These Words*, 138, simply says "labor camp."
- 131 *Werk bood geen garantie meer op redding*: There was a time in Zaglembe where the Nazi leader of the forced labor operation was more influential than that of the killing operation (Operation Reinhard).
- 131 ook *Chajka*: This section is based on Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 162–85. 124 *Thousands walked over ... deportation and death*: From the descriptions in Rutka Laskier, *Rutka's Notebook*, 36–39. Rutka was selected for forced labor but jumped from a window and ran.
- 132-3 *De vrouwen van de Jonge Garde ... onschuldig gezicht opzetten*: Slightly different details for this story are provided in Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 139; Klinger, "Girls in the Ghettos," *Women in the Ghettos*; Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 162–85.
- 133 *Terwijl dit gaande was ontdekte Irka Pejsachson ... tweeduizend Joden bevrijd*: There are different versions of this story. This version is from Klinger, "Girls in the Ghettos," *Women in the Ghettos*, where it states that several hundred people were freed. In Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 162–85, the person who led the attic escape was David. In Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 139–40, it just says a "passage was found," and states that two thousand people were freed.
- 133 *het bezielende bezoek van Tosia*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 134.
- 133 *'de trots van de beweging ... hij oprecht moedig was'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 98.
- 135 *tweehonderd kameraden, afkomstig uit verschillende bewegingen*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 15. According to Fela Katz's testimonies, there were two hundred to three hundred members.
- 134 *werden briefkaarten met gecodeerde teksten*: These messages, and their explanations, are from *Women in the Ghettos*. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 89, explains that they used different codes for correspondences with different areas. For some, they used first initials instead of words; other codes were based on the Bible. Letters to the east used a "capital letter code" in which the hidden message was conveyed through the use of uppercase letters.
- 134 *'Geen enkele revolutionaire beweging ... hagana [verdediging]'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 98.
- 135 *'De voorhoede moet sterven waar haar mensen sterven'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 7.
- 135 *'forse, pezige, man met gespierde armen'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 177. His name is also spelled Cwi.
- 135 *vormden ze groepen van vijf*: According to Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 83, these units were conceived when the Russians and Germans fought (in 1941) as five-person Jewish self-defense squads. The youth assumed that the Russians would win and these units were meant to protect them from Polish attacks during the chaotic

- days between regimes. They did not imagine that these squads would become the basis of their anti-Nazi militia.
- 136 *het leven in Będzin voor Renia ‘hemels’*: Unless indicated otherwise, the next sections are based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*.
- 136 *blijkbaar kregen ... naziuniformen*: Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.
- 136 *arriveerde Hantze*: Hantze actually left Grochów for Będzin in the summer of 1942. Renia, however, writes about her arrival as if she herself was there (Kukielka, “The Last Days,” *Women in the Ghettos*). It is possible that Renia is writing about Hantze’s arrival based on others’ impressions, or, alternately, that Hantze left briefly on a mission and returned once Renia was in Będzin. In either case, Renia was taken by Hantze’s positive spirit.
- 137 *‘In Grochów ... bleven ze in leven ...’*: Kukielka, “Last Days,” 102–6.
- 138 *‘De grond nam alles in zich op, behalve het geheim over wat er was gebeurd’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 65.
- 138 *‘Ik herinner me ... ze hadden doorstaan’*: Kukielka, “Last Days,” 102–6. This section is based on this essay.
- 138 *‘Niemand komt ons helpen ... in de steek gelaten’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 67.
- 139 *2.500 Reichsmark in ... partizanengroep*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 186–207.
- 139 *bericht van het Jewish Telegraphic Agency*: The JTA, established in 1917, is a worldwide news-gathering organization serving Jewish community papers. The report was published on January 8, 1943; the incident took place on October 4, 1942. The women’s revolt is described in both the JTA report and in *Women in the Ghettos*, though with different details in each. Source: JTA.org.

10 DRIE REGELS IN DE GESCHIEDENIS – EEN KRAKAUSE KERSTVERRASSING

- 140 *Oktober 1942*: Based on Gusta’s writings, this was the fall of 1942; it may have been September.
- 140 *The Akiva-gelofte*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 141. (They use “Akiba.”)
- 141 *Gusta Davidson kwam uitgeput aan in Krakau*: The scenes in this chapter are based primarily on Gusta Davidson Draenger’s diary, *Justyna’s Narrative*. Information about Gusta and the Kraków resistance also comes from: Anna Czocher, Dobrochna Kałwa, et al., *Is War Men’s Business? Fates of Women in Occupied Kraków in Twelve Scenes*, trans. Tomasz Teszner and Joanna Bełch-Rucińska (Kraków: Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2011), exhibition catalogue; Sheryl Silver Ochayon, “Armed Resistance in the Kraków and Białystok Ghettos,” Yad Vashem, <https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/general/armed-resistance-in-Kraków-and-Białystok.html>; Yael Margolin Peled, “Gusta Dawidson Draenger,” The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/draenger-gusta-dawidson>.
- 141 *woonden er zestigduizend Joden in Krakau, een kwart van de totale bevolking*: Because the seat of the General Government was in Kraków, the Germans wanted to “cleanse” the city of its Jews and expelled most to the countryside. By the time the ghetto was closed on March 20, 1941, only twenty thousand Jews remained in the city.
- 141 *het geroezemoes in de drukke straten hoorde*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 46.
- 142 *‘oudere mensen niet ... gekwetste, vertwijfelde ziel’*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*.

- 142 ‘*De stilte die de dichte wouden uitademden ... Niet één blad ritselde.*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 33.
- 142 ‘*traag door de hemelsblauwe lucht bewoog*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 50.
- 142 ‘*de jeugd naar de voorhoede leiden ... vastklampen aan het leven*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 37–38.
- 143 ‘*Je kunt niet proberen strijders te sparen door ze af te schermen in een schuilplaats*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 39.
- 143 ‘*Handen, waar nu vruchtbare klei aan koekt, zullen weldra besmeurd zijn met bloed*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 43.
- 143 ‘*femme fatale*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 48.
- 143 ‘*Ik heb maar heel even de tijd*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*.
- 143-4 *Vanwege haar strategische ... werd de stad zwaar beveiligd*: Wojciech Oleksiak, “How Kraków Made it Unscathed Through WWII,” Culture.pl, May 22, 2015, <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-Kraków-made-it-unscathed-through-wwii>. It appears that the Nazis created the Saxon myth to justify making this strategic location the capital. The Nazis also invested in developing Kraków’s urban infrastructure. See: <http://www.krakowpost.com/8702/2015/02/looking-back-70-years-wawel-under-occupation>
- 144 ‘*Op hun dodelijke ... diepste gevoelens terechtkonden*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 61.
- 144 ‘*Als iemand zou vragen ... nooit zouden krijgen?*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 62.
- 145 ‘*technisch bureau*’ ... ‘*tijdelijke kantoor*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 64–67.
- 140 “*cozy nest*” ... “*cut an intimidating figure*”: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 101.
- 146 *De Strijdende Pionier verscheen elke vrijdag ... regio van Krakau werden verspreid*: Description of Kraków underground publications is in the testimony of Kalman Hammer (collected in Budapest, Hungary, on September 14, 1943) held in the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive.
- 146 ‘*hielden van elkaar als zussen*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 103.
- 146 *Hela Schüpper*: Information about Hela is from Hella Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Farewell to Mila 18* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Ghetto Fighters’ House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1990); Yael Margolin Peled, “Hela Rufeisen Schüpper,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/schupper-hella-rufeisen>; Tec, *Resistance*, 171–77.
- 146 ‘*weelderige schoonheid*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 94–95.
- 147 ‘*Nooit eerder was iemand ... was niet te beschrijven*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 71.
- 147 ‘*zo blij als een kind*’: *Ibid.*, 72.
- 147 *Gola Mire*: Information about Gola Mire (nee Miriem Golda Mire) who is also referred to as Mire Gola and Gola Mira, is primarily from Grunwald- Spier, *Women’s Experiences in the Holocaust*, 207–11; Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 520–21, and Yael Margolin Peled, “Mire Gola,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/gola-mire>.
- 148 ‘*een fel strijdster met een zuiver vrouwelijk hart*’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 84.
- 148 *veel actieve leidsters*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*. A photo captioned “Leading members of Akiba 1941” shows six women and three men.
- 149 ‘*De bladeren ... weldadige stralen*’: *Ibid.*, 112.
- 149 ‘*zelfs een kleine aanval ... tandrad van de machine*’: *Ibid.*
- 149-50 ‘*doste zich daarom uit als Pools politiemann*’: Renia wrote about male comrades who used disguises to save Jews who were trapped in the burning Warsaw ghetto. A couple of Jewish men donned German uniforms from dead soldiers, or ones they’d

- stolen from forced-labor workshops, and acting like Nazis, screamed at Jews to get on a bus. Nazis who saw this assumed they were following orders to send them out to be killed in the forest; really they were setting them free. In another such incident, a Nazi-disguised Jew yelled at hidden Jews to come out of a tunnel. Some Jews hadn't realized it was a ruse and refused to leave. The Jew in disguise physically dragged several people out – then he told them to run. Other Jewish men dressed up as gendarmes were able to get close to unsuspecting Nazis and shoot them dead. According to “The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto,” *The Pioneer Woman*, 5, 500 Jews dressed up as Nazis and attacked Pawiak Prison.
- 150 *'promoveerde' zichzelf vervolgens tot nazi*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 138–39. Lubetkin and Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, both write about the Kraków resistance in their books. (Zuckerman was in Kraków.)
- 150 *Seksuele relaties ... van elkaar*: Katz and Ringelheim, *Proceedings of the Conference on Women*, 36–38.
- 150 *verdeelden de spullen*: Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 115.
- 150 *Ze kookte 'met hart en ziel'*: Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 117.
- 150 *leek alsof zij de politie bij de kladden had*: Ibid., 125.
- 151 *'Dit is het laatste avondmaal!'*: Ibid., 126.
- 151 *te strijden voor 'onze drie regels in de geschiedenis'*: Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 520.
- 151 *minstens zeven nazi's om en raakten er veel meer gewond*: According to Ochayon, “Armed Resistance in Kraków and Białystok,” seven to twelve Nazis were killed; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, says that thirteen were killed and fifteen were badly wounded. Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 519, states that seven Nazis were killed and many were injured.
- 152 *zat Hela in een trein*: Story in Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 6–7.

11 1943. EEN NIEUW JAAR – EEN MINI-OPSTAND IN WARSCHAU

- 153 *werd Zivia om zes uur 's ochtends wakker gemaakt*: The sections in this chapter from Zivia's perspective are based on Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 125–36 (preparation for uprising) and 145–59 (January uprising). Varying accounts of the January uprising are offered by Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*; Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*; Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*; Ronen, *Condemned to Life*; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*.
- 153 *Himmler*: Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler was considered to be an architect of the Holocaust.
- 154 *de beter bewapende revisionistische Betar*: Betar was the youth group affiliated with the Zionist Revisionist movement. They believed in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine with a “steel wall” of military force between Jews and their enemies. Betar was not socialist, and instead, was organized based on military behavior and structure (titles, parades, ranks); in the late 1930s their graduates created military “battalions.” They were affiliated with Polish military organizations. There were frequent disagreements between Betar and the leftist Zionist youth and, in Warsaw, this continued through the war. In the ghetto, the youth groups could not manage to collaborate. (In *The Last Fighters*, Marek Edelman tells a story of going to talk to Betar and the leader shot at him.) The left and right could not agree on who should lead the resistance, and on how to recruit fighters. Betar wanted one of their people to command the fight because they actually had military training, but the Labor Zionists wouldn't accept that. (Betar felt that the leftists were making unreasonable demands.) Betar lost many people in the Aktions and had an open call for fighters,

- which the others found terrifying – what if collaborators showed up? It was important for Freedom and The Young Guard that they all knew and trusted each other. Betar kept their weapons out in the open, which Antek found stupid (he'd experienced Nazi checks), as well as “arrogant and exhibitionistic” (Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 226–27, 412). The Revisionists, Zivia sensed (134), were in disarray after losing so many people in deportations. Unable to agree on terms, Betar created their own fighting faction, the ZZW. Because of their history and connections with Polish fighting groups, Betar was better armed, and apparently the ZZW consisted of three hundred well-armed fighters. See Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 128, 133–36, and Tec, *Resistance*, 72–77.
- 154 *vormden een nieuwe alliantie*: According to Tec, *Resistance*, 72, the Bund agreed to join when they realized that the Polish underground was not going to collaborate with them.
- 154 *de Poolse ondergrondse*: Tec, *Resistance*, 42–45, 78–80. From the perspective of Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 219–20, 349, 360–63. Bernard, *Problems Related to the Study*, 52–59, stresses that the AK was “not a single concept” but a vast and diverse underground army.
- 154 *gloeilampen verzameld die werden gevuld met zwavelzuur*: According to Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 252–55, before the January uprising, the ZOB had fewer than twenty pistols and no rifles or Molotovs. It had grenades and lightbulbs.
- 154 *De Bundisten versterkten hun gevechtseenheden*: This section about Vladka is based on Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 68–85. Vladka's oral testimonies can be found in the USHMM and USC Shoah Foundation collections.
- 155 *zwoegden als dwangarbeiders*: Most Jews who remained in the ghetto worked as slave labor.
- 156 *Volgens ... 22 januari*: Edelman, *The Ghetto Fights*, 30.
- 156 *Het gebrek aan tijd ... om zich te mobiliseren*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 230, 251.
- 156 *'De menigte die zou worden gedeporteerd ... voeten, tanden en ellebogen'*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 120. In Zivia's account, most Jews were confused and did not fight back.
- 157 *'een soort emotionele inventarisatie van de laatste momenten van mijn leven'*: Gutterman's translation, *Fighting for Her People*, 199.
- 157 *Onze gewapende strijd zal een bron van inspiratie zijn voor toekomstige generaties*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 151.
- 158 *'We waren totaal onvoorbereid ... We hadden niet verwacht het te overleven'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 154.
- 158 *'de stilte van de dood aan' waarvan 'de lucht doortrokken was'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 155.
- 159 *'Terwijl duizenden ... eerdere angst vrijwel verdwenen'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 57.
- 159 *van alle kanten onthaald werden op een kogelregen*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 158.
- 160 *In de textiel fabriek Schultz ... meubelwinkel Hallman*: Schultz (Tobbens and Schultz) and Hallman were two of the factories in the Warsaw ghetto where thousands of Jews were slave laborers.
- 160 *hielden bewakers onder schot, knevelde hen, en vernietigde hun registratielijsten*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 120–21.
- 160 *Eén kameraad ... Duitsers die beneden stonden*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 152.
- 160 *kostte de nazi's dagen*: According to Tec, *Resistance*, 79, they had originally sent two hundred German policemen but ended up sending in eight hundred. They thought the operation would take a few hours, and it took a few days.

- According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 208–33, forty Germans were killed (he cites Chajka), and only four thousand of the eight thousand quota of Jews were expelled.
- 161 ‘*Honger was een stamgast ... vulde de graven*’: Kukielka, “Last Days,” 102–6.
- 162 *Kamionka*: Most sources agree that there were no ghettos in the Będzin area until the fall of 1942. According to “Będzin,” Virtual Shtetl, the Jews had been living in an open ghetto before that date.
- 162 ‘*In de zomer ... te kunnen zien*’: Laskier, *Rutka’s Notebook*, 34.
- 162 *De tijd om te vechten was in Będzin nog niet aangebroken*: Ronen, “The Jews of Będzin,” 16–27.
- 162 *overbevolkt vluchtelingenkamp: arm, verwaarloosd, onhygiënisch*: Gutterman, “Holocaust in Będzin,” 63. The USHMM holds numerous photos of the Kamionka ghetto. See, for instance, photographs 20745 and 19631.
- 163 *Het getto was afgesloten en werd bewaakt door de Joodse militie*: Renia says it was fenced and shuttered, but other sources say it was not fenced, but guarded. See Gutterman, “Holocaust in Będzin,” 63.
- 163 ‘*schandelijke plek*’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 73.
- 164 *voor altijd*: According to a personal interview with Jacob Harel and Leah Waldman, Haifa, Isr., May 14, 2018, Renia described seeing this happen to her brother.

