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Patterns of Cooperation, Collaboration and Betrayal: Jews, Germans and Poles in Occupied Poland during World War II[1]

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"Someday the role played by the officials of the Jewish Council—spoożng everything of value their own way—will be exposed in the harshest light. These were the corrupt civil servants who would obtain an exemption from forced labor for anyone who had enough hard cash, leaving those without any money to be deported in their place. When everything comes to light, it will also be impossible to hide the shameful role played by the Jewish police, which up until now has been completely silenced." [2]
Peretz Opoczynski, resident of the Warsaw ghetto

"The uniformed police has had a deplorable role in the 'resettlement actions'. The blood of hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews, caught and driven to the 'death vans' will be on their hands. The Germans' tactics were usually as follows: in the first "resettlement action" they utilized the Jewish Order Service ..."[3]
Emanuel Ringelblum, historian of the Warsaw ghetto

"Members of the Jewish police were not the only ones who served the Germans; some Jews acted as Gestapo spies and agents throughout Europe. Their numbers are unknown; they were not many, but they caused tremendous damage."[4]
Yehuda Bauer, Israeli Holocaust historian

"Jews in the service of the Gestapo

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[1] This is a much expanded work in progress which builds on a brief overview of this topic that appeared in the collective work *The Story of Two Shtetls, Brańsk and Ejszyszki: An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Northeastern Poland during World War II* (Toronto and Chicago: The Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998), Part Two, 231–40. The examples cited are far from exhaustive and represent only a small selection of the sources that deal with this topic. Attempts to stifle discussion of these matters are veiled by stock, but baseless, accusations of "blaming the victim" and "anti-Semitism."

[2] Samuel D. Kassow, ed., *In Those Nightmarish Days: The Ghetto Reportage of Peretz Opoczynski and Josef Zelkowicz* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 95. Many Jewish survivors were highly critical of the Jewish police. Ludwik Hirszfeld wrote about the Warsaw ghetto police in his memoir: "The [Jewish] Order Service were generally recruited among intellectuals. They were monstrous. Buying people out and blackmail were common." See Ludwik Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld: The Story of One Life* (Rochester, New York: Rochester University Press, 2010), 249.

[3] Emanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 135.

[4] Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 148.

were best at recognizing other Jews."[5]
Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski, whose father was fingered in Warsaw by a Jewish Gestapo agent

"The Nazis want to conquer the world and to do it they have their sympathizers and collaborators. Those Jews who are collaborators are every bit as guilty as the Pole or Ukrainian or Frenchman or Norwegian who co-operates with Hitler."[6]
Abraham Zuhler, who perished Buczacz

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[5] Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski, "W skorodowanym zwierciadle pamięci: Szkic autobiograficzny," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2005): 7–202, here at 27–28; Katarzyna Meloch and Halina Szostkiewicz, eds., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...,* vol. 4 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2012), 195. Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski was the father of historian Jan Grabowski. His statement in Polish reads, "Będący na usługach Gestapo Żydzi najlepiej rozpoznawali innych Żydów!"

[6] Cited in Mina Rosner, *I Am a Witness* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1990), chapter 15.

Collaboration with the Germans in occupied Poland is a topic that has not been adequately explored by historians.[7] Holocaust literature has dwelled almost exclusively on the conduct of Poles, as well as other non-Jewish national groups, and has often arrived at sweeping and unjustified conclusions about their

[7] Tadeusz Piotrowski has done some pioneering work in this area in his *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces, and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918–1947* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1998). Chapters 3 and 4 of this important study deal with Jewish and Polish collaboration respectively. Piotrowski's methodology, which looks at the behaviour of the various nationalities inhabiting interwar Poland, rather than focusing on just one of them of the isolation, provides context that is sorely lacking in other works. For an earlier treatment see Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles under German Occupation, 1939–1944* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), chapter 4. For a popular, but somewhat shoddy and uneven, overview of some Polish sources, see Jacek Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza: Zdrada i kolaboracja. Konfidenci niemieckich władz bezpieczeństwa w okupowanej Polsce 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Agencja Wydawnicza CB Andrzej Zasieczny, 2004). Wilamowski canvasses some of the older literature on this topic such as Włodzimierz Borodziej, *Terror i polityka: Policja niemiecka a polski ruch oporu w GG 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Pax, 1985), chapter 3; Józef Bratko, *Gestapowcy: Kontrwywiad–konfidenci–konspiratorzy*, Second expanded edition (Kraków: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1990); Leszek Gondek, *Polska karząca 1939–1945: Polski podziemny wymiar sprawiedliwości w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* (Warsaw: Pax, 1988); Adam Hempel, *Pogrobowcy klęski: Rzecz o policji "granatowej" w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990). For more recent literature see: Tomasz Strzembosz, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna: Społeczeństwo polskie a państwo podziemne 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Krupski i S-ka, 2000); Tomasz Szarota, *U progu Zagłady: Zajścia antyżydowskie i pogromy w okupowanej Europie* (Warsaw: Sic!, 2000); Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Polacy i Żydzi 1918–1955: Współistnienie, Zagłada, komunizm* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2000); Barbara Engelking, *"Szanowny panie gistapo": Donosy do władz niemieckich w Warszawie i okolicach w latach 1940–1941* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2003); Jan Grabowski, *"Ja tego Żyda znam!": Szantażowanie Żydow w Warszawie, 1939–1943* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004); Teresa Baluk-Ulewiczowa, *Wyzwolić się z błędnego koła: Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit w świetle dokumentów Armii Krajowej i materiałów zachowanych w Polsce* (Kraków: Arcana, 2004); Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006); Claire M. Hall, "An Army of Spies? The Gestapo Spy Network 1933–45," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2009): 247–65; Claire M. Hubbard-Hall, "'A Game of Cat-and-Mouse': The Gestapo Spy Network in Tomaschow Mazowiecki, Poland, 1939–45," in Ben Shepherd and Juliette Pattinson, eds., *War in a Twilight World: Partisan and Anti-Partisan Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1939–45* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 156–77; Dawid Golik, "Prowokacja w walce z 'bandami': Wybrane przykłady niemieckich akcji prowokacyjnych z terenu dystrytktu krakowskiego GG," *Prace Historyczne,* no. 144 (4) (2017): 691–711. On the so-called reptile press and behaviour of some literary figures see Krzysztof Woźniakowski, *W kręgu jawnego piśmiennictwa literackiego Generalnego Gubernatorstwa (1939–1945)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1997); Krzysztof Woźniakowski, *Polskojęzyczna prasa gadzinowa w tzw. Starej Rzeszy (1939–1945)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001). One of the emerging "experts" on the subject of Polish "collaboration" in the West is German historian Karl-Peter Friedrich, whose blatantly biased writings have, not surprisingly, attracted followers among some German historians (such as Dieter Pohl) and, fortunately, also some harsh critics. Friedrich's dubious claims were given undue publicity in the Winter 2005 issue (vol. 64, no. 4, pp.711–46) of *Slavic Review,* albeit with some effort by other historians (notably John Connelly, "Why the Poles Collaborated So Little—And Why That Is No Reason for Nationalist Hubris," pp. 771–81) to distance themselves from his sweeping and ill-founded conclusions, if not his "facts." Friedrich's skewed focus has validated the comparative and contextual approach advocated by Tadeusz Piotrowski.

conduct. At the same time, with a few notable exceptions such as Isaiah Trunk[8] and Raul Hilberg,[9] whose

[8] Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996). For a Polish compilation see Jerzy Robert Nowak, *Żydzi przeciw Żydom: Zbrodnie żydowskiej policji, Judenratów i żydowskich kapo,* 2 volumes (Warsaw: Maron, 2012).

[9] Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 3 volumes. Hilberg argues compellingly that the efforts of Jewish communities to maintain order and to placate the Germans actually helped the Germans to achieve the Holocaust. Hilberg arrives at the following conclusions about the detrimental role of the Jewish councils: "From now on, their activities were going to be supplemented by another, quite different function: the transmission of German directives and orders to the Jewish population, the use of Jewish police (styled *Ordnungsdienst*) to enforce German will, the delivery of Jewish property, Jewish labor, and Jewish lives to the German enemy. The Jewish councils, in the exercise of their historic function, continued until the end to make desperate attempts to alleviate the suffering and to stop the mass dying in the ghettos. But, at the same time, the councils responded to German demands with automatic compliance and invoked German authority to compel the community's obedience. Thus the Jewish leadership both saved and destroyed its people, saving some Jews and destroying others, saving Jews at one moment and destroying them at the next. … As time passed, the Jewish councils became increasingly impotent in their efforts to cope with the welfare portion of their task, but they made themselves felt all the more in their implementation of Nazi decrees. With the growth of the destructive function of the Judenräte, many Jewish leaders felt an almost irresistible urge to look like their German masters. … In short, the Jewish councils were assisting the Germans with their good qualities as well as their bad, and the very best accomplishments of a Jewish bureacracy were ultimately appropriated by the Germans for the all-consuming destruction process. … The Jews did not always have to be deceived, they were capable of deceiving themselves. … The Jewish repressive mechanism was largely self-administered, and it could operate automatically, without any misleading statements or promises by German functionaries or their non-German auxiliaries." Ibid., vol. 1, 219 and vol. 3, 1112–15. Hilberg describes the sordid reality of ghetto life in these terms: "Patronage, favoritism, and outright corruption became inviting possibilities and soon enough were commonplace. … The Warsaw Ghetto, for example, had a formidable upper class composed of bureaucrats, traders, and speculators. These privileged groups were large enough to be conspicuous. They frequented nightclubs, ate in expensive restaurants, and rode in man-drawn rikshas." Ibid., vol. 1, 232, 262. Hilberg also notes that, seeking salvation through labour, Jews became an important, dependable, and even irreplaceable labour reserve for the German war effort: "Gradually, however, the army emerged as the most important purchaser of ghetto products, crowding out other buyers. The ghettos thus became an integral part of the war economy, and this development was to cause considerable difficulty during the deportations. The Germans came to depend on the output of the Jewish labor force. … The zeal with which the Jews applied themselves to the German war effort accentuated the differences of interests industry and armament inpectorates against the SS and Police, but the Germans were resolving their conflicts to the detriment of the Jews." Ibid., vol. 1, 263 and vol. 3, 1109.

findings confirm what Hannah Arendt opined about the Jewish councils,[10] Holocaust historians have shied away from the topic of Jewish collaboration with the Germans. More recently, there has been a concerted backlash against the conclusions drawn by Hilberg and Arendt which seeks to diminsish, rationalize and

[10] Hannah Arendt called "this role of the Jewish leaders in the destruction of their own people … the darkest chapter of the whole dark story." In her opinion, "without Jewish help in administration and police work—the final rounding up of Jews in Berlin was … done entirely by Jewish people—there would have been either complete chaos or an impossibly severe drain on German manpower." Furthermore, as she points out, "Wherever Jews lived, there were recognized Jewish leaders, and this leadership, almost without exception, cooperated in one way or another, for one reason or another, with the Nazis. The whole truth was that if the Jewish people had really been unorganized and leaderless, there would have been chaos and plenty of misery but the total number of victims would hardly be between four and a half and six million people." While they may not have been conscious collaborators, the Jewish councils and police in fact greatly facilitated the carrying out of the Final Solution. See Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil,* Revised and enlarged edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1977). Unlike Polish collaborators, who were almost entirely from the margins of society, members of the Jewish elite were very visible in the councils and police. As a reaction to Arendt, and as a convenient tool to combat her views (after all, somebody has to be responsible), Poles have been substituted for Jews in Arendt's formulations.

At the trial of Hirsch Berenblat, an accused Nazi collaborator, that took place in Israel around 1963, the complainants included Jewish resisters David and Aryeh Liver. "Judge Haim Ehrlich questioned the witness: 'What would have happened if all Jews had decided that no one would accept a position in the Jewish Council, or that the Jewish Council would be dismantled?' 'I believe that the Germans would have been unable, on their own, to conduct the annihilation they carried out. It's hard for me to imagine it,' Aryeh said, echoing Arendt's assessment that chaos within a leaderless Jewish community would have resulted in fewer casualties. Regardless of the question of whether the Germans could have achieved their goal without Jewish collaboration, he then added a moral argument, 'I knew one thing: that we should not do the Germans' work for them.'" See Dan Porat, *Bitter Reckoning: Israel Tries Holocaust Survivors as Nazi Collaborators* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 189. The trial of Lube Gritzmacher (1972), the last of the trails of the Jewish functionaries, is also instructive. The Israeli judges heard testimonies of her viciousness to Jewish prisoners, with the following verdict: "In their ruling, the judges stated that 'when we speak of defendants who were themselves persecuted … while we do take this issue into account, we cannot, on the other hand, ignore another consideration, which is that these defendants used their special status in the camp in which they served to treat their brethren and others cruelly.' The status of a persecuted person, the court made clear, did not give that victim impunity to act in a 'cruel' and 'sadistic' manner." Ibid., 211–12.

even dismiss the detrimental behaviour of the Jewish councils and Jewish police.[11] With some notable

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[11] Peter Hayes, a harsh critic of Hilberg and Arendt, acknowledges the following facts which, in fact, undermine his dismissal of Hilberg and Arendt's conclusions:

> the Germans did not pay for transporting the Jews to the camps; they made Jewish community administrations do this, just as they usually made them, at least in Western Europe, Germany itself, and the Polish ghettos, do the dirty work of identifying potential deportees or even drawing up lists of them whenever the Nazis dictated a certain number or category to be shipped out. … On the whole, the Jewish response to the Nazi onslaught was to comply with German demands and orders in the hopes of preventing them from getting worse. … So far as possible, responsibility for the implementation of this policy [i.e., ghettoization in occupied Poland] but also all subsequent German orders regarding the new areas of residence was to be imposed upon Jewish Councils of Elders (Judenräte der Ältesten) … In short, less than one month after invading Poland and adding approximately two million Jews to its realm, the Nazi regime had devised a system of segregating these people from the surrounding population, positioning them for swift roundup later, stripping them of all their immovable and most of their movable property in the process, and turning the leaders of their communities into the executors of German policy. This last feature of German policy, the assignment of responsibility for carrying out German instructions to Jewish Councils, was a diabolically effective means of minimizing the resources Germany would have to use to police the Jews and making them complicit in their own persecution.

See Peter Hayes, *Why?: Explaining the Holocaust* (New York and London: Norton, 2017), 132, 177, 179, 180. Hayes absolves the Jews because resisting would have led to harsh reprisals against the Jews "the viciousness of the reprisals the Germans took was a powerful deterrent to resistance." The Warsaw ghetto uprising is another example: "the military balance sheet of trying to fight the Germans was catastrophic" for the Jews. Ibid., 192. In fact, Hayes cautions emphatically, "We have no right to expect or demand that they [the Jews] should have behaved more forcefully or heroically." Ibid., 197. Yet, Hayes essentially faults the Poles for not sheltering hundreds of thousands of Jews, for not staging massive assaults to rescue Jews from ghettos, for not impeding deportations and blowing up railway lines to the death camps, for not helping Jewish prisoners inside the camps, etc., without demonstrating any appreciation that all of those actions would have been doomed to failure and would have resulted in massive reprisals against the Polish population. It is apparent that, for Hayes, not all lives are valued equally: Poles were expected to become fodder. However, it was abundantly clear from the outset that any display of solidarity with any persecuted group (including the Polish intelligentsia and clerics, who were targeted before the Jews were) would have resulted in harsh reprisals, and therefore, such actions would have been foolhardy and suicidal. While priding himself on his "balanced perspective," Hayes goes on at length to point out the alleged shortcomings of Poles. He sets out a long litany of Jewish grievances and denigration of Poles that occupies a disproportionately large part of one chapter that deals with conditions for Jews throughout Europe. Yet, Hayes fails to mention that there was a vastly divergent range of punishment for helping Jews across Europe, which could entail no punishment, like in Denmark, Italy and France (where there were no specific laws prohibiting helping Jews), or a fine or short term of imprisonment, as in Belgium and the Netherlands, whereas in Poland, the Germans imposed a death penalty for helping Jews in any way, or even trading with them. (At p. 219, Hayes draws a crude and largely unsubstantiated distinction: those who helped Jews in Western Europe could be sent to a concentration camp, which was only a remote possibility in some jurisdictions; while helpers in Eastern Europe could see their entire family executed, something that was practiced only in occupied Poland.) Nor does he mention that Jews had to largely finance their own rescue in affluent countries like Denmark, Belgium and France, and that only in Poland did the underground state establish an organization to help Jews. Characteristically, Hayes is completely apologetic about Jewish behaviour in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland in 1939, which he severely downplays and whitewashes, while omitting the damning portions of Karski's report (p. 249). Hayes implies, falsely, that Poles perpetrated 266 attacks similar to Jedwabne in the summer of 1941 (p. 249), whereas almost all of these were much smaller than Jedwabne and Poles were not responsible for the vast majority of the attacks outside of the Łomża and Białystok areas. Hayes claims that the Jewish survival rate in Warsaw was equal to that in Amsterdam (p. 233), whereas the source he cites (Gunnar Paulsson's The Secret City) compared Warsaw to the entire Netherlands, not just Amsterdam. Hayes advances the unsubstantiated claim that, "at a conservative estimate, at least as many non-Jewish Poles turned Jews in as hid them from the Nazis" (p. 251), which goes totally contrary to Paulsson's findings for Warsaw (70,000–90,000 helpers, as opposed 2,000–3,000 who harmed Jews). See Gunnar S. Paulsson, "The Rescue of Jews by Non-Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland," *The Journal of Holocaust Education,* volume 7, nos. 1 & 2 (summer/autumn 1998): 19–44. The statistics Hayes cites for Dąbrowa Tarnowska county taken from Jan Grabowski's Hunt for the Jews have been discredited by historians. The claim that no fewer than 22 of the Jewish prisoners who escaped from the Sobibór death camp during the October 1943 uprising died at Polish hands in

exceptions, Holocaust survivors are also in denial about this phenomenon.[12] The chronology, however, shows this line of reasoning to be bogus. It is reading history backwards.

When Jews started to join the ghetto police forces (the Jewish Order Service—*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst* in German) voluntarily, they did not know that Jews would be sent to death camps. As a policeman from the Lwów ghetto points out, as late as well into 1942, the Jews did not take Hitler's statements seriously. He writes, "at that time, in 1942, the Jews were still deluding themselves that Hitler, in his rage, was using his threats as propaganda, to shift the blame for German debacles at the front."[13] The reason for joining the ghetto police was to gain privileges for themselves and their families. It was only later on that these positions were seen as increasing their chances of survival. So these were not "choiceless choices," as some Holocaust historians would have it.[14] But there's more to the story, as hundreds of damning eyewitness accounts tell us. The average Jewish policeman turned out to be corrupt, rapacious and brutal. A Jewish policeman from Lwów wrote candidly about the phenomenon of profiteering among Jewish policemen. When the German authorities ordered the conquered peoples, during the winter of 1941–1942, to turn over their coats for Wehrmacht soldiers lacking proper winter clothing on the Russian front,

> Also, the Gestapo men themselves engaged in profiteering on a huge scale, ordering the trusted Jews to deliver the best-quality fur coats to them. Some policemen, not to mention Judenrat employees, were also in it up to their necks."[15]

When the Germans began to liquidate the ghettos, these policemen complied with their orders and rounded up Jews, including friends and family members, and then hunted down those who tried to hide. They often took bribes to allow those with means to escape deportation. Since shipments to death camps occurred in waves, or *Aktionen,* realizing that the Jews were not taken to be resettled, the aforementioned Lwów policeman refused to take part in the next *Aktion* and was dismissed as a result. The consequence was not

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[12] Alexander J. Groth, *Holocaust Voices: An Attitudinal Survey of Survivors* (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books/ Prometheus Books, 2003), 38, 146, 147.

[13] Ben Z. Redner, *A Jewish Policeman in Lwów: An Early Account, 1941–1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2015), 127.

[14] See, for example, Hayes, *Why?,* 180, 198. There is no comprehensive study on the Jewish police in occupied Poland. A recent publication dealing with Warsaw is Katarzyna Person's monograph *Policjanci: Wizerunek Żydowskiej Służby Porządkowej w Getcie Warszawskim* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2018); translated as *Warsaw Ghetto Police: The Jewish Order Service during the Nazi Occupation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2021). Person takes a rather charitable view of the Jewish police, whom she views as victims of Nazi anti-Jewish policy and tools the Germans used to destroy Jewish life. She goes out of her way to understand the policemen's attitudes and motivations, which, she argues, "resulted primarily from German policy to demoralize the Order Service, but also from wartime reality: the brutality of daily life in the ghetto and the shifting of boundaries of acceptable behaviours." She explains away the "selective recollection" that often characterized written accounts and oral histories: "In their immediate postwar testimonies, most survivors focused on the most shocking and drastic events, and not on daily life." In minimizing the role of the Jewish police, Person has also gone on record to state, "The deportations, the Holocaust and the death of the Warsaw Ghetto would have happened whether the Jewish police were involved or not." See Rich Tenorio, "New Book Dredges Up Warsaw Ghetto 'Police' Who Sent Fellow Jews to Their Deaths," *The Times of Israel,* August 11, 2021. Person's treatment of the Jewish police is in stark contrast (diametrically opposed) to the treatment of the Polish police by Jan Grabowski. This appears to be part of a trend in which the rehabilitation of the Jewish police, contrary to a large body of survivor testimonies, goes hand in hand with the demonization of the Polish police.

[15] Redner, *A Jewish Policeman in Lwów,* 119.

death at the hands of the Germans, but replacement by newly recruited Jewish ghetto policemen—there was no shortage of candidates for these lucrative positions.[16]

Reducing the behaviour of Jewish policemen to "choiceless choices" not only negates what Jewish survivors experienced firsthand; it also delegitimizes their candid testimonies so full of anguish. Another consequence of ignoring such uncomfortable facts is a growing trend among Holocaust historians to shift the blame for the tragedy of the Jews onto the Poles and to ignore the fact that German occupation policies could have as deleterious impact on the behaviour of Poles as on Jews. The aforementioned Jewish policeman from Lwów writes,

> As the latter [Nazis] discovered, they could rely on the services of the dregs of Jewish society, of whom many renounced their Jewishness, and even in normal conditions, were at the disposal of all kinds of miscreants and racketeers. Carried on the back of the Nazi onslaught, they were cast into the whirlpool of the new Jewish reality and, as a result, otherwise noble and kind individuals of weak moral constitution contributed to the spread of moral degeneration and corruption.[17]

Some have made the point that not all Polish "szmalcowniki" came from marginal backgrounds. However, as the Lwów policeman points out above, the conditions of the German occupation were such that they could easily turn decent individuals, whether Jews or Poles, into scoundrels. Unfortunately, this reality is lost on many commentators and Holocaust historians. As American historian István Deák has aptly remarked, "No issue in Holocaust literature is more burdened by misunderstanding, mendacity, and sheer racial prejudice than that of Polish-Jewish relations during World War II."[18]

There is another important reason that this dark chapter of the history of Jewish behaviour in German-occupied Poland merits closer scrutiny. In the opinion of some prominent Jewish survivors, the conduct of the Jewish authorities had a significant impact on the fate of the Jews. According to Yitzhak Zuckermam, one of the leaders of the Jewish underground (Jewish Fighting Organization) in Warsaw,

> I was captured by police once more. And what I went through is nothing compared to what other Jews experienced. I mention this in connection with the Jewish police. In two cases, the Jewish police did their job. … Of course they had no choice—from the moment they decided to be policemen. There were different kinds of policemen, more brutal ones and less brutal ones. There were those who took bribes and those who thought they had to excel. … There were a lot of them—thousands. … They served the German occupier, willy-nilly, and thought they could save their lives and their families like that. …

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[16] Redner, *A Jewish Policeman in Lwów,* 97, 238.

[17] Redner, *A Jewish Policeman in Lwów,* 95. Some historians have also commented on thos phenomenon. For example, "Instead, one must understand that the Fascists and Nazis adapted their repression to instrumentalize human frailty: Their spies and confidential informers often numbered among the individuals they persecuted." See Benedetta Carnaghi, "Betraying Your Own: Jewish Spies and the Deportation of Jews on Second World War," S:I.M.O.N.—*Shoah: Intervention, Methods, Documentation,* vol. 7, no 2 (2020): 50–65.

[18] István Deák, "Memories of Hell," *The New York Review of Books,* June 26, 1997.

When there were hundreds of thousands of Jews in Warsaw, the Germans couldn't have taken the transports to Treblinka without the help of the Jews themselves. It was the Jewish policemen who caught and took out the masses of Jews. They were armed with sticks; we could have used sticks and knives against them; we could have strangled and hanged them. … Of course, the Germans also came —it was enough for one German to show up, ten Germans. But the majority were Jewish police and they did their work faithfully. By that time, we realized that the Jews were being taken to their death. …

And I must repeat once more that, even if we had started the war with the Judenrat police on July 22 [1942] and done everything possible, we wouldn't have saved the people. That's not what I blame us for. Our blame is that we could have delayed the sentence, we could have made it hard for the Germans, we could have forced them to bring 10,000 Germans to do the work done by 2000 to 3000 Jewish police. In this matter, every German would have been less efficient than a Jewish policeman. He would have been more brutal, because he had a machine-gun and not a stick, and no doubt he would have slaughtered people on the spot.

But our goal was, in fact, to bring Treblinka to Warsaw. If that had happened, the Jews would have done their best to run away and hide, since they wouldn't have believed the Germans; but when a simple Jew saw a Jewish policeman calling him, it was hard for him to imagine that his brother would lead him to death.[19]

But the Jews, the Jewish police did the despicable work of the Germans. Some people try to defend them, others accuse them. What do I think is our great guilt, my guilt (since most of my comrades are no longer alive)? Our guilt was that immediately, from the first day, we didn't begin our harsh war against the Jewish police! Would we have saved the people? No! Absolutely not! But clearly the Germans wouldn't have done the job so easily or so fast, without the Jewish police. Because the Jews would certainly have run away from the Germans, but, when they saw a Jewish policeman, it didn't occur to them that he would lead them to their death. And the Jewish police knew, as I knew, and no later than I did, what Treblinka was, since it was the Jewish police themselves who brought the information about the slaughter taking place there.

You might say they took part in building Treblinka, and there is documented evidence of that. One night in the ghetto, the Germans assigned the Judenrat and the Jewish police to collect Jewish skilled laborers: carpenters, tinsmiths, locksmiths, builders; they ordered the Judenrat to obtain barbed wire, various instruments they needed to set up the camp; it all went to Treblinka. That was Passover 1942, the first time I heard of Treblinka. …

A year had passed since then and we hadn't done anything at all: the Jewish police were armed with rubber truncheons and knives. That is, they didn't have guns. All we had to do was kill them. If a few of them had been killed, others would have been afraid to join the police. … We could even have sent our boys to ambush and scare them; but we didn't do that either. And there's a supposedly "legal" argument that anyone who didn't follow orders was threatened with death. But what danger faced the police force? At most, what happened to all Jews.

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[19] Yitzhak Zuckerman ("Antek"), *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 207–208, 209.

I never forgave myself for not doing what we should have. That was the situation up to a certain point. Later, when we did start going that way, it was too late. … This way, we would have forced the Germans to come into the ghetto and do the job with their own hands.

That was what I demanded in the first meeting of the public committee held in Kirshenbaum's apartment at Leszno 56, on July 22, 1942 … I proposed that those present and their comrades, the community leaders (we could assemble a few hundred Jews) demonstrate in the streets of the ghetto with the slogan "Treblinka Is Death!" Let the Germans come and kill us. I wanted the Jews to see blood in the streets of Warsaw, not in Treblinka. Because the day after the *Aktsia* [operation] started, July 23, maybe even on that day, we knew what Treblinka was and where it was. The police in the *Umschlagplatz* saw the railroad cars returning from there after a few hours. That showed us how far it was from Warsaw. Moreover, when the doors of the cars were opened to put in more people, they found bloodspots and even corpses. The cars weren't even cleaned properly. …

That was the direction of my thought, I explained it like this: we have no choice. The world doesn't hear, doesn't know … if we can't save anyone—at least let the Jews know! So they could hide. I also said that we had to attack the Jewish police. If we had worked in this spirit, we might have prolonged the process, made it hard for the Germans to carry it out; because the annihilation would have been a little harder to "manage" with 450,000 Jews then than with 50,000 later on. They would have to bring military forces and use them day and night to capture all the Jews. …

After two or three days, when we saw they [i.e., the community leaders] weren't coming to meetings, we tried to assemble the left, proletarian, segments. I don't think the Communists were around anymore. … The groups included Po'alei Zion Left, Po'alei Zion–Z.S., Ha-Shomer, Ha-Tza'ir, and Dror; Gordonia had vanished. But it fell apart. They simply didn't come to the meetings. … In light of this situation, it's almost shameful to admit what happened—we issued the proclamation with the call: "Jews, don't go; Treblinka is death!" And the Jews tore our proclamation off the walls, by force, with blows. The Jews saw it as a German provocation. I heard that from the comrades who were putting up the posters, who told it with tears in their eyes. Yosef Kaplan and Shmuel Braslaw got beaten up. We had a lot of people who were ready and willing. Someplace, Braslaw, as I recall, found switchblades and, lacking any other weapons, they intended to use them and even tried to assassinate a few policemen with them. …

During the *Aktsia*, everyone wanted to save his own life. There was no leadership in the ghetto. … The Judenrat gave the following document to all the notables: This man is vital to the war effort."[20]

This study has gathered together hundreds of examples illustrating various forms of cooperation, collaboration and betrayal that turned Jews into a source of danger for fellow Jews, and less often for Poles, and facilitated the machinery of the Holocaust. (By and large, it makes little sense to speak of economic collaboration in the context of occupied Poland, since that very term implies at least some degree of mutual profit, and that possibility was excluded for both Jews and Poles from the outset. However, in other countries, such as Hungary and Romania, Jewish factory and mine owners earned fabulous sums from producing goods for the German army.[21]) This compilation, which is far from comprehensive, is not

[20] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 192–94, 196–97.

[21] István Deák, *Europe on Trial: The Story of Collaboration, Resistance, and Retribution During World War II* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2015), 106.

intended to demonstrate that such behaviour was somehow representative of the Jewish population, or that Jews (or Poles for that matter) had a particular propensity for such conduct. Rather it is meant to show that the actions of a tiny minority of the Jewish population were instrumental in inflicting significant, perhaps enormous, losses on the Jewish population.

The actions of these individuals, often carried out in extreme conditions and under duress, facilitated the Holocaust much more than the activities of their Polish counterparts. The latter are all too frequently blown out of proportion, while the former are glossed over. Far more Jews fell victim to the misdeeds of their fellow Jews than to those of Poles. Jews played an incomparably larger role than Poles in the ghettoization of the Jews, the day-to-day functioning of the ghettos, and their liquidation.[22] The role of Jewish councils and police in the actual liquidation of the ghettos, however, was probably smaller than that of collaborators from among the non-Polish population—primarily Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians—who were active in occupied Poland. Poles, and in particular the Polish police, did not take part in the liquidation of most of the larger ghettos on prewar Polish territories such as Warsaw, Łódź, Lwów, Wilno, Lublin, Sosnowiec, Będzin, Kraków (Cracow), Tarnów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Grodno, Rzeszów, Przemyśl, Chełm, Zamość, Jędrzejów, and many other cities. (In some cases, like Częstochowa and Kielce, the involvement of the Polish police was peripheral, e.g., as escorts.) The Jewish police did take part in the liquidation of all of those ghettos. They rounded up hundreds of thousands of Jews, including those who had hidden in hideouts, and delivered them to the Germans. As German reports show, and Jewish accounts confirm, the Germans also relied on Jewish informers and "catchers" to locate Jewish hideouts during the liquidation of the ghettos.[23] The Germans were able to liquidate all of the ghettos in Warthegau and Ost-Oberschlesien, which held more than 300,000 Jews and were incorporated directly into the Reich, as well as those in Eastern Galicia and the Wilno area, which was incorporated into German-occupied Lithuania, without virtually any Polish participation as there were no Polish police or officials in those areas. Nor did Poles serve as guards at the death and concentration camps the Germans built on Polish soil. The Germans, it should be underscored, built their largest death and concentration camps in occupied Poland for purely logistical reasons: Poland was where the largest number of intended victims resided, and the camps were far removed from possible attack. Moreover, unlike in other parts of Europe, the destruction of all forms of Polish state authority left no obstacle in the way for complete German control over implementation and execution of its genocidal policies, unobstructed by local officials. No major Holocaust historian—not Raul Hilberg, not Yisrael Gutman, not even the anti-Polish Lucy Dawidowicz—accepts the notion that the

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[22] For example, during the massive deportation of some 265,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942, "Jewish police delivered 7,000 victims for transport to Treblinka [on July 25] and from then on delivered them at a minimum daily rate of 10,000. The average Jewish policeman in the Warsaw ghetto sent two thousand Jews to their death, in order to save his own life." See Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski, *Jews in Poland: A Documentary History* (New York: Hippocrene, 1993; Revised edition–1998), 115. The Jewish police, whose numbers had swollen from 1,600 in December 1941 to nearly 2,200, made itself notorious by its cooperation with the Germans in rounding up Jews. Emanuel Ringelblum wrote (in December 1942): "The Jewish police had a bad reputation even before the deportation. Unlike the Polish police, which did not take part in the abduction for the labour camps [from spring 1941], the Jewish police did engage in this dirty work. The police were also notorious for their shocking corruption and demoralization." See Abraham Lewin, *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oxford and New York: Basil Black in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford, 1988), 17, 19.

[23] Friedrich Katzmann, *Rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja / Lösung der Judenfrage im Distrikt Galizien,* ed. by Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2001), 52 (typescript, p. 27).

decision to locate the camps in occupied Poland had anything to do with alleged Polish anti-Semitism or anticipated collaboration. Notwithstanding, such a charge is frequently encountered in Holocaust literature.

The Poles did not play a pivotal, or even significant (in comparison to most other countries), role in the Holocaust of the Jews.[24] Yisrael Gutman, the former chief historian at Yad Vashem and the editor-in-chief of *The Encylopedia of the Holocaust,* made that very point repeatedly:

> This feeling of identification of Poles from all social spheres and their anti-German solidarity is a previously unheard of historical achievement and one of Europe's greatest under Nazi occupation. I should like to make two things clear here. First, all accusations against the Poles that they were responsible for what is referred to as the "Final Solution" are not even worth mentioning. Secondly, there is no validity at all in the contention that … Polish attitudes were the reason for the siting of the death camps in Poland.
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> Poland was a completely occupied country. There was a difference in the kind of "occupation" countries underwent in Europe. Each country experienced a different occupation and almost all had a certain amount of autonomy, limited and defined in various ways. This autonomy did not exist in Poland. No one asked the Poles how one should treat the Jews.[25]
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> Only in Poland did the Germans impose such draconian punishments (i.e., death) for helping Jews. Yet despite that, Poles constitute the largest number of "Righteous." To a great extent, it is the "Righteous" who have changed the Israelis' perception of Poland. That is what influenced me. I too, at first, accepted these negative stereotypes as truth. Collaborators, blackmailers, neighbours who wouldn't help. That's what was said in all articles, in books. But when Yad Vashem published its Encyclopedia of the Righteous—I was the editor—I was forced to examine this again through the stories told by Jews who were saved. I don't change my opinions readily, but these testimonies brought about a diametrical change in opinion. … Gradually, they (i.e., Israelis) are learning about this. It enables them to see Poles as real people, made of flesh and blood. The same as Jews. In the archives of Yad Vashem I found testimonies of such deeds, deeds that I myself would not be able to

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[24] Miranda Brethour unleashed a series of spurious and rather bizarre charges regarding this and other fact-driven publications of Mark Paul. She mocks the statement that Poles did not play a *pivotal* role in the destruction of Poland's Jews—which leading historians like Yisrael Gutman, Szymon Datner, and Raul Hilberg have endorsed—and, as proof, she points to some minor publications that prove no such thing. She alleges, baselessly, that Mark Paul claims that *only* Jews (sic) collaborated with the Nazis, and Jews were *co-responsible* for their own extermination. All this study does, and was intended to do, is to illustrate what Holocaust historians like Yehuda Bauer have openly and clearly stated: "Members of the Jewish police were not the only ones who served the Germans; some Jews acted as Gestapo spies and agents throughout Europe. Their numbers are unknown … they caused tremendous damage." Many Jewish survivors are even harsher in their assessment. Finally, Brethour takes issue with the very fact that this study concentrates on Jewish collaboration, and does not deal with Polish collaboration (as if there weren't already copious studies with the latter exclusive focus). She alleges that compiling actual accounts of Jews that illustrate Jewish collaboration is engaging in "anti-Semitic stereotypes," but she has no apparent problem with studies that focus on alleged Polish collaboration. See Miranda Brethour, "Upamiętnianie Zagłady w kraju multikulturalizmu: Kanada wobec spuścizny Zagłady od lat siedemdziesiątych do chwili obecnej," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 14 (2018): 769–89, at 779–80. As shown later in relation to her published article on Sokołów county, Miranda Brethour has been caught *repeatedly* misrepresenting and omitting important sources, arguably to promote "anti-Polish stereotypes." Her study of Sokołow county is that rare phenomenon of a regression in the scholarship. One would get a far more accurate picture of Sokołów county just by reading the entries for its main towns in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos.*

[25] *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies), vol. 2 (1987), 341.