II DUIVELS OF GODINNEN

- 161 “*They were not human*” ... *Stroop*: Said to his cell mate, after the war. Cited in Witold Bereś and Krzysztof Burnetko, *Marek Edelman: Being on the Right Side*, trans. William R. Brand (Kraków, Pol.: Bereś Media, 2016), 170. Tec, *Resistance*, 81, stresses that Stroop was particularly impressed with Jewish women who fought equally alongside the men.

12 DE VOORBEREIDING

- 167 *Będzin bruiste*: Descriptions of these preparations are culled from Renia’s memoir, Fela Katz’s testimonies, Chajka’s diary, Ronen’s *Condemned to Life*, and Namyslo’s catalogue. Freedom, Gordonia, and The Young Guard, and later HaNoar HaTzioni and Hashomer HaDati, all collaborated. Gordonia’s leadership also included women like Szloma Lerner and Hanka Bornstein, who was a leader of the ZOB. It is unclear what the joint command in Będzin was at the time; overall, the underground saw itself as a satellite of the Warsaw ZOB and under their command. In Zaglembe, the adult parties were not involved.
- 167 ‘*We kregen de reputatie ... als het zover is*’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 76.
- 168 ‘*knap als afgestudeerde ingenieurs*’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 77.
- 168 *Met blote handen groeven de kameraden tunnels*: Ahron Brandes, “In the Bunkers,” trans. Lance Ackerfeld, from the Bedzin yizkor book, <https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/bedzin/bed363.html>.
- 168 *leek alsof de bewoners halsoverkop gevlucht waren*: Tec, *Resistance*, 90.
- 168 *een episode van weerstand – binnen de eigen Joodse gemeenschap*: This episode is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 77–82. According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 208–33, there were a few such incidences.
- 169 *Vol verbijstering keek Renia naar de confrontatie*: Kukielko, *Escape from the Pit*, 78, suggests that Renia may have also been beaten. A while back, in the Warsaw ghetto,

- Frumka had had a scuffle with the Jewish police. During an Aktion, she, Zivia, Antek and another leader were suddenly surrounded. Frumka insulted a policeman. He responded with obscenities. She slapped his face. A group of police threw her into a horse and cart, her nose bleeding profusely, while Antek kicked like a wild man. A crowd of passersby admonished the police for detaining Hechalutz leaders, and a comrade helped release them. Antek and Frumka spat in the militiaman's face. See Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 41–44; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 190–91.
- 171 *Nieuws uit Warschau druppelde binnen*: Unless indicated otherwise, the rest of this chapter, including quotes and dialogue, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 82–88.
- 172 *Irena Adamowicz*: Information about Irena is from: “Adamowicz Irena,” POLIN Polish Righteous, <https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-adamowicz-irena>; Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 155; Anka Grupińska, *Reading the List* (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2014), 21; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 131; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 96, 146–47. Despite her life-risking work, Antek claimed that her efforts were ultimately for missionary reasons. See Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 421.
- 172 *Idzia Pejsachson*: Information about Idzia is culled from varying accounts, including Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 112–13, 140–41.
- 172-3 *Je kunt je nu niet bezighouden ... het eerste wapentransport*: Klinger, “Girls in the Ghettos,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 17–23.
- 173 *verschillende hypotheses over haar dood*: These are all from Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 141. According to Fela Katz's testimony, Idzia was recognized because of her partner.
- 173 *Idzia's plaats werd ingenomen door Astrid*: Information about Astrid is culled from varying accounts, including Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 112–13, 140–41; Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 85; Aaron Brandes, “The Underground in Bedzin,” in *Daring to Resist*, 27–28. It appears that Idzia went to Warsaw to find weapons, and though she never returned to Będzin, Astrid arrived with pistols and grenades.
- 174 *Warschause gewoonten moesten worden overgenomen*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 113.
- 174 *de koerierster*: This was Astrid.

13 DE KOERIERSTERS

- 176 *de waarde van een mens bepaald werd op basis van uiterlijk*: Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 1–57.
- 176 *Nog diezelfde dag*: The following two sections are based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 88–91, including dialogue and quotations. Scenes are enhanced by descriptions of Warsaw at the time.
- 179 *een genuanceerdere term die hun taak beter omschrijft ... 'verbindingsofficier'*: Sheryl Silver Ochayon, “The Female Couriers During the Holocaust,” <https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/general/couriers.html>. General information about the couriers comes from Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 73–81; Ochayon, “Female Couriers During the Holocaust”; Weitzman, “Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance.”
- 179 *'geïsoleerde koninkrijken'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 73.
- 180 *'je vroeg niet de weg naar het getto'*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 167.
- 180 *'menselijke radio's'*: Weitzman, “Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance.”
- 180 *'flitste als een meteor'*: Korczak, “Men and Fathers,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 28–33.

- 180 *of wachtten de hele nacht met ze op een treinstation*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 153. 177 *Most “connectors” had to be female*: According to Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 517, about 70 percent of couriers were women; there were about a hundred in total. Their average age was twenty.
- 181 *Tosia kwam zelfs een keer ... wilde kopen*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 165.
- 181 *licht haar en blauwe, groene of grijze ogen*: Myrna Goldenberg, “Passing: Foreword,” in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 131–34.
- 181 *verfden hun haar en maten zich een Pools kapsel aan*: Aliza Vitis-Shomron, *Youth in Flames: A Teenager’s Resistance and Her Fight for Survival in the Warsaw Ghetto* (Omaha: Tell the Story, 2015), 176.
- 181 *werd er gegrapt*: Personal interview, Havi Dreifuss, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 16, 2018.
- 181 *het dragen van een mof ... iets wat gezien werd als typisch Joods*: Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side in Poland,” 213.
- 182 *niet dagelijks hun tanden poetsten en geen bril droegen*: Weitzman, *Living on the Aryan Side in Poland*, 208.
- 182 *Institut de Beauté*: Diane Ackerman, *The Zookeeper’s Wife: A War Story* (New York: Norton, 2007), 220.
- 182 *Toen Tosia naar Będzin kwam*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 134.
- 182 *de dag van de naamheilige*: Chasia, one courier, knew how to genuflect, but had no idea that Halina was the name of two saints – after which one was she named?
- 182 *empathie werd bijgebracht ... sterkte intuïtie*: Bronka Klibanski, a Białystok courier, wrote, “In comparison to men, it seems to me that we women were more loyal to the cause, more sensitive to our surroundings, wiser – or perhaps more generously endowed with intuition.” Klibanski, “In the Ghetto and in the Resistance,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, 186.
- 183 *zelfbewustzijn, onafhankelijkheid, collectief bewustzijn en zelfbeheersing*: They were also driven. According to Vladka Meed (in Katz and Ringelheim, *Proceedings of the Conference on Women*, 82), some couriers were competitive, vying for more missions.
- 183 *in een trein ooit*: Story from Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 150.
- 183 *‘Het vergde het uiterste van me’*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 99.
- 183 *‘We konden niet echt huilen ... we acteerden non-stop’*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 237.
- 183 *de aanval*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 90–92.
- 183 *‘Elke stap die je buiten het prikkeldraad ... met een machete een weg moest banen’*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 56.

14 BIJ DE GESTAPO

- 185 *Bela Hazan*: This section, including dialogue and quotations, is based primarily on Bela’s memoir *Bronislawa Was My Name* (Ghetto Fighters’ House, 1991), 24–67. Additional sources include: Sara Bender, “Bela Ya’ari Hazan,” The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/hazan-bela-yaari>; M. Dvorshetzky, “From Ghetto to Ghetto,” *Women in the Ghettos*; and personal interview with Yoel Yaari, Jerusalem, Israel, 17 May 2018. Bela’s written testimonies can be found at the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum (2 documents) and Yad Vashem archives.
- 190 *‘hoge priesteres, met lange vlechten die als een halo om haar hoofd waren gewikkeld’*: Grunwald-Spier, *Women’s Experiences in the Holocaust*, 251. Information about Lonka is primarily from: Diatłowicki, ed., *Jews in Battle, 1939–1945*; Itkeh, “Leah Kozibrodzka,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 129–31;

- Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 76–78; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 106–7, 121, 176–77, etc. She was Antek’s first main courier.
- 191 *Tema*: Information about Tema Schneiderman is primarily from: Bronia Klubanski, “Tema Sznajderman,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/sznajderman-tema>. Tema Schneiderman, Leah Pearlstein, and Sarah Granatshtein were all killed in the Warsaw January liquidation.
- 192 *poseerden voor een foto*: The story of this photo (here and in later chapters) is from Yoel Yaari, “A Brave Connection,” *Yedioth Ahronoth*, *Passover Supplement*, April 5, 2018, and personal interview, Yoel Yaari, Jerusalem, Israel, May 17, 2018. In her Yad Vashem testimony, Bela says she invited the Gestapo to her home for a Christmas party.
- 194 *De betonnen wanden waren volgekrast met wanhoopskreten*: As I saw on my visit to the site.
- 195 *‘Lonka heeft een briefje uit de Pawiak-gevangenis gegooid toen ze was gearresteerd’*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 242. He explains how Dzielna found out; I extrapolate that Irena told this to Renia.
- 195 *rank en had fijne gelaatstreken*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 155.

15 DE OPSTAND IN HET GETTO VAN WARSCHAU

- 196 *hield Zivia*: The three sections in this chapter that are told from Zivia’s perspective are based on Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 160–89.
- 196 *een telefoontje*: There were phones in the Warsaw ghetto – for instance, in the workshops – and people were able to ring outside and receive calls. As with letters, they communicated in code. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 354, relays how he called the workshop from a restaurant and communicated in code. Page 368 refers to the nightly telephone reports during the uprising. (Tosia rang courier Frania Beatis.) Vladka used a phone to organize her gun smuggling. According to Paulsson, *Secret City*, 237, these phones were probably functioning only due to Nazi oversight.
- 196 *‘We hebben ... de aanval in’*: Based on reported conversation, Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 178.
- 196 *verjaardagcadeautje*: Tec, *Resistance*, 79.
- 196 *Zivia voelde dat de stemming in het getto veranderd was*: According to Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 522, the deportation was curbed for reasons other than the resistance, but the Jews believed in the association.
- 196-7 *complexe, goed gecamoufleerde schuilplaatsen ... naar het arische deel van de stad*: Tec, *Resistance*, 67.
- 197 *kochten hun eigen wapens*: According to Vitis-Shomron, *Youth in Flames*, 174–75, she sold clothes to forced laborers (to sell outside the ghetto) and saved up to buy guns from a Polish smuggler. With private Jews’ demands for guns, a black-market trade developed.
- 197 *een geduchte strijd van het volk*: On the other hand, according to Marysia Warman’s testimony in *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, she had no idea about the uprising which came as a total surprise to her – even though she was a Bund courier.
- 197 *vijftig pistolen, vijftig handgranaten en een paar kilo explosieven*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 123. According to Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 292, one pistol was pinched along the way, and only forty-nine arrived in the ghetto.
- 197 *‘munitiefabriek’*: Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 135–38.

- 197 *The ZOB maakte ... werden gezaagd*: Information about weapons is primarily from Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 292–95. According to Tec, *Resistance*, 80, in total, the ZOB had two thousand Molotov cocktails, ten rifles, a couple of machine guns stolen from Germans, and a lot of ammunition.
- 198 *'de regering' ... mogen beginnen*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 166. Numerous small rebellions occurred in the ghetto during this period.
- 198 *Schoenmakers ... bij zich droegen*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 318.
- 198 *schonk het Amerikaanse Joint Distribution Committee aanzienlijke bedragen*: David M. Schizer, "The Unsung, Unfinished Legacy of Isaac Giterman," *Tablet*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/253442/the-unsung-unfinished-legacy-of-isaac-giterman>.
- 198 *kreeg Zivia ook de opdracht samen met een ander leiding te geven aan de financiële commissie*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 196.
- 198 *'Op een goede dag ... uit de bank'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 166–67.
- 198 *schreef brieven ... liet hun huizen doorzoeken*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 25–30.
- 198 *Ze vergaarden miljoenen*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 378, claims that they had jewelry and millions of zlotys, dollars, and British pounds.
- 198 *leidster van de Jong Garde*: Information about Miriam Heinsdorf is from Grupińska, 70; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 78, 229, 259, etc. She was frequently remembered for her singing. She was older than the others, about thirty.
- 198 *beide vrouwen officieel te zijn gedegradeerd*: Accounts differ about the women's position in the organizations. In some, Zivia was an elected ZOB leader; others suggest she stepped down voluntarily because she knew her limitations.
- 199 *haar mening legde gewicht in de schaal*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 228–29.
- 199 *aldus Zivia*: Culled from Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 205–15, and Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 170–77.
- 199 *Een overrompelingstactiek had de grootste kans van slagen*: As Gusta observed, 80–81: "The partisan's effectiveness depends not so much on sheer strength as on the element of surprise ... [on] his ability to keep the enemy off balance."
- 199 *Volgens het systeem van de jongerenbewegingen werden er tweeëntwintig gevechtseenheden opgezet*: According to Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 176–77, there were four Young Guard groups, one Gordonia, one Akiva, one Hanoar Hatzioni, five Freedom, one Poalei-Zion ZS, one Left Poalei Zion, four Bund, and four Communist. The ZZW also had a large and strong unit. Most sources agree with Zivia that there were approximately 500 ZOB fighters and 250 ZZW fighters. However, some (like *The Last Fighters*) claim that there were only about 220 ZOB members. Grupińska, *Reading the List*, lists 233 fighters in total based largely on the list compiled by ZOB leaders in 1943, but they recognized it was not complete. Not everyone was accepted into the ZOB; some rejects formed their own "feral" groups who also fought. Other unaffiliated fighters joined the ZZW.
- 199 *van tussen de twintig en vijfentwintig jaar*: Many Freedom members were from outside Warsaw and slightly older.
- 199 *Een derde daarvan was vrouw*: Kol-Inbar, "Three Lines in History," 522.
- 199 *een ehbo-cursus*: Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Farewell to Mila* 18, 99.
- 199 *elke avond trairden ze zich met een simulatiespel erin om doelwitten van hun wapens te beroven*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 22.
- 199 *binnen een paar seconden*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 304.
- 199 *'Deze morgen is het begin van het einde'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 178.
- 200 *Gewapend met ... een strategische positie ingenomen*: Culled from Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 215, and Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 313.

- According to *Blue Bird*, each fighter had a handgun and a grenade; each group had two rifles and a few homemade explosives.
- 200 'bloederige massa verminkte lichamen zonder ledematen': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 181.
- 200 'Deze keer zullen ze boeten!': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 181.
- 201 'rolden in hun eigen bloed': Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 182.
- 201 *We begrepen zelf niet wat er gebeurde*': Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 218.
- 201 *Die avond*: Description of that first night based on Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*.
- 201 *handelde als altijd op eigen initiatief, leidde verkenningsmissies en liep 's avonds andere gevechtseenheden en bunkers af*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 216.
- 201 *Ik lag daar uren ... geweer te voelen*': Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 220.
- 202 'flarden van ... alle kanten op vlogen': Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 190, offers detailed descriptions of this uprising from his Bundist perspective.
- 202 'Uiteengereten lichamen ... complete chaos': Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 34. 200 Zippora Lerer: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 34–35, 187.
- 202 *Masha Futermilch*: Gleitman was her maiden name. In *The Last Fighter*, she describes an additional element of her attack: "I went out to the balcony and saw a German, and I didn't have ammunition anymore, and we were making chulent. So I decided that I will throw the pot, and it hit him. And in the pot was kishke, and the pot opened up and the kishke fell on his head, and he began fighting to untangle himself."
- 202-3 *trilde zo van spanning ... steentje bijgedragen*: Masha Futermilch in *Pillar of Fire* (Hebrew version, probably episode 13), viewed at Yad Mordechai Museum, directed by Asher Tlalim, Israel, 1981.
- 203 *Hantze bereidde zich voor om zoals gepland weg te gaan uit Warschau*: This section, including quotations, is from Kukielka, "Last Days," 102–6. In other accounts, the movement sent Hantze back to Będzin.
- 203 'een vriendelijk vrouw': From the Yiddish version, *Women in the Ghettos*.
- 204 *Elke straat*: This description of the burning ghetto as seen from the Aryan side is culled from Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 92–94; Mahut, 144; Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 140–46; Vitis-Shomron, *Youth in Flames*, 191.
- 204 'Het leek niet ... in een strijd': Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 92.
- 205 *Vooral van Joden, maar ook van Duitsers*: Some reports claim that three hundred Nazis were killed; the Nazi reports claim a much smaller number, but they would, especially as General Stroop was desperate to show off his accomplishments. According to Ackerman, *Zookeeper's Wife*, 211–13, sixteen Nazis were killed and eighty-five wounded.
- 205 *Er is een foto*: In Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, insert.
- 205 'Er is geen God ... zwijgt': Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 94. 204 "something of a happiness ... the Germans": Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 94.
- 206 'Joden hernamen zich, wilden sterven als mensen': Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 94.
- 206 *Het kan niet anders dan dat ze hulp krijgen van de Polen ... alleen niet leveren*': Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 94. For similar accounts, see Kuper, "Life Lines," 201–2, and Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 141.

- 207 *Zivia werd verblind door de gloed*: Unless indicated otherwise, this chapter is based primarily on Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 190–259.
- 207 ‘*Vlammenzuilen ... een verkrampde doodsstrijd*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 199–200.
- 208 ‘*vernietigende vlammen ... Ze schreef: ‘We werden levend verbrand*’: Ibid., 200–201.
- 208 ‘*We bestreden niet de Duitsers maar het vuur*’: Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 222.
- 208 *waar een kapper mensen hielp zich voor te bereiden om naar het arische deel te gaan*: Tec, *Resistance*, 174–76.
- 209 ‘*Elk slot krijgen we in een handomdraai open*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction* 190–92.
- 209 *door gebrek aan lucht zelfs geen kaars konden aansteken*: Cited in Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 155.
- 209 ‘*ook al was het met de lucht van het getto ... de duisternis doorboorde*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 206–7.
- 209 ‘*zelfs in die brandende woestenij*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 205–8, includes discussion of those days in the burning ghetto.
- 209-10 ‘*Zodra de zon opkwam ... die laatste Joden?*’: Ibid., 209.
- 210 *Kazik, een zeventienjarige jongen*: “Kazik” was the nom de guerre of Simcha Rotem (born Simcha Rathajzer).
- 210 *Nadat de strijders van de ZZW ... waren echter gedood*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 239–40; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 412.
- 210 ‘*We hebben vrijwel niets meer om mee te vechten, er is vrijwel niemand meer om oorlog tegen te voeren*’: Cited in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 230.
- 211 *Warschau uitgebreide rioolsysteem*: Geography was important. Warsaw had a sewer system, which could be used for smuggling and escape. In the East, the proximity of the forest enabled partisan camps. Łódź, however, was isolated, with no sewer system
- 211 ‘*verschroeiende skeletten van huizen*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 220–24.
- 211 *Hela ... was de enige overlevende*: Hela’s escape story is based on Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Farewell to Mila* 18, 113.
- 212 ‘*Hinkend en onder de bloeduitstortingen liep ik verder*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 229.
- 212 ‘*Tosia and Zivia, leidsters van het Pioniersverzet in Polen, zijn in Warschau gesneuveld tijdens de verdediging van de waardigheid van het Joodse volk, stond in het Davar te lezen*: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 208–11. A clipping of the article from *Davar*, June 1, 1943, is held at the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive.
- 212 ‘*Zivia is altijd in de buurt van Mavetsky (de dood) Tosia is bij Zivia*’: Dror, *The Dream, the Revolt*, 3.
- 212 *de ‘Jeanne d’Arcs van de ondergrondse*’: Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 208.
- 212 *Kameraden warden ... het Verenigd Koninkrijk en Irak*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 244.
- 213 ‘*We renden als dwazen rond ... hun wapens te pakken*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 233.
- 213 ‘*een kolonne van levenloze lichamen in het donker, als geesten*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 234.
- 213-4 ‘*Verantwoordelijkheid nemen voor anderen maakt je ondanks alles veerkrachtig*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 236.
- 214 “*yan*”: This story is from Pnina Grinshpan Frimer in *The Last Fighters*.

- 215 *'Toen drong pas echt tot me door ... Maar je blijft lopen!':* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 244.
- 215 *Tosia verloor de moed ... uiteindelijk redde ze het toch:* Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 189.
- 215 *vrat aan haar:* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 247.
- 216 *zouden worden gered:* The details of this rescue operation differ across sources, with details that vary from Zivia's account. See, for instance, Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 244–57; Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 48–58; Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 189.
- 216 *'Kom, we gaan de anderen halen!':* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 247.
- 216 *Een deel van de strijders verplaatste zich naar andere plek:* This is a controversial moment. Kazik claims he told everyone to stay close to the manhole, implying that Zivia should not have let them stray. (Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 53.)
- 217 *in een verslag staat dat het meer dan een halfuur duurde:* Rotem, 55.
- 217 *'We waren smerig ... dat we nog leefden':* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 252.
- 217 *de 'beroemde twist' tussen Zivia en Kazik, ook al heeft Zivia er nooit iets over geschreven:* Kazik, however, did write about it, in *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 53–56. Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 251–53, provides a few accounts of this incident, primarily from Kazik's perspective; here she explains that Zivia threatened to shoot Kazik while they were on the truck. In Kazik's *Memoirs* he relays that Zivia threatened to shoot him once they were in the forest.
- 217 *Ik begrijp ... maar met Zivia?!':* Personal interview, Barbara Harshav, New York; March 9 and April 13, 2018.
- 217 *'In het hart van ... Joodse strijders op weg':* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 252.
- 218 *meer dan honderd Joodse vrouwen:* A number of these women's obituaries can be found in: Grupińska, *Reading the List*; Spizman, *Women in the Ghettos*; Neustadt, ed., *Destruction and Rising*.
- 218 *tot het bittere einde doorvochten:* Kol-Inbar, "Three Lines in History," 522.
- 218 *'met hun wapen in hun handen':* This description is reiterated throughout *Women in the Ghettos*.
- 218 *'Al stond het water tot aan haar keel ... door het riool':* *Women in the Ghettos*, 164.
- 218 *Courier Frania Batus ... age seventeen:* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 81.
- 218 *'die droomde van bossen en geurige bloemen':* Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 26. For more on Dvora Baran, see Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 214–15.
- 219 *Niuta Teitelbaum:* Information from: Grupińska, *Reading the List*, 132–33; Vera Laska, *Different Voices*, 258; Jack Porter, "Jewish Women in the Resistance," *Jewish Combatants of World War 2*, no. 3 (1981); Katrina Shawver, "Niuta Teitelbaum, Heroine of Warsaw," <https://katrinashawver.com/2016/02/niuta-teitelbaum-aka-little-wanda-with-the-braids.html>.
- 220 *'de bleke, hongerige gezichten ... hadden hen voor altijd getekend':* Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 258.
- 221 *Hadden we iets kunnen doen wat we niet hebben gedaan?':* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 256.
- 221 *In het bos ... naar hen toe:* Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 260–61. This is not mentioned in Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*.
- 221 *Ondanks de eindeloze vergaderingen:* He took meetings even while swimming laps; he walked everywhere to avoid trams. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 352, 377.
- 221 *Ook Vladka's pogingen waren vergeefs geweest:* Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 156–62.

- 221 ‘*Als iemand me verwijt dat ik voor mijn vrouw zorg, dan is dat maar zo*’: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 390. Who got which hiding spot was a controversial issue.
- 222 *Volgens een andere versie*: There are several conflicting accounts about the factory fire and Tosia’s death, a number of which can be found in Shalev, *Tosia Altman*, 194, 206. See also Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 257, and Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 394–96.

17 WAPENS, WAPENS, WAPENS

- 223 *Wapens ... een vrij volk te worden*: Ruzka Korczak, “The Revenge Munitions,” in *Women in the Ghettos*, 81.
- 223 *zei Renia voor de zoveelste keer*: This section, including quotations and dialogue, is based on Kukielka, “Last Days,” 102–6.
- 223 *beschreef Chajka haar als ... werkelijkheid van oorlog*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 129.
- 224 *Renia werd een van die kashariyot*: The rest of this section, including dialogue and direct quotes, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 96–98.
- 224 *Ina Gelbart van de Jonge Garde*: From Sosnowiec’s Young Guard, born 1923. Information based on Fela Katz’s testimonies; Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 311.
- 225 *Tarlow ... Jood die in het arische deel woonde*: Renia has various names for him. He is called “Tarlow” in Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 256–76, and Brandeis, “The Underground in Bedzin,” 128.
- 225 *‘en werd daar flink voor betaald’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 97.
- 225 *Other women’s accounts*: See, for instance, Chaya Palevsky, “I Had a Gun,” in *Daring to Resist*, 120–21; Riezl (Ruz’ka) Korczak, *Flames in Ash* (Israel: Sifriyat Po’alim, Hakibbutz Ha’artzi Hashomer Hatzair, 1946), 109; Tec, *Resistance*, 92.
- 225 *Na de nederlaag in Stalingrad ... ook duurder*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 252–55, 292, for weapons acquisitions.
- 225 *door hem naar een begraafplaats gebracht*: It’s not clear which cemetery this was, but in general, the Jewish cemetery was an important site for the resistance. According to Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 160, the Landau brothers, Jews who’d aided many Young Guard members during the deportations, owned a woodcraft factory. They asked the Nazis for a vegetable plot near the Jewish cemetery, the most peaceful part of Warsaw, Zivia felt, because Nazis rarely went there. With its remaining greenery, the cemetery was ironically the most alive place in the ghetto. The Jewish workers carried hoes and pitchforks and marched out of the ghetto to this plot of land, which was where they connected with their members on the Aryan side and worked on finding weapons. Antek used renowned Yiddish author I. L. Peretz’s grave as a meeting site, sending letters in and out of the ghetto through gravediggers and corpse carriers. More in Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 260, 356.
- 225 *nauwelijks wapens*: Weitzman, “Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance.” This section draws from this article as well as Ochayon, “Female Couriers During the Holocaust.”
- 226 *met één revolver doen ... opnieuw konden worden gebruikt*: Cohen, *The Avengers*, 59.
- 227 *Hela Schüpper*: Hela’s stories are based on Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Farewell to Mila 18*.
- 227 *een foto*: Hela poses with Shoshana Langer, dated June 1943. From the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive.

- 227 *'Iedereen die haar in de trein ... op vakantie ging':* Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 70. 228 *Vladka Meed began:* Vladka's weapons smuggling is based on Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 9–109, 123–32.
- 227 *gerechtshof ... aan de arische kant had:* Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 125–26, 153. In Vilna, they used fake traffic signs to divert cars to a street with a sewer opening, and transported long guns into the sewer in toolboxes. Paulsson, *Secret City*, 61–65, explains the different ways that goods were transported in and out of the ghetto, all having started with food smuggling. These methods include: sewers and tunnels; vehicles (trams, trucks, garbage trucks, hearses, ambulances); work parties; legal passes; municipal offices and a pharmacy (in Warsaw); *metas*, rooftops or drain pipes in buildings that bordered the wall; scaling the wall; Gesia Street Market (in Warsaw); using the gate with bribes or eliciting a guard's sympathy.
- 228 *Havka Folman:* One of Antek's main couriers, she ended up in Auschwitz and survived the war. Her memoir, *They Are Still with Me*, was published in 2001.
- 228 *smokkelden explosieven in hun maandverband:* There are a few different versions of this story. See, for instance, Havka Folman testimony in Diatlowicki, ed., *Jews in Battle, 1939–1945*; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 80; Ochayon, "Female Couriers During the Holocaust"; Yaari, "A Brave Connection." According to wall text at the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, Nazi general Stroop reported that the Jewish women "repeatedly concealed the pistols in their underwear."
- 228 *Chasia Bielicka samen met nog achttien andere Joodse meiden:* Information about Chasia and the Białystok couriers comes primarily from Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, as well as Liza Chapnik, "The Grodno Ghetto and its Underground," in *Women in the Holocaust*, 109–19; Chaika Grossman, *Underground Army*; Klibanski, "In the Ghetto and in the Resistance," 175–86.
- 229 *Haar kamergenote, Chaika Grossman:* Chaika Grossman ("Halina Woranowicz") was blonde, blue-eyed and from a wealthy family of factory owners. In 1938 she postponed her studies at Hebrew University for The Young Guard. When Hitler attacked, she was rushed to Warsaw for Leadership B. She then ran the Vilna movement alongside Kovner in her measured, unsentimental stance. She lived on the Aryan side and traveled with information about Ponary to Warsaw and other ghettos, then returned to her native Białystok to organize the underground, basing herself inside the ghetto. She and her boyfriend Edek Borks worked to unify the youth movements into one fighting unit – eventually commanded by Mordechai Tenenbaum. Chaika always insisted on fighting from inside the ghetto rather than fleeing to the partisans. Close with the head of the Judenrat, she made many appeals for him to support resistance efforts. "The madness of the brave moves the world forward," is what she taught her young comrades. She fought in the Białystok resistance and then fled from the deportation by running against the crowd, sneaking into a factory and pretending to work there.
- 229 *Leah Hammerstein:* Leah's story is based on Tec, *Resistance*, 159–71. Her testimony is in the USHMM archive.
- 230 *Renia:* This section is culled from Renia's testimony for the Israel National Library, her Yad Vashem testimony, and *Underground Wanderings*, 98. According to Gelbard, "Life in the Warsaw Ghetto," 11, it cost them 7000 marks per weapon.
- 230 *'Het kostte oneindig veel geld ... tussentijd was gebeurd?':* Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 98.

- 230 *gebruikte ze dezelfde tactiek ... liet haar verder met rust*: Later in *Underground Wanderings*, Renia explains that she used this tactic.
- 230 *Sommige koeriersters ... papieren zakje was genaaid*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 206–7. Faye always had an extra grenade attached to her belt to blow herself up in case she was captured alive. As another female partisan explained, “One for the enemy, and one for myself.”
- 230 *‘Je moest over een ijzeren wilskracht beschikken’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 97.

18 GALG

- 232 *Juni 1943*: In *Underground Wanderings*, Renia writes that this occurs at the beginning of May 1943, but it doesn’t quite make sense that she saw the Warsaw ghetto burn and completed weapons smuggling trips, and that it is still early May. There was a deportation in Będzin on June 22, 1943, and I think she might be referring to this. There are several date conflicts within her book, and this appears to be one of them.
- 232 *Terug in Będzin*: This chapter, including quotations and dialogue, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 98–107.
- 232 *Er was geen tijd om na te denken*: According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, the group did not have it in them to take initiative. They were waiting for orders from Warsaw.
- 233 *Max Fischer, die voor de wezen van Atid had gezorgd*: His testimony at Ghetto Fighters’ House suggests that he was involved with establishing Atid.
- 233 *Ilza Hansdorf*: Sometimes referred to as Aliza Hoysdorf.
- 235 *met een mes*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 277–94, quoting Max Fischer.
- 235-6 *Zelfs te midden van die barbarij ... over hun leven*: Though it hardly seemed like a time for laughter, joking was its own form of resistance. Humor existed, and was even prevalent, in the ghettos and camps. Many women engaged in a particular type of humor centered on bodies, appearance, food, and cooking. An extended discussion is in Ostrower, *It Kept Us Alive*.
- 236 *voerden de nazi’s in twee dagen achtduizend mensen weg*: This is Renia’s figure. According to “Będzin, Poland,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jewish Virtual Library, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/Będzin>, on June 22, 1943, four thousand Jews were taken from Będzin.