> do. And that disturbs my peace. It was a trial, a test of one's humanity. Would we pass this test if placed in that situation? All of us—both Jews and Poles—we are only human. We are not saints. Yes, there were blackmailers in Poland. There were also heroes. People like (Irena) Sendlerowa, of whom you may be very proud."[26]

This is in stark contrast to the situation that existed in almost every other occupied country, for example the Baltic States, Holland, Norway, France, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and Hungary, where the Germans relied very heavily on local collaborators (police, officials, military and paramilitary formations) to carry out the round-ups of Jews, deportations, and even mass executions. Many, if not most Polish Jews, were readily distinguishable from Poles, even to Germans,[27] by reason of their distinctive dress, beards, physical appearance, and lack of knowledge of the Polish language. Jews tended to live among fellow Jews and their homes bore mezuzahs so there was no particular need for Poles to point them out. The creation of ghettos and deportation of Jews to death camps were not dependent on Polish collaboration. These tasks were assigned for the most part to the German-appointed Jewish councils (*Judenräte—Judenrat* in the singular) and the Jewish ghetto police (the so-called order police or *Ordnungsdienst—OD*).[28] Jewish officials compiled accurate and detailed list of Jews in a particular town, carefully noting such matters as their wealth, residency status, age, sex, and occupation, with changes of residency being reported monthly.[29] Nor did the notorious death camps at Treblinka, Sobibór and Bełżec rely on Polish personnel for their smooth functioning. In addition to a small contingent of German overseers and non-Polish guards (usually Ukrainian auxiliaries, former POWs themselves), the Germans employed Jewish prisoners—work crews

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[26] "Poles Can Be Very Proud of Sendlerowa," Israel Gutman interviewed by Piotr Zychowicz, *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), May 13, 2008.

[27] A Jew from Warsaw recalled the arrival of the Germans in September 1939: "Long lines of people were standing for hours to get water. I remember waiting in line one morning, when a German guard approached me and asked, 'Bist du ein Jude?' ('Are you a Jew?'). When I replied, 'Yes, I am,' he said to me, 'I don't care how long you've been standing in line, Jews must go to the end of the line. Do it right now. That is where Jews belong.' This was my first encounter with the German occupation forces." See Abraham Alpert, *A Spark of Life* ([United States]: n.p., 1981), 2–3.

[28] Yehuda Bauer has acknowledged that in the larger ghettos, it was the Jewish councils that provided the Germans with lists and cooperated in the handing over of victims. According to that historian, the Jewish police played a "major role" in the deportation of the Warsaw Jews to Treblinka in the summer of 1942, with similar roles being played by the Jewish police forces in Łódź, Kraków, and elsewhere. See Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 143–44, 154. The ghetto in Grodno followed a typical pattern: "The Judenrat was compelled to prepare lists of names, transfer Jews from one ghetto to another, and declare that the deportees were, supposedly, being sent to places of work. … Very severe criticism of the Jewish police was lodged by the survivors of the Grodno ghetto for their attempt to save themselves by fulfilling their duties in a most meticulous manner. Only a few policemen refrained from collaborating with the Germans … even during the February [1942] *Aktion* some policemen uncovered hiding places and turned in Jews to the Germans." See Shmuel Spector, ed., *Lost Jewish Worlds: The Communities of Grodno, Lida, Olkieniki, Vishay* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996), 161–62. The same pattern held true in the smaller ghettos as well. The Jewish community of Suwałki was charged by the Germans, already in September 1939, with the task of compiling a list of all the Jews of that city. See Yehezkel Berlson, "The Destruction of Suwalk," in Leslie Sherer and Arthur Leonard, eds., *Jewish Community Book: Suwalk and Vicinity* (Tel Aviv: The Yair–Abraham Stern–Publishing House, 1989), 50.

[29] Krzysztof Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004), 74.

such as Sonderkommandos, who were assigned various tasks.[30] There was no Polish involvement in the operation of these camps.

The indictment against the ghetto police, authored by historian Isaiah Trunk, is particularly damning: The Jewish police collected cash contributions and taxes; they assisted in raiding, guarding, and escorting hungry, mentally exhausted people on their way to places of forced labour; and it was the ghetto police who often were ordered to enforce discipline in the presence of German officials. The ghetto police sentries formed the inside guard at the ghetto fences. Both the Germans and the Jewish councils employed the ghetto police to carry out confiscation of Jewish property and to combat smuggling, the only means of overcoming constant hunger in the ghettos. The Jewish police carried out raids against and arrests of inmates for offences against draconian rule. Last but not least in the final stages of the ghettos the Jewish police were called upon to assist in "resettlement actions."[31] The liquidation of the ghettos was overseen by the Germans who employed numerous German forces, the Jewish police, and auxiliaries of various nationalities (Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian) brought in for that purpose. The involvement of the Polish "Blue" police was, in the assessment of leading Jewish historians such as Szymon Datner and Raul

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[30] The largest death camp, Treblinka, employed at most 43 German SS guards at one point; on average, 18 Germans worked at Sobibór. The three camps (Treblinka, Sobibór and Bełżec) combined employed fewer than 1,000 non-German auxiliaries (mostly Ukrainian POWs), and some 3,000 temporarily spared Jewish prisoners. See Christian Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 274; Laurence Rees, *The Holocaust: A New History* (New York; Public Affairs, 2017), 259, 269. According to another source, at Treblinka, where some 900,000 Jews perished, there were only 30–40 SS men (Germans and Austrians) and 100–120 guards (mostly Ukrainians "recruited" at POW camps where Soviet soldiers were being killed off in large numbers and more often than Jews in ghettos at the time). The Germans created work units, composed of Jewish prisoners who were rotated through these positions, to perform various functions at the camps such as building the camps themselves, directing new arrivals to the gas chambers (Jewish *Kapos* acted as enforcers, beating those who did not undress fast enough), sorting clothes and searching for concealed valuables, extracting gold teeth from corpses, taking bodies to the burial pits, assisting in executions, preparing food for the SS men and guards, and loading sorted clothes onto freight trains. There were even camp orchestras to welcome and sooth new arrivals. Since Jewish workers had direct access to valuables, which they secretly hid in large quantities, they conspired with the guards, whom they provided with valuables, to engage in trade with local farmers and smuggle food into the camp. Given the risks involved (one account mentions the execution of a group of 60 Poles in the immediate vicinity of Treblinka) and the surplus of valuables, large amounts of money and jewelry were offered to entice guards and farmers, thus corrupting them to demand more. See Ewa Wiatr, Barbara Engelking, and Alina Skibińska, eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, vol. 13: *Ostatnim etapem przesiedlemia jest śmierć: Pomiechówek, Chełmno nad Nerem, Treblinka* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2013), 84–85, 130–31, 136, 158, 167–75, 189–90, 193, 210–12. Former Ukrainian guards from the Treblinka death camp were recruited by the People's Guard based near Wyszków. See Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 102–103; Barbara Engelking, *Na łące popiołów: Ocaleni z Holocaustu* (Warsaw: Cyklady, 1993), 159; Leszek Żebrowski, *Paszkwil Wyborczej (Michnik i Cichy o Powstaniu Warszawskim)* (Warsaw: Burchard Edition, 1995), 110–17; Marek J. Chodakiewicz, Piotr Gontarczyk and Leszek Żebrowski, eds., *Tajne oblicze GL-AL i PPR: Dokumenty* (Warsaw: Burchard Edition, 1997–1999), vol. 1, 108–110, 128–30, vol. 2, 72–84, and vol. 3, 79–82; Mariusz Bechta*, Rewolucja, mit, bandytyzm: Komuniści na Podlasiu w latach 1939–1941* (Warsaw and Biała Podlaska: Rachocki and Rekonkwista, 2000), 97; Piotr Gontarczyk, *Polska Partia Robotnicza: Droga do władzy 1941–1944* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2003), 251–52, 288.

[31] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 499. For example, the Jewish police were used to expel Jews from their homes and during their execution in the cemetery in Skała, near Kraków. See Ireneusz Cieślik, Olgierd Dziechciarz and Krzysztof Kocjan, eds., *Olkusz: Zagłada i pamięć: Dyskusja o ofiarach wojny i świadectwa ocalałych Żydów* (Olkusz: Olkuskie Stowarzyszenie Kulturalne "Brama", 2007), 305, 306.

Hilberg, marginal. The role of the Polish police was peripheral to an enormous multi-staged and multi-faceted enterprise.[32]

There is no question that Jews had to contend with Jewish collaborators far more frequently than with Polish ones. Jews who did not venture out of the ghettos—and the vast majority did not—in all likelihood

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[32] Szymon Datner, a long-time director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, has stated that the Holocaust "cannot be charged against the Poles. It was German work and it was carried out by German hands. The Polish police were employed in a very marginal way, in what I would call keeping order. I must state with all decisiveness that more than 90% of that terrifying, murderous work was carried out by the Germans, with no Polish participation whatsoever." See Małgorzata Niezabitowska, *Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland* (New York: Friendly Press, 1986), 247. This was the reverse of the situation in most other countries, including Western European ones (for example, Norway), where often 90% or more of the work was done by the local authorities and police. According to Raul Hilberg, one of the foremost Holocaust historians, "Of all the native police forces in occupied Eastern Europe [and to this we could readily add the French and Dutch police], those of Poland were least involved in anti-Jewish actions. … The Germans could not view them as collaborators, for in German eyes they were not even worthy of that role. They in turn could not join the Germans in major operations against Jews or Polish resistors, lest they be considered traitors by virtually every Polish onlooker. Their task in the destruction of the Jews was therefore limited." See Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York: Aaron Asher Books/Harper Collins, 1992), 92–93. As Hilberg points out, the SS and German Police employed Ukrainian forces in ghetto-clearing operations not only in the Galician District but also in such places as Warsaw and Lublin. See Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition, vol. 2, 545.

The pioneering monograph on the Polish police, or Blue police (*policja granatowa*) as they were popularly known because of the navy blue colour of their uniforms, is the aforementioned study by Adam Hempel, *Pogrobowcy klęski: Rzecz o policji "granatowej" w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990). Additional Polish sources include Edyta Majcher-Ociesa, ed., *Z dziejów policji polskiej w latach 1919–1945* (Kielce: Kieleckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2010), and Tomasz Domański and Edyta Majcher-Ociesa, red., *Policja granatowa w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Kielce and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019). A brief overview in English by Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Between the German Authorities and Polish Society: The Polish 'Blue Police,'" can be found in Jochen Böhler and Robert Gerwarth, eds., *The Waffen-SS: A European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 169–79. What is strange about this book is that the Blue police are thrown in with the Waffen-SS, where they are clearly out of place, yet other police forces, like the French and Norwegian police, which had a horrific wartime record vis-à-vis the Holocaust in their respective countries, are not. Unlike the national SS formations, the Polish police was not a voluntary formation, and unlike the French and Norwegian police, the Polish police was not an institution of the Polish state. Two recent studies highlight the negative aspects of the Polish police without adequately integrating this into the broader context (e.g., the role of other police forces, including the Jewish police, in the measures directed against Jews), misrepresent their role in the liquidation of ghettos (e.g., Węgrów), and downplay the assistance provided by individual policemen (copious examples are provided later on): Sylwia Szymańska-Smolkin's 2017 doctoral dissertation, *The Polish Policemen and the Jewish Population of Occupied Poland, 1939–1945* (Department of History, University of Toronto); Jan Grabowski, *Na posterunku: Udział polskiej policji granatowej i kryminalnej w zagładzie Żydów* (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2020). The latter study has come under criticism for its misrepresentation and manipulative use of sources. For example, Grabowski claimed falsely that it was the Polish police, and not the Jewish police, who conducted searches for Jews in hiding during the liquidation of the Kraków ghetto. See Piotr Gontarczyk, "Na niemieckim posterunku, czyli uwagi na marginesie nowej książki Jana Grabowskiego," *Sieci,* June 1–7, 2020.

The Polish police was formed by the Germans as a continuation of the prewar Polish criminal police force. On October 30, 1939, Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger, Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*) in the *Generalgouvernement,* ordered all former Polish policemen to report back to service by November 10, 1939 under threat of the "severest punishment." Thus, participation was compulsory, and family members were punished for desertion. It performed such duties as enforcing the curfew, patrolling the streets, etc. The Polish underground infiltrated the organization to gain intelligence and to try to limit its detrimental impact on the Polish population, albeit with very limited success. In 1941, the police commandant of Warsaw, Oberleutnant Alfred Jarke complained that the German police was forced into armed action in the ghetto because the Blue police remained passive. By mid-1943, its composition was about 70 percent Polish. The remainder was 20 percent Ukrainian and Belorussian, and 10 percent *Volksdeutsche*. The latter were used by the Germans in an enforcer role. Unlike the Ukrainian police, the Blue police's cooperation with the Germans was administrative, not political. Individually, however, some of its members did wilfully serve the Germans for personal gain, and the Germans sometimes formed police battalions from these degenerates. About one in forty policemen in Warsaw took part in the search for fugitive Jews in 1943, and turned them over to the Germans. Some policemen blackmailed Jews, while others, as described later, helped them.

Ignoring this literature and the many documented cases of Polish policemen helping Jews or turning a blind eye to their illegal activities (a large selection of those cases are found in a later footnote), according to Jan Grabowski:

never encountered a Polish collaborator or denouncer. They were far more likely to be robbed or swindled by fellow Jews than by a Pole. Generally speaking, there were four significant sources of danger for Jews confined in ghettos: the Jewish council and its agencies, the Jewish auxiliary police, Jewish agents and informants, and miscellaneous Jewish betrayers and criminal elements. The moral choices and dilemmas that individual Jews who cooperated, collaborated or betrayed, faced in these circumstances is a topic that falls outside the scope of this study.[33] From the victim's perspective it mattered little whether collaboration or denunciation was forced or voluntary, or something in between. The bottom line is that the denouncer valued his or her life above that of the victim. Without a recognition of this phenomenon, any treatment of wartime Polish-Jewish relations is seriously flawed.

The fate of Polish Jews was not dependent on the Poles, nor were Polish attitudes something that the Germans troubled themselves with. As Raul Hilberg notes, "There was no imperative to be mindful of the welfare of Poles," and thus "no need for precautions whenever anti-Jewish measures could have painful repercussions for the non-Jewish population."[34] Contrary to what is often claimed, the Polish population was not supportive of German policies towards the Jews. General Johannes Blaskowitz, commander of the Eighth German Army during the September 1939 campaign and subsequently Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Territories, wrote to Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, in his report of February 6, 1940: "The acts of violence carried out in public against Jews are arousing in religious Poles [literally, "in the Polish population, which is fundamentally pious (or God-fearing)"] not only the deepest disgust but also a great sense of pity for the Jewish population."[35]

One must bear in mind that Poland, with its short-lived interwar independence, was already divided along ethnic lines before the outbreak of the Second World War. Once the war started, there was a complete breakdown of Poland's society into its constituent elements, with many ethnic groups seeking to be united with members of their groups who lived outside Poland's interwar borders. These various ethnicities

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See Jan Grabowski's lecture, "The Polish Police: Collaboration in the Holocaust," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, April 2017. Thus Grabowski attributes wrongdoing not to an individual's particular characteristics but rather stereotypically imposes national and religious characteristics as the driving force of a disparate group of people who acted as they did for diverse reasons. Grabowski overlooks the glaring fact that rescuers also shared those exact same characteristics, and very often mentioned them as the source of their motivation for risking their lives to help Jews. And somehow, without being imbued with Polish nationalism and Catholicism, the Norwegian police were able to round up almost all of their country's remaining Jews (the ones that didn't manage to get out of Norway in time for payment) and handed them over to the Germans for deportation to their deaths. Using Grabowski's approach, a compelling linkage could be made based on fact that the Stalinist henchmen who orchestrated the massacre of more than 100,000 Poles during the Great Terror were very often Jews, who struck primarily at Poles, and not at fellow Jews.

[33] Like most Polish collaborators, who were either opportunists or who became entangled with the Germans because they were blackmailed after being caught in compromising situations, few Jewish collaborators were actually ideological supporters of Nazi Germany. Florian Majewski (Moshe Lajbcygier), who survived the war as a member of the Home Army, where he served in a unit that pursued colaborators, describes several operations directed at Poles who had been "recruited" into the service of the Grmans in the latter manner, yet the Polish underground did not hesitate to order their execution. Majewski does not record any activities by the Home Army or Polish collaborators directed at Jews. See Florian Mayevski with Spencer Bright, *Flame without Smoke: The Memoirs of a Polish Partisan* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), 91–109.

[34] Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* vol. 1, 189.

[35] Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *'Those Were the Days': The Holocaust through the Eyes of the Perpetrators and Bystanders* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), 4; Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism 1919–1945: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts,* vol. II: *Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination* (New York: Schocken, 1988), 939.

pursued their own national agendas in isolation from each other, often riven by mutual hostilities. The ethnic disintegration was particularly pronounced in the Soviet occupation zone. Moreover, both the German and Soviet occupiers saw, and treated, Poland's multi-ethnic society as a miscellany of peoples, each of which was invited to collaborate individually.[36] Thus, there was no mutual universe of obligation shared by these various ethnic groups, including Jews.

The Germans played a large part in encouraging and exploiting friction between the conquered peoples. Theodor Oberländer, a principal Nazi strategist, advocated a "divide and conquer" strategy for Poland by pitting the country's national groups against one another.[37] Jews were utilized to destroy the Piłsudski monument in Koźminek.[38] In November 1939, in the city of Łódź, the Germans conscripted Jews to destroy the Kościuszko monument in Wolności Square. The Germans then set fire to two synagogues and blamed the Poles for burning them down in retaliation for the destruction of the Kościuszko monument by the Jews.[39] In the spring of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to demolish the Catholic church in Sanniki, near Kutno. They took photographs of this and used the incident to foment anger among the Poles against the Jews.[40] Similarly, Jews were employed to demolish the Catholic church in Gąbin.[41]

In Piotrków Trybunalski,

> On September 6, [1939] the Germans set fire to a few streets in the Jewish quarter and shot Jews trying to escape from their burning houses. … Those still hiding in their homes soon noticed that the Germans were interested primarily in their property. Both individually and in groups, the latter had invaded the Jewish community and confiscated virtually everything they could—clothes, linen, furs, carpets, valuable books, etc. They often invited the Poles in the streets to take part in the looting, after which they would fire bullets into the air in order to give the impression that they were driving away the Polish "thieves". These scenes were photographed by the Germans to demonstrate that they were protecting Jewish property from Polish criminals.[42]

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[36] Jochen Böhler and Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Collaboration and Resistance in Wartime Poland (1939–1945): A Case for Differentiated Occupation Studies," *Journal of Modern European History,* vol. 16 (2018), no. 2: 225–46.

[37] Ingo Haar, "German *Ostforschung* and Anti-Semitism," in Ingo Haar and Michael Fahlbusch, eds., *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919–1945* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 10.

[38] Testimony of Hersz Traube, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 867.

[39] Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, and Yeshiva University Press, 1987), 323; Janina Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Słownik* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 87 n.191. The Jewish community petitioned the insurance company for 1,000,000 złoty, the amount for which one of the synagogues was insured, but the claim was rejected.

[40] Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012), vol. II: *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, Part A, 101.

[41] Zygmunt Zieliński, ed., *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1982), 415 n.24.

[42] Jacob Birnbaum, "Piotrkow Trybunalski: the Last Chapter," in Roman Mogilanski, comp. and ed., *The Ghetto Anthology: A Comprehensive Chronicle of the Extermination of Jewry in Nazi Death Camps and Ghettos in Poland* (Los Angeles: American Congress of Jews from Poland and Survivors of Concentration camps and Nazi Victims of Piotrkow Trybunalski, 1985), 8.

Since many Poles were indebted to Jewish creditors, and were for the most part rather poor, the Germans wanted to win them over by cancelling those debts and allowing some looting of Jewish property.[43] (It is important to bear in mind that looting accompanies war and civil strife worldwide, and is not an ethnically determined activity.) But this policy was followed only to a limited degree, however, because all property of value was confiscated by the Germans themselves. What was left over was often auctioned off.

The "divide and conquer" strategy was employed in a variety of ways. In Węgrów, the Germans threatened to shoot any Pole and Jew seen in the street together. They locked up a group of Jews in the Catholic church and had them defecate on the altar. They then made Poles remove the Jews' excrement, alleging that the Jews had committed sacrilege. The Germans reversed the roles in the town's synagogue.[44] In September 1939, the Germans forced Polish policemen in Warsaw to beat some Jews. Afterwards, the Jews were forced to retaliate by attacking the policemen.[45] In many towns and villages, Poles were evicted from their homes and farms to make room for displaced Jews.[46] Jews were employed in the executions of Poles (described later on). In April 1940, the Germans killed a Polish child and left the body in the Jewish cemetery, claiming that it was a ritual murder carried out by Jews.[47]

Historians Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski write:

> The Nazis contrived in every way possible to provoke resentment and animosity between the national groups. For example, in February 1941 the warders for a Jewish labour camp were recruited from among Poles and Ukrainians, while early the same year the occupation authorities in Będzin employed Jews in compiling the registers of Poles liable to deportation from the town. Again, in the spring of 1942, five Jews were assigned for wholly clerical duties to the Treblinka I labour camp for Poles. Expedients like these all made for a continuous embitterment and vitiation of relations between Poles and Jews.[48]

These examples could be multiplied. For instance, in the hard-labour camp for Poles in Płaszów, many functions were assigned to Jewish prisoners from the adjoining concentration camp.[49] In Auschwitz, newly

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[43] Ingo Haar, "German *Ostforschung* and Anti-Semitism," in Haar and Fahlbusch, *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919–1945,* 12.

[44] Maciej Siekierski and Feliks Tych, eds., *Widziałem anioła śmierci: Losy deportowanych Żydów polskich w ZSRR w latach II wojny światowej: Świadectwa zebrane przez Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Rządu Polskiego na Uchodźstwie w latach 1942–1943* (Warsaw: Rosner i Wspólnicy and Żydowski Instytut Historyczny; Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 2006), 144.

[45] Siekierski and Tych, *Widziałem anioła śmierci,* 143.

[46] See, for example, Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 65 (Kowale Pańskie), 161 (Sławków).

[47] Siekierski and Tych, *Widziałem anioła śmierci,* 144.

[48] Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1963), 19.

[49] Franciszek J. Proch, *Poland's Way of the Cross, 1939–1945* (New York: Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi and Soviet Concentration Camps, 1987), 50.

arrived Polish inmates were processed by Jews, and vice versa.[50] Jewish workers were forced to beat Polish workers in Lwów, and vice versa.[51] Jewish prisoners in the Pustków labour camp were ordered to transport the bodies of Soviet POWs to grids where they were burned.[52] Jewish prisoners of war from Lublin were employed to bury the corpses of Poles killed in mass executions.[53] Jews were ordered to bury Poles killed in an execution in Tarnów:

> In 1940, my brother was rounded up in the street and taken into town with a group of forty people. They were ordered to dig a grave. A lorry came with Poles. The Poles were shot en masse, and the Jews were ordered to bury their still warm and bloodied bodies.[54]

After Poles secretly placed wreaths and flowers on Polish monuments in Warsaw on national anniversaries, Jews were brought to the scene and made to trample the flowers.[55] Jewish forced labourers from Kosów Lacki (craftsmen, their assistants, and their equipment) formed the worker pool that undertook the construction of Treblinka I, a hard labour camp primarily for Poles, and reported on their work when they would come home on weekends.[56] Jewish labourers—not Poles—were also used to construct the Treblinka and Bełżec death camps.

The Germans also unleashed a torrent of anti-Semitic propaganda that played into the prejudices of some Poles and fostered anti-Polish sentiments among Jews.[57] As one Jewish survivor recalled,

> The Polish population was incessantly under the pressure of anti-Jewish propaganda. I recall the posters that were put up everywhere. To this day, I remember their text … I quote, "Stop and read, dear onlooker, how Jews beset you. Instead of meat, chopped rats, dirty water added to milk, and dough with worms, kneaded by foot." Next to the text were drawings: a repulsive unshaven crooked-

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[50] Jacob Celemenski, *Elegy For My People: Memoirs of an Underground Courier of the Jewish Labor Bund in Nazi-Occupied Poland, 1939–45* (Melbourne: The Jacob Celemenski Memorial Trust, 2000), 225.

[51] Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny in. E. Ringelbluma and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2011), vol. 3, 107.

[52] Testimony of Oskar Haber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4523. Thousands of Soviet POWs were brought to the Pustków camp in the fall on 1941 and were starved to death or died of typhus or other diseases by February 1942. At that time, the fate of Soviet POWs was worse than that of the Jews.

[53] Testimony of A. Chalef, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1467.

[54] Victoria Van Orden Martínez, "Witnessing against a divide? An analysis of early Holocaust testimonies constructed in interviews between Jewish and non-Jewish Poles," September 22, 2021, Internet: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17504902.2021.1981627>.

[55] T. H. Chylinski, *Poland under Nazi Rule,* November 13, 1941, 59.

[56] Dean, Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 390; *Kosow Lacki* (San Francisco: Holocaust Center of Norrthern California, 1992), 33–35.

[57] Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zu Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 145.

> nosed Jewish butcher held a rat by the tail, which he was sticking into a meat grinder. Another drawing presented a milkman pouring water from a washtub, adding it to a can of milk.[58]

Historians Berenstein and Rutkowski comment on the scope of this divisive tactic:

> In support of their policy of persecution of the Jews in Poland the Nazi authorities mounted a vast propaganda campaign of ferocious virulence which preyed on the lowest instincts of the unenlightened sections of the population. The Nazi Polish-language gutter press … strove unremittingly to whip up the Poles against the Jews. New posters continually appeared on the walls, in trams, in railway stations and other public places vilifying the Jews.[59]

German propaganda often cut both ways and was calculated to incense Jews as well. The German-sponsored press claimed that the closure of ghetto in Warsaw "was the wish of the majority of inhabitants of Warsaw."[60] Jews in Tarnów were told by the Germans that it was the Poles who were responsible for their misfortune.[61] An SS-Scharfuhrer (squad leader) in the Sobibór death camp, where no Poles were employed as guards, assured Jews who arrived from Holland that the success of the killing operation was thanks to the Poles.[62]

The impact of German propaganda on Jewish attitudes is not widely acknowledged; however, it was significant. According to one Jewish survivor, "We also did not think about *why* they [the Germans] wanted to kill us. We knew that we were like rats. Their propaganda not only influenced the Gentiles, it also influenced us Jews. It took away from us our human dignity."[63] Jews played into this strategy by spreading anti-Polish propaganda, going so far as to claim that the Poles were inciting the Germans. In a wartime report, a resident of the Warsaw ghetto wrote of his efforts to convince fellow Jews "about the feelings in Polish society towards the Jews. They are inciting the occupier against the Jews, in order to save themselves by this stratagem." He also questioned the sincerity of the Polish democratic opposition and

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[58] Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 31.

[59] Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945,* 19. On German propaganda see also Jan Grabowski, "German Anti-Jewish Propaganda in the Generalgouvernement, 1939–1945: Inciting Hate through Posters, Films, and Exhibitions," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* vol. 23, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 381–412. Unfortunately Grabowski's study is rather skewed: he cites reports about Polish society very selectively (e.g., Jan Karski's report of February 1940 which described Jewish collaboration under the Soviet occupation) and ignores many favourable reports (e.g., the reaction of Poles to the Warsaw ghetto uprising); he pushes negative stereotypical generalizations about Poles (e.g., "many Poles construed anti-Jewish activities as fundamentally patriotic", etc.); and he does not appreciate the demonstrable inefficacy of German anti-Jewish propaganda (e.g., it did not inhibit widespread trade with Jews).

[60] Andrzej Żbikowski, "Antysemityzm, szmalcownictwo, wsółpraca z Niemcami a stosunki polsko-żydowskie pod okupacją niemiecką," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 446.

[61] Testimony of Blanka Goldman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2059.

[62] Testimony of Salomea Hanel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 186. In fact, the Germans relied heavily on Jewish policemen in occupied Poland to round up Jews sent to the death camps, and in the Netherlands, the Dutch police played a pivotal role in that regard.

[63] Jacob Shepetinski, *Jacob's Ladder* (London: Minerva Press, 1966), 45.

preached about the "abject baseness of behavior among the Poles."[64] Not surprisingly, as Emanuel Ringelblum notes in his wartime journal, hatred towards Polish Christians grew in the Warsaw ghetto because, incredible as it may seem, it was widely believed that the Poles were responsible for the economic restrictions that befell the Jews.[65] The US Vice-Consul in Warsaw reported that there were frequent incidents of Jews attacking Poles: "Poles approaching too close to ghetto walls or riding in tramcars passing through the ghetto to a suburb beyond were stoned."[66]

A jealousy built on false premises and traditional contempt for Poles set in. Many Jews could not comprehend why it was they, rather than the Poles, who were suffering the brunt of the German brutality. This caused deep resentment toward Poles. Stories spread in the ghetto that Poles were leading "normal lives" outside the ghetto: "Everything there is brimming with life. Everyone eats and drinks until they are full. … On the other side, the houses are like palaces … there is freedom to the full … complete safety … justice reigns."[67] A young Jew who witnessed the expulsion of the Poles after the failed Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 recalled: "I must admit that we even derived a certain *schadenfreude* from seeing Poles treated like Jews, driven like cattle through the streets the way Jews had been herded, beaten down and hardly saying a word. … This was so reminiscent of when we had first been evicted from our home and forced into the crowded ghetto more than two years before. How ironic. For the first time we were equal … Poles now [sic] also had a taste of what it was like to be at the receiving end of Nazi brutality and retribution."[68] (As if Poles had not experienced mass expulsions and executions before!) For many Jews ghettoization had a silver lining, as Noah H. Rosenbloom explains:

> Paradoxically, ghettoization, notwithstanding the turmoil, misery and hardship if caused to thousands, evoked a glimmer of hope and even a sense of security. Some Jews initially believed that the term *Wohngebiet der Juden*, as the ghetto was euphemistically referred to by the Germans, truly reflected the German intentions, to establish a racially segregated "District of Jewish Residence". While the prevailing conditions there were far from enviable, they hoped that this dismally imposed socio-cultural structure would permit them a limited measure of religious, social, and cultural autonomy, a questionable thin silver lining on an otherwise dark, foreboding, stormy and thunderous cloud. … The Germans, understandably, made no effort to dispel this optimistic Jewish notion, born in part of wishful thinking and in part subtly fostered by the Germans.[69]

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[64] Marian Małowist, "Assimilationists and Neophytes at the Time of War-Operations and in the Closed Jewish Ghetto," in Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live With Honor and Die With Honor!…: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S/" ["Oneg Shabbath"]* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), 619–34, at 631, 633.

[65] Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego: Wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 118.

[66] T. H. Chylinski, *Poland under Nazi Rule,* November 13, 1941, 25.

[67] Diary of Jehoszua Albert cited in Marcin Urynowicz, "Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Warszawie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 563.

[68] Rubin Katz, *Gone to Pitchipoï: A Boy's Desperate Fight for Survival in Wartime* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013), 200–1.

[69] Yitzhak Katzenelson, *The Song of the Murdered Jewish People* (Tel Aviv: Ghetto Fighters' House/Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1980), 104.

Israel Eldad, a member of the Betar movement, made the following critical observations regarding the situation in the ghettos:

> A lot is said about the heroism of the ghettoes [sic]. But not much is said about the lateness of this heroism, of the Warsaw Ghetto and Vilna [Wilno] Ghetto uprisings. Why did the Jews wait until they remained so few in number? Why was the revolt delayed? The answer is well known, and cruel: After every transport, after every 'action,' those who remained consoled themselves that now the beast of prey had satisfied itself. Those who remained were, it seemed to them, inscribed for life—and those who remained agreed and were happy to live at the expense of those who were taken. This is a horrible truth, but it is the truth.[70]

Attuned Poles could sense the resentment felt by many Jews. It was not without some justification, therefore, that Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, one of the founders of Żegota, the underground Committee for Aid to Jews, wrote in her 1942 pamphlet "The Protest": "we realize they [the Jews] hate us more than they hate the Germans and that they make us responsible for their misfortune." A Jew who was imprisoned in a hard labour camp in Częstochowa wrote:

> I often heard the ringing of church bells in the city and saw priests walking in their black soutanes. This sight did not make a good impression on us. We knew that it was they who were responsible for the misfortune that befell the Jews. The church standing on the hill [i.e., the Jasna Góra monastery] was for us the symbol of the backwardness of Polish anti-Semitism.[71]

Even Jews who left the ghetto and knew it was otherwise, endorsed resentment against Poles. Shlomo (Stanisław) Szmajzner admits candidly: "we could not experience any feeling about the fact that the Polish were suffering in their own flesh the same horror that the Germans had been practicing on us and which they used to applaud."[72] After escaping from Sobibór, Szmajzner took refuge with a Polish family and survived the war. He settled in Brazil. On his *sixth visit to Germany*, Szmajzner said the following in a 1983 interview given *in German*: "I will never return to Poland, ever. Had the Poles been different, more like the Danes, the Dutch or the French, I think 70, 80 or possibly even 90 per cent of the Jews would still be alive today. Because the Germans had no idea who was Jewish and who wasn't. … I don't want to speak Polish and I don't want to return to Poland."[73] The claim that the Germans had to rely on Poles to identify Jews because they themselves could not recognize who was a Jew is largely bogus. Many Polish Jews had rather distinctive appearances and dress, so they were not difficult to detect. There are numerous German

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[70] Israel Eldad, *The First Tithe: Memoirs and Edifying Discourses of the Hebrew War for Freedom* (Tel Aviv: The Jabotinsky Institute in Israel, 2008), 367.

[71] Mosze Rubinstein, "Between Life and Death," in Shimon Kanc, ed., *Yisker-bukh tsum fareybikn dem ondenk fun der khorev-gevorner yidisher kehile Ryki* (Tel Aviv: Ryki Societies in Israel, Canada, Los Angles, France and Brazil, 1973), 458ff.

[72] Stanislaw Szmajzner, *Inferno em Sobibor: A tragédia de um adolescente judeu* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Bloch, 1968).