19 VRIJHEID IN DE BOSSEN – DE PARTIZANEN

- 239 *Marek Folman – blond haar, blauwe ogen –*: Fela Katz describes him as good-looking. Along with Aliza Zitenfeld, he taught and cared for the orphaned children. Folman had organized the Freedom school in the Warsaw ghetto.
- 240 *De lijst werd voorgelezen*: There are discrepancies in accounts regarding who was included in which group. Renia claims that Irka and Leah Pejsachson went out with a group, but according to Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 122–23, they were killed in other ways. According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 295–312, David, who’d become The Young Guard commander, went with the first group; Chajka was upset because only men were allowed to go. Fela Katz, in her testimony, said that David was in the first group, which had a few guns; the group was all men, and each had a knife and some bullets. Both Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 295–312, and Katz agree that only two women went out the second time, along with ten men.

- 240 *Met haar laarzen ... een vrouw was*: Klinger, “Girls in the Ghettos,” 17–23.
- 240 *De kameraden die achterbleven ... gevierd met wodka*: Fela Katz testimony.
- 241 *Het was uiterst moeilijk ... voor een Joodse vrouw*: Information about the partisans is based primarily on the Jewish Partisan Education Foundation, <http://www.jewishpartisans.org>; Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 513–46; Nechama Tec, “Women Among the Forest Partisans,” in *Women in the Holocaust*; Tec, *Resistance*, 84–121; Tamara Vershitskaya, “Jewish Women Partisans in Belarus,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 46, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 567–72. I also drew on personal accounts, including: Shelub and Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road*; Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*; and the sources listed below for the Vilna fighters.
- 241 *er verschillende partizanengroepen waren*: Soviet soldiers and POWs who did not want to fall into Nazi hands, Lithuanian units comprising dissenters and Communists, Belorussians dodging conscription to German forced labor camps, Poles backed by the Polish underground, and so forth.
- 241 *dertigduizend ... 10 procent van hen was vrouw*: From Jewish Partisan Education Foundation, <http://www.jewishpartisans.org>. These numbers include all partisan brigades, Jewish and non. Offering a variety of different statistics are Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*; Tec, *Resistance*; Vershitskaya, “Jewish Women Partisans.”
- 241 *Vaak werden vrouwen ook nog eens door partizanen verkracht*: Sex was forbidden for partisans, punishable by death. Regardless, some partisan men went to local villages to find girls. Rumor has it that the Nazis knew this and injected women with venereal disease, which they then passed on to the partisans. Tec, *Resistance*, 107.
- 241-2 *De meeste*: Tec, “Women Among the Forest Partisans,” 223, states 77 percent.
- 242 *‘Om overdag enige rust ... ’s nachts instemmen met “gebrek aan rust”*: Fanny Solomian-Lutz, cited in Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 527.
- 242 *Een Joodse vrouw ... ‘een officier uit te kiezen’*: From the documentary video *Everyday the Impossible: Jewish Women in the Partisans*, Jewish Partisan Education Foundation, <http://www.jewishpartisans.org/content/jewish-women-partisans>.
- 242 *Een van hen ... begon te schieten*: Vitka Kempner, interviewed in Yigal Wilfand, ed., *Vitka Fights for Life* (Givat Haviva, Isr.: Moreshet, 2013), 49.
- 242 *om niet meer lastig te worden gevallen door andere mannen*: Shelub and Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road*, 111–14.
- 242 *alleen een sterke, gewapende man had status*: As stressed by Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 526, the partisans may have been antiauthoritarian, but when it came to women they adopted the most conservative model of traditional society.
- 242 *Ze voerde meerdere keren een geslaagde abortus uit met quinine, maar vaak leidde de ingreep tot de dood op de operatietafel*: Fanny Solomian-Lutz, *A Girl Facing the Gallows* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Moreshet and Sifryat Hapoalim, 1971), 113–14.
- 243 *kleren te wassen tot ze het vel van hun handen schuurden*: Personal interview, Holly Starr, telephone, November 13, 2018 regarding her mother Sara Rosnow. Vilna Partisan Liba Marshak Auginfeld was a cook and tailor, making boots out of leather that partisans brought her.
- 243 *Faye Schulman*: Née Faye Lazebnik. Faye’s story is based on Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir* and *Daring to Resist: Three Women Face the Holocaust*, directed by Barbara Attie and Martha Goell Lubell. USA, 1999.
- 243 *‘De nazi’s hadden ... uit de greppels vloeide’*: Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*, 17.
- 244 *‘Ik had mijn jeugd ... mocht niet gelukkig zijn’*: Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*, 149.
- 244 *als gewapende bewakers optraden*: For instance, Fruma Berger (with the Bielski detachment); Mira and Sara Rosnow.

- 244 *kameraden uit Vilnius*: I have based my story of the Vilna resistance on accounts including: *Partisans of Vilna: The Untold Story of Jewish Resistance During World War II*, directed by Josh Waletzky, USA, 1986; Neima Barzel, “Rozka Korczak-Marla” and “Vitka Kempner-Kovner,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*; Cohen, *Avengers*; Grossman, *Underground Army*; Moshe Kalchheim, ed., *With Proud Bearing 1939–1945: Chapters in the History of Jewish Fighting in the Narotch Forests* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Organisation of Partisans, Underground Fighters and Ghetto Rebels in Israel, 1992); Michael Kovner, www.michalkovner.com; Korczak, *Flames in Ash*; Roszka Korczak, Yehuda Tubin, and Yosef Rab, eds., *Zelda the Partisan* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Moreshet and Sifriyat Po’alim, 1989); Ruzka Korczak, “In the Ghettos and in the Forests,” “The Revenge Munitions” and “Women in the Vilna Ghetto,” in *Women in the Ghettos*; Dina Porat, *The Fall of a Sparrow: The Life and Times of Abba Kovner* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010); Ziva Shalev, “Zelda Nisanilevich Treger,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*; Yehuda Tubin, Levi Deror, et al., eds., *Ruzka Korchak-Marle: The Personality and Philosophy of Life of a Fighter* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Moreshet and Sifriyat Po’alim, 1988); Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*. I have also drawn from personal interviews with: Rivka Augenfeld, Montreal, August 10 and 17, 2018; Michael Kovner, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018; Daniela Ozacky-Stern and Yonat Rotbain, Givat Haviva, Isr., May 14, 2018; Chayeale Palevsky, Skype, November 20, 2018.
- 245 *Op een ochtend*: The story of how Ruzka and Vitka met is based on Cohen, *Avengers*, 18–19. Throughout this chapter, I have used the exact dialogue presented by Cohen in case he was drawing on direct quotes. Their personal backgrounds are taken from many sources, including *ibid.*, 13–23.
- 246 *Niemand durfde ... begroette hem*: Michael Kovner, “In Memory of My Mother,” <https://www.michaelkovner.com/said04eng>. Cohen, *Avengers*, 19, also mentions this meeting.
- 246 *Ben je niet goed bij je hoofd? Wil je soms dood? ’*: Cohen, *Avengers*, 27. The story of Vitka’s return to Vilna is from *ibid.*, 26–27.
- 246 *één keer deden ze zich voor als officiersvrouwen*: Tubin, Deror, et al., eds., *Ruzka Korchak-Marle*, 22.
- 246 *betaalden ze een Joodse kapper om het te bleken met waterstofperoxide*: Cohen, *Avengers*, 38.
- 246 *’konden zelfs die blonde lokken ... Joodse oogopslag’*: Korczak, “Women in the Vilna Ghetto,” 113–27.
- 246 *’Duitsers geloven wat hun wordt verteld’*: Cohen, *Avengers*, 37. 248
stuck on a yellow leaf instead: Cohen, *Avengers*, 38.
- 246 *’Ik slaap in het midden’*: *Ibid.*, 49. On p. 7, Cohen describes how others have speculated about their love triangle. Vitka addresses their romance in Tubin, Deror, et al., eds., *Ruzka Korchak-Marle*, 63.
- 246 *’Vanwege de seks!’*: As told to me by a Dror youth group member in the United Kingdom, 2018.
- 247 *zijn liefdesverklaring*: According to Cohen, *Avengers*, 61, in European undergrounds, the commander sent “his girl” to lead the toughest assignments, reflecting his strength.
- 247 *Haar opdracht*: This assignment, her preparation, and her near captures, are based on Cohen, *Avengers*, 62–64; Korczak, “Women in the Vilna Ghetto,” 113–27; Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 29–31. The details differ slightly in each account.
- 247 *in tranen naar een nazi toe*: Chasia was once caught delivering weapons to the forest outside Białystok. She cried and claimed she was lost. The Nazi gave her directions

- and warned her to be careful, telling her she could have been killed by the partisans! Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 251.
- 247 ‘ijzig kalm’ ... *netelige situaties wist te redden*: Cohen, *Avengers*, 62.
- 247 *Vitka droeg een bom die Abba van een buis had vervaardigd*: According to Vitka in *Partisans of Vilna*, the bomb was primitive and enormous. An FPO comrade who held a position with the Jewish police snuck it out of the ghetto under his coat.
- 247 *Ruzka zat bij de Papierbrigade*: Accounts about Ruzka and the Finnish bomb book vary. See, for instance, David E. Fishman, *The Book Smugglers: Partisans, Poets, and the Race to Save Jewish Treasures from the Nazis* (Lebanon, NH: ForEdge, 2017), and Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 29–31.
- 248 ‘Daar voelde ik me niet schuldig over ... wie wie is’: Cohen, *Avengers*, 64.
- 248 ‘Ze liep gewoon weg ... Niemand hield haar staande’: Cohen, *Avengers*, 88.
- 249 *de leiding had over een verkennergroep*: Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 46; Ruzka in Tubin, Deror, et al., eds., *Ruzka Korchak-Marle*, 42: “Fact: Vitka Kovner Kempner was the head commander in the forest. Not only did she partake in all of the patrolling, she was the commander!”
- 249 *Volgens Vitka ... te sjouwen*: Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 41. Vitka also discusses this in the film *Everyday the Impossible: Jewish Women in the Partisans*. According to Ruzka (Katz and Ringelheim, *Proceedings of the Conference on Women*, 93), women participated in almost every supply gathering, sabotage, ambush and combat mission.
- 249-50 ‘Je zult ... af te halen’: Cohen, *Avengers*, 123. The story is on pp. 122–25.
- 250 ‘Ik herinner me onze eerste overval ... vierde het uitbundig’: Korczak, “In the Ghettos and in the Forests,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 74–81. This likely refers to a different incident.
- 250 *aanvoerster van de patrouille-eenheid*: Tubin, Deror, et al., eds., *Ruzka Korchak-Marle*, 67.
- 250 *was ook kwartiermeester*: Yehuda Tubin ed., *Ruzka Korchak- Marle*, 42.
- 250 *bestonden ze uit een heel dorp van ondergrondse onderkomens ... gestolen van boeren die onder schot werden gehouden*: From various accounts, including Aida Brydbord, *Women of Valor*, 16.
- 250 *vaten vulden ... kamp verwijderd was*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 247.
- 250 ‘*walgelijke stank*’: As Fruma later wrote in a poem, “Hidden in the earth, a deep hole / Today became my home.” Ralph S. Berger and Albert S. Berger, eds., *With Courage Shall We Fight: The Memoirs and Poetry of Holocaust Resistance Fighters Frances “Fruma” Gulkowich Berger and Murray “Motke” Berger* (Margate: ComteQ, 2010), 82–83.
- 250 *Toen Vitka een keer haar jas had uitgeleend ... laten overspringen*: Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 46.
- 251 *Zelda Treger was een belangrijke kasharit*: The information and scenes about Zelda, as well as dialogue, are primarily based on Korczak, Tubin, and Rab, *Zelda the Partisan*.
- 253 ‘*een paar Joodse vrouwen*’: Cohen, *Avengers*, 125. The story of this mission is related in *ibid.*, 125–28; Korczak, “Women in the Vilna Ghetto,” 113–27; Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 42. According to Abba in *Partisans of Vilna*, it was his idea to carry out sabotage in Vilna to show the Germans that an underground operated there. He hoped to combine this mission with rescuing Jews and bringing them into the forest.
- 254 ‘*Wij hadden het gered ... sterker dan de mannen*’: Cited in Cohen, *Avengers*, 128.
- 254 *Vrouwen hadden meer stamina*: Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 48.

- 254 *Jaren later ... 'Zo dramatisch is dat niet!':* Vitka Kempner in *Partisans of Vilna: The Untold Story of Jewish Resistance During World War II*, directed by Josh Waletzky, USA, 1986.
- 254 *'Ze kende geen ... en inventief':* Korczak, "Women in the Vilna Ghetto," 113–27.
- 254-5 *In 1944 ... naar elkaar te staren:* Cohen, *Avengers*, 129–30.
- 255 *Op een zonnige ochtend in April ... 'Waar moet ik heen?' vroeg Vitka:* Cohen, *Avengers*, 139. The following story is based on *ibid.*, 139–42, and Tubin, Deror, et al., eds., 73. There are various versions of this story. According to Korczak, "Women in the Vilna Ghetto," 113–27, Vitka waited for a moment when her captors were distracted, broke free, and ran. According to Vitka in Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*, 42, this incident is combined with her mission to blow up Vilna's electric supply. On the way back, she was trapped on a bridge by Nazis on motorbikes. She convinced her captors to let her go and told them she would testify in their favor after the war; she took Ponary escapees with her.
- 256 *'Het is een wonder ... op een wonder?':* Cited in Cohen, *Avengers*, 142.
- 256 *Isaac, een lid van de Jonge Garde:* According to Fela Katz's testimony, the leaders hid him in a bunker so that his reappearance didn't cause panic. Fela has slightly different details in her account.
- 256 *'We verlieten het getto ... vandaan gekropen en gevlucht':* Quote is culled from Kulielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 110–11 and Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 295–312.

20 MELINA'S, GELD EN REDDING

- 258 *Renia wist wat dit betekende:* Unless indicated otherwise, this section is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 112–13.
- 259 *'een verbijsterende klap in ons gezicht':* Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 119–20.
- 259 *'geestelijk uitgeput ... was te groot':* Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 120–21.
- 259 *de koeriersters de belangrijke taak om Joden die zich schuilhielden:* Information in this section is primarily from Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*; Ochayon, "Female Couriers During the Holocaust"; Weitzman, "Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance."
- 259 *melinas:* Ackerman, *Zookeeper's Wife*, 173, refers to a "den of thieves."
- 259 *zo vaak als verantwoord was:* Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 96–98, describes the challenges and strategies of the couriers.
- 259 *uitzonderlijk wreed voor kinderen:* According to Schulman, *Partisan's Memoir*, 89, the Nazis didn't waste bullets on children, burying them alive.
- 260 *In een getuigenis ... in Londen aflegde:* This is an oral testimony held in the Wiener Holocaust Library archives.
- 261 *degenen die Joden hadden geholpen, doodden:* Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 260, for discussion of how the Germans tortured the Poles.
- 261 *Er werden verschillende Joodse hulporganisaties opgezet:* See Paulsson, *Secret City*, 3–4, 201–210 for details about different organizations.
- 261 *Žegota (de Raad voor Hulp aan de Joden):* Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 32–42.
- 261 *voor de oorlog een uitgesproken antisemiet:* Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 25.
- 261 *maar kennelijk wel met de hoop dat de Joden na de oorlog voorgoed uit Polen zouden vertrekken:* Samuel D. Kassow, lecture, at "In Dialogue: Polish Jewish Relations During the Interwar Period."
- 261 *JDC:* Information on JDC is from sources including: "American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and Refugee Aid," USHMM Holocaust Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/american-jewish-joint->

- distribution-committee-and-refugee-aid; Yehuda Bauer, “Joint Distribution Committee,” in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, ed. Israel Guttman (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 752–56.
- 261-2 *Het meeste kapitaal ... de Poolse consumentenmarkt*: Nathan Eck, “The Legend of the Joint in the Ghetto,” unpublished report, JDC archives.
- 262 *In verslagen wordt gesproken ... geld af te romen*: Antek accused Polish underground groups of withholding sums. Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 98–99; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 419.
- 262 *achtenzeventig miljoen dollar*: Bauer, “Joint Distribution Committee,” 752–56; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 43n15.
- 262 *drie ton*: Michael Beizer, “American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee,” trans. I. Michael Aronson, *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/American_Jewish_Joint_Distribution_Committee.
- 262 *Hulporganisaties ... en abortussen*: Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 32–42. 264 *a “factory” to forge fake documents*: Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 33. See also Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 263; Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 226–29; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 486–87.
- 262 *twaaalfduizend Joden in Warschau*: There are no comprehensive records, and these figures are estimates; different sources offer different numbers. Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 262, claims there were twenty thousand Jews passing or hiding in the Warsaw area, and twelve thousand came to her organization for help. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 449, agrees and claims that three thousand names (in code) were in his card file. According to Kol-Inbar, “Three Lines in History,” 531, Żegota saved four thousand Jews (and four thousand children). To Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 34, the rescue groups in total helped about eleven thousand to twelve thousand Jews. Paldiel, 26, says that of the estimated fifteen thousand to twenty thousand Jews who hid in the Warsaw area, about half received help from Żegota and the Jewish organizations. Paulsson, *Secret City*, 3–4, 207, 229–30, figures that about 9000 Jews were helped by these organizations.
- 262 *zonder de Poolse namen en adressen te noteren*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 435, 496, explains that in written records, they used only Jewish names that would not be recognizable. A Żegota receipt on display at POLIN museum shows 1/100 the sum that was given, and was backdated ten years to mask the operation. Paulsson, *Secret City*, 232–33, provides a discussion of all these records and receipts.
- 262 *twintig- tot dertigduizend*: Sources offer varying numbers – some even go up to forty thousand. According to Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 26, an estimated fifteen thousand to twenty thousand Jews hid in the Warsaw area. According to Paulsson's study, about 28,000 Jews hid in Warsaw at some point (see *Secret City*, 2–5, for a summation).
- 262 *geschreven aanvraag*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 496.
- 263 *het levensonderhoud zo 'n tweeduizend zloty kostte*: According to wall text at POLIN, this amount barely covered food; the donation was most helpful in offering hope and connection.
- 264 *Emanuel Ringelblum*: The story of his bunker is in Meed, *Both Sides of the Wall*, 200.
- 264 *twintigduizend zloty per persoon*: Goldstein, *Stars Bear Witness*, 229.
- 266 *Marysia ... voor een keuze stelde*: Warman, *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, 285–86.
- 266 *Chasia liet een ‘vrijer’*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 230. 269 *roughly thirty thousand*: Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side,” 189, suggests that 10 percent of Jews who survived did so by passing.

- 267 ‘overgegaan’ en speelden constant een rol: This discussion of passing is from Weitzman, *Living on the Aryan Side*.
- 267 woonden in een ‘stad binnen een stad ... documenten van ambassades’: Cited in Paldiel, *Saving One’s Own*, 35.
- 268 de burens gingen ervan uit ... ontvingen: For more accounts of and details about these *melinas*, see Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 86; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 474; Warman, “Marysia Warman.”
- 268 Ondergedoken ... paniekerig naar je schuilplaats: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 76–77. In Zivia’s case, the people she hid with were mainly Bundists who were nearly a decade younger than she.
- 268 misdaadromans voor haar meegenomen om de tijd te doden: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 501.

21 BLOEDBLOEM

- 269 *inmiddels verschillende tochten gemaakt*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 256–76.
- 269 *in het gezelschap van Rivka Moscovitch*: Information on Rivka is from Grupińska, 96, and Neustadt, ed., *Destruction and Rising*.
- 270 ‘beestachtig genoeg’: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 54.
- 270 *Zaglembie*: He actually refers to “Silesia,” which is a bordering region with many cultural and historical similarities.
- 271 *plan B*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 69, explains how the underground usually had backup plans in case a contact did not show up. For instance, they were instructed to return to same spot the next day.
- 271 *Maar opeens kreeg ze een inval*: In one version of Renia’s story, she ran into this woman by chance; in her Ghetto Fighters’ House testimony, she claims Antek gave her this address. Overall, Renia describes her missions to Warsaw quite differently in her different testimonies (GFH, INL, YV, *Underground Wanderings*). In her Israel National Library testimony, she claims that she brought money for Zivia and Antek. She mentions meeting Kazik in her Ghetto Fighters’ House testimony (which she claimed happened before she saw the ghetto burn), but he is not mentioned in the others. Here she states that she does not recall how she found Antek and that she received guns from a Pole. Her meeting with Antek is described differently in each testimony. The chronological order of her missions differs in each account as well. In some accounts, she states having gone on six or seven missions; in others, four. Throughout part 2, I have culled her varying (and sometimes contradictory) tales to construct narrative that seems most accurate.
- 271 *Renia ging terug ... geld aan twee kamers*: In oral and written testimonies in the Ghetto Fighters’ House archive, Renia relays that there was a scare at the hotel and authorities were searching for Jews so she was forced to wander the streets for several hours.
- 272 *Mareks moeder werkte ook voor de zob. De hele familie zat in het verzet.*: Grunwald-Spier, *Women’s Experiences in the Holocaust*, 254–55; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 97, 242 (the mother was in her fifties). In the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive she is listed as “Shoshana-Rozalia.”
- 273 ‘Het was niemand minder dan Antek ... rijk landheer’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 115.
- 273 ‘schijnbare edelman met een vastberaden tred’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 115. As Havi Dreifuss articulates in *The Zuckerman Code*: “You needed endless courage and street smarts, and in those things, Antek was the master.

- Part of it was his appearance, but it was also his ability to behave like a Polish brat, so if anyone said anything to him, Antek knew how to shut him down.”
- 275 *instrument dat hun zoveel plezier had bezorgd*: Saving a harmonica was an act of resistance in a regime where Nazis controlled Jews’ possessions. Nazis enforced countless laws about what Jews were or were not allowed to own. For instance, at the onset of war, Jews had to give the Nazis all of their gold, fur and weapons. Food was rationed. Possessing extra fare could result in execution. When Nazis were transporting Jews between locations, they told them exactly how much they were allowed to bring with them. But many Jews defied the laws, and saved objects – family jewelry hidden inside the wall of a barrack, currency and a diamond brooch stuffed inside a shoe brush, an ornate grandmother’s matza cover. Objects provided a sense of security and hope.
- 275 *in het getto gevochten was*: The story of the Częstochowa ghetto uprising is from Kukielka, *Underground Wandering*, 117–18; Brandeis, “Rebellion in the Ghettos,” in *Daring to Resist*, 128–29; Binyamin Orenstajn, “Częstochowa Jews in the Nazi Era,” *Czenstochov; A New Supplement to the Book “Czenstochover Yidn,”* trans. Mark Froimowitz (New York: 1958), <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa/cze039.html>.
- 276 *Rivka Glanz ... was gesneuveld*: Brandeis, “Rebellion in the Ghettos,” in *Daring to Resist*, 128–29.
- 276 *‘Mijn hart huilde ... Częstochowa’*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 118.
- 276 *Ina door een nazibewaakster was opgepakt*: This account of Ina’s capture is culled from Fela Katz’s testimonies and Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 311.

22 HET JERUZALEM VAN ZAGLEMBIE STAAT IN BRAND

- 277 *1 augustus, 1943*: Unless indicated otherwise, this chapter, including dialogue and quotations, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wandering*, 118–22.
- 278 *Renia Kukielka was Vrijheids enige overgebleven koerierster*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 349.
- 280 *Seksueel misbruik van Joodse vrouwen ... tijdens de Holocaust*: See Rochelle G. Saidel and Batya Brudin, eds. *Violated! Women in Holocaust and Genocide* (New York: Remember the Women Institute, 2018), exhibition catalogue; Rochelle G. Saidel and Sonja M. Hedgepeth, eds., *Sexual Violence Against Jewish Women During the Holocaust* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2010). Additional sources for this section are Karay, “Women in the Forced Labor Camps” and Laska, *Different Voices*, 261–67; Ostrower, *It Kept Us Alive*, 139–46; Gurewitsch, *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*.
- 281 *Een nazi in Warschau ... minder aantrekkelijk te maken*: Ringelheim, “Women and the Holocaust,” 376–77.
- 281 *In het dorp Ejszyszki ... werden ze afgemaakt*: See *Women of Valor: Partisans and Resistance Fighters*, Center for Holocaust Studies Newsletter 3, no. 6 (New York: Center for Holocaust Studies, 1990), 8.
- 281-2 *In het werkkamp ... trokken bij hen in*: Grunwald-Spier, *Women’s Experiences in the Holocaust*, 174.
- 282 *Seks was in de getto’s handelswaar en kon worden geruild voor brood*: Ringelheim, “Women and the Holocaust,” 376–77.
- 282 *‘Ik kan me nauwelijks een voorstelling maken ... stortvloed van kreten’*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 147–48.

- 282 *ze ondergingen gedwongen inwendig onderzoek ... in verborgen waren*: Babey Widutschinsky Trepman, “Living Every Minute,” in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 383.
- 283 *Rivka Glanz ... bij hen had geprobeerd*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 108, on Rivka; Reinhartz, *Bits and Pieces*, 33, for a sense of his personality.
- 283 *Anka Fischer ... werd ze gearresteerd*: Draenger, *Justyna’s Narrative*, 98–99.
- 283 *Mina Fischer*: The survivor asked that I use a pseudonym. I found her unpublished testimony in the collection of the Azrieli Foundation.

III ‘VOOR GEEN GRENS ZULLEN ZE WIJKEN’

- 285 ‘*Ze zijn tot alles bereid en voor geen grens zullen ze wijken*’: Chaika Grossman, “For Us the War Has Not Ended,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 180–82.

23 DE BUNKER EN DAARNA

- 287 ‘*Je hoefde maar ... uit Będzin*’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 123. This section is based on Renia’s memoir, 123–24.
- 288 *Meir Schulman en zijn vrouw Nacha*: Additional information from Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 256–76.
- 288 *Chajka had het haar kunnen vertellen*: The following sections about Chajka are all based on Klinger, “The Final Deportation,” in *Writing These Words to You*, 33–79; the direct quotations are also taken from these pages. Chajka’s account is similar to the account offered in Renia’s memoir, told to her by Meir Schulman, 124–28. Fela Katz, a Sosnowiec Young Guard member, also presents a similar story in her testimonies (held in the Jewish Historical Institute archive and published in Jerzy Diatłowicki, ed. *Jews in Battle, 1939–1945*, though her story includes mention of several large shoot-outs. The details differ slightly in each version.
- 290 *En sommigen bedreven de liefde*: Kazik, the male Warsaw ghetto fighter, wrote about his romance with Dvora Baran, with whom he fought in the Warsaw ghetto uprising before she was killed. They tried to keep their canoodling a secret, for fear of offending their fellow fighters who adhered to movement purity codes. “It was hard to tell who were couples: the leaders of the *halutz* movement were loyal to ‘sexual purity,’ and affairs were mostly platonic,” he wrote later, referring to his fighting unit. “Couples talked a lot, exchanged feelings, dreamed.” Kazik’s unit commander, however, was upset that he hadn’t told him of his romance with Dvora – he wanted to celebrate it. Exceptions were made by many in these fatal times. Sex and death were too inevitable a combination. One night, in the bunker, on their own layer of a bunkbed, the couple decided not to restrain themselves. “Do you have a condom?” Dvora asked, as if life were normal. *That supply*, Kazik did not have. So they lay together and chatted all night instead. After Dvora was killed, and Kazik lost his virginity to a Polish girl, he fell in love with courier Irena Gelblum “with all the fire of my youth.” While living on the Aryan side, they used to make out in the park so as not to offend the movement leaders.
- 291 *geen wapens, behalve de twee die ze zelf hadden meegenomen*: Chajka writes that the kibbutz bunker had no guns, and implies that their arms were the two guns The Young Guard group had brought with them. According to Meir’s account, they had several guns which they hid.

- 291 *Chawka Lenczner*: Information about Chawka is from her testimony in the Yad Vashem archives and Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 91–103. Chawka came to Będzin as part of an emigration scheme that fell apart. In the ghetto, she was a medic and helped rescue orphans. She spoke fluent Polish and looked “good.”
- 296 *Renia’s sister Sarah*: Sarah’s presence in the bunker is recorded in David Liwer, *Town of the Dead: The Extermination of the Jews in the Zaglembe Region* (Tel Aviv, Isr., 1946).
- 293 *Chajka, die niets van de deal wist*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, and Meir (in his account in Renia’s memoir) relay slightly different versions of this deal. According to Ronen, the comrade who went out was Max Fischer; to Meir, it was Moshe Marcus.
- 294 *zoveel geld*: In her testimony at the Jewish Historical Institute, Fela Katz claims that at one point, The Young Guard, Freedom, and Gordonia shared about 70,000 reichsmarks (this may have been to resettle comrades with the partisans). Hershl Springer had a safe in the bunker.
- 294 ‘*Jullie wilden ons doden terwijl wij jullie juist wilden helpen*’: This is from Meir’s account in Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 126.
- 300 *We hebben nog ... opraakt?*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 127. This scene is based on *ibid.*, 127–28.
- 300 *het verhaal over een andere bunker*: The story of the fighters bunker is culled from Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*. (relayed by Ilza), 128–30; Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 159–65 (she partly fictionalized her account to imagine what happened to her comrades in their last moments); and the testimony of Jewish policeman Abram Potasz which is published in Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 181–84. In several additional accounts, this bunker is referred to as the “laundry bunker.”
- 301 *Haar oogopslag ... een eervolle dood*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 129.
- 301 ‘*Het huis ... vlammenzee*’: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*.
- 302 ‘*Een dierlijk gekerm ... gevelde chalutzim*’: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 182–83.
- 302 ‘*Stoïcijns en met een sadistisch genoegen*’: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 183.
- 302 ‘*stortten zich op hen ... uiteengereten flarden mens*’: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 164.
- 302 *werkte Chajka in het ontmantelingskamp, waar ze kookte voor de mensen die de woningen van gedeporteerde Joden leegruimden*: This section from the liquidation camp is based on Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 71–79, including direct quotations.

24 HET NET VAN DE GESTAPO

- 304 *Vertwijfeld vroeg Renia*: Unless indicated otherwise, this chapter, including dialogue and quotations, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 130–52.
- 304 *Hanoar Hatzioni*: A Labor Zionist youth group which was less political and more concerned with Jewish plurality and unity, open to debate and to anyone who considered themselves Jewish. They promoted rescue.
- 304 *deed ze er alles aan om haar doel te bereiken*: From Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony. “I’m also very stubborn in life. I do everything I can to get what I want in life.”
- 305 *Als ze midden in de nacht wakker waren gemaakt, hadden ze hun hele verzonnen stamboom kunnen opdreunen*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 63.

- 306 *godvergeten boos*: According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 357–70, Bolk did keep his word and helped them. According to Namyslo, *Before the Holocaust Came*, 25, his name was Boleslaw Kozuch.
- 307 *om haar kameraden uit het kamp te krijgen*: According to Liwer, *Town of the Dead*, 18, after this rescue, Sarah reported that there were twenty-three members and two children in hiding in various places on the Aryan side.
- 309 *'Het was de eerste keer ... voor u opschrijven'*: Renia tells a different version of this story in her Yad Vashem testimony: a shoe seller hid cash in her shoe, and she cannot recall the address of this shoe store. In this account, Renia told the Gestapo she was from Warsaw because she knew that couriers had been caught around Białystok and Vilna.
- 311 *En vertel ze niets over mij*: In Renia's Yad Vashem testimony, she claims to have threatened to strangle Ilza if she told anyone that Renia was Jewish.
- 312 *en was berucht*: For a prisoner's account of the brutality he faced, see "Escape from a Polish Prisoner of War Camp," WW2 People's War, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/63/a3822563.shtml>.
- 316 *veren te plukken en het dons van de slagpennen te trekken*: Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 173–74.