[73] Sobiborinterviews.nl—Survivors of an Extermination Camp, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Internet: <http://www.sobiborinterviews.nl/en/interviewees/2-profielen/12-stanislaw-szmajzner>.

testimonies that corroborate that German soldiers had no problem identifying Jews to harass when they entered Poland in September 1939.[74] Later, Jews were required to wear identifiable armbands and were confined in ghettos. It was the Jewish councils who were charged with the task of registering Jews, not the Poles. Depending on occupation conditions, Jews in Western Europe fared no better. Almost eighty percent of Dutch Jews were murdered by the Germans with considerable Dutch collaboration. Most of those who attempted to hide were betrayed. Many of those who survived did so because they were exempted from Nazi genocidal measures.

Of course, the Germans played it both ways, and while disseminating anti-Polish propaganda among the Jews, they claimed to be their protectors. One Jew recalled:

> I remembered the order to assemble on the lawn in front of the Judenrat headquarters in Grabowiec, the announcement that all the Jews of Grabowiec would be 'resettled' in Hrubieszow [Hrubieszów], where the SS officer had told us, the Jews would live and work together in a miniature 'Jewish state,' protected by the kindly German authorities from the wrath of the local Gentile populace.[75]

In Słonim,

> As soon as the Jews were enclosed in the ghetto, the head of the German gendarmerie … and his deputy … called all the Jews to a meeting, where they were assured there would be no more *Aktions*. They said the previous *Aktion* had been a Polish provocation, and that as long as Jews worked hard, they would survive the war.[76]

In view of the constant bombardment of such propaganda it is not surprising that some Poles succumbed to it, just as some Jews resorted to anti-Polish barbs and spiteful accusations.[77]

It should also be born in mind that when there was solidarity it tended to follow ethnic lines, and did not usually extend to the "Other." Some Jews who were deported to camps from Warsaw after the failed August 1944 uprising were fortunate enough to have been saved by Jewish prisoners, who took risks for fellow Jews, but not for Christian Poles.

> The Jews brought hundreds of Poles, remnants of the Warsaw uprising, to our camp in Leitmeritz [in Sudetenland]. They were placed in the death camp. Every day, scores of this group were killed.

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[74] Roger Moorhouse, *Poland 1939: The Outbreak of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), 161–64.

[75] Michael Temchin, *The Witch Doctor: Memoirs of a Jewish Partisan* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1983), 54–55.

[76] Testimony of Mordechaj Jonisz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 141.

[77] A Polish woman from Chmielnik recalled a popular Jewish saying: "Gdy przyjdzie Ruski zabraknie na was powrózki," which translates roughly as "When the Russians arrive there won't be enough rope [to hang the Poles] "or "When the Russians come, they will run out of halters for all of you." See Marek Maciągowski and Piotr Krawczyk, *Żydzi w historii Chmielnika* (Kielce: F.P.H.U. XYZ, 2006), 194; Marek Maciągowski and Piotr Krawczyk, *The Story of Jewish Chmielnik* (Kielce: XYZ and Town and Municipality Office in Chmielnik, 2007), 190. A Jew in the Warsaw ghetto recorded how his Jewish friends had attempted to malign and turn him away from his Polish acquaintance. See Marta Markowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Dzień po dniu Zagłady* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, Dom Spotkań z Historią, and Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2008), 141.

> Among them were two Warsaw Jews. They came to us and asked us to save them. When we related their request to Wittman, our work leader, a Berlin Jew, he went into action immediately. The two received our work clothes, joined us and thereby remained with us until we were liberated.[78]

Some activities, though morally questionable, did not constitute collaboration, for example, taking payment for providing hiding places and upkeep or false documents. The Danish underground and boatmen who transported Jews to Sweden exacted huge sums of money from the Jews, even though that rescue entailed no real risk because it was carried out with the connivance of the local German naval command.[79] Enterprising Jews in Poland also made handsome profits from the manufacture of and trade in false identity

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[78] Isaac Landau, "Horror Journal: Years 1940–1945," in H. Rabin, ed., *Lanovits: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Lanovits she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lanowce, 1970), 76–90; translated as *Lanowce: Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Lanowce Who Perished During the Holocaust,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Lanovtsy/Lanovtsy.html>.

[79] Until the fall of 1943 Danish Jews were unmolested. SS general Dr. Werner Best, the German in charge in Denmark, gave a free hand to Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, the martime attaché at the German embassy in Copenhagen, to do whatever was necessary to derail the planned deportation of the Jews. Duckwitz flew to Sweden, where he secretly met with President Per Albin Hannson. The Swedish president assured him that should the action against the Danish Jews take place, Sweden would in principle be ready to admit them. When the round-up of Jews was about to begin, Duckwitz alerted the Swedish government to be ready to admit the fleeing Jews. The local German naval command warned the Danish underground of the impending fate of the Jews, disabled the German harbour patrol, and turned a blind eye to the rescue operation. The Jews who were transported to Sweden by Danish boatmen were allowed entry. Since the rescue operation took place with the connivance of the local German naval command, there were no casualties either among the Jews or among the boatmen. During the initial stages of the rescue operation, only well-to-do Danish Jews could afford the short passage to Sweden. Private boatmen set their own price and the costs were prohibitive, ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 kroner per person ($160 to $1600 U.S. in the currency of that period). Afterward, when organized Danish rescue groups stepped in to coordinate the flight and to collect funds, the average price per person fell to 2,000 and then 500 kroner. The total cost of the rescue operation was about 12 million kroner, of which the Jews paid about 7 million kroner, including a 750,000 kroner loan which the Jews had to repay after the war. See Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: Collins, 2007), 105–109; Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), 261–65, 269. While the Danish rescue is constantly extolled without reference to the minimal risk it posed for the rescuers and the handsome compensation they took, conversely, the Polish rescue effort is deprecated without reference to the death penalty the Germans imposed on the Poles for providing any form of assistance to Jews and the fact that hundreds, if not thousands, of Poles paid with their lives for helping Jews.

documents, passports, passes and currency (in the early years, this was largely a Jewish enterprise),[80] food

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[80] Just as some Poles did, Jews who procured or manufactured forged documents for other Jews often did so for profit. Many ghettos had their own dealers who arranged for false documents with the assistance of people on the outside. See, for example, Ronald J. Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust: A Life History of Two Brothers' Survival* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 49; Edward Stankiewicz, *My War: Memoir of a Young Jewish Poet* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 59; Grabowski, *"Ja tego Żyda znam!",* 101, 102; Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!": "Przetępczość" Żydów w Warszawie 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2010), 120–32 (several examples in Warsaw); Testimony of Stefan Ehrlich in Jan Czekajewski, *Musings of a Rebellious Emigrant* (Columbus, Ohio: MJW Graphics, 2012), 303; Agnieszka Wierzcholska, Nur *Erinnerungen und Steine sind geblieben: Leben und Sterben einer polnisch-jüdischen Stadt: Tarnów 1918–1945* (Paderborn: Brill Schöningh, 2022), 510; Testimony of Adolf Bromberger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1101; Testimony of Mala Berenblum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2162; Testimony of Stan Fox, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 51410. One resident of the Warsaw ghetto writes: "Prices of those very documents were considerably higher in the ghetto because of the large number of Jewish go-betweens who profiteered on this business." See Ruth Altbeker Cyprys, *A Jump For Life: A Survivor's Journal from Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Continuum, 1997), 114. A Jew from Skałat recalled: "With the help of Yitzhak Bekman, a draftsman and engraver, we copied various official stamps, removed old photos from the documents, replaced them with new ones, and applied the proper stamps. In that way we set up a factory for false papers. During the course of three months we created papers for over five hundred Jews. They came from Tarnopol, Czortkow [Czortków] and even from Lwow [Lwów]. They came from all over eastern Poland. With the large volume of work I found it necessary to return to the Town Hall [to get more documents] a few more times. Every document required tax stamps from the town government, for which I paid the town official, Czapkowski, 250 *zlotys* [złoty] each. For my part, I accepted from 500 to 1,000 *zlotys* for a complete set of papers, although in many cases I gave them away for free." See Abraham Weissbrod, *Death of a Shtetl,* Internet; <https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Skalat1/Skalat.html>, translation of J. Kaplan, *Es shtarbt a shtetl: Megiles Skalat* (Munich: Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, 1948), 34–35. In Stryj:

> Two well dressed young fellows, who did not look like Jews, entered the Ghetto from the Aryan Quarter. They came from Warsaw and with them they brought the Aryan document plague. They sold birth certificates, documents of the Meldungsamt (Registration Office) and the 'Arbeitsamt' Labour Office in Warsaw. All the client had to do was to give them any Polish name he chose, two photographs and a down payment. Five days later they brought false Aryan papers from Warsaw. A number of persons, particularly those who did not have a Jewish appearance and spoke Polish well, purchased these bargains, and carefully learned the Christian Paternoster by heart. For if they were not certain of anyone they caught, the Police would tell him to say a prayer. With the aid of these forged documents, they hoped to be able to leave for another town before the liquidation of the Ghetto. The Germans discovered this trick as well. Strict watch was kept at the railway station. First they inspected all documents and stared straight in the eyes of the passengers. Afterwards they physically examined those they suspected. Jews and Jewesses by the hundreds were hung in the railway stations. Only a handful of those who tried to escape from Stryj to Warsaw succeeded in saving themselves with the false documents.

See Jonah Friedler, "The Death of a Community," Chapter 5, in N. Kudish, ed., *Sefer Stryj* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Stryj in Israel, 1962), 50ff., (English section). Helena Sygal purchased her original Aryan identity documents from a Jew in Lwów. See "Halina Oleksiuk," The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5466509>. For the exploits of a Jews who worked together with Polish document dealers selling false Italian documents to Jews, see the testimony of Jan Herman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1345. Jews who provided other valuable services in the ghetto also often gouged their clients. Dr. Edward Reicher recalled that he had to pay dearly to have his wife's hair dyed blond in anticipation of their escape from the Warsaw ghetto. Even though the job was mediocre, the coiffeur's "price made my head spin: twenty times what a doctor would charge for a visit in the ghetto." See Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 96. Jews often sold their belongings to Jewish middlemen in the ghetto, who re-sold them outside the ghetto for a handsome profit. See, for example, the testimony of Stefan Ehrlich in Czekajewski, *Musings of a Rebellious Emigrant,* 301. Jewish policemen in Lwów demanded exorbitant sums of money for shelters during the liquidation of the ghetto, and those who were already hiding there did not welcome Jews who could not afford to pay. See Czekajewski, *Musings of a Rebellious Emigrant,* 301.

It should be mentioned that Poles could have entirely valid reasons for demanding payment for documents. Robert

smuggling (many examples are mentioned later on), and arranging for hiding places with Poles.[81] While dozens of inmates were smuggled out of a transit camp in Wołpa on the daily burial wagon, the former hardware merchant Epstein, who was the head of the Chevra Kadisha Society, and Jankiel Paltes, who was in charge of the burial detail, charged a fee for their services.[82] It is therefore quite improper to discount assistance provided by those Poles who expected some remuneration. To put things in perspective, Yitzhak Zuckerman, one of the leaders of the Jewish underground in Warsaw, pointed out: "I said honestly [in 1945] and I repeat it today: to cause the death of one hundred Jews, all you needed was one Polish denouncer; to save one Jew, it sometimes took the help of ten decent Poles, the help of an entire Polish family; even if they did it for money."[83]

Jews who hid outside the ghettos faced a myriad of risks. One of the risks was blackmailers, known as "szmalcowniks", who were particularly active in Warsaw. Relatively few Jews actually perished on their account. Like Jewish extortionists inside the ghetto, they were primarily interested in extorting money and valuables.[84] Even more dangerous were Gestapo agents, spies and informers of various nationalities,

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[81] Natan Gross from Kraków refers to Jewish intermediaries who profited handsomely from finding farmers to take in Jews. See the testimony of Natan Gross, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 578. The Yad Vashem Archives record the case of a Jew who demanded from fellow Jews he brought to his hiding place five times the amount the farmer charged for their shelter and upkeep. See Grzegorz Berendt, "Cena życia—ekonomiczne uwarunkowania egzystencji Żydów po 'aryjskiej stronie'," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 4 (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, IFiS PAN, 2008): 132.

[82] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 977.

[83] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 461.

[84] Alexander Wasserman describes three run-ins with "szmalcowniks" in Warsaw: a "professional" gang, who released him when they learned he had no money; two undercover policemen, who released him in exhange for a watch; and two "amateurs," who took 400 złoty and then enjoyed a beer with him in a tavern. See the testimony of Alexander Wasserman, Yad Vashem Archives, O.3/3975.

especially Jews. As was the case in Berlin, Vienna, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, and Greece,[85] Jewish *Greifers* ("catchers" or "snatchers") played an ignominious role in hunting down and betraying Jews who tried to hide or pass as Poles. Many examples are cited later in the text. The German authorities also brought in Germans and Austrians to track down Jews. One survivor described how men in leather coats and Tyrolean hats stopped suspicious people in Warsaw's main train station and examined their papers.[86]

The Polish underground reacted by condemning acts of collaboration including betrayals of Jews, whether committed by Poles or others, and also by punishing the transgressors by death. The repeated warnings issued by the underground authorities regarding assisting the Germans in persecuting Jews, as well as the severe punishment imposed by those authorities, made it clear that such conduct was outside the acceptable norms of behaviour and was so viewed by a significant majority of Polish society. There is no record of any political or popular backlash against these measures taken by the underground authorities.[87]

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[85] The Germans employed at least 29 Jewish *Greifers,* who were paid handsomely, to hunt down and betray Jews in Berlin as part of a major Gestapo organization called the Search Service (Fahndungsdienst). Of the thousands of Jews who went into hiding in Berlin fewer than 1,500 survived until the end of the Third Reich. Most of the Jews who tried to hide were caught because of tips from informants, mostly ordinary Germans. For accounts attesting to the effectiveness of the Jewish network, see Peter Wyden, *Stella: One Woman's True Tale of Evil, Betrayal, and Survival in Hitler's Germany* ([New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992) regarding Stella Goldschlag-Kübler-Issaksohn; Barbara Lovenheim, *Survival in the Shadows: Seven Hidden Jews in Hitler's Berlin* (London: Peter Owen, 2002), 70; Erica Fischer, *Aimée & Jaguar: A Love Story, Berlin 1943* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995); Larry Orbach, *Soaring Underground: A Young Fugitive's Life in Nazi Berlin* (London: André Deutsch, 1996), 307–10; Doris Tausendfreund, *Erzwungener Verrat: Jüdische "Greifer" im Dienst der Gestapo, 1943–1945* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2006); Christian Dirks, "Snatchers: The Berlin Gestapo's Jewish Informers," in Beate Meyer, Hermann Simon, and Chana Schütz, eds., *Jews in Nazi Berlin: From Kristallnacht to Liberation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 249–67; Marnix Croes and Beate Kosmala, "Facing Deportation in Germany and the Netherlands: Survival in Holland," in Beate Kosmala and Georgi Verbeeck, eds., *Facing the Catastrophe: Jews and Non-Jews in Europe during World War II* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010), 140–41; Laura Jockusch, "Rehabilitating the Past?: Jewish Honor Courts in Allied-Ocuppied Germany," in Laura Jockusch and Gabriel N. Finder, eds., *Jewish Honor Courts: Revenge, Retribution, and Reconciliation in Europe and Israel after the Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2015), 51, 61–62 (more than a dozen Berlin Jews, among the Stella Goldschlag and Curt Naumann, stood trial before the Jewish honor courts for having worked as catchers). See also Benedetta Carnaghi, "Betraying Your Own: Jewish Spies and the Deportation of Jews on Second World War," S:I.M.O.N.—*Shoah: Intervention, Methods, Documentation,* vol. 7, no 2 (2020): 50–65, which gives examples from Berlin, Vienna and Rome. Rudolf Klinger, a Jewish Gestapo informer in Vienna, infiltrated a Polish underground organization and a German anti-Fascist group, setting a trap for the group that led to the Jews and non-Jews who helped them being caught and sent to Auschwitz. As he knew too many official Gestapo secrets, Klinger was also sent to Auschwitz in 1943 and perished there. For information about Jewish *Greifers* in Vienna see Doron Rabinovici, *Eichmann's Jews: The Jewish Administration of Holocaust Vienna, 1938–1945* (Cambridge, United Kingdom and Malden, Massachusetts: Polity Press, 2011), 131–32. Celeste Di Porto, known as La Pantera Nera (the Black Panther), a Jewish girl from the Rome ghetto, betrayed over 50 fellow Jews to the Germans. See Dan Kurzman, *The Race for Rome* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 156–57; Silvia Ross, "Remembering Betrayal: The Roman Ghetto's Pantera Nera," in Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs, eds., *Cultural Memory: Essays on European Literature and History* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 391–94; Alexander Stille, *Benevolence and Betrayal: Five Italian Jewish Families Under Fascism* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 211–15. For a report on Jewish informers and Gestapo agents in Belgium, the Netherlands (Ans van Dijk is believed to have betrayed 150 Jews in Amsterdam), and France, see Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 280, 345–55. The Recanti brothers from Athens helped catch more than 200 Greek Jews. See Michael Matsas, *The Illusion of Safety: The Story of the Greek Jews During the Second World War* (New York: Pella, 1997), 108–9, 185–87. Very few of these collaborators were punished in those countries after the war, and their sentences were usually light.

[86] Eugene Bergman, *Survival Artist: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2009), 96.

[87] For examples of some of the warnings and codes of conduct issued by the Polish underground authorities, see Stefan Korboński, *The Polish Underground State: A Guide to the Underground, 1939–1945* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Quarterly, 1978; New York: Hippocrene, 1981), 72, 125–26; Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earlscourt Publications, 1969), 646–89.

Although the underground passed a number of death sentences against informers and suspected Gestapo agents, they did not manage to carry all of them out because many practical difficulties stood in the way, such as collecting evidence, deliberating and actually carrying out the executions. One of the most famous collaborators the Polish underground did manage to execute was Igo Sym, a popular interwar actor of Germanic origin (Sym was born in Innsbruck, Austria).

The Polish underground authorities set up a special, accelerated investigative and legal apparatus in 1943 to deal with those who preyed on Jews and others. (Often those who took part in anti-Jewish activities were also involved in other transgressions that victimized Poles.) It is estimated that about 30 percent of the 70 death sentences passed against confidants and collaborators by the Special Civilian Court in Warsaw in 1943–1944 were directed at persons who primarily harmed Jews.[88] (Confidants, or *Vertrauensmänner,* are commonly referred to as "Gestapo agents" in anectodal literature. Confidants were employed by various agencies such as the Kripo or Criminal Police, by other branches of the Sicherheitspolizei such as the Gestapo, as well as by the *Abwehr* and *Bahnschutz*.[89]) Many of the underground sentences were not carried out, however, because of the attendant risks and complications. Often the informers or blackmailers were elusive or part of the criminal underworld, and even the most carefully executed sentence exposed underground members to personal danger and retaliations. As one historian noted:

> Investigating cases of blackmail was a highly complex process. The special courts needed evidence, and getting evidence was difficult, at times almost impossible. Agents could not work in the open; it was impossible to interrogate people accused of blackmail, or to confront them with evidence.
>
> When a blackmailer learned that he was being investigated he could place himself under German protection or betray the identity of the agents working on the case. Agents, therefore, had to be extremely cautious and discreet in their investigations. After they were sentenced, blackmailers often moved, disappeared, or changed their names to escape execution. Implementation of sentences, therefore, often had to be delayed or abandoned.[90]

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[88] Teresa Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982), 294; Gondek, *Polska karząca 1939–1945,* 61–63, 123. See also Gondek's essay on this topic in *Polskie podziemie polityczne wobec zagłady Żydów w czasie okupacji niemieckiej*, Conference Papers, Warsaw, April 22, 1987 (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce–Instytut Pamięci Narodowej; and Polskie Towarzystwo "Sprawiedliwych wśród narodów świata," 1988). For additional statistics see Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 65–67. For more recent studies see Dariusz Libionka, "Polska Podziemna wobec szantażystów i szmalcowników w Warszawie: Korekta obrazu," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 14 (2018): 115–64; and Dariusz Libionka, "Prześladowcy Żydów przed Wojskowym Sądem Specjalnym Komendy Głównej AK w 1944 r.," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 15 (2019): 371–408.

[89] Strzembosz, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna,* 107–8. Strzembosz points out that Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Jews were often employed in these functions, and that Jewish agents also worked outside the ghettos.

[90] Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971), 259.

Moreover, the Germans introduced severe retaliations, executing ten Poles for every informant eliminated by the underground, which led to lesser forms of punishment being meted out to collaborators. Therefore, in many cases, accounts were to be settled in full after the war.[91]

Stefan Korboński, who, as chief of Civil Resistance in occupied Poland from 1941 organized underground courts to try collaborators, as well as many others, have identified a number of Poles executed

[91] Szymon Datner, *Las sprawiedliwych: Karta z dziejów ratownictwa Żydów w okupowanej Polsce* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1968), 30; Tadeusz Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta: Warszawskie getto i ludzie (1939–1945 i dalej)* (Warsaw: Ojczyzna, 1995), 220–21.

by the Polish underground for betraying or persecuting Jews and their Polish benefactors.[92] Often these same people, usually from the criminal elements of Polish society, would prey on Christian Poles as well, including members of the underground. As we shall see, on occasion Jews were also executed for such

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[92] Stefan Korboński, *Fighting Warsaw: The Story of the Polish Underground State, 1939–1945* (New York: Minerva Press/Funk & Wagnalls, 1968), 115–44; Stefan Korboński, *The Jews and the Poles in World War II* (New York: Hippocrene, 1989), 50–51; and his *The Polish Underground State,* 126. For additional examples of measures taken by the Polish underground against police officers, Gestapo agents and confidants, denouncers, and blackmailers who harmed Jews and often non-Jews as well, see Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945,* Second expanded edition (Kraków: Znak, 1969), 195 (Antoni Pajor of Dobranowice, near Wieliczka), 280–81 (Podlasie); Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 89–90 (Antoni Pajor of Dobranowice, who denounced both Jews and Poles), 168 (Warsaw), 349 (a Polish policeman in Płudy), 544–46 (Tadeusz Karcz, an informer who denounced Jews in Warsaw), 682 (Kraków), 683 (Warsaw), 684 (Warsaw), 687 (Grębków), 687 (Warsaw), 689 (Warsaw); Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life,* 257–59; Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945,* 276–95, and the French translation of a revised version of this book published as *Zegota: Commission d'aide aux Juifs* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 1999), 228–54; Marek Arczyński and Wiesław Balcerak, *Kryptonim "Żegota": Z dziejów pomocy Żydom w Polsce 1939–1945,* Second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 100–4; Tomasz Strzembosz, *Akcje zbrojne podziemnej Warszawy 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1983), 417 (Tadeusz Karcz, policeman Antoni Pietrzak, Jan Żmirkowski); Michael Zylberberg, *A Warsaw Diary, 1939–1945* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1969), 141 (Warsaw); Wacław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), entries 536 (Warsaw), 589 (Warsaw) and 612 (Warsaw); Eugeniusz Fąfara, *Gehenna ludności żydowskiej* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1983), 538 (Czerniewice, near Rawa Mazowiecka); Wojciech Jekiełek "Żmija", *Bataliony Chłopskie w Małopolsce i na Śląsku: Kalendarium* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1987), 70, 79, 169; Włodzimierz Bonusiak, ed., *Łańcut: Studia i szkice z dziejów miasta* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1997), 273 (Markowa, near Łańcut); Emanuela Cunge, *Uciec przed Holocaustem* (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1997), 274 (near Oszmiana); Stanisław Taubenschlag (Stanley Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland: Cracow, Auschwitz, Buchenwald* (Oświęcim: Frap Books, 1998), 36–37 (after being blackmailed, Taubenschlag enlisted the help of his friends who were policemen in Kraków); Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 185 (the liquidation by the Polish underground of a Kripo agent named Jacek Gonczarek who extorted money from Jews, together with a number of his colleagues); Testimony of Emilka Rozencwajg (Shoshana Kossower Rosenzweig), a Home Army and Jewish underground liaison officer in Warsaw, interviewed by Anka Grupińska, "Ja myślałam, że wszyscy są razem," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, May 6, 2001 (the execution in Warsaw of a man from Radzymin who denounced Jews and members of the Polish underground); Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, comp. and eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), 259 (Skierniewice); Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Between Nazis and Soviets: Occupation Politics in Poland, 1939–1947* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004), 154–55; Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust,* vol. 5: *Poland,* Part 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 875 (Otwock); Chaim Zylberklang, *Z Żółkiewki do Erec Israel: Przez Kotłas, Buzułuk, Ural, Polskę, Niemcy i Francję,* Second revised and expanded edition (Lublin: Akko, 2004), 203 (Maciejów Stary, near Krasnystaw); Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 122; in Dariusz Libionka, "Polska ludność chrześcijańska wobec eksterminacji Żydów—dystrykt lubelski," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), 328–29 (Lublin region); Janusz Gmitruk, Arkadiusz Indraszczyk, and Adam Koseski, eds., *Pro Memoria (1941–1944): Raporty Departamentu Informacji Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj o zbrodniach na narodzie polskim* (Warszawa and Pułtusk: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego w Warszawie and Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2004/2005), 455, 481, 532–33; Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 121–25; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2007), 469; Elżbieta Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 87 (several cases); Anna Dąbrowska, ed., *Światła w ciemności: Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata. Relacje* (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN," 2008), 307 (Piaski, near Lublin); Piotr Szopa, "Stosunek żołnierzy konspiracji niepodległościowej do Żydów w świetle wspomnień i dokumentów organizacyjhnych na terenie Rzeszowszczyzny," in Edyta Czop and Elżbieta Rączy, eds., *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-żydowskich w XX wieku* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2009), 64–66 (Home Army measures in the Rzeszów area against its members and others for killing or denouncing Jews); Edward Kopówka, *Żydzi w Siedlcach 1850–1945* (Siedlce: Stowarzyszenie Tutajteraz, 2009), 153–54 (a denouncer was executed in Kolonia Ruda, near Siedlce); Jacek Leociak, *Ratowanie: Opowieści Polaków i Żydów* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010), 65, 71, 288 (all in Warsaw); Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Zarys krajobrazu: Wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów 1942–*

transgressions by the Polish underground. According to historian Eliyahu Yones, who described conditions in Lwów,

> Informers were often prosecuted before a Polish underground tribunal. In one such instance, two Polish women—one of whom was a Gestapo agent—were indicted for handing Jews to the Gestapo. The underground sentenced them to death and carried out the sentence.[93]

A Jew from Radom passing as a Pole was drawn into an extortion ring, consisting of a policeman and a prostitute, who tracked him down and made him reveal the identities of other Jews hiding in Lwów. This group was eventually broken up by the Polish underground who provided the Jew with a safe shelter.[94]

Abraham Mahler joined a Polish underground group in Jaworzno together with his brother. One of the group's Polish members acquired a radio receiver, which was concealed for a time in the tenement building where the Mahlers resided. The Germans raided the premises in April 1940 but didn't find the receiver, as it had been removed by the Polish owner's nephew by that time. The ten Polish members of this group fled, but Abraham and his brother decided to report to the authorities when summoned. Although tortured (their finger and toe nails were pulled out), the Mahler brothers did not admit to anything and were released. A Jewish neighbour had betrayed them for 200 marks, which he later admitted to the Mahlers. Both the Mahlers and the Polish underground members wanted to kill this Jewish betrayer but refrained from doing so, so as not to give credence to the existence of the receiver.[95]

These measures did not, of course, eliminate all or even most of the collaborators and informers, whether Poles or Jews, nor did they put an end to the many risks from various sources that threatened the safety of Jews in hiding. The threat of betrayal—sometimes motivated simply by a desire for self-preservation (Poles were punished collectively for helping Jews)—was an ever-present fear for many Jews. Holocaust historians attribute the source of such lurking danger almost exclusively to the conduct of Poles and Polish anti-Semitism, and some Jews have claimed after the war that they feared Poles more than the Germans. However, the testimonies from those times gathered here present a different, much more complex picture.

The conclusion that such statements naturally imply is that very few Poles, indeed perhaps only those who actually extended assistance, sympathized with the plight of the Jews. Marek Edelman, the last surviving leader of the Warsaw ghetto revolt, attempted to put these charges into their proper perspective by offering the following illustration:

> Near the ghetto one always found a crowd of Poles looking at the Jews who were going to work. After leaving the ghetto gate one of the Jews might leave the work column, remove his armband, and steal away. Among the crowd of several hundred Poles there would always be one, two, perhaps three betrayers who would apprehend the Jew … The entire crowd, however, did not act that way. I didn't

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[93] Eliyahu Yones, *Smoke in the Sand: The Jews of Lvov in the War Years 1939–1944* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2004), 227.

[94] Eliasz Bialski, *Patrząc prosto w oczy* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2002), 114, 139–47.

[95] Testimony of Abraham Mahler, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2894.

> know who among the crowd was a betrayer … One has to remember that there were not a thousand or five hundred betrayers; there were maybe five of them. It was the same way with neighbours; one didn't know if the neighbour was upright. We lived on Leszno Street and across from us there was a suspicious dwelling. Ours was also suspect. After the uprising [of August 1944] broke out, it turned out that that dwelling was an AK [Home Army] station. The mistress of the house had been afraid of us and we of her.[96]

Fear of the unknown was pervasive, but very often misplaced. Luba Lis, who was sheltered by a Polish woman in Przemyśl, was fearful of the neighbours in the tenement building. Only after the war did she learn that another Polish family who shared the same staircase was hiding Jews.[97] Another Jewish account speaks of an entire street in that city being aware of a Jewish hideout, but not betraying it.[98]

Another source of constant danger—one virtually unknown in Western European countries—were the massive door-to-door hunts organized by the Germans to apprehend Jews in hiding. A Jewish boy who was sheltered by a Polish family on Muranowska Street in Warsaw recalled one such raid in April 1943, when the story spread that a group of Jewish fighters had managed to escape during the revolt in the ghetto:

> Our block was surrounded by SS and other Nazi units. … The search started in another house on our block. Some Jews were found and dragged away. They were not necessarily the escapees, but a Jew was a Jew. … The Nazis were not searching all the apartments systematically, they just entered homes at random. But once in the [small] apartment, they conducted a thorough search, opening closets and other potential hiding places.[99]

On April 6, 1944, some 3,000 Germans were deployed from four in the morning to nine in the evening in a search for Jews in hiding in Warsaw. In all, seventy "non-Aryan" men and thirty-one "non Aryan" women were seized: all of them were executed five days later.[100] A Jewish woman sheltered in the Żoliborz district of Warsaw recalled a door-to-door hunt conducted by the Germans looking for Jews and arms.[101] On on Good Friday, April 7, 1944,

> A cordon of troops was thrown around the selected area [i.e., Żoliborz], and the police went in and searched each house thoroughly from cellar to attic for Jews in hiding, caches of weapons, etc. In the course of this raid, in which a total of 3,000 soldiers and police were deployed and which lasted from

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[96] "To się dzieje dzisiaj," (a conversation with Marek Edelman), *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Kraków), April 18, 1993.

[97] Ewa Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach: Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce a latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Clio, 2001; Lublin: Gaudium, 2004), 172.

[98] Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 306–7.

[99] Dov Weissberg, *I Remember…* (London and Tel Aviv: Freund Publishing House, 1998), 84.

[100] Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1986), 667.

[101] Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 176.

> 4 a.m. to 9 a.m., 250 persons were arrested including 30 women. Among them there were, of course, Jews and those who had given them shelter.[102]

All this in one city in the course of two days. By way of comparison, the entire German occupation forces, including administration, needed to keep Denmark in line amounted only to a few hundred, and in France there were only 3,000 German occupation troops stationed in the entire country.

The Germans organized intensive hunts for Jews and members of the underground throughout Poland. A young Jewish woman who lived in Kraków recalled: "One morning, the Germans surrounded the streets around the block where I lived with Grandma, demanding to see everyone's documents. … there were so many SS soldiers everywhere that it was impossible to do anything but comply. … 'What do they want?' a woman asked. … 'They are trying to catch Jews,' someone answered."[103] Another Jew who passed as a Pole in Kraków recalled:

> In May, when I was able for the first time to take a walk in the market place, I became aware that the round-ups had intensified. What were these round-ups? Why were they doing them? Who were they after? The Germans sealed off the roads, ordered all gates to be shut and then checked the identities of all the people in the street. Those who were without papers or whose documents appeared suspect were arrested and sent to the Gestapo.
>
> I was caught in several such round-ups and miraculously emerged unscathed. The first of these took me by surprise in the market square, next to the Maurizia patisserie. … This round-up, together with the inspections, lasted for almost two hours. …
>
> Barely one week later I experienced another round-up. I was sitting in a café in Jan Street. … The café was already surrounded. Mme Herfort led me to a hiding-place where I concealed myself, whilst the Germans checked everyone in the café, closely inspecting papers and arresting suspects.[104]

A misguided sense of "duty" to the German authorities also played into their diabolical plans and facilitated the destruction of the Jewish population. When the Germans ordered the chairman of the Jewish council in Kowale Pańskie, near Turek, to prepare lists of all ghetto inhabitants incapable of working, including all children under the age of 13 and all elderly persons over 65 years of age, the council was reluctant to obey this order. The chairman turned to four rabbis who were among the deportees for their opinion. After deliberation and prayer, the rabbis decided that, according to religious law, a decree of the government was obligatory and had to be obeyed.[105] Sometimes the interests of Jewish religious authorities and the Nazi oppressors overlapped. In April 1941, the Germans declared the Sabbath, and not Sunday, to be the official day of rest in the Warsaw ghetto. When it became clear that many people were not complying with this, pressed by Orthodox leaders in the ghetto, the religious department of the Judenrat

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[102] Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945,* 43.

[103] Elsa Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction: Memories, 1939*–1945 (Hamilton, Ontario: Mekler & Deahl, 1997), 74–75.

[104] Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 30–31.

[105] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 65.

suggested the establishment of a "Sabbath patrol" and courts to deal with offenders, for which they required an official permit from the German athorities.[106]

Conduct that was defiant of the compliant and corrupt Jewish authorities could inadvertently turn lethal for Jews as well as Poles. In February 1941, some Jews in the Kutno ghetto organized a riot against the Jewish council, accusing it of misappropriation of funds, and assaulted the head of the financial department when the protest turned violent. The German police intervened to halt further unrest. As a result of this incident, various smuggling operations were uncovered, and several people were arrested, including a Pole. All of the prisoners were sentenced to death and hanged in Włocławek.[107]

Sometimes Jews gave away their hiding places inadvertently. An inmate of Auschwitz describes such a case:

> One day I was able to have a last conversation with a small group of Jewish families who had been caught. For four months, so they told me, they lived in dug-outs near Sosnovits [Sosnowiec], leaving their hiding-places only at night to get a breath of fresh air and also to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life. When their money ran out, their supplies dried up too. Hunger and thirst, cold and disease, took them to the brink of despair. In the end they were given away by the constant crying of their hungry and feverish children. SS patrols who were always prowling around with their dogs tracked them down. Without questioning or trial they were brought to Birkenau from where there was no return.[108]

There was a pervasive reluctance to allow families with children into hiding places and Jewish children were often sacrificed to save adults. Moshe Maltz records his wife's account of being turned away from hideouts during an *Aktion* in Sokal, near Lwów, because she had two children with her. Desperate, she concealed their 5-year-old son in a woodpile and then hid in an attic with their year-old daughter. The girl's crying alerted a German soldier, who ordered a member of the Judenrat into the building to investigate. The Jewish man located them and persuaded the mother to hand over her child. According to one member of the extended Maltz family, this story exemplifies the "philosophy of ghetto. … You save yourself. If you have to give away a child, if you have to give away a mother … you save youself because you have to survive and bear witness."[109]

In Sokal, just as in every other Jewish ghetto, snitches could be found that turned against their own people:

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[106] Havi Dreifuss, "'The Work of My Hands is Drowning in the Sea, and You Would Offer Me Song?!': Orthodox Behavior and Leadership in Warsaw during the Holocaust," in Glenn Dynner and François Guesnet, eds., *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 487.