25 DE PAWIAK-GEVANGENIS EN AUSCHWITZ

- 317 *Bela Hazan*: This section, including all dialogue and quotations, is based on Ya'ari-Hazan, *Bronislawa Was My Name*, 68–93. I have also drawn on Bela's testimony "From Ghetto to Ghetto," *Women in the Ghettos*, 134–39.
- 319 *'Ik heb het gevoel dat ze naar ons kijken'*: Cited in "From Ghetto to Ghetto," *Women in the Ghettos*, 134–39.
- 319 *Shoshana Gjedna*: In Bela's accounts, Shoshana was imprisoned as a Jew; according to *Women in the Ghettos*, she was killed. But Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 305, and Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 472, say that she was mistaken for a Pole, survived several camps, and made aliyah. They list her married name as Klinger. GFH holds several photos of her from the 1940s.
- 320 *overal in Warschau aan lantaarnpalen waren opgehangen*: Bela does not indicate "from lampposts" but Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 429, mentions that this was a common method of hanging Pawiak prisoners.
- 321 *Een fanfare*: "Official Camp Orchestras in Auschwitz," Music and the Holocaust, <http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/camps/death-camps/auschwitz/camp-orchestras>.
- 321 *Auschwitz-Birkenau was oorspronkelijk opgezet*: Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 382–84; Tec, *Resistance*, 124.
- 323 *het 'buurthuis' of 'koffiehuis'*: Ostrower, 149.
- 325 *Mengele*: Josef Mengele conducted inhumane medical experiments on prisoners and sent many to the gas chambers.
- 325 *'Ik ben aan het eind van mijn leven gekomen ... je zult het overleven'*: This quote is an amalgamation of different versions in Bela's testimonies in *Women in the Ghettos* and *Bronislawa Was My Name*.
- 326 *zei in zichzelf de kaddisj*: Yaari, "A Brave Connection."
- 326 *keek Renia Ilza nog één keer aan*: This section, including dialogue and quotations, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 152–60.

26 ZUSTERS, NEEM WRAAK!

- 332 *September 1943*: Estimated date based on Renia’s story.
- 332 *Mysłowice. In het donker liepen ze een grote binnenplaats op*: Unless indicated otherwise, this chapter, including dialogue and quotations, is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 160–73.
- 334 *Ieraressen en vrouwen uit de hogere kringen*: Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.
- 334 *Mirka was Joods*: Description of Mirka is also from Renia’s Yad Vashem testimony.
- 338 *Zodat iemand het wist*: In her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia offers a different story: At one point, she says, she came out to Mirka as a Jew and told her her real name, just in case she was killed and someone came looking for her. Mirka could not believe that a woman who prayed so fluently with the Christians was a Jew. Renia could not show that she was developing a friendship with a Jew and warned Mirka never to approach her. Years later, in Israel, Renia was heading to her brother’s wedding in Jaffa with the wedding band. While rushing to the ceremony, she spotted a disheveled Mirka in the street, holding a child. Renia was elated and stunned, but couldn’t stay and chat. Mirka told her she lived nearby with her husband and child – she pointed to the building – and said to come find her. Renia spent much time trying to track her down, going door to door, talking to neighbors. She even put out a call for her on an Israeli radio show that tracked survivors. She never found her.
- 340 *Ze gebruikten margarine om hun haar glad ... aanbracht als rouge en lippenstift*: Goldenberg, “Camps: Foreword,” 273; Rebekah Schmerler-Katz, “If the World Had Only Acted Sooner,” in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 332.
- 340 *de ondergrondse*: Brandeis, “Rebellion in the Ghettos,” in *Daring to Resist*, 127. See Tec, *Resistance*, 124–27, for background on the Auschwitz underground.
- 340 *Anna Heilman*: Born Hannah (Hanka) Wajcblum. Her story is based on her memoir: Anna Heilman, *Never Far Away: The Auschwitz Chronicles of Anna Heilman* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001), as well as her testimony in *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, 295–98. Her oral testimony is in the USC Shoah Foundation collection. Though I have told this story largely from Anna’s point of view, other sources offer different versions with conflicting details about who was involved, who initiated the powder smuggling, how the smuggling worked, how they were caught, how the revolt transpired, and who survived. I have integrated information from several sources in my telling, including: from the oral history of Noach Zabłudovits, “Death Camp Uprisings,” in *Daring to Resist*, 133; *In Honor of Ala Gertner, Róża Robota, Regina Safirztajn, Ester Wajcblum: Martyred Heroines of the Jewish Resistance in Auschwitz Executed on January 5, 1945* (Unknown publisher, 1991?); “Prisoner Revolt at Auschwitz-Birkenau,” USHMM, <https://www.ushmm.org/learn/timeline-of-events/1942-1945/auschwitz-revolt>; “Revolt of the 12th Sonderkommando in Auschwitz,” Jewish Partisan Educational Foundation, <http://jewishpartisans.blogspot.com/search/label/Roza%20Robota>; Ronen Harran, “The Jewish Women at the Union Factory, Auschwitz 1944: Resistance, Courage and Tragedy,” *Dapim: Studies in the Holocaust* 31, no. 1 (2017): 45–67; Kol-Inbar, *Three Lines in History*, 538–39; Rose Meth, “Rose Meth,” in *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, 299–305; Paldiel, *Saving One’s Own*, 384; Tec, *Resistance*, 124–44. Page 136 of *Resistance* discusses the lack of precise details and figures for this story.

- 341 *een beschermer*: According to Anna's memoir, some "lovers" did have sexual relationships, some did not. These men, who had passes to enter the women's camp, brought women items such as food.
- 341 *Roza Robot*: In addition to the sources listed above regarding the resistance at Auschwitz, information about Roza is from: Jack Porter, "Jewish Women in the Resistance," *Jewish Combatants of World War 2*, No. 3 (1981); Na'ama Shik, "Roza Robot," *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/robot-roza>.
- 342 *Volgens andere verslagen*: Most accounts concur that the men initiated this. Many state that they asked Roza to retrieve the gunpowder from her fellow female prisoners. Roza is often presented as the female leader of this operation.
- 342 *Francesca Mann, een beroemde Joodse ballerina en danseres bij de nachtclub Melody Palace*: There are many accounts of Francesca Mann; at times she is referred to as Katerina Horowicz. In some accounts, she purposely performed a tantalizing striptease, in others, she noted she was being ogled by Nazi guards. In some, she threw clothes; in others, a shoe. In some, other women joined her in attacking the Nazis. See, for instance: *Women of Valor*, 44; Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 266–71; Kol-Inbar, *Three Lines of History*, 538. According to Vitis-Shomron, *Youth in Flames*, 200, she was a Nazi collaborator.
- 342 *Vijfhonderd vrouwen*: Reinhartz, *Bits and Pieces*, 42.
- 343 *In Budy, een buitenkamp*: Goldenberg, "Camps: Foreword," 269.
- 343 *In Sobibor*: In the Sobibor revolt, Jews killed eleven SS guards and police auxiliaries and set the camp on fire. About three hundred Jews escaped through cut barbed wire; nearly two hundred made it out without being captured. In order to conceal his underground work, the leader of the Sobibor resistance pretended that he was having a romantic affair with a woman, "Lyuka" (Gertrude Poppert-Schonborn). As their cover, she overheard all the planning and gave the leader a good luck shirt on the eve of his breakout. See "Jewish Uprisings in Ghettos and in Camps," USHMM Encyclopedia, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/jewish-uprisings-in-ghettos-and-camps-1941-44>; Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 371–82; Tec, *Resistance*, 153–57.
- 343 *stalen vrouwen wapens*: Tec, *Resistance*, 155.
- 343 *Mala Zimetbaum, een Belgische vrouw die zes talen sprak*: Information on Mala is culled from several accounts, each with different details about her background, escape, and murder. See Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 271–75; Jack Porter, "Jewish Women in the Resistance"; Na'ama Shik, "Mala Zimetbaum," *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/zimetbaum-mala>; Ya'ari-Hazan, *Bronislawa Was My Name*, 109–13.
- 345 *twee Duitse meisjes van vijftien*: In Bela's account in *Women in the Ghettos*, 134–39, it states that they smuggled fourteen girls from Łódź and Theresienstadt into the camp.
- 345 *Een andere overlevende van Auschwitz vertelde*: Olga Lengyel, "The Arrival," *Different Voices*, 129.
- 345 *Hennepgaren werd in de spinnerij minder sterk gemaakt ... zodat buizen bevroren*: See, for instance, Karay, "Women in the Forced Labor Camps," 293–94, and Laska, "Vera Laska," *Different Voices*, 254; Suzanne Reich, "Sometimes I Can Dream Again," in *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 315.
- 345 *Fania Fainer*: Née Fania Landau. Originally from Białystok, Fania was deported to a forced labor camp, and then to Auschwitz, where she worked at the Union.

- 355 *Zlatka Pitluk*: Née Snajderhauz. This story about the heart card is from *The Heart of Auschwitz*, directed by Carl Leblanc, Canada, 2010; Personal interview, Sandy Fainer, telephone, November 27, 2018; wall text, Montreal Holocaust Museum, Montreal.
- 345-6 *Toen Fania twintig werd ... we ooit hebben doorstaan*: The heart was left on Fania's worktable, on her birthday, December 12, 1944. She hid the precious present in a bit of straw in the ceiling of her barrack. On a death march in January 1945, Fania stashed the heart in her armpit, carrying it for the entire journey. Fania survived, as did the heart, the only relic from the first twenty years of her life, which she hid in her underwear drawer until her daughter found it many decades later. In *The Heart of Auschwitz*, one woman who was at Union claims that this story is impossible, and there is no way that women could have smuggled the materials, or that Fania could have held on to it during a death march where people were being shot for stepping one inch to the side. Others mention that it was unheard of to celebrate a birthday at Auschwitz.
- 345 *achttien vrouwen en meisjes, onder wie Anna*: These are: Hanka, Mania, Mazal, Hanka W, Berta, Fela, Mala, Ruth, Lena, Rachela, Eva Pany, Bronia, Cesia, Irena, Mina, Tonia, Gusia, and Liza. In *The Heart of Auschwitz*, Anna claims that she did not sign this card and that "Hanka W." was not her.
- 346 *dertig Joodse vrouwen*: According to Harran, *Jewish Women at the Union Factory*, 51–52, more than thirty women were involved; most of them were Polish Jews. Five were from Warsaw and five from Bedzin; a number were Young Guard members. He lists additional names: Haya Kroin, Mala Weinstein, Helen Schwartz, Genia Langer. Other women involved include: Faige Segal, Mala Weinstein, Hadassah Zlotnicka, Rose Meth, Rachel Baum, Ada Halpern, Hadassah Tolman-Zlotnicki and Luisa Ferstenberg.
- 346 *in de zakken van hun grove blauwe jurken*: See Tec, *Resistance*, 139–41, for story about Roza transporting aprons with concealed layers.
- 347 *Kitty Felix ... moest controleren*: Now goes by Kitty Hart Moxon. Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 275–77.
- 347 *een crematorium*: In some accounts, it was crematorium number three; in others, number four.
- 357 *gunpowder that was traced to the Pulverraum*: In some accounts, the Union gunpowder was not actually linked to this explosion, while others claim that all the gunpowder came from Union and that women were integral to this unique case of armed resistance at Auschwitz.
- 348 *Volgens een andere lezing*: Harran, *Jewish Women at the Union Factory*, 53–56, and Tec, *Resistance*, 138.
- 348 *De vrouwen werden veroordeeld tot de strop*: According to Harran, *Jewish Women at the Union Factory*, 60–64, they were actually sentenced for product sabotage and not for their resistance efforts. The Nazis were upset by the widespread sabotage in their slave factories. The public hangings of these four Jewish girls were intended to deter others from sabotage and to prove to authorities in Berlin that they were taking control of the sabotage problem.

27 DAGLICHT

- 350 *werd Renia opgewacht door een Duitse politieman*: Unless indicated otherwise this chapter is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 173–79, including direct quotations.

- 351 *Een van de politiemannen*: Renia describes him and their relationship slightly differently in her Yad Vashem testimony.
- 353 *'Zelfs al zou ik worden gestoken met een mes, dan nog kon ik niet huilen'*: Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.

28 DE GROTE ONTSNAPPING

- 358 *sigaretten en sterkedrank*: In Renia's Yad Vashem testimony, she says it was sausage and vodka.
- 360 *Montelupich-gevangenis*: This section is based on: "Montelupich Prison," Shoah Resource Center, https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206466.pdf; Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 9–15, 27–29; Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 209–10; Kol-Inbar, *Three Lines of History*, 520–21; Margolin Peled, "Gusta Dawidson Draenger," Margolin Peled, "Mike Gola."
- 360 *Het is ons gelukt ... nog sterkere eenheden op'*: Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 29.
- 360 *'geestelijke verheffing' en 'zusterschap'*: Quoted in Kol-Inbar, *Three Lines of History*, 521.
- 361 *Ze hadden al een ontsnappingsplan klaarliggen*: Slightly different versions of their escape story are offered in: Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, 18–19; Grunwald-Spier, *Women's Experiences in the Holocaust*, 209–10; Peled, "Gusta Dawidson Draenger," and Peled, "More Gola" both in the Encyclopedia of Jewish Women.
- 362 *een nieuwe jurk en schoenen aan te trekken en een sjaal*: In another version, Halina gave Renia her very recognizable leather coat.
- 365 *Met Marek liep het niet zo goed af*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 406.
- 365 *Dag in, dag uit*: The rest of this chapter is based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 191–200, including direct quotations.
- 366 *In andere verslagen*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 357–70.
- 366 *De vraag of ... tot op de dag van vandaag bezig*: Yad Vashem's "Righteous Among the Nations" includes rescuers who accepted payment if the amount wasn't extortionate and so long as Jews were not mistreated or exploited by them. See Paulsson, *Secret City*, 129.
- 368 *al twee weken*: Paulsson, *Secret City*, 382–83.
- 368 *overall hingen aanplakbiljetten met haar gezicht ... on the streets*: Kukielka, Yad Vashem testimony.
- 369 *Chajka had weten te ontsnappen ... over hen kon schrijven*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 341–70.
- 370 *de kleine Muniosh van Atid*: From a photo of the group in Budapest held in the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum archive.

29 'ZOG NIT KEYN MOL AS DU GEYST DEM LETSTN VEG'

- 372 *Het partizanenlied*: This Yiddish song was written by Hirsh Glick in the Vilna ghetto, and is one of the most well-known Jewish resistance songs. This English translation is by Miriam Schlesinger.
- 372 *Gisi Fleischmann*: Information about Gisi as well as Slovakia is primarily from: "Slovakia," Shoah Resource Center, http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206104.pdf; Yehuda Bauer, "Gisi Fleischmann," *Women in the Holocaust*, 253–64; Gila Fatran, "Gisi Fleischmann," The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women,

- https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/fleischmann-gisi; Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 100–136.
- 373 *twintigduizend Joden ... vijfhonderd mark voor elke Jood*: Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 101–2.
- 374 *Na het eten ging Renia*: The rest of this chapter based on Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 147–218, including direct quotations.
- 376 *Chajka hield zich ondertussen met iets heel anders bezig*: The story of Chajka and Benito, including direct quotations, is from Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 384–402.
- 378 *Er konden geen mensen meer de Pools-Slowaakse grens over worden gesmokkeld*: According to Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 384–402, the smuggling operation ended when the smuggler betrayed the group and the refugees were captured and sent to Auschwitz.
- 379 *Ze was de laatste Kukielka*: Renia's writing about Sarah is vague. My sense is that she did not know for sure that she would never see her again, but she had an inkling.
- 379 *'De Hongaren hebben een semitisch uiterlijk. Je kunt haast niet zien wie Joods is en wie niet'*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 211.
- 381 *Op een foto, genomen in 1944 in Boedapest, staat Renia*: Rotem, *Memoirs of a Ghetto Fighter*, 90, mentions that there were street photographers in Warsaw who would take your photo and send you a note when it was ready. You'd come pick it up and pay them. This might be how the street shots of Vladka, Hela and Shoshana, and Renia were taken. (See photo insert.)
- 381 *De jdc had het Poolse consulaat betaald om een oogje dicht te knippen*: This is according to Renia. The JDC Archive did not confirm this.
- 381 *begon ze aan het schrijven van haar memoires*: According to Zariz, "Attempts at Rescue and Revolt," 23, Renia started writing her diary in Budapest.
- 381 *Op een foto van de kameraden, genomen in Hongarije*: Photo is from the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum archive.
- 384 *Op 6 maart*: Renia's Palestine immigration papers note that her arrival date was March 7. Two weeks later, Hitler invaded Hungary.

IV DE EMOTIONELE NALATENSCHAP

- 385 *Interviewer ... 'Meestal goed'*: Video testimony, Yad Vashem archive #4288059, June 20, 2002.
- 385 *We waren bevrijd van de angst voor de dood, maar niet van de angst voor het leven*: Cited in Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, 394.

30 ANGST VOOR HET LEVEN

- 387 *'degene ... zal zijn plek niet vinden'*: Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 49.
- 387 *'alsof ik in het huis van mijn ouders was aangekomen'*: Renia's testimony, Israel National Library.
- 387 *Kibboetsen trokken ook gevluchte niet-zionisten*: Avinoam Patt, "A Zionist Home: Jewish Youths and the Kibbutz Family After the Holocaust," in *Jewish Families in Europe*, 131–52.
- 387-8 *'We voelen ons ... alsof we het recht niet hebben te leven zoals zij'*: Kukielka, *Underground Wanderings*, 218.
- 388 *De politiek tijdens de eerste Jaren ... naar buiten werden gebracht*: This discussion about the Holocaust narrative in Israel is based on: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 12–19, 352–79, 455–67; Paldiel, *Saving One's Own*, xvii–xxi; Sharon Geva,

- To the Unknown Sisters: Holocaust Heroines in Israeli Society* (Tel Aviv, Isr.: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2010). In *The Last Fighters*, Marek Edelman claims that Israel is antisemitic when it comes to European Jews. In Klinger, *Writing These Words*, 21, Ronen suggests that Chajka's diaries were never popular because they did not fit either the victim or armed-fighter narratives.
- 388 *Niet alleen waren de verhalen over verzetsactiviteiten tegen de nazi's beter voor te stellen dan de afgrijselijke martelingen*: Kol-Inbar, *Three Lines of History*, 523–24, on how Zivia's heroic narrative was popular in Israel in 1946 as it was more palatable than victim stories.
- 389 'Waarom moet ik ... zijn we heel onbeduidend': *The Last Fighters*.
- 389 *zwaar onderbelicht zijn gebleven*: See, for instance, Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 473–74.
- 390 *Menachem Begin ... de opstand volledig bagatelliseerde*: Personal interview, Eyal Zuckerman, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 15, 2018.
- 390 *niet óf ze dat moesten doen*: Diner also points out that the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising occurred on Passover; the theme of liberation tied in with the seder. American Jews hosted many commemorative events around this time of year. But these were mourning events, while the uprising itself was never a central issue.
- 390 *academici aan het begin van de jaren zestig de Joodse onderworpenheid aan de kaak stelden en de slachtoffers zelfs de schuld gaven van hun slachtofferschap*: Tec, *Resistance*, 1–15. 405 "myth of passivity": Schulman, *Partisan's Memoir*, 10. See Eva Fogelman, "On Blaming the Victim," in *Daring to Resist*, 134–37.
- 390 'niet zo erg': Ostrower, *It Kept Us Alive*, 14, 20, 64, 231, acknowledges that certain lines of inquiry might unintentionally misrepresent the gravity and brutality of the Holocaust.
- 390 *een tijdsgewricht waarin de herinneringen aan de genocide vervagen*: According to a 2018 study conducted by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, two-thirds of American millennials surveyed in a recent poll cannot identify what Auschwitz is.
- 390-1 *Veel schrijvers zijn bang ... hadden te wijten*: One of the mottos of these fighters was "We will not be led like sheep to the slaughter," which was a formidable source of strength for them but later became viewed as an attack on victims. Most fighters – even those who shot Nazis in the face – died; out of 3.3 million Jews in Poland, only 300,000 lived. A multitude of factors determined how a person chose and was able to respond to the torture of the Holocaust, not to mention there were many ways of resisting. The greatest armies in the world could not defeat Hitler, so it makes sense that starving Jews did not enter combat. In *The Last Fighters*, Marek Edelman stresses that the Jews who went to the gas chambers were the heroes: "It was easier to hold a weapon than to walk naked to your death."
- 391 *Al deze factoren*: Additional factors include an embarrassment of failure as well as the worry that resistance efforts may have been counterproductive and even hastened more killing. According to Gutterman, "Holocaust in Będzin," 63, some historians say that the Warsaw ghetto uprising caused the Nazis to accelerate their plan to kill all Jews. For the point of view that the resistance was ineffectual and even detrimental, see Eli Gat, "The Warsaw Ghetto Myth" and "Myth of the Warsaw Ghetto Bunker: How It Began," in *Ha'aretz*, December 19, 2013, and January 13, 2014, <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/.premium-fiction-of-warsaw-ghetto-bunkers-1.5310568> and <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/.premium-warsaw-ghetto-myths-1.5302604>. According to Mark, 41–65, the assumption that Jews do not fight back is so engrained in our minds that Jewish resistance is often considered "a miracle," rather than the common occurrence that it was. He points out that Jews devalue the

- resistance saying that a small fraction of the population does not count as a national struggle; but the actual combat in any national struggle is always only carried out by a few fighters.
- 391 *In verhalen waarin vrouwen een sleutelrol speelden worden ze stelselmatig genegeerd*: The introduction of “women and the Holocaust” as a field of inquiry was a controversial move, taking years to be institutionalized as a legitimate area of study, due to discomfort that suffering was being used in service of a political point. Even self-declared feminist Holocaust scholars had problems focusing on women when that focus lent itself to uncritical celebrations of friendship and domestics. Even some recently launched exhibitions and online resources specifically about women and the Holocaust still include the “disclaimer” that all Jews suffered equally.
- 391 *als schrijver ... onderbelicht bleven*: Ronen, “Women Leaders in the Jewish Underground During the Holocaust.”
- 391 *Lenore Weitzman ... onbeduidend werd gevonden*: Weitzman, “Living on the Aryan Side,” 217–19. Weitzman claims that: armed combat (by men) was noticeable, whereas rescue activities (by women) were secret; women were generally not affiliated with an organization but engaged in private acts of resistance; women’s roles were defined as auxiliary even though they were more dangerous; women’s acts (particularly rescuing children) were devalued; women did not record their activities or seek public recognition after the war. Her discussion of why the *kashariyot* were lost to history is in “Kashariyot (Couriers) in the Resistance During the Holocaust.”
- 392 *of werden ze niet geloofd*: Berger and Berger, eds., *With Courage Shall We Fight*, 45. Several of these factors pertained to male survivors too.
- 392 *werden door hun familie geminacht ... om voor hun ouders te zorgen*: In a personal interview, Anna Shternshis, New York, April 9, 2018, told a story about a partisan whose sister never forgave her for abandoning their mother, even though all survived.
- 392 *‘heilige plicht’ van ‘kosmisch belang’*: Helen Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust: Conversations with Sons and Daughters of Survivors* (New York: Penguin, 1979), 23.
- 392 *‘professionele overlevenden’*: Personal interview, Rivka Augenfeld, Montreal, August 10, 2018.
- 392 *het zwijgen opgelegd*: Liba Marshak Augenfeld’s mother had given her daughter the blessing to run from the ghetto and join the partisans, and so Liba had made some degree of peace with her decision to leave her family. But so many others had not received this blessing and were overcome by guilt. Augenfeld interview.
- 392 *Haar relaas leek te ‘egocentrisch’*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, on Chasia’s silencing: 294, 309, 310, 313. Chasia did not talk much of her wartime experience, partly because she didn’t feel that she’d had it that bad compared with other survivors, and partly for the sake of her children. Later in her life, when her grown daughters asked her about her past, she told them her incredible story. Only then did they learn that their mother had never once slept through the night.
- 393 *Hannah jong, aantrekkelijk, single ... roerig liefdesleven*: For instance, personal interviews, Daniela Ozacky-Stern and Yonat Rotbain, Givat Haviva, Isr., May 14, 2018.
- 393 *Faye Lazebnik, de partizane die jarenlang in de bossen*: This section is based on Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*.
- 394 *‘het dieptepunt van mijn leven ... die ik nooit meer zou zien’*: Schulman, *Partisan’s Memoir*, 192–93.
- 394 *‘Als de oorlog over was ... en ik was een vrouw’*: Ibid., 188–89.

- 394 *Sommige vrouwen ... een intieme relatie aan te gaan*: Starr interview.
- 394-5 *'We voelden de noodzaak de liefde die we nog in ons hadden meteen met elkaar te delen'*: Schulman, *Partisan's Memoir*, 206.
- 394 *'Soms voelt de wereld van het verleden werkelijker dan de huidige'*: Schulman, *Partisan's Memoir*, 224.
- 395 *zag Zivia vanuit een raam van haar onderduikadres vermoeide paarden*: This section about Zivia and the Warsaw uprising is based on Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 280–90; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 260–74; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 526–29, 548–49, 550–56.
- 395 *Joden, ook vrouwen, van allerlei politieke gezindten, sloten zich erbij aan*: For instance, Irene Zoberman was asked to distribute leaflets. Helen Mahut taught in underground Polish schools and joined the AK, for whom she stood at bus depots and memorized insignias on German army trucks, as well as translated Radio London to Polish. Mina Aspler, or “Mad Maria,” tended to wounded soldiers and was a courier, sending messages between groups. Zofia Goldfarb-Stypułkowska was a sergeant in the Polish underground.
- 395 *Rivka Moscovitch sneuvelde tijdens de revolte*: Grupińska, *Reading the List*, 96.
- 396 *bijna negentig procent van de gebouwen werd vernietigd*: Statistics differ based on the types of edifices considered. See Micholaj Gliniski, “How Warsaw Came Close to Never Being Rebuilt,” Culture.pl, February 3, 2015, <https://culture.pl/en/article/how-warsaw-came-close-to-never-being-rebuilt>.
- 396 *hun schuilplek*: This rescue story has many versions. See, for instance, Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 291–99; Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 272–74; Warman, in *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, 288–94; Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 552–56.
- 397 *'Een uitzinnige menigte ... als eenzame restanten van ons volk'*: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 274. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 558, 565, also describes liberation as depressing.
- 397 *Dit was de triestste dag van Zivia's leven: de wereld die ze had gekend was officieel ten einde gekomen*: Zuckerman interview.
- 397 *liepen Joden het risico op straat te worden vermoord*: In 1946 more than forty Jews were killed by Polish soldiers, officers, and civilians in a pogrom in Kielce.
- 397 *Zivia zette zich in om Joden te helpen*: This paragraph is based on Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 303–45.
- 397 *wat haar aan de razzia's in de getto's deed denken*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 381. This section about Zivia in Palestine is based on *ibid.*, 349–487.
- 398 *die kennelijk zo'n flirt was dat ze bang dat hij zich met andere vrouwen zou inlaten*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 386, 389. It is unclear from where Gutterman got this personal information.
- 398 *Ze had moeten sterven*: Zuckerman interview.
- 398 *een circus' noemde ze het*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 361.
- 398 *'Ze stond erbij als een koningin'*: *Blue Bird*.
- 398 *keerde ze zwanger terug naar Palestina*: Zuckerman interview.
- 399 *haar stamina van haar vader had*: As mentioned in the story, Renia and Bela both took strength from their parents. Faye too felt that her mother's competence and her father's loving nature endowed her with independence and personal strength. “We felt very much loved by our parents,” Faye later wrote. “I believe it was this love that gave me the security and the resources that served me well later in life.”

- 399 ‘er elk moment een ramp kon gebeuren’: Shelub and Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road*, 174. Liba Marshak Augenfeld and her husband always took separate flights. Fruma Berger was terrified of thunder which reminded her of a military attack.
- 399 *ontstond een controverse*: Discussed in Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 418–23.
- 400 *door de schrijver Leon Uris gedwongen worden ... te kopen*: Gutterman, *Fighting for Her People*, 452.
- 400 ‘Geef jezelf een schop onder je kont’: Zuckerman interview.
- 400 *ontving gasten en bracht haar twee kinderen groot*: According to *The Zuckerman Code*, some people referred to their home as an “ongoing shiva.” Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 176, writes about survivors who cope by working constantly; this gives them financial security and no time to think.
- 400 *waarmee ze normaal gesproken nooit zou hebben ingestemd*: Zuckerman interview.
- 401 ‘Het aantal keren dat iemand “ik” in een zin gebruikt, zegt veel over die persoon’: Zuckerman interview. Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, ix, also mentions this motto.
- 401 *vroeg zich af hoe het kon dat ze hen geen vragen had gesteld*: *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 401 ‘Wat moet ik? Een molotovcocktail gooien, een Duitser doden, wat?’: *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 401 *Veel kinderen van Holocaustoverlevenden voelden ... rechtvaardigen dat hun ouders de Holocaust hadden overleefd*: Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 170–71, 195–96, 207–10.
- 401 ‘Aan een filosoof heb je in de bossen niets’: Shelub and Rosenbaum, *Never the Last Road*, 186.
- 401 *Eyal, de Hebreeuwse naam voor de zob*: According to *The Zuckerman Code*, this was just a coincidence, and she was not named for the ZOB.
- 401-2 *Hoewel ze graag ... een bron van kracht*: Zuckerman interview.
- 402 *Eyal is ook kritisch op zichzelf ... oorlogsgebieden lagen*: *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 402 ‘*supermoraal*’: Eyal Zuckerman in *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 402 *Met haar eigen ‘supermoraal’*: In *The Zuckerman Code*, Roni refuses to enjoy herself in Warsaw. Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 201, 230, gives examples of children of survivors who put themselves in dangerous situations just to prove that they can survive them.
- 402 ‘*Zuckermans huilen niet*’: *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 402 ‘*je nooit volledig ... hebben in het leven*’: *The Zuckerman Code*.
- 402 ‘*Het lot bepaalde ... moet ik het mee doen*’: Lubetkin, *Days of Destruction*, 275.
- 402 *ging ze gebukt onder schuldgevoelens*: Zuckerman interview.
- 402 *Op verzoek van Antek ... Meer woorden waren niet nodig*: *Blue Bird*.
- 403 *Zonder Zivia ... zei Eyal*: Zuckerman interview.
- 403 ‘*als lava dat uit de aarde spuit*’: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 677.
- 403 *konden veel strijders niet tot zichzelf komen*: Personal interview, Barbara Harshav, New York, March 9 and April 23, 2018. Harshav stressed that many leaders of the Jewish defense in the Warsaw ghetto became “nobodies” in Israel; several had trouble finding themselves. (But not all – she did mention that Kazik became a happy owner of a supermarket chain.)
- 403 ‘*Zivia was de tak en Antek was de stam ... hoe sterk hij ook lijkt*’: Cited in Zuckerman interview.
- 403 *gesympathiseerd het stempel van ‘Poolse nationalist’ ... wat levensgevaarlijk was*: Tec, *Resistance*, 31, includes a story about a Polish man who wouldn’t admit his role in the resistance until the late 1970s. Some claim that Betar’s ZZW was never mentioned in Poland because of its connection to the Polish nationalist underground faction.

- 403 *Een Poolse vrouw ... argwanend maakten*: Agi Legutko, tour of the Kraków ghetto, Jewish Culture Festival, Kraków, June 2018.
- 403 *Irena Gelblum*: In several accounts, Renia refers to this woman as “Halina.” She even states that she was frustrated that she was never able to track her down after the war. But according to a footnote in Regina Kukelka, “In the Gestapo Net,” *Memorial Book of Zaglembe*, ed. J. Rapaport (Tel Aviv, Isr., 1972), 436, “Halina” was Irena Gelblum. Irena was romantically involved with Kazik, and was a daring Warsaw operative. She had been sent to Zaglembe, presumably by Zivia, to look for missing couriers and Jews hiding in Będzin and to give them money to join the partisans. According to one account, while she was there, she happened to find out about Renia and talked Sarah into going with her to Mysłowice. After the war, Irena moved to Italy, changed her name to Irena Conti and became a poet, distancing herself from her past. She is mentioned in Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 389, and referred to as “Irka.” See: Joanna Szczesna, “Irena Conti,” *Wysokie Obcasy*, 21 April 2014.
- 404 *Irena Adamowicz, de katholieke vrouw die het Joodse verzet had geholpen*: Grupińska, *Reading the List*, 21.
- 404 *Chajka Klinger kwam samen met Renia in Palestina aan*: The rest of her story is based on Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 403–79.
- 406 *Niet iedereen lukt het als overlevende te overleven*: Harshav interview. In a personal interview with Avihu Ronen, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 16, 2018, he discussed Chajka’s legacy, saying she was always someone who went “against the current,” and her grandchildren – several of whom are refusniks – have carried that on. Avihu considers himself to be an academic outlier.