[107] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 70.

[108] Filip Mūller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 71.

[109] Sara R. Horowitz, "'If He Knows to Make a Child…'," Memories of Birth and Baby-Killing in Deferred Jewish Testimony Narratives," in Norman J.W. Goda, ed., *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 135–51, here at 148. As this family member tells it, the sacrifice of the child is not an example of the degeneration of morality—the valuing of one's own life above the life of others—but a painful choice on behalf of the collective: "… the Jewish race has to survive."

> Everything the Jews had owned was no longer theirs. The Germans, together with their Ukrainian partners, were looking for new ways to rob Jewish property. A Jewish snitch told the Gestapo that silverware belonging to the Belz Rebbe was hidden somewhere in Sokal. The Gestapo arrested three Jews who were supposed to know where the hiding place was. Even though they pointed at the exact hiding place inside the synagogue, the Germans shot them after taking the silverware.
>
> Another demonstration of German evil and cruelty was what happened to Risha Kindler, the baker. She operated the only bakery in Sokal—which was clandestine and illegal, of course. Risha bribed the Ukrainian police, who knew about her activity, with weekly payments. She too fell victim to a snitch. One very early morning, the Gestapo burst into the bakery, took the baker with two girls who worked for her, and sealed the house. After a few days it became known that Risha and the girls had been tortured by the Gestapo.[110]

Meier Lencow, then a teenager in Sokal, recalled having to hide during raids conducted by the Jewish police. The Jewish police would seize Jews for labour and physically mistreat them in the presence of the Germans. The Jewish police participated in the round-up of Jews, and the search for those in hiding, during the deportations to camps.[111]

There are abundant examples of Jews being implicated in the betrayal of hundreds of fellow Jews hiding among Poles, with dire consequences for their Polish benefactors. Sometimes Jews denounced or threatened to denounce Gentiles who hid or helped other Jews.[112] Often these Jews acted out of fear or under duress, latching on to the faintest hope, however unrealistic, that they might save their own skins at the expense of others. While not necessarily constituting collaboration in the true sense of the word, the outcome of their deeds was the same: it was lethal. A fear of fellow Jews was something that constantly accompanied Jews in hiding, and thus unnecessary contacts with Jews were avoided at all costs. As one Jew who lived in the Aryan part of Warsaw recalled, "We knew that [the empty room] would eventually be rented by a Jew … We prayed that it would be someone with 'good looks'. Only after the war did we learn that one of the people who had contemplated renting that very room was a pretty blond girl from my class at school, Irka H. When she caught a glimpse of me and Jerzyk, she hurriedly withdrew."[113] One Jew threatened to leave his brother if he persisted in associating with a Jewish woman who looked Jewish.[114]

Zosia Goldberg, who was passing as a Pole in "Aryan" Warsaw, recalled:

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[110] Moshe Maltz, "Pages about Pain and Death of the Jewish Settlement in Sokal," in A. Chomel, ed., *Sefer Sokal, Tartakov, Varenz, Stoyanov ve-ha-Seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sokal and Surroundings, 1968), 277–316, translated as *Memorial Book of Sokal, Tartakow and Surroundings,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokal/sokal.html>.

[111] Testimony of Meier Lencow, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 805.

[112] This was by no means a consistent behaviour. For example, when two Jews were discovered by the Germans in the village of Polków, near Wyszków, during a punitive raid for failure to provide contingents, neither the two Jews nor the Polish villagers betrayed the persons who were hiding the Jews. See Tomasz Domański, *Korekty ciąg dalszy* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020), 28.

[113] Natan Gross, *Who Are You, Mr Grymek?* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), 246.

[114] Frank Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring: A Kaddish: A Personal Memoir of the Holocaust* (Toronto and New York: Bantam Books, 1985), 121.

> Then one day I met my old history teacher, Mrs. Dinces, who was also the wife of the director of my *gymnasium.* Mr. Dinces had changed his faith and become a Catholic, but that wouldn't keep his wife safe. She spoke Polish, not Yiddish, and her Polish was so beautiful it was like music, yet now she was running away with her daughter. She had blond hair with very thick braids in the back. When she saw me I almost went over to her to say hello, but she got so scared that she crossed the street and ran away from me. I don't blame her—she was afraid of me, she didn't know who I was.[115]

Solidarity among Jews in hiding, as well as in camps, was in short supply. At a prisoner of war camp in Stalback, relations were described as full of intrigues and arguments, including false denunciations about fellow Jews and attempts to ingratiate oneself with the German overseers even at the expense of others.[116] Eugenia Wayman (later Jean Sharon), a young Jewish woman from Wilno who was taken to the Strasdenhof concentration camp in Riga with her mother, recalled how, during a selection that favoured younger prisoners, she took off her coat (with a number) and gave it to her mother. Although her mother survived the selection, she was betrayed by a cousin when she hid under a barrack bed. After being turned out, a girl came to her mother's rescue.[117]

The Helfgot family witnessed German soldiers kill their young son (brother) from their hideout in a cellar in Otwock, as he was not allowed in by other Jews hidden there.[118] A rabbi from Otwock was denounced when he went into hiding in Siennica, after the liquidation of the Otwock ghetto.[119] When a Jewish teenager was sent back to Warsaw from the countryside by her mother, her escort avoided her as much as he could:

> My mother told me to follow Mr. Lautenberg, but did not like the idea for he was afraid that I might be recognized as a Jewess. He did not wait for me and I had to run all the way to the [train] station, trying not to lose sight of him. When we arrived and for a moment stood close to each other, Józef Lautenberg was visibly disturbed. … We entered two separate compartments. I was now totally on my own, making the perilous journey …[120]

A Jewish youth who was thinking of jumping off the train headed for Majdanek turned to her cousin:

> She was much older than I and physically could not jump from the train. … I asked her, if she could tell me where she hid some valuables so that I would have some money, if my leap for freedom

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[115] Zosia Goldberg, as told to Hilton Obenzinger, *Running Through Fire: How I Survived the Holocaust* (San Francisco: Mercury House 2004), 75.

[116] Tadeusz Epsztein, Justyna Majewska, and Aleksandra Bańkowska, eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Kospiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego,* vol. 15: *Wrzesień 1939, Listy kaliskie, Listy płockie* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 161–62.

[117] Oral history interview with Eugenia Sharon, United Stated Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1989.346.67, RG number RG-50.031.0067.

[118] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 273; Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Adam Sitarek, eds., *The Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Relations: Selected Issues* (Warsaw: The Institute of National Remembrance–Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation, 2018), 348–49.

[119] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 433.

[120] Irena Bakowska, *Not All Was Lost: A Young Woman's Memoir, 1939–1946* (Kingston, Ontario: Karijan, 1998), 153.

> succeeded. Her husband had been a rich jeweler and had hidden or entrusted many valuables to Polish families for safekeeping. She rejected my request.[121]

A Jew who hid with Poles in several villages near Łosice recalled:

> As I returned from the Szczebuńskis' home another evening, I ran into three Jews whom I had known in the small ghetto. … I was glad they did not ask me where I was hiding. People were afraid of one another in those days. No one was a hero. The Germans' methods for breaking people under interrogation and forcing them to talk were well known. When I returned "home," I usually ran about half a mile in the opposite direction, looking over my shoulder all the while, to make sure I was not being followed.

And again in that same source:

> Berl encountered a young woman with a girl of about eight. The woman told him that she was part of a group of thirteen Jews who were living in a small forest … Berl and the woman set up a rendezvous in the forest the next night. … All of them were starving and in poor health. Without disclosing the location of his own hideout, Berl set up a third meeting with the woman the next week.[122]

Niusia Gotthelf, who was passing as a Christian with the help of several Poles, was denounced by a Jewish girl who had been arrested by police in Augustów on suspicion of theft. Fortunately, she managed to extricate herself.[123]

Sarna Rubinstein Malter had two close calls at the hands of fellow Jews. She was taken off a train with her infant daughter by German soldiers when it stopped in Dębica. She was on her way to join her husband in Bochnia, posing as a Ukrainian woman. She was somehow targeted even though she had a genuine *Kennkarte* under an assumed name. She was taken to the local jail and accused of being a Jew, something she strenuously denied. She was asked to say prayers in Ukrainian, which she was able to do. An old Jewish man was brought into her cell to coax her into revealing her true identity. He held out the promise that she would be released and allowed to live in the ghetto. She fended him off by insulting him, calling him a "*żydowski parch*" (Jewish scab). She was eventually released. After joining her husband in Bochnia, they left the ghetto and stayed in the nearby village of Borek, with the help and protection of Władysław Rynczarz, a local underground commander. Sarna lived there openly posing as an unmarried Ukrainian woman with a child, but her cover naturally aroused suspicion. She encountered another Jewish woman who came to the village posing as a Pole. This woman's survival strategy was to present as an outspoken anti-Semite. She resorted to extreme invectives against Jews and cast suspicions on others, including Sarna,

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[121] Joseph Schupack, *The Dead Years* ([New York]: Holocaust Library, 1986), 119–20.

[122] Edi Weinstein, *Quenched Steel: The Story of an Escape from Treblinka* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), 116, 119. Reissued as Eddie Weinstein, *17 Days in Treblinka: Daring to Resist, and Refusing to Die* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2008).

[123] Niusia Janowski, *A Life Apart* (Elsternwick, Victoria, Australia: Jewish Holocaust Centre Melbourne, 1993), 32.

thus hoping to divert attention from herself. Sarna's protector warned her to shut up and even considered eliminating her. This woman survived and promptly left the village when the Soviets arrived.[124]

In Bochnia,

> The Jewish underground needed money. They decided to rob a rich Jewish man from Bochnia ghetto. Poldek, Yulek Apple and Natek; members of the Jewish underground, pretended to be SS men and went to rob the rich man in the ghetto at 3am. The man's son in law had suspicions that they were not real SS men and contacted the Police. They assumed that the robbers would try to escape on the first train out of Bochnia which was true, and the three were caught in the train station.
>
> Around 6am the SS men showed up in the bunker along with the robbers (Yulek, Poldek and Natek). The SS men tossed a light bomb into their hiding place forcing everyone to come out. They were all taken to the Gestapo station in Bochnia to be interrogated, some were beaten. After some time, they were sent to the hands of Krakow [Kraków] Gestapo, where they were interrogated and beaten again … After a day of interrogations, they were sent to Montelupich Prison.[125]

A Jewish family from Chodecz who was banished to the Łódź ghetto recalled their ordeal at the hands of a relative:

> 'But do you know what Eva [the author's half-brother's wife] did to us in the Lodz [Łódź] ghetto?' I asked. 'Mother and Father and I were starving and so were Sala and her children. Mother took a small packet of sugar cubes out of the box Eva kept under the bed. Then Eva brought along a huge man and he beat Mother up and wanted to strangle us both.'[126]

Sonia Games, who passed as a Christian in Częstochowa, recalled: "People with false papers were caught all the time, often because someone from the Ghetto, in desperation, sought them out, hoping for shelter." Jews were to be avoided at all costs. Sonia Games described how, at the train station in Częstochowa, she desperately wanted to remove herself from the company of a person who sat down next to her just minutes before he was apprehended by the SS during a routine inspection of travellers:

> Suddenly, I knew in a flash. The man was a Jew on the run. He was nervous, too chatty and eager. He must think that I am a Polish girl and would feel safer sitting next to me. … He couldn't have made a worse choice. I needed to get rid of him somehow and began to get up from my seat and move away.[127]

Emanuel Tanay recorded:

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[124] Irena Powell, *The Daughter Who Sold Her Mother: A Biographical Memoir* (AuthorHouse UK, 2016).

[125] Oral Interview with Shalom Schreiber, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1994.A.0051.10, RG number RG-50.308.0010.

[126] Roman Halter, *Roman's Journey* (London: Portobello Books, 2007), 264.

[127] Sonia Games, *Escape Into Darkness: The True Story of a Young Woman's Extraordinary Survival During World War II* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1991), 93, 107.

> While I was still at the monastery of Mogiła, it was my duty to take the mail to the local post office … Once a group of Jews was being marched through the village from a nearby camp. One of the Jews, a young boy a year or two older than I was, was from my hometown. When he saw me, he instinctively yelled out, "Hello, Emek," I responded with some obscenity and walked on. There were other occasions when I was in Kraków and someone from my hometown recognized me and addressed me by my real name. Many times, under such circumstances, I jumped off a moving streetcar or a train. Such close calls were very common.[128]

When Stanisław Różycki returned to Warsaw from Lwów in September 1941, the "first danger" he encountered were Jewish acquaintances.[129] Stanley Bors, who found shelter with Poles in Warsaw after escaping from the ghetto, recalled:

> One day the Germans were going house to house looking for somebody and we hid in the garden behind the house. To our surprise we found the people living next door also hiding. We immediately recognized each other as Jews and became friends. Mostly Jews didn't want to know each other. Everyone had false papers and changed names. It was better not to know in case the Gestapo came looking. I once jumped off a running streetcar because I spotted somebody I knew in school. He was a Jew but I didn't know if he worked for the Gestapo. Later, after the war, I met him in Warsaw and he told me he jumped off too because he was afraid of me. That was how it was. Some people didn't want even their family to know where they were.[130]

A Jewish woman passing as a Pole in Kraków did not dare take a job in a factory where many Jews were employed in key positions for fear of being betrayed: "the factory was an outpost of the small ghetto in Kraków … The secretary at the desk, the foreman, the office manager, and all the other workers were Jewish. The only Poles were the teenagers out front. When I saw this, I knew I didn't dare take that job. No one can spot a Jew faster than another Jew."[131] Two young Jewish women from Koszyce had to leave the home in Kraków where they lodged with helpful Poles after being betrayed by a Jew: "the place was no longer a refuge, because the Jewish man for whom I arranged Arian [sic] certificates needed money and informed on us, and we had to run away from there."[132] A Jewish woman was betrayed in Kraków by another Jewish woman posing as a Christian who was working together with the Gestapo and Polish

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[128] His testimony is recorded in Carol Rittner and Sondra Myers, eds., *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 53.

[129] Account of Stanisław Różycki in Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy,* vol. 3: *Relacje z Kresów* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny IN-B, 2000), 562.

[130] Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: New American Library, 1981), 225–26.

[131] Rose Zar, *In the Mouth of the Wolf* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1983), 108.

[132] Dina Drori and Erez Grinboim, *Dina, Surviving Undercover: From the Darkness of the Holocaust to the Light of the Furure* (Lexington, Kentucky: CreateSpace, 2018), chapter 2.

detectives.[133] A Jewish woman in the Płaszów camp outside Kraków begged her daughter's benefactors not to bring her child to visit her in the camp "because people were jealous" that the child was still alive and she feared someone might denounce the child.[134]

Nika (Bronisława) Kohn Fleissig, a native of Wieliczka, near Kraków, who survived with the assistance of a number of Poles, recalled:

> I learned that one cannot generalize: I was once endangered by a nasty Jewish woman, who sent a policeman to arrest me to free herself. I met a number of Christians who saved my life when they could have turned away. So there were good people and bad ones. In tough times, one discovers the truth about people, and it has nothing to do with religion.[135]

Jews passing as Christians were also extorted by fellow Jews under threat of denunciation:

> The family of Felix Brand, who moved to Suchedniów under an assumed Polish identity, had to flee the town after they were recognized as Jews and blackmailed by some members of the Jewish Police.[136]

In order to save his own son, Chil Rozenberg, the chairman of the Jewish council in Legionowo, near Warsaw, surrendered another Jew to the Germans when his son was caught outside the ghetto. Because policemen enjoyed certain privileges and were excused from forced labour, wealthier Jews paid Rozenberg money to get their sons accepted into the police force.[137] This attitude often assumed a broader scale. According to Shalom Cholawsky, "Some *Judenräte* even came to terms with the idea that there was a need to sacrifice part of the Jewish population in order to save the rest." For example, the local rabbis of Rubieżewicze advised the local Judenrat to turn over some fugitive Jews, as demanded by the Germans.[138]

Two Jewish sisters from the Netherlands, Surry and Suzanne Polak, had a bitter recollection of their experiences in the Trawniki camp:

> There was tension between the Dutch and the Polish Jews in the labour camp. The Polish girls 'called us anti-Semites. We did not know the Jewish language, and therefore we could not be Jews.' The Dutch girls were also annoyed at the hypocrisy of the Polish Jews, who professed to be very devout. But 'we almost never got anything from them. Only if they saw you were on the brink of death, then

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[133] Testimony of Helena Weinberger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2335. While staying in Lwów, Weinberger was betrayed by a Jewish woman inadvertently.

[134] Testimony of Janina Ekier in Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 247.

[135] Alicia Fleissig Magal, *From Miracle to Miracle: A Story of Survival* (Parker, Colorado: Outskirts Press, 2011), 93.

[136] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 324.

[137] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 394–95.

[138] Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia During World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 254, 258.

> they might give you something, but if they saw you were doing OK, then they were terribly jealous.' Suze and Surry also observed that there was a big difference between the Jews from the ghettos and the Jews from the cities. 'The Jews from Warsaw were very different. Those people were more cultured.'[139]

Artur Diamant recalled that ghetto dwellers in Zawiercie, Upper Silesia, were afraid of admitting to the help they received from Poles because of their Jewish neighbours who might leak this information to German agents.[140] Tragically, the fears often turned into disasters. A Jew from Lwów who posed as a Christian in Kraków recalled:

> I am sure that some of my [Polish] office co-workers and neighbors must have thought at times that I was Jewish. … But no one of them ever reported me to the German authorities and that, in large measure, helped me survive the war. … At my job at Schenker's there was a pretty young woman working at the switchboard. I sensed that she was Jewish, too, but we avoided admitting it to each other out of fear of being betrayed under torture, should one of us ever be arrested by the Germans. …
>
> There was also an older lady working there, an invalid, limping with one club foot. She was Oriental looking and she claimed to be an Arab. She avoided everyone. One day the older lady disappeared and a few days later the young woman was arrested as a Jewess. I never saw her again. Much later I found out that the older lady had been Jewish herself and had denounced the young woman as a Jewess under interrogation. She had done this to save her own life. The Germans had promised to let her go free if she denounced another Jew. Later, she also denounced me to the Germans. The Germans had obviously used her as bait.[141]

Balbina Synalewicz, a young Jewish woman from Pruszków who was passing in Kraków as Elżbieta Orlańska, recalled:

> Niedzwiecki [Niedźwiecki] had a friend named Szwarcenberg-Czerny who often visited him. At one point he disappeared, and stayed away from the studio for a long time, until one day he came in with a clean-shaven head. …
>
> The rest of the story Alina told me after the war: he had been thrown in jail, then released on the condition that he denounce more Jews in hiding in the city. Niedzwiecki was one of his intermediate informers. When the war ended, Szwarcenberg-Czerny was caught by a couple whose daughter he had denounced; she had been killed on the spot. They handed him over to be tried in Krakow [Kraków]. Alina had been in the court.[142]

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[139] Sobibor Interviews, Internet: <http://www.sobiborinterviews.nl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55>.

[140] Ariel Yahalomi, *Przeżyłem…* (Będzin: n.p., 2007).

[141] Irene and Carl Horowitz, *Of Human Agony* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1992), 127, 142.

[142] Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction,* 58. It is not clear whether Szwarcenberg-Czerny was a Jew.

Another victim of a Jewish informer in Kraków was Celina Drelich, who paid with her life when apprehended by the Germans.[143] Rejza Klinberg's sister also perished as a result of a betrayal by a Jew in Kraków.[144] Wilhelm Tropp, who was passing as Christian in his hometown of Kraków, was more fortunate. He was betrayed to the Gestapo by Frender, who in turn was being blackmailed by Pemper, a Jewish policeman and informer working for the Gestapo. Frender exposed Tropp's cover for the release of his own brother. Tropp managed to slip away by a ruse when he was apprehended the Gestapo, and survived the war with the help of Poles, as did his two brothers. The Frender brothers became informers for the Germans but were killed when they outlived their usefulness. Pemper survived and left Poland after the war.[145]

After leaving Lwów, Anna Weissberg took refuge in Kraków where she posed as a Christian. In May 1944, she ran across Sylwia Szapiro, an employee of the Arbeitsamt in Lwów and a known Gestapo confidant, who wanted to know her place of residence. Weissberg threatened Szapiro with retaliation from well-placed individuals, which was a bluff, and managed to get away safely.[146]

A Jew from Przemyśl who took refuge in Kraków recalled:

> I was … in the Cracow Ghetto. I was not there a long time because my husband's two sisters had a friend, a Jewish girl, who reported us to the Gestapo. She was living with a Gestapo officer at the time. So they sent all of us to Auschwitz and I was in Birkenau. I survived there three years until the war was over. How I survived I don't know. It was a miracle.[147]

According to Jewish testimonies from Przemyśl,

> When the war broke out in Brzeżany [in June 1941] … we returned to Przemyśl. But an aunt who was angry with us remained in Brzeżany and had the German police descend on us in Przemyśl. They searched our home. They knew where to look. Immediately they asked for our coats, mine and my sister's, and ripped open the collars where everything [i.e., valuables] was sown in. They threw everything upside down and beat everyone. Our house was surrounded by the police.[148]

> There was a certain Luśka Lette who lived in the Legionów Square and was a "Polonia" sports club fan. Bolek Czternastek, who was a goalkeeper in "Polonia," and knew her well … one day she asked

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[143] Elżbieta Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie and Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, 2014), 226.

[144] Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 138–39.

[145] Testimony of Wilhelm Tropp, dated January 20, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2321.

[146] Testimony of Anna Weissberg, dated July 2, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 432.

[147] Testimony of Zonka (Sophie) Wahl in John J. Hartman and Jacek Krochmal, eds., *I Remember Every Day…: The Fates of the Jews of Przemyśl during World War II* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemyślu and Remembrance & Reconciliation Inc, Ann Arbor, 2002), 61.

[148] Testimony of Fryda Einsiedler (later Frieda Stieglitz), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1348.

> him to 'do something about' her paralyzed mother who was not fit to live in the Ghetto. Two labor brigade men carried her downstairs in her chair. There, in the gateway, Bolek approached a German soldier and asked him to shoot her. In this way they didn't need to take her to the Ghetto and Luśka went there by herself. … It once happened that a Jew took his mother out of the basement and denounced her, saying that he was not going to lose his life because of "the old witch."[149]
>
> Once the ghetto was liquidated, the remaining Jews went into hiding, mostly in bunkers and cellars in the ghetto area. Many of these hiding places were discovered by the Gestapo …
>
> The Nazi police never found the Kraut bunker, and they remained hidden there for three months with several other Jews. …
>
> At the end of three months, they were betrayed by another Jew who had left the bunker and was caught by the Nazis. When they heard the Germans coming, they all rushed to an alternate exit that led into town, with Kraut leading the way. He managed to escape, but his wife and two nephews were caught and killed.[150]

After attacking a Gestapo officer named Reisner, Majer Krebs and his two accomplices fled from the ghetto in Przemyśl. The Germans seized fifty hostages and threatened to kill them unless the Jewish fugitives surrendered. Two of the three Jews were caught. The wife of one of the hostages learned of Krebs' hiding place and betrayed it to the Judenrat. The Jewish police surrounded the building, apprehended Krebs, and gave him a severe beating. The three assailants were hanged publicly by the ghetto police, while the Germans filmed the ordeal. Afterwards, twenty-five of the hostages were executed in the Jewish cemetery.[151] Reportedly, the following members of the Jewish council in Przemyśl acted as informers for the Germans: Dawidowicz, Teich, and Jonas. Dawidowicz, Teich survived the war.[152]

Irena Roth, a native of Lwów, found employment in Zakopane under a false identity. She was denounced to the Gestapo by a Jewish woman from Lwów who recognized her in the street. This woman cooperated with the Gestapo in exchange for her own life, a promise that was rarely kept. Irena's high school teacher from Lwów, also in Zakopane, was yet another victim. Irena was sent to Auschwitz, where she perished.[153]

A young Jewish woman from Lubaczów named Zisa Stein, the daughter of a rabbi, was sent into the countryside by the Germans, who held her son as hostage, to search out hidden Jews. She had turned over a number of victims to the Germans for a reward before she was apprehended by a Jewish partisan group and

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[149] Hartman and Krochmal, *I Remember Every Day…,* 207.

[150] Emily Taitz, *Holocaust Survivors: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2007), vol. 1, 275.

[151] Betti Ajzensztajn, ed., *Ruch podziemny w ghettach i obozach: Materiały i dokumenty* (Warszawa, Łódź and Kraków: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1946), 54–55; Marcin Janowski, "Polityka niemiecka władz okupacyjnych wobec ludności polskiej i żydowskiej w Przemyślu w latach 1939–1944," in *Kresy Południowo-Wschodnie: Rocznik Przemyskiego Centrum Kultury i Nauki Zamek,* vol. 3/4, no. 1 (Przemyśl 2005–2006): 219–20.

[152] Testimony of Jan Kreiselman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1201.

[153] Testimony of Rose Moskowitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9851.

executed.[154] Four Jews passing as Poles—two young girls and two young men—were apprehended by the Gestapo in a restaurant in Wola Okrzejska, near Łuków. They were tortured to divulge the names and whereabouts of relatives in hiding and of partisans. As a result some Jews in hiding were also captured.[155]

A Jew was seized by the Jewish committee in Warta, near Sieradz, for labour after being duped by a ghetto policeman. He recalled the event as follows:

> In November 1940, the "Jewish Committee" of the ghetto put together a transport of 100 Jews to be sent way as laborers. I was working in the ghetto for the Germans then at repairing watches. I was deceived and included in the transport even though I'd been given work and the only ones being sent away were those for whom there was no function in the ghetto. A ghetto policeman, A—Z—today he's in Israel—came over to me and told me to report to the "Jewish Committee" to fix the large wall clock there. I walked into the committee room where the other Jews of the transport were already detained and there was no way of getting free. German prison personnel took us "off the hands" of the "Jewish Committee" and tied us all up—100 young Jews bound one to the other by rope to prevent escape.[156]

A young Jewish woman from Międzyrzec Podlaski who fled to the forest recalled:

> Everyone tried to save himself. No one wanted anyone else to run along with them for fear that they would be discovered. I saw a thing I will never, ever forget. I don't understand this to this day. One daughter left her parents to stay alone in the thickness of the forest and ran away all by herself, leaving them alone. She ran away with her boyfriend and she told her parents that she will return shortly. We never saw her again. In doing this she thought that she would be saving her own life.[157]

A Jew named Haskiel lured Jewish fugitives to his hideout in a forest near Piaski, robbed them of their valuables, and then expelled them. One of the victimized Jews denounced Haskiel to the authorities, and he was apprehended and shot by the Polish police.[158]

Ronnie Fuchs, whose mother Zophia Schalet hails from Lwów, recounted:

> One day the police stopped them. The professor [who accompanied her mother] was arrested as a Jew and the policeman asked my mother, who had her false documents, what she was doing with this woman. My mother quickly replied that she did not know her—the woman had asked her for

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[154] Maurie Hoffman, *Keep Yelling!: A Survivor's Testimony* (Richmond, Victoria: Spectrum Publications, 1995), 123.

[155] Sonia and Abram Hurman, as told to Halina Birenbaum, *Pod osłoną nocy: Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945* (Kraków and Oświęcim: Fundacja Instytut Studiów Strategicznych and Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, 2007), 48–49.

[156] Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 101.

[157] Rywka Rybak, *A Survivor of the Holocaust: 49620* (Cleveland: Tricycle Press, 1993), 4.

[158] Tomasz Łabuszewski and Piotr Niewiński, "'Sprawa' Józefa Franczaka—czyli historia alternatywna," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 1 (37) 2021: 649–703, here at 653 n.14.

> directions, and my mother was trying to take her where she wanted to go. The professor was taken away, but my mother was spared.[159]

Later, when Zophia Schalet's older brother was hidden by farmers near Trembowla, she

> received a chilling letter delivered by one of the children of the family hiding my uncle. The letter said, "We know there are Jews hiding here. If they do not leave at once, they will all be killed." The letter was signed by Ukrainian partisans. … What my mother learned after the war was that the threatening letter had actually been written by another Jew who was also being hidden by the farmer. This Jewish man had learned that my uncle was hiding in the barn. He wrote the letter hoping to scare my uncle away. He feared that if my uncle was found in the barn, he and his family would also be discovered.[160]

After escaping from the Janowska concentration camp in December 1941 and making his way back to the ghetto in Lwów, William Koenig went from place to place in the ghetto trying to find a place to spend the night. People were afraid to take him in. He was fortunate enough to find a cousin of his mother's who took him in even though it would mean great danger for him.[161]

Lila Flachs, a survivor from Lwów, recalled the risks of venturing outside the ghetto: "There were many Jews from the ghetto who caught Jews for the Gestapo."[162] Janina Kroch lived with her parents in Lwów outside the ghetto. They passed as Christians on the strength of false papers supplied by Zdzisław Stroński, the prewar vice-mayor of the city. Her father was recognized as a Jew by Jewish policemen and arrested. Despite meeting their demands for a bribe of 20,000 złoty for his release, they handed him over to Gestapo and he perished in unknown circumstances.[163] After a Jewish woman, the mother of a policeman was denied access to an overcrowded hiding place, she betrayed the hideout. Her son came with some Jewish policemen and Germans, but the Jews were let go in exchange for a large bribe.[164]

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[159] Her account is recorded in Carole Garbuny Vogel, ed., *We Shall Not Forget!: Memories of the Holocaust,* Second edition (Lexington, Massachusetts: Temple Isaiah, 1995), 258.

[160] Vogel, *We Shall Not Forget!,* 260.

[161] Oral History Interview with William Koenig, dated November 10, 1987, Phoenix Holocaust Survivors' Association in affiliation with the Cline Library of Northern Arizona University, Internet: <http://collections.ushmm.org/oh_findingaids/RG-50.060.0026_sum_en.pdf>.

[162] Zuzanna Schnepf-Kołacz, "'In the Ciechania Presbytery': The Story of Saving Zofia Trembska: A Case Study," *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* (Warsaw: Polish Center for Holocaust Research), vol. 2 (2010), 365.

[163] Testimony of Janina Kroch, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 362. See also Marek Jóźwik, Teresa Mahorowska, and Apolonia Umińska, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 1–900 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: No. 1–900* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1998), vol. 1, 134. Janina Kroch was later sheltered by Anna Holdenmajer of Brody and survived, as did her mother. Jan Kulbinger stated that when the Jewish police found his family's hideout in Lwów, they were unable to pay the bribe demanded and so they were taken away to be deported to the death camps. See the testimony of Jan Kulbinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 344.

[164] Testimony of Salomon Goldman, January 20, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1864.

Lala Weintraub (later Fishman) kept her plan to remain outside the enclosed Jewish area in Lwów a secret. She explains her decision as follows:

> I certainly did not talk about it with my friends and coworkers at the underwear factory. They could not be trusted, even if they were Jews. A Jew could sell you out to the Nazis just as easily as a Pole or a Ukrainian. People were desperate, afraid of their own shadows, and in their desperation and fear they were liable to turn on you in an instant if by doing so they thought they could increase their own chances for survival.
>
> The Jewish police were, I thought, proof of this. Although nominally charged with maintaining order in the Jewish community, they were also employed as instruments of repression. In this capacity they were usually involved in the actions, helping SS troops and Ukrainian militiamen in their efforts to round up Jews for deportation to the labor camps and, later, to the death camps as well.
>
> … there were actions that were undertaken for the sole purpose of harassing, tormenting, and killing Jews.
>
> Sometimes, when I was coming home from work, I came across an action in progress. SS troops, aided by their minions in the Ukrainian militia and the Jewish police, would be seizing people on the street and sidewalks, demanding to see their papers, roughing them up, punching them with their fists and hitting them with truncheons, and shoving and dragging them to trucks, then kicking them as they climbed aboard for transport to a prison or a labor camp.[165]

Adela Fiszer found employment in the kitchen of a Catholic convent in Lwów thanks to the help of a priest, Rev. Jan Sokołowski, to whom she had been introduced by her Polish Catholic friend. She lived in the convent for about one year. In November 1943, she was arrested by the Gestapo and Ukrainian police after Bronia Dimand, a friend Jewish to whom she had confided her whereabouts, was herself arrested and under torture betrayed the hiding places of other Jews. The nuns' insistence that she was a Catholic was of no use.[166] The literary critic Oskar Katzenellenbogen, who used the pen name Ostap Ortwin, decided not to hide. He remained in his own home in Lwów on the strength of a baptismal certificate issued to him by Rev. Michał Dobija of St. Mary Magdalene church, even though he did not convert. After his arrest by a Jewish policeman, he was executed by the Germans in the spring of 1942.[167] Jan Kulbinger and Jezek Rabach, two Jewish teenagers who did not have distinctive Jewish appearances, were more fortunate. After their interrogation by the Sicherdienstspolizei (German security police) in Lwów, the Jewish doctor who examined whether they were circumcised cleared them. However, others examined by that doctor were not

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[165] Lala Fishman and Steven Weingartner, *Lala's Story: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 137–38.

[166] Testimony of Adela Fiszer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2525, cited in Michał Czajka, Maria Młodkowska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 2001–3000/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: No. 2001–3000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2001), vol. 3, 216. Adela Fiszer was sent to work in a factory where she met a Pole who smuggled her out and took her to Hungary. In Hungary, she met the brother of another Polish friend of hers from Lwów who provided her with his deceased sister's Soviet passport. Adela Fiszer was then registered as a Pole. She survived the war and returned to Poland.

[167] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 184.

so lucky.[168] There were at least two Jewish doctors performing physical examinations on suspected Jews in the Łącki Street prison in Lwów. One of them identified Marceli Lubasz as a Jew.[169] Frank Stiffel, a native of Lwów, who was held by the Gestapo in Rabka, was subjected to physical examinations of his penis after denying he was a Jew. The helpful Polish doctor refused to confirm that he was Jewish ("As far as I'm concerned, he might very well be Polish"); the *Kapo* of the local Jewish camp, however, did not hesitate to identify Frank as a Jew ("This is a Jew, Herr Sturmfuhrer").[170]

Ignacy Goldwasser recalled that the leader (Lubiankier) of one of the forest bunkers near Borysław was captured by the Germans and, under torture, betrayed several bunkers. Jews who scattered were refused admission into other bunkers. Gina Wieser recalled how an elaborate bunker built in the ruins of an electric plant in Borysław was betrayed by one of the Jews who ventured out. The German police who came for the sixty Jews who had taken shelter there knew the secret password.[171] Another Jew, Szaler, who left his bunker was also apprehended by the Gestapo and betrayed its whereabouts. When the Gestapo came to raid the bunker they were accompanied by the Borysław police commander Walek (Valek) Eisenstein and a Jewish engineer named Weintraub.[172] Another survivor, Frieda Koch, confirmed that the Jewish police in Borysław

> harassed us a lot. I remember Max Steinberg, from whom I received blows to the head with his baton, but the worst of all was Walek Eisenstein who turned in [Jews] that were hiding.[173]

As in most towns, the Jewish police in Borysław took part in the *Aktions* by rounding up and capturing hidden Jews: "This action was conducted by Germans with the assistance of the *Ordner* and the Ukrainian police. They pulled people out of their hideouts and apartments."[174] Another Jewish survivor, Marcus Mordecai, also from Borysław, recalled:

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[168] Testimony of Jan Kulbinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 344.

[169] Testimony of Marceli Lubasz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 418.

[170] Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 142–43. Some Jews underwent operations on their penises in an attempt to cover up their circumcisions. Operations carried out by knowledgeable surgeons were often successful. However, Alexander Wasserman's costly and painful surgery performed by Jewish doctors in Warsaw who undertook this lucrative businesss proved to be worthless. See the testimony of Alexander Wasserman, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3975.

[171] Ajzensztajn, *Ruch podziemny w ghettach i obozach,* 23.

[172] Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak,* vol. 2 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 80–81. According to Aleksander Szwarc, Walek Eisenstein was responsible for the betrayal of Szwarc's mother and sister. See Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. 5: *Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), 56–58.

[173] Testimony of Frieda Koch in *Yalkut Moreshet: Holocaust Documentation and Research* [Tel Aviv], vol. 2 (Winter 2004): 178. See also her testimony under the name of Fryda Koch, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1205.

[174] Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses,* vol. 2, 74.

> The fifth *Aktion* took one month. The job of catching the Jews was given over to the Jewish police. They were animals like the Germans. When they caught Jews in a hiding place they demanded a bribe. Whoever did not have the means was taken to the coliseum, a holding pen for deportees. When a person was let go due to a bribe, they had to find a replacement, a process that took about a month. I remember Valek Eisenstein was one of these. They made a lot of money, would play cards, and drink.[175]

A Jew who was held in the Limanowa camp in Borysław described conditions as follows:

> These 1,200 people were held inside the camp until August 1944. Random executions and roundups went on regularly. The camp was run by SS men … It is impossible to describe their cruelty. They were joined in their sadistic acts by the Jewish head of the *Ordnungsdiesnt*, Wolek Eiznsztajn [Eisenstein], and his second, Max Heinberg [Steinberg], who profited from what the Nazis left over. …
>
> On March 28, 1944, when the Soviet army had stopped outside of Stanisławów, the Germans began liquidating the camp. The Jews had managed to dig a few bunkers in the forests and they broke out and headed there. … Wolek Eiznsztajn began "agitating" for us to come out of the woods and return to the camp, because no one was in any danger now. Life in the bunkers had been very hard and the people let themselves be talked into coming back. Soon, the Germans had deceived anout 600 Jews this way and carted them off to the camp in Płaszów, Cracow. Wolek Eiznsztajn started "doing his job" again, and tried getting out the Jews the Germans had missed. They captured fifty to sixty people every day and by June 22, 1944, they again had a transport of 600 Jews ready for Płaszów. For the month starting on June 22 and ending on July 22, 1944, the Germans and Eiznsztajn had forced out another 700 Jews and sent them to Auschwitz.[176]

Helene Kaplan recalled that her father had been seized in the ghetto in Borysław, because "Someone reported that we had money abroad as well as valuables and cash at home."[177] A large bribe had to be paid through a German friend of the family to have him released. Hiding places, both outside and inside the ghetto, were hard to come by and exposed to peril:

> Some families who paid Poles or Ukrainians for hiding places did not want to allow Jews who did not pay into their hiding places. The spaces were usually small, making crowds too difficult to control. …
>
> A young girl in Boryslaw was not permitted into an elaborate hiding place prepared by the Judenrat for their families. When she was caught by the Gestapo she led them right to this place, and all the wives and children of the Judenrat members were deported. They all died.[178]

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[175] Marcus Markel, "The Remarkable Story of Mordecai Markel," written in 1990, Internet: <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/drohobycz/people/peoplemem_markel.asp>.

[176] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 80.

[177] Helene C. Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska …* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 59–60.

[178] Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska,* 63.

Later, when Helene Kaplan and her mother were living in Lwów under assumed identities with a Polish woman,

> One night when all three of us were already in bed, we heard a knock at the door. A Ukrainian and Jewish policemen were there. As they entered the room I threw the covers over my mother's head and jumped out of bed … The two policemen examined my passport. … We learned what caused the search much later. The husband of my first roommate, Lusia [a Jewish woman], had been caught by the Gestapo. When beaten, he revealed the previous address of his wife. The police were therefore looking for her and not me. It was a miracle that they did not subject me to interrogation.[179]

When Helene Kaplan enlisted for work in Germany, in the waiting room she was harassed and nearly exposed by another young Jewish woman posing as a Pole.[180]

Dziunia Steinberg (later June Friedman), a young girl who was sheltered by a Polish couple, Filip and Zuzanna Kowal, recalled how she was betrayed by a Jewish informer in Borysław but miraculously avoided being killed.

> One day, after work, I went to town to buy something on the open market place. I was stopped by a Jewish man, (few that were still left) that worked as an informer for the Gestapo, all the others were killed or shipped to working camps around the area. He somehow recognized me. He stopped his bike and started to ask me if I am Steinberg's daughter. I said no. Then who are you? I said my name is Kowal. He wanted my address and I gave it to him. I went my way, but he was standing there observing me. I remember buying something and even haggling with the merchant, so I will not be suspicious, but my heart was in my throat the whole time and I had a feeling he will give me away.
>
> My parents always told me to be careful and never confess about my past life to anyone. After returning home I told Susan [Zuzanna] about my experience and she said get ready, "they" will be here soon. She was right. That afternoon a man in a leather coat came to arrest me. I was crying and so was Susan, but they took me anyway. Susan said over and over again that I was her daughter, but all in vain. They kept me in a cell for 3 days and 3 nights (with 2 other "criminals" like me – political prisoners, older women who did something against the Germans) they kicked me in the lower back as I was too small to be kicked any place else, I suppose. They came at night with the Jewish traitor, woke me up and talked to me in Yiddish, a language I did not know then, and I used to wake up and start praying in Polish crossing myself etc. etc. All that time Susan was coming and begging to let me out, as I am not a Jew but her daughter that looks like someone else.
>
> On the third day, in the morning, they let me out and told me to go home. I was sore, dirty and tired, and I did not know if this was a trick or they really did let me go. I stood there, outside not moving, and when I looked up I saw they are all standing there in the window and looking at me. This was my luck. If I would start running, they would shoot me right then and there knowing I must be Jewish, but this way, I was just another child being afraid and crying, so they left me alone. After a few minutes I started walking toward home slowly, still crying loudly. After a few blocks I looked back but nobody was following me so I started running home. I ran for a mile or more until I got home. After arriving I

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[179] Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska,* 69–70.

[180] Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska,* 83.

> was shaking so hard that I could not hold a spoon in my hand. It took me a few weeks to calm down.[181]

Eva Hoffman, whose family hails from Załoźce, north of Tarnopol, acknowledged:

> my parents were also repeatedly helped by people who gave them food and temporary shelter, and by a peasant who hid them for nearly two years, with the full knowledge that he was thereby risking death for himself and his two sons. The other awful aspect of my family story was that two relatives died because of an act of betrayal committed by a fellow Jew—a man who, in the hope of ensuring his own survival, led the Germans to a hiding place.[182]

When the hideout of nine Jews in Brody was discovered and raided by the Germans, one of the seven Jews initially captured by the Germans informed them that there were in fact nine Jews hidden by their Polish benefactors. Fortunately, the other two Jews and the Polish family who sheltered them were able to escape.[183] The Brody memorial book mentions additional examples of collaboration:

> Katz, a former clerk in the Brody municipality, Wechsler, a restaurant owner on Train Street (Kolejowa Street), Benyu Ponikvar—the chairman of the Judenrat, and Reuven (Rubin) Myzels—a fool who sent his own wife to the "*Umschlagplatz.*" During the second Aktzia, he accompanied the Gestapo and the Ukrainian militia men during the house to house search for the poor remaining survivors. After the hangmen searched Shkolnick's house and did not find anything, they were ready to leave. However Myzels said: "I smell the scent of Jewish meat here". Fortunately for the people who hid in the bunker under the floor and heard it, the Getsapo men did not pay attention to what he said and they left. I was told this story by Khina Schnor, who was hiding among the other people in the bunker. [184]

Fryda Brenner betrayed the forest hideout of her former schoolmate and his companions who had escaped from a work camp in Sasów, a village near Złoczów.[185] Zelda Machlowicz-Hinenberg was passing herself off as a Ukrainian in Rawa Ruska, fearful of being detected. It turned out, however, that although she was recognized by a Ukrainian policeman, he protected her. Later, she was denounced by a fellow Jew and deported to the Bełżec death camp. Fortunately, she was able to escape from the train and, although shot and wounded, was found by a Ukrainian family who took her for a Ukrainian and nursed her back to

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[181] June Friedman, *Under Providential Guidance,* 1991, Internet: <http://www.zchor.org/friedman/june.htm>.

[182] Eva Hoffman, *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 6.

[183] Testimony of Henryk Charasz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 14823.

[184] Hersh Pollack, "Revenge on the Murderer," in Aviv Meltzer, et al., eds., *Ner Tamid: Yizkor leBrody* (Jerusalem: Organization of Former Brody Residents in Israel, 1994), 180–84; translated as *An Eternal Light: Brody, in Memoriam,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/brody/Brody.html>.

[185] Testimony of Majer Perlmutter, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4670.

health.[186] When a group of Jewish partisans, dressed in German uniforms, staged a raid on the jail in Borszczów in November 1943 to release its 50 inmates,

> We told the prisoners that we are Soviet partisans and have come to free them. The prisoners all ran off but the Jews didn't want to go because they recognized us. They remained and later betrayed us.[187]

Jews who attempted to escape from the Warsaw ghetto were frequently caught by Jewish policemen.[188] However, the danger emanating from fellow Jews did not end there. David Landau's escape from the Warsaw ghetto to the Aryan side proved to be precarious because of Jewish collaborators he encountered:

> From the conversation between the Germans and the Jewish policeman, I realised that the bribe I had given him, a substantial one, was for the three of them.
>
> This policeman knew that they had been waiting in the entrance to the first house outside the ghetto, and had been prepared to send me to my death for a small part of the bribe.[189]

> Across the street from us lived a man who was completely paralysed from the neck down. Every morning as soon as the curfew hour was over the caretaker was seen pushing this man out in his wheelchair into the street near the entrance of the building. The paralysed man was always well dressed, with a quilt covering the lower part of his body. There, in front of the building, he sat the whole day long …
>
> Once, returning from a forced outing close to the curfew hour I noticed a passing Gestapo officer turning the wheelchair around and wheeling it back into the building. …
>
> From that day on I was sure that my suspicion was correct, and that as well as being a Jew he was also a spy.[190]

On other occasions, Jews apprehended by the Germans betrayed other Jews in hiding under threat or duress or when promised respite of some nature for themselves. When she fell into the hands of the Gestapo in Warsaw, a young woman by the name of Celina betrayed her friend, Wanda, and they were both executed in Pawiak prison.[191] A Jew by the name of Izak betrayed a group of Jews hiding near Łańcut, thus hoping in vain to save himself and his own family.[192] A Jewish woman who was apprended by the Germans

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[186] Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tim Duggan books, 2015), 300.

[187] B.W. Ben-Barak, "Borchover 'Gang' (Partisan Action)," in N. Blumenthal, *The Book of Bortschoff,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/borszczow/Borszczow.html>, translation of *Sefer Borszczow* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Borszczow in Israel, 1960), 303ff.

[188] See, for example, Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 424.

[189] David J. Landau, alias Dudek, Janek and Jan, *Caged: A Story of Jewish Resistance* (Sydney: Macmillan, 2000), 115.

[190] Landau, *Caged,* 285–86.

[191] Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...,* vol. 5, 135.

[192] Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 68; Testimony of Józef Leichter, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 891.

betrayed a hideout with more than 30 Jews.[193] Another Jew betrayed 14 Jews from Rzeszów who were passing as Poles.[194] Even Jewish children who were exploited by the Germans to betray Jews in hiding could become "collaborators," as was the case in Buczacz:

> Children's extraordinary will to survive could also lead them to betray others. While hiding in a bunker, six-year-old Aliza Griffel heard a Jewish boy saying to a Ukrainian policeman, "I'll show you where there are Jews, will you let me live?"[195]

> Many member's of Zev [Anderman]'s family, including his mother, were murdered in October 1942, when "a Jewish girl" informed the Ukrainian police where their bunker was located in the hope that "they would spare her."[196]

Even before the liquidation of the ghettos, denunciation of fellow Jews was widespread. Jakow Karczewer was betrayed to the Gestapo by Josek Sandomir in Warka, near Warsaw. Fortunately, he survived six months of imprisonment and torture.[197] Since most Jews who were denounced and apprehended by the Germans perished without recording their fate, the stories gathered in this compilation are just the tip of the iceberg.

Often the Polish benefactors would be caught in the web. When asked by his host to leave his premises near Łosice, Oscar Pinkus responded, "'If we leave and the Germans catch us, don't you think that they would find out where we were hiding all this time?' The farmer was dumbfounded. His white narrow eyes filled with the bewilderment of a trapped animal."[198] When a Polish family by the name of Drobnicki in the village of Posuchów, near Brzeżany, told their Jewish charges, Roza Goldman and her daughter Bela, that they could not keep them anymore, the Goldman women threatened to turn them in to the Germans if they had to leave. The Drobnicki family later took in two Jewish men during the final months of the German occupation, which caused a lot of bickering as the two Jewish women were against the idea of keeping these men.[199] Irena Bakowska, who was sheltered by Christians in Warsaw, recalled what her benefactor had told her: "Elterman had come to see her husband and offered him a substantial amount of money if he got rid of me and took her mother and her instead. Zofia was outraged and promised that she would never

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[193] Testimony of Hanka Gross, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4040.

[194] Testimony of Meilech Notowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1395.

[195] Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 241.

[196] Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 253.

[197] Testimony of Jakow Karczewer, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1777.

[198] Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991), 185.

[199] Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 128.

let me go, no matter how much money Mrs. Elterman was willing to pay her husband."[200] Fruma Bregman, another Jewish woman from Warsaw, recalled that when she rented a room from a Polish woman posing as a Pole, another tenant—a Jew pretending to be a French national—urged the Polish woman to evict the other tenants because they were Jews.[201] After finding lodging in Warsaw for a relative from Opatów, Irene Zoberman discovered that her own father was thrown out of those same premises by the Jews she had helped.

> One day, my neighbours warned me that a German had been killed in our area, which meant that everybody was expecting the Germans, come evening, would make home searches looking for men. The normal penalty for killing a German was that one hundred Poles were to be killed. I went to the apartment that I had found for Sara's brother [Chaimek]. The owner was a former patient and she agreed to hide my father. I brought my father at dusk and I promised him that I would come pick him up the next morning.
>
> Indeed, Germans were doing the search, and they arrested several men in our area. As soon as it started to clear, I went for my father and found him on the street, standing against a lamppost. He was frozen and shaky from fear that someone could recognize the Jew in him. He explained that Sara had come to visit her brother, and when she saw my father she was very upset that the owner accepted another Jewish refugee, even for one night, thereby risking the safety of her brother. She forced my father to leave the apartment and wait for me outside.[202]

Blackmailing Polish rescuers was not an infrequent occurrence. A Polish rescuer from Stanisławów, in Eastern Galicia, who is credited with saving 32 Jews, reported: "I even took in some Jews who had threatened to denounce me and their kinsmen whom I was hiding if I didn't help them."[203] Two Jewish charges from well-to-do families found shelter with an impoverished Polish family in the village of Brzozdowce, near Chodorów, in the province of Lwów. They threatened to turn in their benefactors, who could barely make ends meet, unless they provided them with more food.[204]

A Polish Christian from Warsaw recalled:

> As a young girl, I participated in my family's efforts to help the Jews … Several Jews were temporarily sheltered in our home, then taken to other locations. Five lived with us until the Warsaw Uprising in August, 1944. When the uprising was crushed, we all went into hiding, anticipating the

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[200] Bakowska, *Not All Was Lost,* 181.

[201] Testimony of Fruma Bregman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1984, page 12, noted in Michał Czajka, Marek Jóźwik, Teresa Mahorowska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 901–2000/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: no. 901–2000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2000), vol. 2, 370.

[202] Myrna Goldenberg, ed., *Before All Memory Is Lost: Women's Voices from the Holocaust* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017), 239–40.

[203] Testimony of Stanisław (Staszek) Jackowski in Richard C. Lukas, ed., *Out of the Inferno: Poles Remember the Holocaust* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 77.

[204] Anita Koszałkowska, "Czas, który nie leczy ran," *Nowa Trybuna Opolska,* October 27, 2000.

> arrival of the Soviet Army. In November, 1944, one of the Jewish women we saved argued with a group of Jews and brought the Germans who then killed 18 people, including her nephew and her elderly sister. One man survived. He came at night to the place where I and 10 others were hiding, informed us of the tragedy and warned us of our own imminent danger, probably saving our lives. For us, and the Jews who passed through our home, the greatest fear was that someone from the ghetto would betray.[205]

Stefania Podgórska, who rescued thirteen Jews in Przemyśl, faced threats from a Jew who wanted admission into her home where she was sheltering Jews.

> One day Stefania received a letter delivered by two street urchins, who demanded that Stefania read it, sign it, and return it to them so they could be paid. The letter was from a Jewish woman in the ghetto; it named all the people she had in hiding and threatened to tell the Gestapo everything unless Stefania took in the author of the letter and her children.[206]

Angrily, Stefania accepted them. A Jewish family in Drohobycz accepted another Jew into their hideout because they were fearful he would denounce them.[207]

A Jew in the hiding in the forests in the vicinity of Sokoły, near Białystok, urged two brothers to separate from their group to increase their chances of receiving help from local farmers.

> The Todras boys did not want to listen to what I said. They threatened that if I would not allow them to come with me, they would cause such a scandal that my son would be driven out and his hiding place exposed to everyone.[208]

Jews hiding in the forests near Sokoły also robbed fellow Jews. Rachela Kapłańska accused Hersz Trabka, Szmuel Konopiata and his sister, Perla Konopiata, of stealing coats, dresses, undergarments, silk stockings and money (50 dollars) from a Jews with who they had shared a bunker.[209]

Chaim Friedenberg, who survived in his native Sochaczew area providing tailor services to Poles, recalled the murder of a Jewish tailor by two young Jews who were greedy for money.[210]

A group of Jews broke out of the labour camp in Kolbuszowa in November 1942 after receiving a warning from Patyk, the Polish police commander, of its imminent liquidation. Unexpectedly, two Jews

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[205] Dana I. Alvi, letter, *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1994. See also her (Danuta Brońska) memoir, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1994.A.0139, RG-02.105.

[206] Eva Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (New York: Anchor Books/ Random House, 1994), 96.

[207] Testimony of Stella Kreshes in Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 57.

[208] Michael Maik, *Deliverance: The Diary of Michael Maik: A True Story* (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress Enterprises, 2004), 127.

[209] Testimony of Rachela Kapłańska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1458.

[210] Testimony of Chaim Friedenberg, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1525 (Item 3546062).

arrived at the small, overcrowded hiding place that some of the Jewish escapees had pre-arranged with Wiktoria (Wichta) Starzec and demanded to be let in.

> …the Stub brothers [Israel Meyer and Itche] appeared at Vichta [Wichta]'s door. Vichta knew they were not part of our plan … Once inside … the Stub brothers announced that they had no place to go and they intended to remain right where they were in Vichta's house. "If you force us to leave, and we are caught, we will inform the Germans that you are here, and they will catch you as well."
>
> Vichta and Leibush [Salsitz] had no choice. The Stubs would remain, but that raised the number to eight … Eight Jews, six of whom had no money, in a tiny cottage attic near the main road. Impossible. …
>
> After three weeks, Leibush and I were forced to leave Vichta's home and joined a group living in the forest. Froim and the Stub brothers remained at Vichta's house until the liberation. … The Stub brothers behaved brutishly, bullying their way into the security of Vichta's home.[211]

Some Jews were hostile to the idea of accepting into their places of refuge other Jews who might put them at risk,[212] and Jews were often taken in by Polish benefactors over the protest of their other Jewish charges. Bella Bronstein, an orphan from Drohiczyn, recalled the reception she received when she arrived in a strange village: the church warden "suggested that we go in to see the priest who might take me in as help to his housekeeper. It turned out later that the priest's housekeeper was also a refugee Jewish woman who was not too anxious to have another Jewess around … (not unusual in those terrible days)."[213]

Issur Wondolowicz, who was hiding in the forests near Sokoły, recalled: "There was a struggle among our group. Simply, they did not agree that the girl and I would join them."[214] Jews hiding in a bunker in the Garbów forest northwest of Lublin refused to take in even one additional, wounded Jewish partisan on the run.[215] The brothers-in-law of a woman hiding outside the ghetto and was in dire need ignored her pleas for help even though they were still in possession of much of their prewar belongings.[216] A woman who escaped from a labor camp near Mielec found it difficult to survive alone. She wandered around for months, begging farmers for food and hiding alone in the forest. She met some Jews in the forest and

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[211] Norman Salsitz with Stanley Kaish, *Three Homelands: Memories of a Jewish Life in Poland, Israel, and America* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 134–35.

[212] Testimony of Braha Bergman and David Efrati in Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 174, 219; Interview with Sheila Peretz Etons, April 30, 1999, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), vol. 2, 352 (Grün family sheltered by Stanisław Forgiel in Zabrnie, near Dąbrowa Tarnowska).

[213] David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Drohiczyn* (Tel Aviv: n.p., 1969), 26ff. (English section).

[214] Issur Wondolowicz, "Between the German Hammer and the Polish anvil," in Shmuel Kalisher, ed., *Sokoly: B'maavak l'haim* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Sokoły Emigrés in Israel, 1975), 208ff., translated as *Sokoly: In the Fight for Life,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokoly/sokoly.html>.

[215] Samuel Gruber, as told to Gertrude Hirschler, *I Chose Life* (New York: Shengold, 1978), 74.

[216] Ada Kessler-Pawlak, *Nie chcę nocy: Dziewczyna i kanibale,* 2nd expanded edition (Warsaw: Agencja Wydawnicza CB), 111.

begged them to take her with them, but they refused.[217] A Jewish woman from Lublin who went to Warsaw to obtain false identity documents ran into a Jewish friend of her father's who was already installed on the Aryan side: "He tried to seduce my wife, at that time not my wife yet. Tell [sic] her he would help her only if she would stay with him. Of course, she rejected the whole thing and she left him."[218]

Lena Küchler, who hid in Warsaw, was abandoned by her husband for a German woman because he thought his chances of surviving with his wife, given her appearance, were not good.[219] The teenager Dora Brick (Kislowicz) was not accepted in the house where her Jewish friend's family was hiding, and later she encountered her brother, who was hiding with a group of Jews near Zamość, but he too would not let her stay with them despite her pleas.[220] After escaping Sokołów Podlaski during the liquidation of the ghetto, 11-year-old Golda Ryba took cover in a barn outside the city, where she found several Jewish families hiding. Despite her young age and the fact that she was all alone, no one took the slightest interest in her. They offered her no help at all, neither food nor something to cover herself with for the night to protect against the cold.[221]

Luba Bat was hiding with a former teacher of hers when a Jewish friend knocked on the door and asked to stay. Luba confronted him: "For heaven's sake, how can you say such a thing?" "But I have no place where to go and I'm not going to move," the friend retorted. Luba replied: "For heaven's sake, do you realize that it's terribly unethical what you're doing?" Over Luba's opposition, her landlady let the friend stay for a few days while she made other arrangements for him.[222]

Nelli Rotbart, who together with her family hid in a bunker under a pigsty on a farm in a village near Kałuszyn, recalls the sudden and unexpected arrival of a Jewish acquaintance.

> As though we didn't have enough problems, a new calamity befell us. Aside from all the torture, discomfort and hunger, we now had to make room for another person—Mojshe. How he was able to trace us, we would never know, but one day he came to [their host] Michalina's and blackmailed her and us; if we wouldn't take him in, he would tell the Germans. The parasite was with us for an entire month, and our portions of bread were smaller because of him. One night, father caught him stealing our bread …[223]

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[217] Testimony of Chana Reiss Lind cited in Rochelle G. Saidel, *Mielec, Poland: The Shtetl That Became a Nazi Concentration Camp* (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2012), 95.

[218] Interview with Felix Horn, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, dated July 19, 1994, 12 74.

[219] Lena Küchler-Silberman, *My Hundred Children* (New York: Laurel-Leaf/Dell, 1987), 227.

[220] Nahum Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers: The Rescue of Jewish Children with Assumed Identities in Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 84–85.

[221] Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers,* 84; Testimony of Golda Ryba Lenczner, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2734.

[222] Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 157–58.

[223] Nelli Rotbart, *A Long Journey: A Holocaust Memoir and After: Poland, Soviet Union, Canada* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2002), 56–57.

Regina Biesam recalled her experience while hiding in Sosnowiec and the attitude of her Polish benefactor and fellow Jews.

> Stanisława Cicha … at the risk of her own life gave shelter to sixteen Jews in her home. I myself was among those she concealed. It was 1943. … When I found myself in her home I discovered that I was not the only one she was rescuing. Anyone who came at night to tap at the window of her house was sure to find shelter. Some of the Jews rebelled and grumbled that too many people were there already, which might lead to discovery. Mrs. Cicha replied that everybody wants to live.[224]

Another such case is recorded by a rescuer from Brzeżany, in the Tarnopol region, whose decision to bring in more Jews met with anger on the part of her Jewish charges. Previously, these charges had insisted adamantly that no other Jews were to be brought to the hideout.[225] A similar story from the Lublin region is recorded by survivor Thomas Toivi Blatt.[226] A Polish rescuer from Miechów faced stern protests from two of his Jewish charges when more Jews arrived.[227] Jews hidden by the Beck family in Żółkiew protested the arrival of two young children, four and seven years old, who had come to the hideout to be with their mother:

> During this period, 16 fugitives were concealed in the hideout. In April 1943, during the final liquidation of the ghetto, seven-year-old Zygmund Orlender and his four-year-old sister also sought refuge in the Becks' home, and despite the opposition of those already hiding in the bunker, who protested against the increased overcrowding, the Becks stood firm and took in the children.[228]

When some Jews reached the house of a Polish forest ranger in Konińsk, in Volhynia, who gladly took them in, they "found other Jews from our town, but we could see that they were not pleased at our coming, fearing the Germans would discover our coming." After a few days, they were taken to a different hiding place.[229] When some more Jews arrived,

> We joined Moshe Rosenfeld, a man of 60, after Slovik [Słowik, the ranger] instructed him to take us to the group of Jews. … Moshe Rosenfeld hesitated to bring us to join the group and started to argue with Slovik. Rosenfeld, of course, gave in in the end and did not stop us from going on. …

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[224] Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life,* 128. See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 441.

[225] Account of Janina Drobnicka Oleksyn, dated 1990 (in the author's possession).

[226] Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 218.

[227] Karol Naziemiec accepted two Kajzer brothers in addition to the three Czajkowski brothers he was already sheltering. All of them were from the same town and known to one another. Two of the original charges protested, but the third Czajkowski brother supported the decision. See Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 712.

[228] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 83. See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 443–44.

[229] Asher Tarmon, ed., *Memorial Book: The Jewish Communities of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, and Kolki (Wolyn Region)* (Tel-Aviv: Organization of Survivors of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, Kolki and Surroundings Living in Israel and Overseas, 2004), 82.

> Our arrival caused arguments and anger over whether we were entitled to join the group. Sensing we had food with us, the men took it from us, sat down, and finished it. This was like a bribe for permission to stay with them. … Slovik's son, Kazik … would also bring a bit of food, but not one bit of this reached the small, weak ones in the group.[230]

A Jewish policeman from Sandomierz named Morgen persuaded a Polish farmer to take him in for a substantial payment on condition that the farmer evict a large group of Jews he was sheltering.[231] Marcus David Leuchter recalled his experiences in Warsaw:

> I remembered the Polish name of a friend of mine who had escaped from the Ghetto before we did. … We walked over to his place at curfew time. He greeted us very cordially, but then his Jewish girlfriend showed up; she was a personification of fury, and wanted us to leave immediately. Without her knowledge, the [gentile] landlady allowed us to stay a couple of days, until mother found a room in the apartment of Mrs. Eugenia Sawicki. … The Sawicki family suffered with us for two years, risking their lives for us without any financial advantages.[232]

A group of Jews who were given shelter at the convent of the Benedictine nuns in Wilno had to be persuaded by the Sister Maria Mikulska, the Mother Superior, to allow more Jews to come into their hideout. According to Samuel Bak,

> It was Maria who convinced the group in hiding to take in a woman and a child. She exclaimed to them our state of total despair. Sending us back would have meant our death. The nine people had a hard choice to make, and they vacillated, as clearly we would take up a part of their space as well as some of the very limited portions of available food. Moreover, a few of them were afraid our presence could increase their chance of being detected. But Maria made it clear how much she cared about us. The group could not afford to alienate her.[233]

When a Jewish woman was asked to remove her son, who had pronounced Jewish features, temporarily from an orphanage in Anin near Warsaw because of the risk he posed to the other children, half of whom were Jewish, she threatened to denounce the nuns (Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary) who ran the institution.[234]

Berek Rojzman was part of a group of seven Jews who had escaped from Treblinka during the revolt in that death camp. Six of them built an underground shelter in a forest, where they relied on a Polish famer

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[230] Ibid., 194.

[231] Testimony of Zelman Baum (Wacław Kozieniec), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2425.

[232] Marcus David Leuchter, "Reflections on the Holocaust," *The Sarmatian Review* (Houston, Texas), vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2000).

[233] Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2003), 80.

[234] Teresa Antonietta Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzylesiu i Aninie* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Publiczna w dzielnicy Wawer m. St. Warszawy, 2006), 69.

for their food supply. Rojzman recalled: "Of course, we had a lot of money. …Two of the group didn't have money. I didn't mind, but the others said they weren't going to feed them if they couldn't contribute, and told them to get out."[235] Jakub (Abraham) Krzepicki, another escapee from Treblinka, recalled that when his travelling companion, Anshel Mędrzycki, was allegedly robbed, he then conned other Jewish escapees to give him money to make up for his loss, even though he had some money hidden away. Krzepicki described Mędrzycki as "an exploiter, a creature without a moral sense … from the Warsaw underworld … he tried to take advantage of me as much as he could." When Krzepicki took shelter in the ghetto in Stoczek, where life seemed to continue fairly normally at the time, he found that Jews took advantage of the fugitives from Treblinka, who came with lots of money and valuables, and the Judenrat and Jewish police tried to weed them for fear of German repercussions.[236] (Thus, Jews behaved no better that some of the Polish farmers he encountered.)

Leon Kahn (then Leib Kaganowicz) and his father sought refuge in the countryside near their hometown of Ejszyszki. An acquaintance of the family, named Rukowicz, gave them a warm welcome, but seemed somehow uneasy. "We were poised ready to flee when the reason for his uneasiness became evident: another Jewish family—Sholem Levo, his wife, two sons and a niece!" While Rukowicz invited the Kahns to share the Levo family's quarters (an unfinished wing of the house), the Levos were not very enthusiastic about the arrangement and asked Kahn's father to look for some other place to hide.[237] A Jew who had arranged for his son's escape a work camp in Nowogródek found that his plan was foiled when his brother, who was aware of these plans, prevented his nephew from leaving and sent his own son in his nephew's place. The son later perished, and the nephew survived.[238]

In Chęciny,

> Gutshe begged them to let her hide in one of the deserted Jewish flats, but the terrified Jews of Chintshin [Chęciny] told her to hide somewhere else. "For God's sake," she said to them, "Why should a Christian hide a Jew if you yourselves won't take him in?" "We won't jeopardize our lives for you, and if you keep hanging around here, we will inform the Gestapo," Abraham Ring, the Jewish militia captain, threatened.[239]

The same source describes how a Jew fell into the hands of the Gestapo, was broken by torture, and betrayed his earlier Polish benefactor. The Gestapo later tortured the captured Pole to get him to betray

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[235] Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing To Mass Murder* (New York: McGraw-Hill; London: Deutsch, 1974), 243.

[236] Alexander Donat, ed., *The Death Camp Treblinka: A Documentary* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), 134–35, 137–44; Wiatr, Engelking, and Skibińska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* vol. 13, 198–207.

[237] Leon Kahn, *No Time To Mourn: A True Story of a Jewish Partisan Fighter* (Vancouver: Laurelton Press, 1978), 111–12, 114.

[238] George Lubow, *Escape: Against All Odds: A Survivor's Story* (New York: iUniverse, 2004), 70. According to the author, "My uncle argued someone else should be given a chance to survive, since my father already had two children on the outside."

[239] Jacob Pat, *Ashes and Fire* (New York: International Universities Press, 1947), 198–99.

names.[240] Samuel Drix recalled how Icek Hoch, with whom he was hiding with a Polish family in Biały Kamień, near Złoczów, refused to help his own father to come to the safety of their hideout.[241] Drix had also provided Hoch with a considerable amount of money, which Hoch did not want to return to him when it looked like they were on the verge of going their separate ways.[242]

The following examples are particularly disconcerting. After staging a revolt in the Sobibór death camp, hundreds of Jewish prisoners managed to break out. They decided to form smaller groups to increase their chances of survival. In the larger group that Toivi (Thomas) Blatt was first part of, each smaller group was asked to take with them a vulnerable escapee. One such person was Mendel, the head of the bakery in the camp, who proved to be helpless when he arrived in the forest. The escapees with whom he was to go, Shvartz and Karolek, first tried to leave without him and then broke Mendel's leg so that he could not walk. The leader of the revolt, Aleksandr Pechersky, a Soviet officer, took with him all of the men who had weapons. He also took up a collection for money from the other Jews for the stated purpose of buying food supplies from villagers for the larger group. Pechersky and his armed men disappeared, leaving the other Jews behind without arms to defend themselves and little funds.[243]

Some Jews contrast their treatment at the hands of fellow Jews with the kindness they experienced from Poles. A young Jewish woman recalled that she and her brother survived begging food from Polish villagers in the Lublin area after several bad encounters with fellow Jews.[244] Then in her early teens, Dwojna Woszczyn, from the village of Korost, near Stepań, in Volhynia, managed to escape from a death squad and wandered through the countryside begging for food. One night she happened to encounter a Jewish doctor from Stepań hiding in the forest. When she awoke the next morning he had left taking her food provision.[245] When Rachel Shtibel was sheltered with her family in a bunker in a barn of a farmer near Kołomyja, she was repeatedly sexually molested by a family friend, a doctor, who hid with them.[246]

Dwojra Frymet, from Włodzimierz Wołyński, born in 1930, often sneaked out of the ghetto to obtain food from Poles and worked on a farm herding cows, even though everyone in the village knew her to be Jewish. In the ghetto, a rich Jew had refused to give her any food and threw her out the door, and the Jewish police

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[240] Pat, *Ashes and Fire,* 174.

[241] Samuel Drix, *Witness to Annihilation: Surviving the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1994), 196.

[242] Drix, *Witness to Annihilation,* 204–5.

[243] "Ucieczka z piekła—z Tomaszem Blattem rozmawia Marcin Wroński," *Gazeta Petersburska,* 2010. Internet: <http://www.gazetapetersburska.org/pl/node/880>.

[244] Sara Kraus-Kolkowicz, *Dziewczynka z ulicy Miłej: Albo świadectwo czasu Holokaustu* (Lublin: Agencja Wydawniczo-Handlowa AD, 1995), especially 36–37, 70. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 5: *Poland,* Part 2, 573.

[245] Stanisław Siekierski, ed., *Żyli wśród nas…: Wspomnienia Polaków i Żydów nadesłane na konkurs pamięci polsko-żydowskiej o nagrodę imienia Dawida Ben Guriona* (Płońsk: Zarząd Miasta Płońsk, Miejskie Centrum Kultury w Płońsku, and Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Płońskiej, 2001), 118.