31 VERGETEN KRACHT

- 407 *Renia’s broer*: I found conflicting accounts of Renia’s brothers; it is possible that it was Aaron who found out about her in the DP camp or that he was in Cyprus. It seems that the brother originally thought that it was Sarah who had survived. See Renia’s testimony at the Israel National Library and personal interview, Yoram Kleinman, telephone, February 11, 2019.
- 407 *Uiteindelijk kwamen beide broers naar Palestina*: While Renia lived a secular life, her brothers stayed religious throughout their lives in Israel. Aaron lived in Haifa, in Renia’s neighborhood. He was an investigator for the customs authority and a cantor who performed internationally. According to his son Yoram, Aaron was like Renia: “ego driven, dominant, tough, and cared about respect.” He changed his surname to Kleinman because, as a fighter for the Irgun, he’d been wanted by the British. Zvi was the soft, calm one. He settled in Jerusalem, was observant, and worked as a legal clerk for the Ministry of Justice. Renia and Zvi spent many hours analyzing their past and discussing the war and their family. He changed his name to Zamir, a Hebrew version for Kukielka, a cuckoo bird.
- 407 *maar niet lang nadat ... was opgepakt*: According to a footnote in Kukelka, “In the Gestapo Net,” 436. According to her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia found out about this from the Zuckermans after they arrived in Israel, perhaps in 1946.
- 407 *‘Zorg alsjeblief voor mijn zus Renia’*: Liwer, *Town of the Dead*, 23.
- 407 *Aangespoord door de dichter en politicus Zalman Shazar*: Renia’s family related that Zalman Shazar was the one who told her to write her memoirs; other sources mentioned above indicate that she began writing in Hungary. Personal interview, Jacob Harel and Leah Waldman, Haifa, Isr., May 14, 2018.

- 407 *liet haar werk door de vooraanstaande vertaler Chaim Shalom Ben-Avram naar het Hebreeuws vertalen*: According to her son, Renia took issue with elements of the translation. Harel and Waldman interview. I have not been able to locate the original Polish manuscript, though I have searched the following archives and organizations: Lavon, Yad Tabenkin, Kibbutz Dafna, Jewish Historical Institute, Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Naamat USA.
- 407 *droegen het in hun rugzak met zich mee*: Geva, *To the Unknown Sisters*, 275.
- 408 *in een artikel ... literatuur voor studenten*: Hasia R. Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence After the Holocaust, 1945–1962* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 96–109, 134.
- 408 *Ook een andere Holocaustoverlevende*: Fredka Mazia, USHMM testimony, 1991, <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn502790>. Fredka (Oxenhandler) Mazia was a leader of Hanoar Hatzioni, a group which Renia criticizes in her telling.
- 408 *een bijdrage aan het herdenkingsboek over Zaglembe*: Her contribution was an edited and annotated translation of an excerpt from *Underground Wanderings*. Memorial (Yizkor) books, written primarily in Yiddish and/or Hebrew by survivors, document Jewish communities destroyed in the Holocaust. More than two thousand memorial books were published.
- 408 *Na deze loutering kon ze verder met haar leven*: Harel and Waldman interview.
- 424 *fell out of fashion*: Personal interviews, Anna Shternshis, New York, April 9, 2018, and Avihu Ronen, Tel Aviv, Isr., May 16, 2018.
- 408 *Vernieuwing was belangrijk*: The rest of this section is based on personal interviews with Renia's family.
- 409 *een 'vervanging' te zijn van overleden familieleden*: Uta Larkey, "Transcending Memory in Holocaust Survivors' Families," in *Jewish Families in Europe*, 216.
- 409 *Het 'gemis van familie' was van grote invloed op de gezinnen van overlevenden ... wat de familiestructuur generatieslang beïnvloedde*: See, for instance, Michlic, ed., *Jewish Families in Europe*, and Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*.
- 409 *levenslustig*: According to her nephew Yoram Kleinman, she was "sarcastic, direct, and you could talk to her about anything." Kleinman interview
- 409 *Natuurlijk had ze haar eigen moeder niet ouder zien worden*: Nor did they care for elderly parents. Rivka Augenfeld, daughter of Vilna partisans, spoke about how her generation had to figure out how to do so for themselves. Personal interview, Rivka Augenfeld, Montreal, August 10 and 17, 2018.
- 410 *kameraden van Vrijheid*: Chawka Lenczner, Chana Gelbard, and Yitzhak Fiszman.
- 410 *Ze voelden ... begrepen ze het niet helemaal*: See Larkey, "Transcending Memory in Holocaust Survivors' Families," 209–32.
- 410 *maar ook kwetsbaar*: Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 168–69, 178, 251, tells stories of how survivor parents were seen as "fragile"; their children had to protect them.
- 411 *een bekend links parlamentslid*: Chaika Grossman dedicated her life to public service, from helping Polish survivors, to being elected MP in the Israeli Knesset, where she was outspoken in advocating for youth, the elderly, and equality for women and the Arab population.
- 411 *belden elkaar iedere avond om tien uur*: Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 272.
- 411 *Fania bleef contact houden ... continenten uitgewaaid*: Personal interview, Sandy Fainer, Telephone, November 27, 2018.
- 411 *vijfentwintigduizend nazaten*: Vershitskaya, 572.
- 411 *'Zusters' ... die ze nog hadden*: Gurewitsch, "Preface," *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters*, xi–xxi.
- 411 *'Ik heb mijn kinderen grootgebracht ... 'krachtig voortleven'*: Ya'ari Hazan, *Bronislawa Was My Name*. This section is based on *Bronislawa Was My Name*

- and my personal interview with Yoel Yaari, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018. In an email correspondence on 23 December 2019, Yoel informed me that the liberation story in *Bronislawa Was My Name* was incorrect and he provided updated details.
- 412 ‘*de Frumkagroep*’: Yoseph Baratz, “The Frumka Group,” *Women in the Ghettos*, 182–84, says the group comprised Bela and thirty girls aged eighteen to twenty-two.
- 412 *Orde van het Kruis*: Documentation about this award (the Grunwald Cross Third Class) is held in the Ghetto Fighters’ House Museum archive in the form of a letter from Isaac Schwarzbart in London to Moshe Klinger in Mandate Palestine, April 26, 1945. (The HeHalutz archive in England.) There is some confusion as to whether the award went to Frumka or Hantze. Rivka Glanz also received a Polish military honor. Faye, Chasia, and the Bialystok couriers all received medals from the Soviet government.
- 412 *ze zonder officiële opleiding drieënzeventig getraumatiseerde wezen opving*: With no formal psychology training, Chasia, aged twenty-five, devised her own system for running this traumatized group. She created “family roles” for all of them, appointing herself as the “older sister.” Izhar, *Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka*, 319–20.
- 412 *Nu gaf Bronka ... tot aan haar dood bleef staan*: Yaari, “A Brave Connection.”
- 412 *Bela’s zoon Yoel beschreef*: The rest of this section is from my personal interview with Yoel Yaari, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018.
- 413 ‘*Telkens als ... nieuw telefoonnummer uit*’: Personal interview, Yoel Yaari, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018.
- 414 *moest hij het doen met vage herinneringen en losse anekdotes*: Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 179 for instance, provides examples of children of survivors for whom the story was hard to piece together, the narrative disjointed and emotional rather than chronological.
- 414 *Dagen na de bevrijding ... stem van een Joods kind zou horen*: Cohen, *Avengers*, 148–49. Ruzka relays a slightly different version in *Partisans of Vilna* in which she was also sure that she herself would never cry or laugh again. This section is based on Neima Barzel, “Rozka Korczak-Marla” and “Vitka Kempner-Kovner,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*; Cohen, *Avengers*; Michael Kovner, www.michalkovner.com; Korczak, *Flames in Ash*; Korczak, Tubin, and Rab, *Zelda the Partisan*; Ziva Shalev, “Zelda Nisanilevich Treger,” *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Women*; Yehuda Tubin, Levi Deror et al., eds., *Ruzka Korczak-Marla: The Personality and Philosophy of Life of a Fighter*; Wilfand, *Vitka Fights for Life*; and personal interviews with Michael Kovner, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018, and Daniela Ozacky-Stern and Yonat Rotbain, Givat Haviva, Isr., May 14, 2018.
- 415 *verweet haar dat ze krom Jiddisch sprak*: Personal interview, Daniela Ozacky-Stern and Yonat Rotbain, Givat Haviva, Isr., May 14, 2018.
- 415 ‘*stad van dronkenlappen en moordenaars*’: Cited in Cohen, *Avengers*, 172.
- 416 ‘*de ceo van Vergelding*’: Personal interview, Michael Kovner, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018
- 416 *Zelda kreeg twee kinderen, aan wie ze de Holocaustverhalen vertelde, ook al wilde Sanka het verleden achter zich laten*: Korczak, Tubin, and Rab, *Zelda the Partisan*, 150.
- 416 *een delicatessenzaak in het centrum van Tel Aviv*: From an article written by Ruth Meged for *Haaretz*, April 19, 1971, reprinted in *Zelda the Partisan*, 136.
- 417 *Moreshet ... in Polen voor 1939*: Ozacky-Stern and Rotbain interview.

- 417 *Ze was jarenlang ziek, maar verzweeg haar klachten, zelfs voor haar gezin:* Kovner interview.
- 417 *‘Ik blijf in leven’:* Personal interview, Kovner interview.
- 417 *Op vijfenveertigjarige leeftijd:* Some sources say age forty.
- 417 *Ze was een volgeling van Dr. George Stern:* For more on Stern, see “Color Psychotherapy,” <http://www.colorpsy.co.il/colorPsyEng.aspx>. For Vitka’s psychotherapy work, see Michael Kovner, “In Memory of My Mother,” <https://www.michaelkovner.com/said04eng>.
- 418 *met wie ze een complexe relatie had:* Ibid.
- 418 *Vitka zich aangetrokken voelde ... Ze had chutzpah’:* Personal interview, Michael Kovner, Jerusalem, May 17, 2018.
- 418 *Vladka Meed arriveerde:* Leisah Woldoff, “Daughter of Survivors Continues Parents’ Legacy,” *Jewish News*, April 23, 2014, http://www.jewishaz.com/community/valley_view/daughter-of-survivors-continues-parents-legacy/article_7249bb6e-cafb-11e3-8208-0017a43b2370.html.
- 418 *‘Als ze een kamer binnenkwam, was het alsof er een lichtje aansprong’:* Personal interview, Jacob Harel and Leah Waldman, Haifa, Isr., May 14, 2018. This section is based on personal interviews with Renia’s family.
- 418-9 *Hoe kan iemand ... of door de stad slenterde:* Personal interview, Merav Waldman, Skype, October 23, 2018.
- 419 *reisde Renia nog naar Alaska:* In her Yad Vashem testimony, Renia stresses that she traveled the entire world – but she never returned to Poland.
- 419 *Vitka tweeënnegentig:* Vitka’s birth date is inconsistent across sources, but most agree that she died at ninety-two.
- 419 *nog in leven en zijn ze allemaal tussen de vijfennegentig en negenennegentig jaar oud:* Partisan Mira Rosnow was still alive at the time of this writing, aged ninety-nine. Her sister, Sara, a partisan fighter, died at ninety-two. Chayele Porus Palevsky, a Vilna partisan, was still alive. Liba Marshak Augenfeld, a Vilna partisan, died at ninety-five.
- 419 *‘Familie is het allerbelangrijkste in het leven’:* Epstein, *Children of the Holocaust*, 182, 310, mentions that family loyalty is an overwhelming value among survivors.
- 419-20 *brede glimlach op haar gezicht en gekleed in een glitterjurk:* Photo from the collection of Merav Waldman.
- 420 *Als zoveel andere kinderen van de derde generatie ... al te graag beantwoordde:* See discussion of 3G in Uta Larkey, “Transcending Memory in Holocaust Survivors’.” As Dina Wardi explains, 2G and 3G women are often the family’s “memorial candles.” As Irit Felsen explained at a talk about intergenerational trauma at The Wing, New York, 27 January 2020, 2Gs felt anger and shame about their parents’ background, whereas 3Gs were proud of their survivor heritage. (The second generation had a “double wall” with their parents, each generation wanting to protect the other and so never discussing the war.)

NAWOORD: EEN GEMISTE JOOD

- 428 *restaurants met een Joods thema ‘Jew-rassic Park’:* Personal interview, Jonathan Ornstein, Kraków, Pol., June 25, 2018.
- 429 *historicus Gunnar S. Paulsson ... drie tot vier Polen per ondergedoken Jood:* Paulsson, *Secret City*, 5, 129–130. Paulsson mentions another estimate, in which 160,000 Poles helped hide Jews. On page 247 he explains that help is not the same as rescue, highlighting that there were many ways in which Poles aided Jews.

- 429 *Sommige wetenschappers ... in hun getuigenissen hebben benadrukt*: Paulsson, *Secret City*, 21–25, also stresses that people usually record the unexpected in their memoirs, and not necessarily the norm. He suggests that most Poles did not betray the Jews they hid, but the ones that did left a greater impression and so were written about.
- 429 *'wie heft er het meest geleden'*: I am indebted to Samuel J. Kassow (lecture given at “In Dialogue: Polish Jewish Relations During the Interwar Period” for inspiring the ideas in this paragraph, and in particular the final sentiment regarding not “whitewashing” antisemitism and not playing games of who suffered more.
- 431 *door spelende kinderen*: A different explanation: Marisa Fox-Bevilacqua, “The Lost Shul of Będzin: Uncovering Poland’s Once-vibrant Jewish Community,” *Haaretz*, 7 Sept 2014, <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/.premium-the-lost-shul-of-Będzin-1.5263609>.

OPMERKING VAN DE SCHRIJVER OVER HET ONDERZOEK

- 435 *verslagen en getuigenissen*: For discussion on using memoirs and testimonies as sources, see for instance: Michlic, ed., *Jewish Families in Europe*; Mervin Butovksy and Kurt Jonassohn, “An Exploratory Study of Unpublished Memoirs by Canadian Holocaust Survivors,” in Paula J. Draper and Richard Menkis, eds., *New Perspectives on Canada, the Holocaust and Survivors: Canadian Jewish Studies*, Special Issue (Montreal: Association for Canadian Jewish Studies, 1997), 147–61; Frumi Shchori, “Voyage and Burden: Women Members of the Fighting Underground in the Ghettos of Poland as Reflected in Their Memoirs (1945–1998),” thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2006.
- 435 *Sommige getuigenissen lijken haastig ... angst verkeerden te worden opgepakt*: Ronen, *Condemned to Life*, 52–63, explains the conditions in which Chajka wrote her diary: quickly, afraid of forgetting her emotions, afraid of being caught.
- 436 *Kenmerkend voor haar taal is het gebruik van het woord 'wij'*: The chronicler’s use of the collective “we” in an attempt to be subjective is addressed in Rita Horvath, “Memory Imprints: Testimony as Historical Sources,” in *Jewish Families in Europe*, 173–95.
- 436 *'een overdaad aan herinneringen'*: Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, viii.
- 436 *niet uit 'harde data'*: According to Zuckerman, *Surplus of Memory*, 371, the ZOB’s documents were not always precise. They weren’t writing for a historical archive; they were often writing to arouse sympathy in the hope of receiving some help.
- 437 *Wat betreft de persoonsnamen ... plus een schuilnaam*: In this book, I have tended to use the form of the name under which the woman published or became known. I have tried to use spellings that are simpler for English readers. I often included additional versions of names in the endnotes.
- 439 *tweehonderdveertig tochten ondernam – per week wel te verstaan*: Cited in Laska, *Different Voices*, 255.