[246] Rachel Shtibel and Adam Shtibel, *The Violin / A Child's Testimony* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation and Centre for Jewish Studies at York University, 2007), 50.

chased and beat her as she tried to sneak in and out of the ghetto through the wire fence.[247] On one occasion, she was saved from the hands of a Jewish policeman who was administering a severe beating by a Ukrainian policeman.[248]

A teenaged Jewish girl had wandered in the forests near Lublin and encountered Jews in hiding, but they would not let her join their group. She survived by working as a shepherd for local farmers. Afterwards, she found her way to the home of a police officer where she worked as a nanny for the family's little boy. When a representative of the Jewish community along came along with her aunt to remove her from the home after the war, the girl refused to go with her. She lashed back to the Jewish representative that the Jews had abandoned her in the forest, whereas the Poles had saved her, so she had no desire to return to the Jews.[249]

When Mosze Michałowski, a tailor from Ejszyszki, was taken in by Władysław Kozary in the hamlet of Jasna Polanka, a blonde Jewish woman already sheltered there urged Kozary to expel the newly arrived Jew because his presence would endanger their lives. Afterwards, when Michałowski was staying with Władysław Bartoszewicz in Dowgidańce, the Jewish charges did not want to accept another Jewish fugitive because their hideout was already full.[250] Accounts authored by Jews state they turned to Poles for assistance after being turned down by fellow Jews.[251]

Jewish indiscretion was also a source of danger. The cover of Bruno Shatyn (Bronisław Szatyn), a Jewish lawyer from Kraków—who had been hired to work as an administrator of a Polish estate in Borek Szlachecki, near Skawina, where he acquired the reputation of an anti-Semite even among Poles—was exposed by a Jewish girl, herself in hiding among Poles who knew her true identity. This Jewish girl could not resist gossiping even when other lives depended on her discretion. The employees, however, agreed to keep him on as their administrator, fully aware that in doing so they were endangering their own lives.[252] Shatyn noted the following precautions taken by Jews who decided to pass as Christians:

> Most important, other Jews should be avoided. By this time all Jews had been officially relegated to ghettos or concentration camps. Those we saw on the outside either were living on false papers like us—and so would also try to avoid running into friends from the past—or were working for the Gestapo as informers on other Jews.[253]

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[247] Account of Dworja Frymet in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 608.

[248] Account of Debora Intertur (née Frymet), Internet: <http:www.sztetl.org.pl>.

[249] Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers,* 265. The girl was eventually removed from the home and taken to a Jewish children's home.

[250] Testimony of Mosze Michalowski, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2815.

[251] See, for example, Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945,* 307 (Radzymin, Jadów), 329 (Jedlicz); Shtibel and Shtibel, *The Violin / A Child's Testimony,* 186–87 (near Zamość).

[252] Bruno Shatyn, *A Private War: Surviving in Poland on False Papers, 1941–1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), xx, 48–49.

[253] Ibid., 186.

So, too, the cover a Jewish dentist who posed as a Pole in Piszczac, a small town near the Bug River, was exposed by a young Jewish woman soon after he arrived in town with his family. However, despite widespread rumours and suspicions among the Polish population, no one betrayed them.[254] The unexpected arrival of a relative of this family from Kraków caused more turmoil: "'When your father heard that I'd given Izio our address and that he was coming to stay with us, he could have killed me,' my mother recalls. 'How could you endanger us like that? How could you tell him where we were, when we agreed that nobody must know? He'll be the death of us!' Henek reproached her."[255]

A Polish carpenter by the name of Piotr Morawski and his family gave shelter to Lilka Goldberg, a young Jewish woman with Semitic features, on his farm in the Lublin region. Her frequent forays into town resulted in a warning from the local Polish police commander that her reckless behaviour would lead to a raid and their execution. Terrified, the carpenter asked the Jewish woman to leave, which she refused to do saying that if she perishes they all should. She finally agreed to leave after extorting 70,000 złotys from the Polish family as well as taking the valuables of Mrs. Morawska. A Jew from Opatów carefully recorded the names of all his Polish benefactors in case he should be caught, so that they too would be brought down with him.[256]

A forest bunker near the village of Wola Przybysławska, northwest of Lublin,

> wasn't found out until the *Shohet* went out by chance and was caught. He led the Germans to the entrances of the cave. The military police didn't have to shoot a single shot. They merely stuffed the entrances with straw and set it afire. All the Jews were strangled by the smoke. Only one little remained alive.[257]

Two Jews who hid in the attic of a Christian in Leżajsk were done near the end of the war in by a small lack of discretion on their part. They hung out several rags to dry and a German who passed by noticed this and discovered them.[258]

A Jewish woman who had converted to Catholicism before the war was captured by the Germans and taken to the ghetto in Rzeszów. One night some Jews tried to persuade a tipsy Ukrainian guard to shoot her: "The Jews told him: 'She is a convert! She has to be killed and shot!' They said so in my presence. They didn't care at all.'" But the Ukrainian soldier told the Jews that he had not received an order to shoot her.

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[254] Diane Armstrong, *Mosaic: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (Milsons Point, News South Wales: Random House, 1998), 287, 576–81.

[255] Ibid., 311.

Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 308.

[256] Ibid., 309.

[257] Shiye Goldberg (Shie Chehever), *The Undefeated* (Tel Aviv: H. Leivick Publishing House, 1985), 166.

[258] M. Spergel, "My Visit to Lizhensk in 1950," in H. Rabin, ed., *Lizhensk: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Lizhensk she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lezajsk in Israel, 1970), 111ff., translated as *Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Lezajsk Who Perished in the Holocaust,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Lezajsk/Lezajsk.html>.

Instead he beat her in order to appease the Jewish mob.[259] Dobka Sztrum, who had converted and married Pole, was denounced by a Jew; pregnant, she was executed by the Germans in front of her home in Uniszowa, near Ryglice.[260] Mrs. Mościcka and her daughter Iwona Teresa, who had converted to Catholicism during the war in Wilno, were denounced by a Jewish relative.[261] Hatred and vengeance inspired a rabbi to denounce Józef Jakubowicz, a Jew who had converted to Catholicism when he married a Polish Catholic woman before the war. He had been living unmolested in Siedliska, near Tuchów, until the Gestapo came to arrest the Jakubowicz family.[262] As many accounts confirm, the general sentiment toward Jewish converts to Christianity and "assimilationists" living in the ghettos was one of loathing and

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[259] Rosa Lehmann, *Symbiosis and Ambivalence: Poles and Jews in a Small Galician Town* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), 119.

[260] Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu,* vol. 2, 329.

[261] Marian Brudzisz, "Redemptorist Ministry among the Polish in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania and Byelorussia, 1939–1990," *Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* vol, 61 (2013): 57–121, here at 80.

[262] Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski, "Przykra prawda historyczna," *Nasz Dziennik,* February 3, 2005.

hostility.[263] A snitch of Jewish origin in the Warsaw office of the Main Welfare Council (*Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*), by the name of Stefan Idzikowski, is believed to have handed over to the Gestapo a list of

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[263] Assimilationists and especially converts were generally loathed in the ghettos. In his chronicle of the Warsaw ghetto Emanuel Ringelblum notes that Jewish nationalists were delighted that the Jews were finally separated from the Poles, albeit in ghettos, seeing in this the beginnings of a separate Jewish state on Polish territory. Hatred towards Polish Christians grew in the ghetto because it was believed that they were responsible for the economic restrictions and other hardships that befell the Jews. Moreover, many Jews embarked on a battle against the use of the Polish language in the ghetto, especially in Jewish agencies and education, and were opposed to Jewish converts occupying positions of authority. See Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego: Wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 118, 214–15, 531ff. Initially, when the ghetto was established, "Jewish nationalism was so strong that Poles of Jewish origin were not allowed to hold any positions." Jewish teachers' associations refused to accept converted Jews, "regarding them in spite of the common misery as national traitors." See Ludwik Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld: The Story of One Life* (Rochester, New York: Rochester University Press, 2010), 220, 328. Some Jewish nationalists did not permit the use of the Polish language in their homes. See Antoni Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1995), 46; Antoni Marianowicz, *Life Strictly Forbidden* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004). That author also attests to the fact that converts were generally detested (p. 47), and to the pro-German attitudes of some Jews in the ghetto (pp. 66–67, 190). A Jewish memoir describes how children who did not speak Yiddish, which was a German-based language, were ostracized by Yiddish-speaking children in the Warsaw ghetto: they were disparaged as "Poles" and "converts" and were even pelted with rocks. See Małgorzata-Maria Acher, *Niewłaściwa twarz: Wspomnienia ocalałej z warszawskiego getta* (Częstochowa: Święty Paweł, 2001), 48. A Jewish woman who did not speak Yiddish turned to a bearded Jew in Polish. She recalled his hostile reaction: "I think he understood me, but he got very angry that I did not speak Yiddish, so he spat at me, *'Du solst starben zwischem goyim!'* I did not understand exactly what he said, so I went back to my apartment and repeated it to my mother. 'What does *'Du solst starben zwischem goyim'* mean?' She said, 'Who cursed you like this?' She explained to me that he had said, 'May you die amongst the *goyim*!' He said this because if you do not speak Yiddish, you were an outcast." See Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 39. According to a non-Yiddish speaking Jew who was confined in the Warsaw ghetto, a Jew who did not speak Yiddish was considered a *Yecke,* a piece of trash, by Jews who spoke Yiddish. See Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 51. Rabbi Huberband lamented that he saw a group of Hassids in the ghetto who were "as drunk as goys." See Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 131.

According to one source, there were fewer than 1,600 Christian converts in the Warsaw ghetto; according to other sources, there may have been as many as 2,000 or even 5,000. See, respectively, Yisrael Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1982), 59; Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven, Connecticut, and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 652—translated from the Polish: Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *Getto warszawskie: Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2001), which was followed by a second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2013); Peter F. Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto: An Epitaph for the Unremembered* (Notre Dame Indiana: Notre Dame University, 2005), 66–68. According to one study, converts were "generally despised by the wider ghetto society." They "were accused of lack morality, of having spiritual complexes of megalomania toward Jews, and of having an inferiority complex toward Christians." See Katarzyna Person, *Assimilated Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1943* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 46. In his memoir, Rabbi Chaim Aron Kaplan expressed tremendous rancor toward Jewish converts, to whom he attributed the vilest of motives, and rejoiced at their misfortune: "I shall, however, have revenge on our 'converts.' I will laugh aloud at the sight of their tragedy. … Conversion brought them but small deliverance. … This is the first time in my life that a feeling of vengeance has given me pleasure." See Abraham I. Katsh, ed., *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965), 78–79, 250 (Kaplan suggests that Jewish informers may have been behind their betrayal to the Germans). Traditionally, Jews viewed converts as particularly virulent "enemies of Israel." See Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto,* 101. Even Jewish atheists openly declared their disdain toward converts. See Grace Caporino and Dianne Isaacs, "Testimonies from the 'Aryan' Side: 'Jewish Catholics' in the Warsaw Ghetto," in John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, eds., *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), vol. 1, 194. As many accounts confirm, the general sentiment toward Jewish converts to Christianity living inside the ghetto was one of hostility and loathing. The Orthodox members of the Jewish council attempted to deny Christian Jews the rights and help given to Jews in the ghetto. See Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto,* 70. They were detested for everything: their betrayal of Judaism, their use of the Polish language, their education and social and economic status, their alleged air of superiority and anti-Semitism, and even the assistance they received from Caritas, a Catholic relief organization. Soon malicious, but false, stories spread that they had taken over the senior positions in the ghetto administration and controlled the Jewish police force. See Havi Ben-Sasson,"Christians in the Ghetto: All Saints' Church, Birth of the

Jewish Christians who remained outside the Warsaw ghetto.[264]

Although historian Lucy Dawidowicz has stated that the Poles have only themselves to blame for the fact that the Germans executed so many Polish benefactors and their Jewish charges,[265] examples of betrayals by Jews (including Gestapo agents) and by others (Ukrainians,[266] ethnic Germans,[267] Gypsies,[268] Lithuanians[269]), often with fatal consequences for Polish rescuers, are plentiful. Jews who fell into the hands of the Germans were interrogated about their benefactors and frequently succumbed. Jews wrote letters to the German authorities denouncing Jews who had remained outside the ghetto or concealed their possessions, who were involved in illicit trade or in illegal political activities, and for other reasons.[270] Jews also sent denunciations against Poles involved in the anti-Nazi conspiracy.[271]

A Jew, illegally outside the ghetto in Warsaw, was caught by a German gendarme; in exchange for his own life, he offered to denounce other Jews on the "Aryan" side—scores of Jews were tracked down and

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[264] Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto,* 48.

[265] See Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 117: "Indeed, it can be shown that many of the Poles whom the Germans murdered because they were protecting Jews had been betrayed by their bounty-hunting fellow Poles." Dawidowicz apparently cannot fathom that Jews could also be a source of danger for fellow Jews and also Poles; in the case of the latter, she doubtless considers the phenomenon to be irrelevant, given the strident hostility toward Poles that permeates her "moralistic" writings.

[266] A prominent example is the betrayal by a Ukrainian policeman of a bunker built by the Józefek family in Lwów. As a result all 36 Jews sheltered there were killed, as well as three members of the Józefek family. See Michał Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993), 224–25; Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* Part One, 177 (entries 281 and 283). A Ukrainian by the name of Mroz was a Gestapo confidant in Warsaw. See the testimony of Stefania Lange, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6122. A Ukrainian serving in the Polish police force was responsible for the denunciation of the Ulma family of Markowa, who were executed for sheltering Jews. See Mateusz Szpytma, *Sprawiedliwi i ich świat: Markowa w fotografii Józefa Ulmy,* 2nd revised and expanded edition (Kraków: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej and Instytut Studiów Strategicznych, 2015). A Ukrainian police inspector in Kolbuszowa was responsible for the execution of 38 Jews. See Naftali Salsitz, "The Holocaust in Kolbuszowa," in I.M. Biderman, ed., *Pinkas Kolbishov* (New York: United Kolbushover, 1971), 55ff. (English section); Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945,* 398 (a Jewish woman passing in Warsaw was recognized by a Ukrainian woman from Lwów who threatened to go to the Gestapo; the Home Army pronounced a death sentence on the Ukrainian woman and she was never heard from again). For additional examples of denunciations by Ukrainians of Polish rescuers and their Jewish charges and Polish rescuers who were killed by members of the Ukrainian nationalist underground for sheltering Jews, see Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* entry 395 (Potok Górny, near Tomaszów Lubelski); Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych,* 475 (Korolówka, near Borszczów); Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 861 (Zawóz, near Wołkowyja), 868–69 (Lwów); Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 744 (Busk); *Na Rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 90 (2007): 44 (Chłaniów, near Krasnystaw); Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Aleksandra Namysło, eds., *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019), 302–3 (Maria Strutyńska and her family of Drohobycz were denounced by a Ukrainian neighbour).

[267] See, for example, Theresa Cahn-Tober, *Hide and Seek: A Wartime Childhood* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 68 (a betrayal by a *Volksdeutscher* in Warsaw).

[268] See, for example, Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 76 (a Gypsy informer by the name of Cabaj who was on the lookout for Jews and partisans in and near Kraków).

[269] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 333.

[270] Engelking, *"Szanowny panie gistapo",* 45–46, 48–49, 52, 72, 77–78, 85–86, 93, 98–99, 111.

[271] Engelking, *"Szanowny panie gistapo",* 50–51.

executed in the Jewish cemetery as a result.[272] A young Jewish woman by the name of Celina who was captured by the Gestapo disclosed the hiding place of another Jewish woman, Wanda, who had helped her find a placement in Warsaw. Both women were executed in the Pawiak prison.[273] Wacław Łada, who has been recognized by Yad Vashem, was betrayed to the Gestapo by a Jew named Heniek, to whom he provided false idenity documents in Warsaw. He was sent to Auschwitz in April 1943, and luckily survived two years of incarceration in various German concentration camps.[274] A Jew who was seized during a Gestapo raid on an apartment in Warsaw, where he was sheltered by a Pole, broke down under torture and betrayed another apartment where Jews were hiding.[275] Another Jew, by the name of Natek, succumbed to torture and revealed to the Gestapo several apartment hiding places in Warsaw.[276] An elderly Jew who was expelled from a hiding place in Warsaw for lack of funds, betrayed this hiding place where other Jews were also hiding to extortionists.[277] Simha Rotem (Ratajzer or Rathaiser) recalled that, on a food smuggling expedition, upon joining a group of Jews who were returning from work on the Aryan side to the Warsaw ghetto,

> The Jews suspected I wasn't Jewish, that I had been planted among them as a provocateur. They whispered among themselves about turning me over to the German [guard]. I begged them to believe that I was a Jew, and to prove it I started speaking in Yiddish and muttering prayers. Finally, they gave in …[278]

Joseph Dattner, who was passing as Christian in Warsaw on Aryan papers, was fingered by Jews in the company of Gestapo men. He was seized and taken with three other Jews to a nearby cemetery where they were to be shot. Miraculously, the German officer who was assigned to execute Dattner, deliberately shot his gun into the air and Dattner survived.[279] Ignacy Gotfryd, who was passing as a Christian in Warsaw, was arrested after he was denounced by Jan Kasprzak, a Jew from Gdańsk, who was in the services of the Gestapo.[280] Hanka Hakman Pilichowska recalled how her older sister, Lola Hakman Dolfangraber, was

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[272] Lucyna Paszkowska-Brown, "'Syjonizm' i 'antysemityzm,'" *Dziennik Polski* (London), May 15, 1968.

[273] Hanna Wehr, *Ze wspomnień* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2001).

[274] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 351. The entry for Wacław Łada in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 440, is silent about who betrayed Łada.

[275] Simha Rotem ("Kazik"), *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter: The Past Within Me* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 81.

[276] Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter,* 105.

[277] Testimony of Stefa Popowcer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4033.

[278] Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter,* 17.

[279] Interview with Joseph Dattner, dated December 20, 1988, Phoenix Holocaust Survivors' Association in affiliation with the Cline Library of Northern Arizona University.

[280] Jerzy Diatłowicki and Janusz Roszkowski, eds., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2010), vol. 2, 216.

denounced by a Jew after she left the Warsaw ghetto with her young daughter Ela. As a result, Lola perished. Residing outside the ghetto, Hanka feared running into Franka Manheimer, a friend of hers from Łódź, who became an informer for the Germans.[281] Roman Kierszniewski, a Polish rescuer from Warsaw, recalled the fate of one of his charges:

> I helped a Jewish man, Mieczysław Prożański, who concealed himself in a mechanic's workshop on Leszno Street in Wola, next to the Warsaw ghetto. He hid in the garret, where he did the bookkeeping for the shop. Working in the same shop as a watchman, I often gave Prożański food or clothes. Once I even participated in an action to ransom him from the Jewish militia, which had seized him after he was denounced by another Jew in the ghetto. Prożański was seized and shot by the Germans on the second day of the Warsaw Uprising.[282]

Franciszek Antczak built a bunker on his sister's farm in the village of Nacpolsk, near Płońsk, where they hid two Jewish men, Mosze Kuperman and Józef Lewin. His widowed sister, Zofia Szkop, was assisted by her children. Kuperman was captured by German gendarmes when he left the bunker in February 1944. Following an interrogation by the Gestapo, he led them to the hideout. All of the adult members of the family who had given refuge to the Jews were arrested. Franciszek Antczak was sent to a concentration camp from which he never returned. Kazimierz Szkop, Zofia's son, received a death sentence and was executed in prison. Zofia Antczak was sentenced to three months in a penal camp. Kuperman was shot to death while trying to escape, while Lewin was fortunate to flee from the Gestapo and survived.[283] The Trzciński family of Skwary, near Płońsk, was one of several families betrayed Jews to whom they had given shelter. Five Poles were executed publicly on November 21, 1943 for helping Jews.[284] A Jewish escapee from the Płońsk ghetto who found shelter with a Polish family in the nearby village of Naruszewo was caught by the Germans when he ventured out to inquire about his family. After betraying his benefactors, the Gestapo descended on their home and seized the husband and father of four young children. He was sent to Mauthausen where he was killed two weeks before the end of the war.[285]

A group of Jews dug pits and bunkers connected by tunnels in a field belonging to Zofia Wysmulska in the village of Moszeńki, near Jastków, northwest of Lublin. The woman brought food to the Jews. The Jews tried to poison a Jewish girl by the name of Slawa, said to be insane from typhus, who left the bunker and ran to Jastków, where she disclosed the hideout to the German authorities. The military police was dispatched and killed Wysmulska and her servant, Marianna Barszcz, and burned down her house. Four

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[281] Testimony of Hanka Apolonia Pilichowska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 26808.

[282] Lukas, *Out of the Inferno,* 90.

[283] Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), 530; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, vol. 1, 86–87.

[284] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 319–20.

[285] Jolanta Chodorska, ed., *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny: Świadectwa nadesłane na apel Radia Maryja* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, 2002), Part One, 34–35.

Jews hiding in a barn that was set on fire were also killed.[286] Stanisława Olewnik, who lived in the village of Krzemień gave shelter to members of the Mławski family after they escaped from the ghetto in Maków Mazowiecki and provided Henia Mławska with her identity document. When Henia Mławska was apprehended by the Germans in fall of 1943, she divulged this to the Gestapo during interrogation. Three members of the Mławski family and their benefactor were deported to Auschwitz, where they perished.[287]

A Jewish woman imprisoned in the Łącki Street prison in Lwów recalled some of her fellow prisoners:

> A Polish and a Ukrainian woman were in for hiding Jews. The Polish woman had hidden a father and daughter in a crate, and three Jews in a space behind a wall. The police discovered the ones inside the wall, and then those Jews betrayed the father and daughter hidden in the crate. The Polish and the Ukrainian woman were jailed. The Pole took all the blame, i.e., accepted responsibility and was sent to Majdanek, and the Ukrainian was freed.[288]

When a Jew by the name of Mensch was caught in a village outside Żółkiew, under torture he disclosed the hiding places of three other Jews; all four Jews were executed.[289] Some Jews apprehended by the Germans in Łąki Strzyżowskie, near Frysztak, drew sketches showing the location of Jewish hideouts in the forests during their interrogation.[290] Witold Fomienko, a Polish barber in Łuck, Volhynia, and his many Jewish charges were more fortunate. When Esther Milner, one of his charges, was identified by a Ukrainian nationalist and interrogated, her connection with Fomienko was discovered. Formienko was tortured by the Gestapo, and it was only thanks to a German officer who was a client of his that he was released.[291]

Nine escapees from trains headed for Treblinka were sheltered by Józef Gondrowicz and his wife in the village of Droblin, near Wodzisław, south of Jędrzejów. Carelessness on the part of one of the Jewish children led to the discovery of the hiding place in December 1944. David Braun and Shmuel and Alek Rubinek were killed on the spot while the remaining refugees managed to escape to a new hiding place

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[286] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 342–43. See also Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 164–66, where the name of the woman is given as Smoleski. According to another version of this story, the woman had given shelter to a girl from Lublin and some other Jewish fugitives. The girl caught typhus and went a little crazy from the fever, and wandered off. She went to the house of the district head and gave the Jews and their benefactor away. Fearful of trouble from the authorities, the district head informed the Germans. The Germans came and set fire to the house. Sever Rubinstein's father and his protector were burned to death. The other Jews managed to escape. See Gruber, *I Chose Life,* 96–97.

[287] "Relatives of the Late Stanisława Olejnik Accepted the [sic] Her Award of Righteous Among the Nations," December 21, 2012, Internet: <http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/cms/news-archive/860,relatives-of-the-late-stanislawa-olewnik-accepted-the-her-award-of-righteous-among-the-nations/>; Bohdan Piętka, "Polacy ratujący Żydów: Stanisława Olewnik i rodzina Mławskich," May 12, 2014, Internet: <https://histmag.org/Polacy-ratujacy-Zydow-Stanislawa-Olewnik-i-rodzina-Mlawskich-10383>.

[288] Testimony of Erna Klinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1096.

[289] Gerszon Taffet, *Zagłada Żydów żółkiewskich* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, 1946), 65.

[290] Stanisław Zabierowski, *Rzeszowskie pod okupacją hitlerowską* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1975), 198, 200.

[291] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 219.

arranged for them by Gondrowicz in a nearby village. Fearing arrest, the entire Gondrowicz family also went into hiding, until they felt it was safe to return.[292]

A Jewish woman from Międzyrzec Podlaski who fell into the hands of the Gestapo disclosed an underground organization spiriting Jews to Warsaw:

> The Kamienietzki sisters had given Aryan papers and their underground address in Warsaw to Miss Tisch of Miedzyrzec [Międzyrzec] … She was dark-haired and looked very Jewish. She was arrested on the train to Warsaw and taken to the Gestapo in Miedzyrzec. Under torture she revealed everything. A few days later the Gestapo man … arrived at the Kamienietzkis' apartment instead of Miss Tisch's [sic]. He reminded the sisters of his warning. … he said he would not shoot them as he did Miss Tisch. He arrested them and sent them to the Pawiak prison in Warsaw. In the end it was the same. All the Jews in Pawiak were killed.[293]

The parents of Janeczka Kapral, a young Jewish girl who was sheltered by Polish nuns in Olsztyn, near Częstochowa, were caught by the Germans and betrayed the whereabouts of their daughter and the Polish woman, a school teacher by the name of Kita, who had brought her to the convent. The young girl was seized by the Gestapo and the teacher was also arrested and killed. The nuns dispersed to avoid arrest.[294]

A Jew who was sheltered in Sambor ventured out of the home of his benefactors. Caught by the Germans, in an attempt to gain his own release he betrayed the hideout causing the execution of the Polish-Ukrainian couple who sheltered him as well as a Jewish couple they were hiding.[295] A Jewish woman who was denounced in Sambor betrayed another Jewish woman.[296] The son of Henryk Bermer, a Jewish bookstore owner in Jasło, was hidden by Professor Król. The young man was discovered and executed. Professor Król and one member of his wife's family (Dutkiewicz) were arrested. After a lengthy interrogation, they were released. Before the young man's death, the Nazis confiscated his notebook. In it he had written the names of several Catholics from Jasło with whom he was in contact. The Gestapo interrogated them all.[297]

The carelessness of a friend taken in by Noemi K. of Lwów led to the friend's arrest by the Gestapo and the loss of a safe place of residence for Noemi K.[298] The carelessness of a Jewish woman, who tried to enter

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[292] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 246.

[293] Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 132.

[294] Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 84, 178–79.

[295] Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach,* 228. The young daughter of the executed Jewish couple, Henriette Kretz, managed to escape from the German executioners who killed her parents and their benefactors and took shelter in a local orphanage run by the Sisters of the Family of Mary. See Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć,"*Nasz Dziennik,* April 4, 2008; Henriette Kretz, "A Child of the Holocaust," *The Ivansk Project e-Newsletter,* Issue Number 31, July–August 2008, 16.

[296] Testimony of Irena Langer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1747.

[297] Jakub Herzig, "Jasło: The Birth and Death of a Jewish Community in Poland from Its Beginnings to the Holocaust," Internet: <http://home.earthlink.net/~jackherzig/jaslo/>.

[298] Małgorzata Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość: Polscy Żydzi ocaleni "na aryjskich papierach": Analiza doświadczenia biograficznego* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004), 153.

a hideout on Źródlana Street in Lwów, alerted the Germans, who apprehended 18 Jews.[299] In Huziejów, a village near Bolechów, south of Stryj, some 40 Jews hidden by the local miller were exposed when of the Jews hidden there was caught when he went to his former home to pick up valuables out of the cache on hearing that the house was being dismantled. The miller and his wife also paid with their lives.[300]

A seven-year-old Jewish boy hidden by Polish family in Przemyśl carelessly revealed that he was Jewish and the Germans took him away. Following the boy's arrest, the Germans discovered his parents' hiding place and murdered them as well.[301] Jewish children hidden in an orphanage in Przemyśl run by the Salesian Fathers were more fortunate. A Jewish boy who was sheltered there recalled the arrival of the Germans who came looking for Jewish boys. The Germans were accompanied by a Jew dressed as a priest. Fortunately, the Jewish boys passed the religious test they were subjected to.[302]

A Jew in the Stanisławów ghetto fingered Jumko Mandel for hiding away some meat illegally. He and his wife were arrested and taken away by the Gestapo.[303] A Jewish woman from Stanisławów and her sister-in-law from Lwów, posing as Poles, were apprehended when they arrived in Warsaw and were leaving the train station. They were taken to a police station where they were questioned by two police interrogators:

> One of them wanted to finish, but the other was determined to destroy me. They examined each of us in minute religious matters, and went over all our documents. They spoke only Yiddish during all of this, and even sang some Yiddish songs. Then they started arguing: the first one wanted to let us go and the other to turn us over to the Germans.
>
> We were finally freed after two hours of interrogation …[304]

A large group of Jews hidden on a farm in Zamienie, in Polesia (Polesie), was betrayed by a 13-year-old Jewish boy whom the group was reluctant to take in because he was poor. The Jewish teenager reported the hiding place to the SS stationed in Lubieszów. The Jews and their Polish benefactors were executed and the farmstead was burned to the ground. The young Jew became a servant for the Germans until he was himself executed in April 1943, when the unit was transferred to Luboml.[305]

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[299] Testimony of Henryka Trauber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1385.

[300] Joseph Adler, "Chapters of Annihilation," in Y. Eshel, ed., *Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Bolechow*, Internet: <http:www.jewishgen.orf/Yizkor/Bolekhov/Bolekhov.html>, translation of *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kedoshei Bolechow* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Bolechow in Israel, 1957), 120ff., 305ff.

[301] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 5: *Poland,* Part 2, 546.

[302] Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 204.

[303] William Tannenzapf and Renate Krakauer, *Memories From the Abyss/But I Had a Happy Childhood* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2009), 16. Tannenzapf also mentions how, after getting a good position in a German company in Stanisławów, Jakob Mandel hired Jews who had money, and "overnight became the most important and feared person in the community." Ibid., 20.

[304] Account of F.I. in Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 305.

[305] Account of Zbigniew Małyszczycki, dated November 23, 1997 (in the author's possession).

Jewish escapees apprehended by the Germans near Lubienia, south of Piotrków Trybunalski, betrayed many farmers and gamekeepers who had assisted them, thus causing the execution of more than a dozen Poles.[306] The Łodej family of Lubienia, near Iłża, consisting of eight people—grandparents, parents, and four children ages 6 to 14, were executed in December 1942, after they and the hideouts of a 40-member Jewish forest group whom they were helping were betrayed by one of the Jews captured by German gendarmes.[307]

Józef Rydzewski built a hiding place for the seven-member family of Abram Malczak on his farm in Budy Stawiskie, near Łomża. One day Abram Malczak's young son recklessly left the hiding place and was apprehended by German gendarmes patrolling the area. After a beating he led the Germans to the hiding place. Rydzewski and the entire Jewish family were executed.[308] For this same reason several Polish farmers were also seized by the Germans in a neighbouring village and never heard of again.[309]

Władysława Blitzer sheltered several Jews in Kraków, among them, Ludwik Blitzer, whom she married in 1941. They were denounced by Józef Fas, a Jew. Ludwik Blitzer was executed in December 1942, while his wife was imprisoned.[310] Władysław Łopatowski, who was active in the Council for Aid to Jews ("Żegota") in Kraków, was arrested by the Gestapo after his betrayal by a Jewish woman for whom he had obtained forged identity papers. The woman was caught by the Gestapo and under torture revealed his name, and was then shot herself. After a 10-month incarceration, Łopatowski was hanged in public on June 24, 1944, along with 49 other Poles.[311]

Roman Blum, a member of the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe), obtained false documents from underground sources in the name of Jagusch or Jagusz for a Jewish woman, who was later stopped by the police. She disclosed the name of the person who provided her with the document. Roman Blum was arrested in Kraków in December 1943, but betrayed no one. He was deported to the Gross-Rosen (Groß-Rosen) concentration camps, and later to Flossenburg, where perished in March 1945.[312] Franciszka Zając, who was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, rescued and assisted several Jews in Kraków.

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[306] Antoni Heda, *Wspomnienia "Szarego"* (Warsaw: Interim, 1991), 43–44; Marian Langer, *Lasy i ludzie: Wspomnienia z lasów starachowickich 1939–1945* (Warsaw: n.p., 1993), 91.

[307] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 250; Grądzka-Rejak and Sitarek, *The Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Relations,* 313; Aleksandra Namysło, ed., *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...": Polacy niosący pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komsija Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2009), 133–39; Maria Pilarska, ed., *Those Who Helped: Polish Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust,* Part Three (Warsaw: The Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against the Polish Nation–The Institute of National Memory and The Polish Society For the Righteous Among Nations, 1997), 89–90 (enties 336–343).

[308] Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, "Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej," *Studia Podlaskie,* vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, here at 368; Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia: O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," in Adam Dobroński and Waldemar Monkiewicz, eds., *Białostoccy Żydzi,* vol. 2 (Białystok: Instytut Historii Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1997), 170.

[309] Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part One, 156–57.

[310] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 146.

[311] Henry Armin Herzog, *...And Heaven Shed No Tears* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1995), 268–69.

[312] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 400–406.

Unfortunately, one of those she had helped was caught, and in his interrogation gave away her name. Zając was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943. She was interrogated and tortured, causing her permanent damage to her health. Despite this, however, she did not betray any of her wards. She was released after spending eight months in prison.[313]

There were cases when Jews caught by the Germans while escaping from the ghetto in Rzeszów betrayed those who had helped them escape.[314] Antoni Burek was executed in Gutanów, near Grabów, after a Jew who was apprehended by the Germans betrayed his Polish benefactors.[315] A 14-year-old Jewish boy from Modryń, near Hrubieszów, who was apprehended during an excursion from his forest dugout, led a German search party to apprehend his Polish protector after beatings and false promises that he and his sister would be spared.[316] A young Jewish woman by the name of Boruch was apprehended and beaten by the German military police. Given a promise that her life would be spared, she revealed the names of the Poles who had sheltered and helped her. As a result, seven Poles were executed in Majdan Nowy, near Księżopol, together with the Jewish woman.[317]

Józef Dybka, a member of the Home Army and employee of the municipal office in Nisko, provided false documents to the underground and those in need. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and executed the following year after a Jewish woman who had been apprehended by the Germans produced a document provided to her by Dybka.[318] Jadwiga Wiśniewska, a Polish woman who acted as a courier for the Jewish underground, was captured by the Gestapo in June 1941, after she was fingered by a Jewish woman, who was falsely accused of being the owner of a suitcase containing underground publications which actually belonged to Wiśniewska. Luckily, Wiśniewska concocted an alibi and was able to deceive her captors with the help of the Polish Socialist underground, and thus miraculously survived the close call.[319]

Stanisława Olewnik of the village of Krzemień, a farm labourer and mother of two small sons, sheltered in her home the five-member Mławski family, who had escaped from the Maków Mazowiecki ghetto. She

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[313] Franciszka Zając, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7037562>.

[314] Franciszek Kotula, *Losy Żydów rzeszowskich 1939–1944: Kronika tamtych dni* (Rzeszów: Społeczny Komitet Wydania Dzieł Franciszka Kotuli w Rzeszowie, 1999), 189, 193.

[315] Stanisław Kaniewski and Bożenna Roguska-Gajewska, "Gdy stawką w walce o życie było inne życie," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej,* vol. 35 (1993): 192; Sebastian Piątkowski, "Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków zamieszkałych we wsiach Lubelszczyzny w latach 1939–1944: Wybór materiałów źródłowych," in Marcin Przegiętka et al., eds., *Polska pod okupacją 1939–1945,* vol. 2 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komsija Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2016), 205–57, here at 226–27.

[316] Waldemar Lotnik with Julian Preece, *Nine Lives: Ethnic Conflict in the Polish-Ukrainian Borderlands* (London: Serif, 1999), 24.

[317] Pilarska, *Those Who Helped,* 69 (entry 147); Stanisław Kaniewski and Bożenna Roguska-Gajewska, "Gdy stawką w walce o życie było inne życie," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej,* vol. 35 (1993): 186–87.

[318] Bolesław Chmara, Dionizy Garbacz, Tadeusz Michalewicz, Zbigniew Paszkiewicz, and Stanisław Puchalski, eds., *Słownik poległych członków Armii Krajowej Obwodu Nisko–Stalowa Wola 1939–1944–1956* (Stalowa Wola: n.p., 1990), 22–23.

[319] Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 100–103.

also provided her own documents to their daughter to facilitate her survival. When the Mławskis, who were hiding in the forest at the time, were apprehended by the Germans during a raid in the fall of 1943, under interrogation one of the daughters revealed their benefactor. Stanisława Olewnik and was sent to Auschwitz alongside the family she attempted to save. They all perished in 1944.[320]

Anna Koźmińska was beaten to death after a Jew apprehended by the German authorities indicated that he had been sheltered in her home in Kamionka Mała, near Limanowa.[321] When a frightened Polish farmer near Łosice asked his four Jewish charges to leave their hideout under his pigsty, one of the Jews who was expelled went to the German police to report the farmer: "After he gave the Germans the facts, they led him back to the farm, killed the peasant and Aryeh [Lieberman]'s cousin, and set the house ablaze."[322] Twenty-eight Poles were executed by the Germans in the villages of Jagodne and Zastawie, near Siedlce, after a Jew by the name of Gdala who was caught by the Germans pointed out those who had helped him.[323]

Many Jews who hid during the liquidation of the ghetto in Sokołów Podlaski were betrayed by fellow Jews, so-called catchers, who found their hideouts or lured them out with false promises.[324] When a Jew by the name of Lejzor was apprehended by the Germans near Sokołów Podlaski, he denounced several Poles who had provided him with food and shelter, resulting in their execution.[325] When the Germans apprehended a young Jewish girl who went out to obtain food, she betrayed the hideout of eleven Jews on the Karski estate near Sokołów Podlaski. Those Jews were burned alive.[326]

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[320] Internet: <http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/cms/archiwum-aktualnosci/854,odznaczenie-sprawiedliwych-w-70-rocznice-powstania-zegoty-/>; Ceremony of Presenting The Righteous Among the Nations Awards, Warsaw, December 4, 2012.

[321] Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...",* 179–81.

[322] Weinstein, *Quenched Steel,* 144; Weinstein, *17 Days in Treblinka,* 144. The peasant poured boiling water into the hideout to chase out the Jews he had been sheltering.

[323] Kopówka, *Żydzi w Siedlcach 1850–1945,* 154; Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part Two, 65–66. This led to some villagers in nearby Trzciniec to kill Szmul and Gieńka Krawiec; they were afraid that if the Krawiecs were arrested, they would divulge the names of the householders who had helped them. See Kopówka, *Żydzi siedleccy,* 154.

[324] Testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085; Testimony of Alek Hamburger, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/2734; Zofia Chyrya-Rolicz, Renata Tarasiuk, and Edward Kopka, eds., *Żydzi na Podlasiu* (Siedlce: Akademia Podlaska, 2910), 339; Sokołów Podlaski Ghetto, POLIN—Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/s/1042-sokolow-podlaski/116-sites-of-martyrdom/50901-sokolow-podlaski-ghetto >. Although she refers to the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* and a much shorter testimony of Josek (Józef) Kopyto, historian Miranda Brethour covers up the existence and harmful conduct of the 30-member Jewish police force and the involvement of Jews ("catchers") in seeking out fellow Jews who hid during the liquidation of the ghetto. Instead, she writes: "While the Germans, along with their Polish and Ukrainian collaborators, located the majority of hiding places, a few remained undetected." See Miranda Brethour, "Jewish–Gentile Relations in Hiding during the Holocaust in Sokołów County, Poland (1942–1944)," *The Journal of Holocaust Research,* vol. 33, no. 4 (2019): 277–301, at 286.

[325] Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part Two, 123. A similar incident is described by Josek Kopyto, who identifies the Jew in question as a resident of the village of Tchórznica Włościańska. See the testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085.

[326] Testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085.

A Jew from Łuków betrayed his son, Lajbele Bomstein, his son's girlfriend, and some other Jews who were sheltered by Poles. All of the Jews as well as the Polish family hiding them were killed by the Germans.[327]

Rev. Romuald Świrkowski, the pastor of the parish of the Holy Spirit in Wilno, was betrayed by Jews whom he sheltered. He was arrested in January 1942 and executed in Ponary.[328] A captured Jewish woman gave away the names of nine Poles who had helped Jewish fugitives near Jawornik. In all, nine Poles and seven Jews were shot.[329]

Rev. Edward Tabaczkowski, who sheltered and provided various forms of assistance to Jews, was executed after his betrayal to the Gestapo by a Jewess from Tłumacz.[330] A Polish couple, Maria and Bronisław Jarosiński, were arrested by the Gestapo and Ukrainian police in Stryj after being betrayed by a Jew whom they did not accept because of a lack of room (they were already sheltering a Jewish family consisting of five members). They rescuers were soon executed, as doubtless were the Jewish charges.[331]

Katarzyna Bydoń, who provided extensive help to her former employers, the Klugers, who were confined in the Chrzanów ghetto, was denounced to the Gestapo by a Jew.

> The fact that Katarzyna was helping people did not sit well with everyone. A certain Jew chose to report to the Gestapo that she had stolen Jewish property and was also aiding Jews, a grave crime in the German regime. The Gestapo arrested Katarzyna and tortured her, despite her respectable age of 70, for six straight weeks, trying to find out whom she had helped, until she perished from her suffering in the Gestapo cell.[332]

Abraham Tracy (Trasawucki) was one of six Jews hidden in a barn on a farm belonging to the Oleynik family near the town of Skała Podolska. Since the only female among the group, Ruzie, caught a cold with a heavy cough, she was invited to stay in their house until she was feeling better.

> On the third day after Ruzie had entered the house, several Ukrainian policemen entered the courtyard, accompanied by a fourteen-year-old Jewish boy. The officers demanded that the Oleyniks give up the Jews who were hiding on the property. Nikolai [Oleynik] denied hiding anyone, but this young boy insisted that there were Jews there, listing all of our names. I have no

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[327] Krzysztof Czubaszek, *Żydzi z Łukowa i okolic* (Warsaw: Danmar, 2008), 93; Mojsze Sznejser, as told to Jakub Rajchman, "Robiłem buty, odmawiałem kadzisz," *Rzeczpospolita,* January 29–30, 2005.

[328] Zygmunt Zieliński, ed., *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945: Metropolie wileńska i lwowska, zakony* (Katowice: Unia, 1992), 52.

[329] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 517; based on Andrzej Potocki, *Żydzi w Podkaprapackiem* (Rzeszów: Libra, 2004), 72.

[330] Lesław Jeżowski, "Ks. Edward Tabaczkowski," *Semper Fidelis* (Wrocław), no. 3 (16) 1993: 10.

[331] Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part Two, 164–65. An official German announcement of January 28, 1944 concerning the death sentence imposed on 84 people, five of them specifically for sheltering or otherwise helpng Jews, including Bronisław Jarosziński (sic) of Stryj, is found in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945,* 442.

[332] Bydoń Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10630635>.

idea how he knew we were there, or why he was in the police station in the first place. Years later I tracked him down and attempted to question him, but he refused to discuss it.

Nikolai's wife, seeing the soldiers in the courtyard, told Ruzie to crawl into the oven to hide. Ruzie curled into the oven, and Nikolai's wife covered it, leaving her a little air to breath. The officers stormed into the house, going through the rooms and searching for Jews.

As they were ransacking the kitchen area, one of them noticed the cover of the oven moving. Ruzie was dragged out of the oven, and they began to question her.

"*Where are the others?*" they yelled.

"There are no others," she responded. Ruzie remained calm and steadfastly refused to admit to our existence. The officers beat her and continued to question her.

"*Where are the others?*"

"*There are no others.*"

"*Where are the others?*"

"*There are no others.*"

Seeing that they would not get information from her this way, they began to ask her other questions.

"How did you get here?"

"I was walking from the forest and I saw you approaching. I ran into this house to hide."

The officers were skeptical. "Is that so? You don't look like you were hiding in the forest. You don't look cold enough or dirty enough. You have been hiding here for some time." The officers continued to beat her. "You are lying to us! Tell us where the others are and we will leave you alone. You can stay in this house and we will do you no harm."

The interrogation went on for some time, but Ruzie heroically stood her ground. The officers searched the entire house and barn, but were unable to find us, as we were hiding in the bunker. When they finally gave up their search, they harnessed their horses, threw Ruzie into their wagon, drove her to the fields and shot her to death.

We were still in the bunker several hours. We had heard the noises of what had happened in the house and we were still afraid to come out. The bunker was cramped and there was little air to breathe.

When darkness fell, Nikolai appeared in the barn with a hatchet in his hands. He was drunk and angry, and he smashed at the entrance of the bunker, breaking the boards that concealed us.

"*Get out!*" he yelled. "Get out of here!" Get off my property!"

We tried to talk to him, to plead with him, but we could not convince him, especially in his drunken state. In truth, I could not blame him, he had helped us for many long months, and we all owed him our lives. He had put himself and his family at great risk, and I understood his fear when he decided to throw us out.

No, Nikolai was not to blame. I could feel his pain and I was not angry with him for his actions. It was the young Jewish boy whom I could not forgive. …

The five of us left Nikolai's property, thinking of Ruzie and her loyalty, and of this young boy and his betrayal.[333]

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[333] Abraham Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2007), 195–97.

One has to wonder how many other Jews this Jewish boy must have betrayed in order to have been useful to the Germans and to have survived the war. The fact that the Oleyniks were Ukrainians likely spared them the fate they would have met had they been Poles.

Many examples of betrayal by Jews of Polish rescuers, who were put to death as a result, and their Jewish charges can be found in Wacław Zajączkowski's chronicle *Martyrs of Charity*:[334] Będzin (entry 51); Bidaczów Nowy (entry 61);[335] Bobowa (entry 65);[336] Boiska (entry 68);[337] Busko-Zdrój (entry 93);[338] Cezaryn (entry 95);[339] Chmielnik (entry 98);[340] Chotel Czerwony (entry 102);[341] Czermna (entry 119);[342] Częstochowa (entry 124)—Rev. Teodor Popczyk, vicar of St. Barbara's parish, was shot by the German security police on June 16, 1943, after being betrayed, under torture, by a Jew to whom he had issued false

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[334] Wacław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987).

[335] Jan and Maria Wróbel were executed after the Jews they had sheltered were apprehended and betrayed their benefactors. See Sebastian Bojemski, "Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków zamieszkałych we wsiach Lubelszczyzny w latach 1939–1944: Wybór materiałów źródłowych," in *Polska pod okupacją 1939–1945*, vol. 2, 215.

[336] Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,* 102; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 264–65. Dr. Jan Pietrzykowski was executed after his betrayal by a woman named Holender, whom he had helped.

[337] Sebastian Piątkowski, "Zbrodnie żandarmów z posterunku w Lipsku na Wisłą na Polakach udzielających pomocy Żydom (1942–1943)," in Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...",* 21; Aleksandra Namysło and Grzegorz Berendt, eds., *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2014), 386–87. (The last of these publications is available on the Internet at: <https://arch.ipn.gov.pl/ftp/pamiec_ebooki/REJESTR_faktow_Represji.pdf>). Józef Krawczyk, his wife, Zofia, and their 5-year-old son, Adam, were shot to death by German gendarmes and their house was burned to the ground after a wounded Jew whom they had cared for betrayed them. Another family in the Lipsko area, also betrayed by a Jew whom they had sheltered, was spared, as was a Polish police commander from Ciepielów who had sold a rifle to a Jew. Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...",* 19.

[338] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 186; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 332–33. Two Jews apprehended by the Germans betrayed the identity of their protector who resided in the village of Chotel.

[339] After leaving his hiding place, Jankiel Kiwa was caught by German soldiers and, under duress, revealed his hideout with the Machul family. On July 3, 1943, the Germans searched their farmhouse and yard until they found a young Jewish woman in the hayloft. They then arrested Jan Machul and executed him together with his two Jewish charges in the nearby forest. Machul's wife and teenage daughter managed to flee. See Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II, 590–91; Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 319–20; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 223–24.

[340] Szaje Fastak, a Jewish Gestapo agent, was responsible for the deaths of several Poles.

[341] A Jewish woman betrayed her former protectors, resulting in the execution of a Polish couple. Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 394; Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 535; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 207–8.

[342] After being apprehended by the Germans, a 12-year-old Jewish boy betrayed the Garbuliński family of Czermna and Stanisław Owca of Święcany, who were sheltering a Jewish family, resulting in the execution of three Poles and three Jews. See Michał Kalisz, "Sprawiedliwi z Czermnej," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej,* no. 3 (2009): 45–49.

identity documents; Głęboka, near Gorlice (entry 158);[343] Grzegorzówka (entry 173); Gumniska (entry 174);[344] Hadle Szklarskie (entry 176); Jeziorko (entry 199)—two Polish families, consisting of 13 persons, who had cared for Jewish fugitives were shot by the Germans after being denounced by a Jew captured during a raid;[345] Korniaktów (entry 234); Kowel (entry 238)—according to another source, a Polish train conductor was seized by the German police after the Jewish police in Chełm Lubelski informed them that this Pole had sheltered and transported a Jew;[346] a Jewish woman being smuggled from Lwów to Kraków lost her nerve during a random railroad search and betrayed herself and her Polish courier from the Żegota organization (entry 248); Kryg (entry 255) and Libusza (entry 262);[347] Lipowiec Duży (entry 268);[348] Lubomierz (entry 274);[349] Łużna (entry 301);[350] Markuszowa (entry 311);[351] Mętów (entry 314);[352] Miechów (entry 317);[353] Modryń (entry 327); Mszadla Dolna, near Przyłęk (entry 333); Mystków and Ptaszkowa, near Nowy Sącz (entries 336, 405), after being apprehended and beaten severely, the brothers Chaim and Szmul Neigreschel divulged the names of two Poles who had sheltered them: Ludwik Borek of

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[343] Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945,* 113 n.62; Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 354.

[344] After being caught by German gendarmes, Samuel Wind, a Jew from Dębica, betrayed his Polish benefactors, the Zieliński family. Rozalia Zielińska, who was pregnant, was shot, while her husband managed to escape. See Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu,* vol. 1, 178; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945,* 114; Tomasz Frydel, "Powiat dębicki," in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Dalej jest noc: Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą, 2018), vol. 2, 461–62.

[345] Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc,* 501; Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 174.

[346] Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945,* 359.

[347] After being apprehended by the Germans, Henryk Morgenstern betrayed his benefactors, resulting in the arrests of four Poles, three of whom perished. See Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 361–62; Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,* 83; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 121–22.

[348] For an account of the betrayal of a Polish family in Lipowiec Duży, near Biłgoraj, by their Jewish charge who wandered off and was apprehended by the Germans, see Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 867. See also Pilarska, *Those Who Helped,* 86 (entries 311, 312, 313), 112 (entry 531).

[349] Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 174.

[350] Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,* 80–81. In addition to two Polish benefactors, two other Jews they sheltered were captured and executed as well as a result of the betrayal of Jakub Hoffman.

[351] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 404. Eugeniusz Niedziela, the betrayed rescuer, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 1993. See also Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 125.

[352] Adam Puławski, "Co robiło się na Mętowie," Internet: <http://ipn.gov.pl/portal/pl/374/4705/Co_robilo_sie_na_metowie.html>.

[353] For details regarding the betrayal by a Jewish woman of a Home Army member in Miechów who had provided her and many other Jews with identity documents, his arrest and deportation to Auschwitz, and the tragic fallout that took the lives of a Polish family, see Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 855–59, and Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...",* 105–10. See also Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 124.

Mystków and Jakub Tokarz of Ptaszków, both of whom were executed;[354] Nowy Sącz (entry 343); Pantalowice (entries 361, 362)—nine Poles were executed by the Germans as a result of a betrayal by Małka Schönfeld, a young Jewish woman who was apprehended in a forest bunker where she hid with her family and some Soviet POWs; German policemen took her on a cart and drove her through the villages of Pantalowice and Hadle Szklarskie, where she pointed out who had given help to the fugitives;[355] Piaseczno (entry 370); Pilica (entry 372);[356] Połomyja (entries 388);[357] Przewrotne (entry 404);[358] Ropa (entry 422);[359] Różan (entry 427); Rzeszów (entry 437); Sadowne (entry 440)—a baker who gave a loaf of bread to two Jewish women was executed together with his wife and son after the Jews were caught with the bread in their hands and indicated the place where they got it;[360] Siedlce (entry 451); Siedliska (entry 452);[361] Sokołów Małopolski (entry 469); Sterdyń (entry 479—this incident is described below); Stoczek (entry 480);[362] Stryj (entry 483—this incident is described above); Studzieniec (entry 484); Szerzyny (entry 489);[363] Treblinka (entries 508, 512):

> Prospective victims of the death camp were not aware of its real nature. A foreign-born Jew, when lost in transport, even brought his own ticket there in order to join his group which allegedly was

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[354] Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945,* 348–49.

[355] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 412–13; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 214–15.

[356] After the arrival in Pilica of Szymon Spitz, a Jewish Gestapo agent from Kraków, the Gestapo from Kraków and Miechów carried out arrests and executions of Poles and Jews. See Jerzy Diatłowicki, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2009), vol. 1, 307.

[357] Five members of the Rębiś family and a neighbour named Franciszek Gawryś were killed after being betrayed by a Jewish woman. See Tomasz Frydel, "Powiat dębicki," in Engelking and Grabowski, *Dalej jest noc,* vol. 2, 458–59; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 278–80.

[358] At least sixteen Poles were executed in Przewrotne in May 1943 for helping Jews, after the village was infiltrated by a Jewish Gestapo agent posing as a beggar. See Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 846–47.

[359] Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,* 84–85; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 312–13. After being betrayed by their Jewish charge, Grosser, two Polish benefactors—Bruno Szupin and Franciszek Rowiński—were executed.

[360] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 218–19.

[361] Upon capture and interrogation by the Germans, a Jewish woman betrayed the Pole who had supplied her with false documents and who had directed Jews to the Baranek family in Siedliska. For an account of the execution the Baranek family, see Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 855–59. See also Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 352–53; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 94–95. Five members of the Baranek family were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2012.

[362] Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc,* 501, n.234.

[363] Tomasz Frydel, "The Devil in Microhistory: The 'Hunt for Jews' as a Social Process, 1942–1945," in Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttmann, eds., *Microhistories of the Holocaust* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 180 (Ołpiny).

being shipped to a rural settlement. He was warned by a Polish conductor and ran away. On another occasion, however, a similar warning from a Catholic worker resulted in his immediate execution when the Jew complained to a German guard, mistrusting the "anti-Semitic" Pole.[364]

A Catholic farmer, Jan Samsel, who resided in the nearby village of Grądy, was commissioned by the Polish Home Army to deliver arms to the Jewish inmates through the intermediary of a friendly Ukrainian guard. The Germans, however, probably though a Jewish informer known as "Ignac," found out about the plan and arrested the entire Samsel family. All of them perished in the death camp.[365]

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[364] Franciszek Ząbecki, *Wspomnienia dawne i nowe* (Warsaw: Pax, 1977), 44–45.

[365] Stanisława Lewandowska, *Ruch oporu na Podlasiu, 1939–1945,* Second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1982), 251.

Szerzyny (entry 489);[366] Uszew (entry 522);[367] Warsaw (entries 536, 537,[368] 539, 567, 580, 582,

[366] In order to defend the rescuers, the police who apprehended the hidden Jews forged the report and stated that the Jews had just arrived at the farmer's home; however, upon interrogation by the Gestapo in Jasło, one of the Jews said that the farmers had kept them for three months. Three weeks later the Gestapo sent its unit and executed Józef Augustyn and his wife Józefa on the spot. See Andrzej Żbikowski, "'Night Guard': Holocaust Mechanisms in the Polish Rural Areas, 1942–1945: Preliminary Introduction into Research," *East European Politics and Societies,* vol. 25, no. 3 (August 2011): 512–29, here at 520.

[367] Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu,* vol. 1, 196.

[368] Unfortunately, not all the facts in this account are correct. Both Tadeusz Romaszewski and his sister, Maria Malicka, were employed in the chancery (record office) of the Warsaw cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist. As members of the extreme right-wing Szaniec group (a continuation of the interwar National-Radical Camp "ABC"), they issued scores of false baptismal and birth certificates to endangered Jews, as well as Poles. Maria Malicka was betrayed to the Gestapo by her brother's fiancée, Irena Lis, who—unknown to the organization—was a Gestapo agent. The Gestapo arrested Maria Malicka and her husband, Marian Malicki, who was sent to Majdanek, where he perished. Maria Malicka was imprisoned in Warsaw, but survived the war. Tadeusz Romaszewski went into hiding. The information about the parson's death has not been confirmed, and appears to be an embellishment. As a result of this one act of denunciation, scores of Jews and Poles were apprehended by the Germans. The Polish underground issued a death sentence against Irena Lis, but she escaped to Lwów. She was brought to trial after the war. See Damian Sitkiewicz, "Maria Malicka: O pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez organizację narodową Grupa 'Szańca'," *Kolbojnik: Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie*, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 28–31. For the older literature, see Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 233, 235 (annotation); Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945,* 148.

[369] 596, 607,[370] 614); Ossów, near Warsaw (entry 572); Wierzbica[371] (entries 625, 626, 627, 628);

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[369] Emanuel Ringelblum shared his hideout, a "bunker" on Grójecka Street in Warsaw, with 34 Jews. It was built by a Polish gardener named Mieczysław Wolski under his greenhouse. Discovered by the Germans on March 7, 1944, the Jews sheltered there, together with two their Polish rescuers (Wolski and his nephew, Janusz Wysocki), were executed in the ruins of the ghetto. See Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 23–26, 35; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped,* 128 (entry 667). Teresa Prekerowa maintains that the denunciation was the work of Jan Łakiński, an 18-year-old informer who had also betrayed members of the Home Army. See Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945,* 286; Prekerowa, *Zegota,* 247. The Polish underground pubished a notice on March 30, 1944, that Łakiński had been sentenced to death by a special underground civil tribunal, and executed, for denouncing Jews. The date of sentencing and execution is not given. However, other sources give his date of death as February 25, 1944, which was before the hideout was raided, thus casting doubt on Prekerowa's version. See Dariusz Libionka, "Polska Podziemna wobec szantażystów i szmalcowników w Warszawie: Korekta obrazu," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 14 (2018): 115–64, here at 144–48. The person responsible for disclosing the hideout has not been established with any degree of certainty. According to one version, Wolski was betrayed by his ex-girlfriend, Chojecka, after a falling out. See Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), 210 (Meed does not record the fate of the Polish rescuers); Samuel Willenberg, *Surviving Treblinka* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1989), 170; Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 191; Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 383; Testimony of Jerzy Gero, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5714 (this testimony identifies the betrayer as Chojecka). Tadeusz Bednarczyk attributes the betrayal of Ringelblum's hideout to a Jewish woman, possibly a Gestapo agent, who was refused shelter in that overcrowded hideout. See his *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 237; and his *Obowiązek silniejszy od śmierci: Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1944 o polskiej pomocy dla Żydów w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Grunwald, 1986), 147. It may be that Bednarczyk confused this event with another similar one involving a rescuer named Marczak. See Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* Part One, 254 (entry 580), 255 (entry 582). Still another, thoroughly discredited, Jewish version has Marczak's wife reporting her husband and the Jews to SS General Franz Kutschera, the police leader in Warsaw, who had them all executed, including Mrs. Marczak. See Roman Grunspan, *The Uprising of the Death Box of Warsaw* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 172. Grunspan's fictitious accounts parades around under the deceptive subtitle: "A documentary book about Jewish and Christian lives under Nazi rule in the Warsaw ghetto and in the non-Jewish region of Warsaw." The author, an obvious charlatan, claims to have been part of a three-member hit squad called "Parasol" (Umbrella) which assassinated General Franz Kutschera, the head of the SS and police for the District of Warsaw, on "Aleja sucha" (sic, Szucha) in Warsaw. The book even contains a photograph showing a crude superimposition of a hand holding a machine gun with the following caption: "To the right you can see the punishing hand of the author with the machine gun that gunned down the Nazi lunatic." (Ibid., 172, 177.) However, that well-known operation was carried out by the Home Army and bears little resemblance to the tale Grunspan has spun, and in fact *preceded* the execution of Ringelblum by more than a month. Historian Richard Lukas describes that famous event as follows: "On February 1, 1944, after weeks of planning, a platoon of Pegasus [*Pegaz*], commanded by twenty-year old Bronisław Pietraszkiewicz, attacked Kutschera's car on Ujazdowskie Avenue. In an operation lasting scarcely a minute, Kutschera and several other Germans were killed, but four of the attackers, including, Pietraszkiewicz, were killed." See Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust,* 92.

[370] The denunciation of Stefan Prokopek by Gestapo agent Sztutman aka Pruszyński is described later in the text.

[371] The Kucharski family agreed to shelter the six-member Wandersman family from their native village of Wierzbica near Miechów. Paweł Wandersman was captured by the Germans when he left the hideout in January 1943. He then led the Germans to the farm of the Książek family, who were sheltering two Jews, and afterwards to the farm of the Nowak family, where they found a Jew in the stable. Finally, he brought the Germans to the home of his rescuers, the Kucharski family. In total, the Germans executed 15 Poles, among them children, from three families. Three members of the Gądek and Bielawski families of Wolica, who also helped the Wandersman family, were executed after being betrayed by Wandersman. See Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 853–54; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 605; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped,* 84–85, 98, 101; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 148–49, 201–4; Maciej Korkuć, "'Tak, przyznaję się do winy': Zabójstwo we wsi Rogów 1 lutego 1943 r.: Studium przypadku," in Ewa Kołomańska et al. (eds.), *Wieś polska w czasie II wojny światowej,* vol. 1 (Kielce: Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej, 2020), 56–78, at 65–66.

Zagórzyce (entry 677—this incident is described below[372]); Zajączków (entry 679);[373] and Zarzetka (entry 683—this incident is described below). Betrayals also occurred in Marchaty and Czortków,[374] near Izbica,[375] Tarnów,[376] Przeworsk,[377] and Wiślica and Górki.[378]

A Polish Home Army liaison officer in Lwów was betrayed by his Jewish charge.[379] When Eugeniusz Scheiman left his hideout in Lwów to visit a barber shop, he was apprehended by the Germans. He betrayed his Polish benefactor, Kornelia Mazurkiewicz, who was arrested together with her sister-in-law, Aniela Mazurkiewicz, who happened to be visiting. Both women perished in unknown circumstances.[380] Zuzanna Puławska sheltered a teenager named Mojsze, who had escaped from the ghetto in Kołomyja. After months of hiding in the attic, he left the home against his benefactors' will home in a distraught state. Apprehended, he betrayed his benefactors. Zuzanna was imprisoned in Stanisławów for several months and then executed.[381] A forester named Ostrowski from Korzelice, near Firlejów, in Tarnopol voivodship, who protected Jews, was arrested following a denunciation by a Jew.[382] After leaving her hideout in Głogów Małopolski, When Anna Binrfeld was captured by the Germans, she betrayed her benefactor, Maria Ożóg, who was arrested, brutally beaten, and executed that same day.[383] Władysław Kokoszka of Pagorzyna, near Gorlice, was executed by the Gestapo after he was betrayed by Jews whom he had sheltered.[384] A young Jewish woman who was apprehended by the Germans in Slovakia betrayed Franciszek Koperstyński, the smuggler from Jaśliska who took her across the border. Since Franciszek managed to flee, they arrested his brother, Bolesław, whom they tortured and then sent to Auschwitz, where he perished. Franciszek's father

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[372] Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945,* 112 n.61.

[373] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 338–39. Five members of the Wołowiec family were executed on their farm for hiding three Jewish children, who may have given them away after being apprehended by the Germans.

[374] Barbara Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych* (Warsaw: ABC, 1997), 39, 64 (Marchaty), 72 (Czortków).

[375] Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor,* 201.

[376] Piotr Woźniak, *Zapluty karzeł reakcji: Wspomnienia AK-owca z więzień w PRL* (Warsaw: no publisher, 1985), 51–52.

[377] Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 124.

[378] Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu,* 88.

[379] Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 103.

[380] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 324; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 234–35.

[381] Anna Zechenter, "Pospolite ruszenie," *Nasz Dziennik,* February 2, 2014.

[382] Józef Wołczański, "Księdza Stanisława Szatko kronika parafii rzymskokatolickiej Firelejów w archidiecezji lwowskiej z lat 1939–1944," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 1 (35) 2020: 512–42, here at 530.

[383] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 329; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 257–58.

[384] Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,* 87.

was also arrested and imprisoned for several months.[385] A Jew by the name of Miodownik was apprehended by the Germans close to Czechów, near Pińczów, and betrayed his benefactor, Józef Gawlik.[386] Jews found on a farm during a village raid in Postronna, near Sandomierz, betrayed their benefactors.[387] Several members of the Sobczyk family were arrested in Piaski on suspicion of helping Jews. The raid on their home was conducted out by German gendarmes and the Polish and Jewish police.[388] An unusual case is that of Wolf Danziger of Hrubieszów, who had entrusted some of his belongings to Wiktor Koziejewski, a farmer. When he came to see the farmer, the farmer did not allow him in and summoned the police. Much later, when Danziger was apprehended by the Germans, he claimed falsely that he had been sheltered by the farmer for 12 months. This resulted in the arrest of the farmer and his family; all of them were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp.[389] After escaping from the Sosnowiec ghetto, Fajgla Wajnstajn received food and shelter from a number of Poles in the vicinity of her hometown of Siewierz. She was arrested by the Germans in May 1944 together with Wiktor Pierzchała, one of the benefactors she betrayed during interrogation. They were handed over to the Gestapo, but their fate is not clear.[390] Smulek Brawerman received help from a number of farmers in his village of Waliska, near Mińsk Mazowiecki. After he was denounced by a Polish woman, he was apprehended. Before his execution at the police station in Latowicz, he was forced to divulge the names of villagers who helped him.[391]

The German police captured a Jewish woman by the name of Silber in the vicinity of Malinie, near Mielec. She was marched through local villages where she was beaten into identifying those who had given her help, before being shot. Her 17-year-old daughter was also captured shortly after and allowed to be kept alive if she helped denounce local Poles who offered her help. She was executed in the village of Grochowe after leaving behind a trail of 14 murdered people whom she had denounced.[392] During the pacification and search of Jaworze Dolne and Jaworze Górne, near Dębica, the Germans captured Mendel Ekstein and tortured him into revealing where other Jews were hiding.[393] Nathan Haske was wounded during a hunt for Jews and turned himself over to the German police in the village of Wólka Ogryzkowa, near Przeworsk.

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[385] Anna Zechenter, "Pospolite ruszenie," *Nasz Dziennik,* February 2, 2014.

[386] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 344; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 340.

[387] Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 522.

[388] Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 531.

[389] Testimony of Wolf Danziger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1337.

[390] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 790, 807.

[391] Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień…: Losy Zydów szukujących ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 162. Fortuitously, in this unusual case, the Polish helpers who were identified were only fined 500 złoty.

[392] Tomasz Frydel, "The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear," in Frank Bajohr and Andrea Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European Societies: Social Processes and Social Dynamics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 158.

[393] Tomasz Frydel, "The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear," in Bajohr and Löw, *The Holocaust and European Societies,* 158.

Promised to be sent to a hospital and then to Germany to work, Haske supplied the names of members of the Peasant Battalions in nearby Gniewczyna Tryniecka and Jagiełła. When this information was exhausted, Haske was shot in the forehead.[394]

In some cases, those accused of helping Jews were prosecuted in special German courts instituted in occupied Poland. Józef Herzig was caught by Ukrainians in Myczków, near Lesko, and handed over to the Germans; upon interrogation, he betrayed the hiding place of five Jews in Hoczew, resulting in the execution of the brothers Tomasz and Jan Wacławski and the confiscation of their farm.[395] When Mojżesz Strick fell into the hands of the Ukrainian police in Stryj, he betrayed the hideout of his companion Matylda Lauer, which led to the arrest of their former Christian benefactor, Adele Maziak, who was imprisoned and prosecuted for the offence of helping Jews.[396] Eugeniusz Kędzierski, Franciszek Ożegalski and Władysława Seweryn of Lwów were arrested by the Germans in Lwów for aiding Jews and prosecuted, having been betrayed by Leopold Manner when apprehended by the Ukrainian police. Ożegalski's death sentence was commuted to five years' imprisonment, whereas Seweryn was executed.[397] When Mathilde Flecker was apprehended by the Ukrainian police in Lwów, she betrayed two Poles, Emil and Władysław Kleiner, who were part of a secret organization that provided Jews with false identity documents.[398] Michał Szramek of Drohobycz was arrested after his address was found in the possession of Maurycy Rurhberg, a member of the Judenrat. Salomon Herzig, who was arrested at the same time, told the Germans that Szramek was aware that he was sheltering Jews, even though they were using a false identity, something which Szramek attempted to deny in order to exculpate himself.[399] A group of Jews found by the Germans in Drohobycz, among them a certain Kaufman, betrayed a number of Poles who had assisted them by providing food and other services.[400] Upon arrest and interrogation, Estera Kuper identified three Poles in Kosów Lacki who helped her. All three of the Poles were arrested. Stanisława Barbachowska, who admitted to the "crime," was sentenced to death by a German court, whereas Władysław and Stefania Wołosewicz, who denied

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[394] Tomasz Frydel, "The Devil in Microhistory: The 'Hunt for Jews' as a Social Process, 1942–1945," in Zalc and Bruttmann, *Microhistories of the Holocaust,* 179.

[395] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 340; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 452.

[396] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 86.

[397] Aleksandra Namysło, "Represeje na polskich obywatelach za udzielanie pomocy ludności żydowskiej w świetle akt procesowych niemieckich sądów specjalnych," in Adam Sitarek, Michał Trębacz, and Ewa Wiatr, eds., *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego; Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Łodzi, 2012), 375–76, 378; Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 92; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 256–57.

[398] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 96; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 268.

[399] Aleksandra Namysło, "Represeje na polskich obywatelach za udzielanie pomocy ludności żydowskiej w świetle akt procesowych niemieckich sądów specjalnych," in Sitarek, Trębacz, and Wiatr, *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji,* 375–76, 378–79.

[400] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 198.

helping the Jewish girl to avoid punishment, received sentences of six months in prison.[401] Chawa Gener, who was sheltered in Warsaw, betrayed her Polish benefactors when she was arrested by the German police. As a result, three Poles were sentenced to prison terms of five to six years.[402] A Jew arrested on Krucza Street in Warsaw betrayed as many as 18 Poles who had helped him over the years.[403] One member of a large group of Jews sheltered by Polish farmers in the village of Widzówek, near Częstochowa, was apprehended by the Germans and betrayed his benefactors during interrogation, leading to the arrest of Stanisław Widera, Walenty Kępa and Karolina Owczarek. All three were sentenced to death. The sentence of the two men was commuted to one year of prison, whereas the woman was executed.[404]

Historian Elżbieta Rączy identified a number of cases in the Rzeszów region where Jews apprehended by the Germans or Jewish *agents provocateurs*—as in the case of a group of Jewish prisoners from the Pustków labour camp sent into the countryside to search out Jews in hiding—betrayed fellow Jews and their Polish benefactors. Such acts of betrayal, lack of caution on the part of hidden Jews, deliberate denunciations (as was the case in Gumniska, near Dębica[405]), and provocations were responsible for more than one third of the recorded cases of Jews on the run falling into the hands of the Germans.[406] A Jewish partisan group led by Edmund Łukawiecki, which operated in the forests north of Lubaczów (Puszcza Solska), executed a young Jewish woman who had betrayed at least one family of Jews in hiding and tried to infiltrate the partisan group.[407]

Sometimes the Germans employed Jews in order to catch Poles who were willing to help them. The Polska family, who were sheltering Jews in Dubno, in Volhynia, were warned by a Jewish boy about a Jewish woman, an *agent provocateur*, who was begging for shelter. When the Jewish woman arrived at her home, Melania Polska told her that she had three children and could not take her in. The Jewish woman then went to Mrs. Polska's neighbours, who fell for the ruse and offered her shelter. The Germans killed the entire family.[408]

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[401] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 107; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 337–38.

[402] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 76; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 195.

[403] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 198.

[404] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 95; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 256.

[405] Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945,* 114.

[406] Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945,* 112–16, 143, 198.

[407] Simon Lavee (Łukawiecki), *Jewish Hit Squad: The Łukawiecki Partisans Unit of the Polish Armia Krajowa, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem and Springfield, New Jersey: Gefen, 2015), 3–18.

[408] Anna Alwast and Krzysztof Alwast, eds., *Kresowianie za oceanem: Wspomnienia* (Toronto and Leszno: Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Lesznie, 2019), 241.

On February 24, 1943, two Jews, possibly *agents provocateurs*—one a refugee from Warsaw, who posed as an escapee from Treblinka; the other, a local Jew named Szymel Helman—arrived with a large punitive detachment of the SS and German gendarmerie to identify the Poles who had helped them and other Jews. A dozen Poles perished in the ensuing pacification in Paulinów, near Sterdyń, not far from Sokołów Podlaski. A Jew from Wołomin named Rubin, who was captured by the Germans after joining up with a band of fugitive Soviet soldiers, betrayed numerous farmers who had helped the Soviet partisans in that area and continued to do so while Rubin spied for the Germans. As a result, more than a score of Poles were executed in the villages of Brzuza and Zarzetka, near Łochów. Some of the Polish victims were beaten and shot by Rubin himself.[409] German gendarmes brought a Jew captured during a manhunt to the school house in Zagoździe, near Łuków, in order to identify Poles who had assisted him. Two Home Army members he identified miraculously escaped being arrested.[410] It is not surprising, therefore, that when Polish rescuers became increasingly fearful to keep their Jewish charges as a result of the executions of rescuers, Jewish charges used the threat of betrayal as a leverage against them.[411]

Unprincipled Jewish bands have been identified by survivors as responsible for the deaths of a number of Jews, as well as robberies:

> Thus, in Galicia, where in the absence of an organized anti-German partisan movement groups of armed Jews simply tried to survive in the forests, there were cases of fratricidal murder motivated by the urge to obtain arms. In the Bialystok [Białystok] region such a 'wild group' of Jews, as they were called, raped several Byelorussian peasant girls and stabbed to death two Jewish partisans of the Jewish Forois ["Forward"] Detachment to get hold of their rifles.[412]

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[409] On the murder of Polish rescuers in Paulinów, Brzuza (also spelled Brzóza) and Zarzetka see: Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 397–98 (Zarzetka), 447 (Paulinów); Paweł Szapiro, ed., *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka: Polska prasa konspiracyjna 1943–1944 o powstaniu w getcie Warszawy* (London: Aneks, 1992), 163 (Paulinów and Zarzetka); Wacław Piekarski, *Obwód Armii Krajowej Sokołów Podlaski "Sęp", "Proso" 1939–1944* (Warsaw: n.p., 1991), 25–27 (Paulinów and Zarzetka); Wacław Piekarski, *Obwód Armii Krajowej Sokołów Podlaski "Sęp", "Proso" 1939–1944,* 2nd edition (Warsaw: Efekt, 1997), 36–38 (Paulinów and Zarzetka); Wojciech Gozdawa-Gołębiowski, "Powiat węgrowski w latach okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1944," in Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk and Tadeusz Swat, eds., *Węgrów: Dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1941–1944* (Węgrów: Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Węgrowskiej, 1991), 357–58; Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę: Propaganda zaplecza politycznego Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych (1939–1945)* (Biała Podlaska: Rekonkwista, and Warsaw: Rachocki i S-ka, 2000), 294–95; Andrzej Krzysztof Kunert, ed., *Polacy–Żydzi, Polen–Juden, Poles–Jews, 1939–1945: Wybór Źródeł, Quellenauswahl, Selection of Documents* (Warsaw: Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walk i Męczeństwa, Instytut Dziedzictwa Narodowego, and Rytm, 2001), 267–68; Joanna Kierylak, "12 sprawiedliwych z Paulinowa," February 10, 2009, Internet: <http://www.treblinka-muzeum.eu/index.php/sprawiedliwi-z-okolic-treblinki/12-z-paulinowa>; Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 348–50 (Paulinów); Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 89–91 (Paulinów).

[410] Joanna Ostrowska, *Tak musiało być: Wspomnienia* (Warsaw: Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej; Łomianki: LTW, 2007), 65; Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc,* 498–99.

[411] Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień…,* 106–7.

[412] Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), 305.

[In the environs of Buczacz, Tarnopol Province:] The Jewish bandits were no better than the murderers. They fell on the Jews in hiding, on the Jews in the forests and robbed them naked. That happened to Shaul Enderman and others.[413]

To Buczacz they brought Jews from the town of Tłumacz. Among the youth from Tłumacz was a so-called band. This was a group of young, armed boys. Brave and determined for anything, they were the scourge of the Judenrat. They often took money away from well-off Jews.[414]

A group of Ukrainian "partisans" counting Jews among their members are known to have pillaged and murdered in the vicinity of Kopyczyńce east of Tarnopol.[415]

[In Volhynia:] A group of Jewish families called "The Tenth" possessed guns and boldly raided Ukrainian farmers for food and clothes, dividing the loot among themselves. To be part of their group became a privilege with many benefits. Gershon wanted to join them, but Moishe did not. As chance would have it, Gershon found a gun without bullets. Ignoring Moishe's advice, Gershon approached the leader of The Tenth, asking to join. They turned him down.

The Tenth became a power to be reckoned. Originally thought of as an elite group of Jews, it was discovered that their acts of force were motivated by their own selfish needs and gratification. It was while hundreds of Jews were hiding in an area known as Abluva, that the true character of the Tenth was realized. The Tenth became aware that the Germans had discovered where the Jews were hiding. Instead of informing everyone of the intended raid, they left unannounced for Russia, leaving the others unprepared for the assault that followed.[416]

There was a 14-year-old boy in our group, Itche Meir, whose parents had owned the paint factory in Lukow [Łuków]. After explaining that his parents were dead, he confided that he knew where the family gold was buried in an old cast-iron pot. Two of our group, brothers-in-law—one a little shoemaker and the other a strapping hulk of a man who had worked in a slaughterhouse—volunteered to go with him to find the gold.

After a few days, the men came back alone and told us that Itche Meir had changed his mind and run away. At first we believed them, but I soon became suspicious because of the way they were behaving. I started to worry as to what really happened to the young boy.

A few days later, as I peddled my wares, one of my cstomers told me he'd found a fresh grave near the road. That night I took two men with me to find the grave. …Digging it up, my fears

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[413] Account of Dr. Avraham Halfan, in I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 234; translated into English as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.yizkor/buchach/buchach.html>.

[414] Izak Szwarc, "Buczacz: Obozy pracy w okolicach Buczacza," cited in Ajzensztajn, *Ruch podziemny w ghettach i obozach,* 49; Testimony of Izaak Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 327. See also the testimony of Róża Dobrecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2274, which mentions a Jewish gang headed by Uncio (?) that pilfered Jewish homes in the Buczacz ghetto.

[415] Jerzy Julian Szewczyński, *Nasze Kopyczyńce* (Malbork: Heldruk, 1995), 80.

[416] Alvin Abram, *The Light After Dark II: Six More Stories of Triumph After All Hope Had Gone…* (Toronto: AMA Graphics Incorporated, 2000), 95.

> became a reality: there was poor Itche Meir's body with his head bashed in. … Returning to the camp, we found the suspected murderers. We said, "We found Itche Meir's body. Why did you kill him?"
>
> The shoemaker started crying and confessed. "I begged my brother-in-law not to kill the kid, but he didn't listen." He pleaded with us and cried. …
>
> The big guy, on the other hand, was a different story. He didn't seem to react to his brother-in-law's accusation, he just sat there with his rifle … When he finally fell asleep, however, we took his rifle away. The next day, one man was assigned to take him deep into the forest and execute him. Our judgment was swift, his execution just.[417]

Nor were religious institutions spared. A Jewish-led band of eight Jews and Ukrainians (the latter may have been Jews posing as Ukrainians) invaded the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Niżniów, near Stanisławów, in Eastern Galicia, in the early morning hours of April 16, 1944, as the German-Soviet front was advancing nearby, on the pretext of looking for German officers. After robbing the nuns, the assailants proceeded to force them into the chapel, beating them mercilessly on their heads with the butts of their guns until blood flowed. Some of the younger nuns managed to escape and hide, and the bandits directed their wrath against the elderly nuns.[418]

In a few cases, Jews were killed before they could bring ruination to their benefactors and their families. After his capture in Polichna. near Brzozówka, in the vicinity of Kraśnik, a Jew by the name of Icek Wagman identified various peasants who had sheltered him. A sergeant at the Polish police station killed Wagman before the arrival of the German gendarmes.[419] Another Polish policeman, Karol Stachak, who was also a clandestine Home Army member, reacted in a similar fashion when a weary Jew was turned into an outpost near Rzeszów and "incriminated" eight Polish families who had assisted him. The Jew was executed before the return of the German commander so as to protect his benefactors. After the war, the Polish policeman was sentenced to death for his "misdeed."[420]

In Zdziebórz, near Wyszków, two Jewish young men were sheltered by various villagers. They were eventually accepted into the Home Army where one of them perished in an armed confrontation with the Germans. Believing it to be the work of the Home Army, the surviving Jew went to the German outpost in

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[417] Eta Wrobel with Jeanette Friedman, *My Life My Way: The Extraordinary Memoir of A Jewish Partisan in WWII Poland* (New Milford, New Jersey: The Wordsmithy; and New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2006), 88–89.

[418] Agnieszka Michna, *Siostry zakonne—ofiary zbrodni nacjonalistów ukraińskich na terenie metropolii lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego w latach 1939–1947* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2010), 82–83.

[419] Chodakiewicz, *Polacy i Żydzi 1918–1955,* 197–98; Chodakiewicz, *Between Nazis and Soviets,* 153.

[420] Piotr Szopa, *"W imieniu Rzeczypospolitej..." Wymiar sprawiedliwości Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na terenie Podokręgu AK Rzeszów* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2014), 87.

Pniewo to report the Polish partisans. Tipped off by a Polish policeman of an impending raid, the Home Army dispatched a small group to execute their betrayer as he left the outpost.[421]

A Jew who was sheltered by a Polish family near Głowaczów, in the vicinity of Kozienice, recalled the panic and tragedy that ensured when a Jewish woman was captured by German gendarmes and divulged the hideouts of Jews and their Polish helpers:

> So they caught those two women … the younger one escaped. And she come running to us at night … And she told us that lady and the little girl told the gendarmerie … where [the] Jews are. … about maybe thirty, forty Jews … were killed … hidden like me. And they took the Poles, the whole families and … killed them right with them. … people who were hidden were crying and making noise. She says, "If we catch that woman with that little girl we're going to cut her in pieces." In the whole area, … all the Gentiles were looking for her. Because why? She really babbled and gave out a lot of people that they were holding Jews, making a mess out of the whole area.[422]

Some cases are more complicated still. A Jew, who was betrayed by a Belorussian peasant by the name of Petruk in the village of Zarichka (Zarzeczka?), near Drohiczyn, in Polesia, decided in turn to betray Petruk by claiming that he was hidden by Petruk in his barn. The Germans arrested Petruk and his family of seven, and prepared seven gallows in the middle of the market square. They assembled the peasants in the area and hanged Petruk and his family as an example.[423] According to a hearsay account, a 12-year-old Jewish boy named Pinto turned himself in at a German labour camp on Budzyń, near Kraśnik, where he reported to the camp commander that he, his siblings and his grandfather had been expelled by their Polish host after the grandfather told the host that they had no more funds for their upkeep. In fact, the grandfather had a pot full of gold dinars (so it is not clear why he would have risked the danger of not having a secure hideout), which he divided among his grandchildren when he dispersed them. Apparently, the Pole ambushed them, robbed them, and killed all but one child. The boy reported that the Pole was a member of the Home Army and that he stores weapons in his home. Thereupon, German soldiers descended upon the Pole's home and executed him in his family's presence. The boy survived the war in a camp.[424]

The following cases are particularly perplexing and defy easy answers. Eugeniusz Niedziela was hiding ten Jews on his farm in the village of Markuszowa. On July 3, 1942, the Germans shot six inhabitants of the villages of Markuszowa, Kozłowka, and Oparówka who were helping Jews. Niedziela and other farmers were coerced into participating in their round-up. Moreover, Niedziela was blackmailed by another inhabitant of the village who convinced him to denounce Jews in hiding. The Jews Niedziela helped,

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[421] Interview with Rev. Zdzisław Król by Krystian Brodacki, "Musimy ich uszanować!" *Tygodnik Solidarność,* December 17, 2004.

[422] Testimony of Henry Dorfman, August 11 and 25, 1989, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/dorfman/>.

[423] Account of Rachel Kravetz in Dov B. Warshawsky, ed., *Drohiczyn: Five Hundred Years of Jewish Life,* Internet: <www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Drohiczyn/Drogichin.html>; translation of *Drohitchin: Finf hundert yor yidish lebn* (Chicago: Book Committee Drohichyn, 1958), 316.

[424] Isaac Landau, "Horror Journal: Years 1940–1945," in H. Rabin, *Lanovits,* 76–90.

however, survived the war. Eugeniusz Niedziela and his wife and mother were rewarded in 1993 with the medal Righteous Among the Nations.[425] A Pole who had sheltered a Jewish girl in a village was arrested after the war on charges of collaboration with the Gestapo. At the trial, it came to light that the man had done much to help Jews during the war but, unfortunately for him, a Gestapo operative discovered that a Jewish girl was staying in his home and applied extortion, promising safety for the girl in return for his collaboration.[426]

A Polish farmer was sheltering a Jew named Zelik Berman near Kozienice. Zelik begged the farmer to also hide his brother Chaim and his brother's family. Reluctantly, the farmer's wife agreed and was able to help Chaim and his son, Amos, leave their work camp and brought them to the farm. However, the new charges soon came down with typhus. The son recovered, but the father's condition was getting worse. Petrified by his incessant screaming, the farmer decided to kill Chaim and buried him the cellar hideout. He continued to harbour Zelik and Amos. The farmer's wife also contracted typhus from the Jews. Learning this, the Germans expelled the occupants of the farm and boarded it up. The Jewish charges had to look for other hideouts. Was the farmer just a murderer, as Zelik Berman maintains? He was not motivated by greed or by vengeance, nor by a desire to quench any murderous instincts.[427]

In Zaklików, near Kraśnik,

> Dana Szapia and her mother were hidden by a Polish farmer. They survived, living inside a cubby hole in his cowshed. One day the farmer heard a knock on the door: it was a Jew, holding in his arms his teenage son. 'I have been hiding in the woods for months,' the Jew told the farmer. 'My son has gangrene. Please get a doctor.'
>
> The farmer went to the Gestapo and told them about the two Jews. … 'They were taken away and shot.'[428]

David Gushee explores the possible scenarios that may have given rise to this tragedy and their implications, without naming a crucial factor in the equation—the overwhelming and paralyzing effect of fear:

> *How could the same Polish farmer save two Jews and betray two others?* Perhaps he was morally splitting the difference, attempting to do right by his conscience by saving some Jews and to do right by the authorities by turning others in. Or it could be that the farmer could not think of a

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[425] Elżbieta Rączy, "Wydarzenia we wsi Markuszowa 1942–1943: Przyczynek do stosunków polsko-żydowskich w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," in Jerzy Eisler, et al., eds., *Niepiękny wiek XX: Profesorowi Tomaszowi Szarocie w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk and Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2010), 161–74.

[426] Emunah Nachmany Gafny, *Dividing Hearts: The Removal of Jewish Children from Gentile Families in Poland in the Immediate Post-Holocaust Years* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 254 n.254.

[427] Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...",* 258–62, based on Zelick Berman, "Jews Have No Right To Live," in Baruch Kaplinski, et al., eds., *Sefer Zikaron le-Kehilat Kosznitz* (Tel Aviv and New York: The Kozienice Organization, 1985), 476ff., translated as *The Book of Kozienice: The Birth and the Destruction of a Jewish Community,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kozienice/Kozienice.html#>.

[428] Cited in Gilbert, *The Holocaust,* 492.

> doctor he could trust to care for the gangrenous son and did not want a dying Jew to care for and later bury. Possibly he thought that four people, rather than two, were too many for him to accommodate, especially with one sick with gangrene. Maybe he feared that the Nazis (or snooping neighbors) would discover the two Jews in his cowshed and decided that the best way to avoid being raided was … by turning these new Jews in. … The story illuminates the limits of any typology, for this farmer was both an informant and a rescuer. The tale also reveals the complexity of human behavior, particularly in such severe moral crisis, and indicates the importance of withholding facile moral judgments about Gentile behaviour during the Holocaust.[429]

Harsh German measures often put Polish villagers in an untenable situation. After murdering the Jews hidden in a pigsty on a farm in Siedliska, near Miechów, the Germans went to the rescuers' house looking for the Baranek family, the Poles who had sheltered these Jews.

> They took Łucja and Wincenty to the barn, where they shot them. A moment later, they also brought the children there, ordered them to kneel down in the barn door, and shot them. After the murder, they robbed the Baraneks' house. However, they did not find Łucja's mother, Katarzyna. Threatening to murder the entire village, they ordered the local people to find her. The next day the neighbours brought Katarzyna to the German post, where she was most probably murdered.[430]

Consumed by fear, and out of sheer desperation, some Polish rescuers decided to do away with their Jewish charges, especially those who would not leave when asked. Nor was simply sending the charges away considered a viable option. If they were caught, there was a good chance they would betray their erstwhile benefactors. Testimonies of Jewish survivors who faced these grim scenarios make it clear that fear, rather than anti-Semitism, was generally the motive behind such behaviour. In fact, some benefactors even contemplated their own suicide as a way out of their unenviable predicament.[431]

Stanisław Nendza, who was sheltering five Jews in a dugout in his barn in the village of Schodnica, near Borysław, was confronted with a dilemma when a local German captured a 10-year-old boy, believed to be Jewish. One of the Jews sheltered by Nendza recalled their host's conduct with understanding of their predicament.

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[429] David P. Gushee, *The Righteous Gentiles of the Holocaust: A Christian Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 66. Sometimes Polish rescuers refused to take in additional charges, as was the case with Grzegorz Czyżyk, a Polish policeman who rescued Bella Peretz and her young daughter Sarah from the ghetto in Chełm and sheltered them. He did not agree to take in three of Sarah's cousins who appeared unexpectedly at his door "because it was too dangerous for him." See the Interview with Sheila Peretz Etons, April 30, 1990, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Reports of betrayal by rescuers are also found in other countries. For example, the French rescuer of Adele Lazanowski Zaveduk betrayed her mother, and later someone denounced the rescuer and her Jewish charges. See Elaine Saphier Fox, ed., *Out of Chaos: Hidden Children Remember the Holocaust* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2013), 102–3.

[430] Kancelaria Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polski, *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2013), 23. The Baranek family was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2012.

[431] Olga Orzeł, ed., *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady: Wczesne świadectwa 1944–1948: Relacje dziecięce ze zbiorów Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 120, 122.

> The lad defended himself but Beck overcame him and dragged him to our landlord's house and demanded that he be kept there until the police arrived. Normally, Nedza would have allowed the boy to escape, but he was afraid that if the area were searched, the Jews hiding there would be discovered. Nendza, therefore, said nothing. He fed the boy who, for a moment, forgot he was in peril and sat back relaxed. Meanwhile, however, the police were on their way to the house. When Beck arrived with the police, he charged the landlords with treating the Jewish child too well. The Germans shot and killed the boy behind our stable and ordered the landlords to dig his grave. … Somehow, we felt that he had dies in our behalf …[432]

Jews faced similar dilemmas, that is, whether to save one's one life at the expense of others, even close family members. After being fingered by a Jewish informer, Roman Frister was apprehended in the streets of Kraków by the German police. He led them to the apartment he shared with his parents, who were also passing as Christians. On his way Frister pondered his predicament, and whether he should take his own life to save theirs.

> The street was like a deep canyon. No feelings could penetrate its high walls. The shutters on the windows were closed. This was a way for those behind them to turn their backs on their occupiers … I looked up at them. What would you do, you good people, I wondered, if I suddenly knocked on one of your shelters and asked to be hid? I didn't need to ask. I knew the answer. I would hear the bolt slide shut on the door. And what right did I have to condemn them? Why should they risk themselves and their families for a Jewish boy they didn't know? Would I have behaved any differently? I knew the answer to that, too. I wouldn't have lifted a finger. Everyone was equally intimidated. …
>
> Did I have a choice? Of course I did. I could have been sprawled on a distant pavement, my spilled blood cleansing my conscience. And yet what good was a clean conscience when you were dead?
>
> 'It's here,' I repeated.
>
> 'Very good,' said a policeman.
>
> We climbed to the second floor. I said again:
>
> 'It's here.'
>
> 'Good.'
>
> The policeman drew his pistol. …
>
> 'Ring the doorbell,' his companion ordered.
>
> I tried imagining the moment my father opened the door. What would I say to him? How could I explain what had happened? Would he understand? Could one comprehend the incomprehensible? Forgive the unforgivable?
>
> A metallic sound came from inside. It was followed by the shuffle of my father's slippers. The door opened. His glance slid from me to my two escorts and lingered there. I could see the blood drain from his cheeks. 'Oh, no,' he murmured, taking a backward step. My mother was looking

[432] Leon Thorne, *Out of the Ashes: The Story of a Survivor* (New York: Bloch, 1976), 201.

> over his shoulder. … A policeman pushed me through the doorway. We entered. His companion shut the door. The trap was sprung.[433]

While Roman Frister survived deportation, his parents perished.

In this context, it is also worth noting that Jews in hiding often suffocated or poisoned newborn babies, infants and even small children out of fear that their crying or chattering might give the adults away, or that these children might otherwise imperil their chances of survival. Hundreds, if not thousands, of children

[433] Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 193–94, 195–97.

were killed for that reason.[434] Mentally unstable (deranged) Jews also suffered a similar fate.

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[434] Numerous cases of infanticide have been documented. Yaffa Eliach describes how a group of Jews hiding in the attic of a barn in Raduń refused to accept her family into the hiding place because they had young children. They were finally allowed in when her father threatened to reveal the hiding place to the Germans, but only on the condition that their children were held as hostages: "If any of them made a noise, they would be silenced. … Fearing [the baby] might cry loudly enough to be heard [by passing Germans] from the outside, the people who held him, smothered him." See André Stein, *Hidden Children: Forgotten Survivors of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Viking/Penguin, 1993), 59. For further examples, see: Shimon Kanc, ed., *Svinzian Region: Memorial Book of 23 Jewish Communities*, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/svencionys/svencionys.html>, translation of *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svintsian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sventzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), column 1825; J. Siegelman, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Turka al nehar Stryj ve-ha-seviva* (Haifa: Former Residents of Turka (Stryj) in Israel, 1966), 291, translated as *Memorial Book of the Community of Turka on the Stryj and Vicinity,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/turka/Turka.html> (parents suffocated their thre-year-old daughter); Ariel Machnes and Rina Klinov, eds., *Darkness and Desolation: In Memory of the Communities of Braslaw, Dubene, Jaisi, Jod, Kislowszczizna, Okmienic, Opsa, Plusy, Rimszan, Slobodka, Zamosz, Zaracz* (Tel Aviv: Association of Braslaw and Surroundings in Israel and America, and Ghetto Fighters House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1986), 112 (a mother strangled here 3-year-old son in Brasław); Yerachmiel Moorstein, ed., *Zelva Memorial* Book (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 1992), 80; Leon Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1993), 61 (Warsaw); Baruch Milch, *Can Heaven Be Void?* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 147 (father chokes his own son); Lyn Smith, ed., *Forgotten Voices of the Holocaust* (London: Ebury Press/Random House, 2005), 191; Rivka and Israel Teyer, eds., *The Red Forest: As Narrated by Izhak Shumowitz* (Raanana, Israel: Docostory, 2005?), 129; Miriam Brysk, *Amidst the Shadows of Trees* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Yellow Star Press, 2007), 91; Hurman, *Pod osłoną nocy,* 31; Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland During the Holocaust* (Columbia, Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 105; *The Words to Remember It: Memoirs of Child Holocaust Survivors* (Melbourne: Scribe, 2009), 94 (Wilno); Suzanne Ginsburg, *Noike: A Memoir of Leon Ginsburg* (San Francisco: Avenger Books, 2012), 65 (Luboml); Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 120 (Warsaw); Katz, *Gone to Pitchipoï,* 73–74 (Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski); Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią…,* vol. 5, 263 (Brody); Sara R. Horowitz, "'If He Knows to Make a Child…'," Memories of Birth and Baby-Killing in Deferred Jewish Testimony Narratives," in Goda, *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust,* 135–51, especially at pp. 138–40 (various locations); Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny in. E. Ringelbluma and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2015), vol. 4, 135 (Stanisławów); Marek Jerzman, "Święty człowiek," *Kurier WNET,* February 2017 (Dubicze, near Łosice); Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 243 (Buczacz); Omer Bartov, ed., *Voices on War and Genocide: Three Accounts of the World Wars in a Galician Town* (New York: Berghahn, 2020), 328 (Buczacz). See also the memoir of S. Strassler, Yad Vashem Archives, file E/253, 64 (Złoczów); Testimony of Sonia Katzmam, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 39 (Brody); Testimony of Estera Bieżuner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 468 (Warsaw); Testimony of Gienia Wileńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1252 (near Wołkowysk); Testimony of Izrael (Ignacy) Manber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1912 (Jaworów); Testimony of Lusia Mehr, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2522 (Głęboczek); Testimony of Abraham Krakowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2713 (Częstochowa); Testimony of Ewa Lewi, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3868 (Kraków); Testimony of Aleksander Wyrzykowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6064 (village near Jedwabne); Testimony of Rina Chelmicka, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 20694 (Lwów); Testimony of Rachel Lorber, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 24265 (Wilno); Testimony of Ethel Wahler, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 54589 (parents choked their two-year-old son in a hideout in Zborów); Pietraszek Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5747906> (Czekanów). A young girl (born in 1938) who would not stop crying while hiding with her family and other Jews in Sokal was poisoned but manahged to survive. See "No.4 Street of Our Lady" (documentary film, 2009). A child born in hiding in Sokal was killed. See the testimony of Chaim Maltz, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, file O.3/14064. A crying child was strangled with a pillow in a bunker in Wilno. See the testimony of Frances Penney, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, file O.33/1873. In Tarnów, some Jewish women abandoned their young children to save themselves from deportation; the children were shot by the Germans in full view. See the testimony of Blanka Goldman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2059. For a defensive article that sees "redemption" in such acts, and sets out other examples of this practice,

[435] In Lubcza, near Ryglice, Jews sheltered in the barn of the Bradło family wanted to kill a young man out of fear that he might betray them. The young man had accidentally fallen into their underground hideout when he was trying to avoid capture by Germans who came to the village to seize young people for forced labour in Germany. Fortunately, their host managed to dissuade them.[436]

As mentioned elsewhere, Jews were often hostile towards accepting into their hideouts other charges who might jeopardize their own chances of survival. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Polish rescuers grew fearful for their own lives when the Germans executed Jews and their Polish benefactors nearby, out of panic and desperation some Poles killed their Jewish charges rather than risk the Jews' falling into German hands and betraying their benefactors if they were simply told to leave without a place to hide.

Nor is it surprising that Polish rescuers took the precaution of concealing from their Jewish charges, and other Jews, the fact that they were sheltering or helping other Jews.[437] The fewer people who knew, the less likely the chance of being found out. The same held true for Poles who were involved in both the underground and sheltering Jews. They too often withheld information about the former activities from their Jewish charges.[438] Jews often concealed their assumed identities and hiding places from fellow Jews

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[435] Celemenski describes how he administered a poison pill to an unbalanced Jewish woman in a Warsaw hideout. She would scream hysterically, aloud, and in Yiddish. He justified the deed thus: "If anyone in the building were to hear Yiddish screams, the Gestapo would be called to investigate." See Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 194. A mother and her deranged young son, who had screaming fits, were evicted from a large bunker during the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. The woman's daughter was kept as a hostage so that the mother would not betray the location of the bunker. See Zofia Rozenstrauch, "Historia czterech miesięcy," *Przełom,* no. 1 (1947), cited in Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 804. In Brześć nad Bugiem, a hysterical 50-year-old Jewish woman was strangled in a hideout full of Jews. See Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 556–57, based on the testimony of Masza Groll, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2151. An unstable woman was strangled in a hideout in Łuck, and a deranged girl was killed in a hideout near Stolin. See, repectively, Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 48, and the testimony of Uszer Bikman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2895. Dr. Wiener from Lwów was hiding with his father in the basement of one of the university buildings. One day, his old father lost his mind and started screaming. To save himself and others, the son poisoned his father, cut his body into pieces, and carried them out at night one by one to bury in the ground. See Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld,* 298.

[436] Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu,* vol. 2, 33.

[437] See the following examples: Arieh L. Bauminger, *Roll of Honour*, 2nd edition (Tel Aviv: Hamenora Publishing House, 1971), 69 (near Kowel); Esther Zukerman-Zilberman, "Sorrowful Reunions Tragic Encounters," in Mark Schutzman, ed., *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz: A Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Wierzbnik-Starachowitz Relief Society in Israel and Abroad, 1973), 252ff, translated as *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz: A Memorial Book,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Wierzbnik/Wierzbnik.html>; Esther Bas-Melcer, *In the Claws of Destruction* (Toronto: Aron Horowitz Publications, 1986), 44; Samuel Lipa Tennenbaum, *Zloczow Memoir* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1986), 253; Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (London: Constable, 1993), 49; account of Joseph S. Kutrzeba, dated May 1994 (in the author's possession); the account of Sylvia Richter in Maxine B. Rosenberg, ed., *Hiding to Survive: Stories of Jewish Children Rescued from the Holocaust* (New York: Clarion Books/Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 83; Helena Szereszewska, *Memoirs from Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997), 292–377; Miriam Kuperhand and Saul Kuperhand, *Shadows of Treblinka* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illionois Press, 1998), 64; Thomas T. Hecht, *Life Death Memories* (Charlottesvelle, Virgina: Leopolis Press, 2002), 175. Franciszka Hałamaj and her daughter sheltered two separate groups of Jews, in total 16 people, on her premises in Sokal. See "No.4 Street of Our Lady" (documentary film, 2009); The Halamaj Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-halamaj-family>. Before they went to Mrs. Hałmajowa, a member of the Judenrat discovered the Jews she would later shelter. This Judenrat member was able to find numerous hiding Jews because Lifsha Malc, a toddler, was crying. He took the crying toddler to the Nazis, to spare the remaining Jews in the hiding place.

[438] When three generations of Mortkowicz women were sheltered in Żbików, near Warsaw, with the Żeromski family, who were active in the Polish underground, their hosts never confided in them. See Matthew Brzezinski, *Isaac's Army: A Story of Courage and Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Random House, 2012), 150–51.

for that same reason.[439] Two young Jewish women who were taken in by the Kłosowski family in Kocmyrzów, near Kraków, "deduced that they were both Jewish, but they did not give it away to one another. They were both ready to deny it, because you couldn't be sure who was a spy and who wasn't. They did not tell each other the truth until after the war."[440]

There was also the constant danger from noisy, quarrelsome, hysterical, careless, or unstable Jewish charges who could bring on disaster for all concerned, and their Polish benefactors to the end of their tether.[441] Stanisław Kurek, who was awarded by Yad Vashem, recalled that the constant bickering of his family's Jewish charges raised suspicions in the village and required them to change their hideouts on their host's property three or four times.[442] A Jew who was sheltered by the Home Army in Lublin recalled a scene in the apartment he was taken to after leaving the ghetto:

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[439] Leopold Trejbicz did not disclose his address in Warsaw to another Jew he knew, and vice versa. See the testimony of Leopold Trejbicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6818. See also Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 91; Emanuel Ringelblum, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1988), 83.

[440] Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 77.

[441] See, for example, the following accounts: Józef Seeman, "Dziennik Partyzanta (1943–1944), *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* no. 61 (1967): 131; Michel Borwicz, *Vies interdites* (Tournai, Belgium: Casterman, 1969), 139; Mina Rosner, *I Am a Witness* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1990), 79–80 (incessant arguing between a married couple); Oscar Pinkus, *The House of Ashes* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991), 177; Agata Tuszyńska, "Uczniowie Schulza," *Kultura* (Paris), no. 4 (1993): 42; Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Zegota: The Rescue of Jews in Wartime Poland* (Montreal: Price-Paterson, 1994), 139, and the revised edition titled *Żegota: The Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945* (Montreal: Price-Paterson, 1999), 129 (a Jewish charge even threatened to kill a Jewish couple who would fight in the hideout); Adam Neuman-Nowicki, *Struggle for Life During the Nazi Occupation of Poland* (Lewiston, New York; Queenston, Ontario; and Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 59 (two quarrelsome Jews hidden by a Pole in Chmielnik received a third Jew "with demonstrable ill will"); Kuperhand and Kuperhand, *Shadows of Treblinka,* 151–53 (Jews did not allow a Jewish straggler to stay in their bunker because of his lack of caution), 163 (a Polish benefactor warned his charges for arguing and screaming); Naomi Samson, *Hide: A Child's View of the Holocaust* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 71 (quarrelsome children led their own mother to believe she had no chance of surviving with them); Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu,* vol. 2, 331 (the quarrelsome charges of the Bradło family attracted the attention of villagers in Lubcza, near Ryglice); Account of Miriam Banker, who was sheltered in Dubiecko, in Hartman and Krochmal, *I Remember Every Day…,* 105; Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?: Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 364 (a bunker in Warsaw where 34 Jews were sheltered); Menachem Katz, *Path of Hope* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2008), 104 (smoking cigarettes in a bunker); Grzegorz Górny, *Sprawiedliwi: Jak Polacy ratowali Żydów przed Zagładą* (Izabelin-Warsaw: Rosikon, 2013), 240–41 (the deranged daughter of Marceli Lewi-Łebkowski left the hideout while the zoo in Warsaw where they were hidden by the Żabiński family was full of visitors); Testimony of Janina Ciszewska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2514 (frequent quarrels among a large group of sheltered Jews in Stanisławów, and hysterical outbursts after a German raid); Testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085 (conflicts among several Jewish families sheltered by the Pietraszek family in Czekanów); Testimony of Helena Klajnert, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4131 (loud arguments in Yiddish that attracted the attention of others in a Warsaw tenement house); Testimony of Zbigniew Małyszczycki, dated November 23, 1997 (in the author's possession). Another perspective on this phenomenon can be found in Jewish testimonies that describe quarrels and even threats of denunciation among members of Jewish groups who lived in the ruins of Warsaw after the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. Their behaviour was often intolerable for other group members, so one can only imagine what Polish hosts had to endure on account of the quarrels of their Jewish charges. See, for example, Barbara Engelking and Dariusz Libionka, *Żydzi w powstańczej Warszawie* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2009), 302–4.

[442] Paweł Knap, ed., *"Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj": Relacje "Sprawiedliwych" i o "Sprawiedliwych" z województwa zachodniopomorskiego* (Szczecin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Szczecinie, 2010), 123–26.

> And we arrived to a house, to an apartment house which one of—not headquarters but one apartment where the Home Army was meeting …
>
> I was surprised. We found maybe 10 or 12 Jewish people there, hiding. I found out that he is helping lot of Jewish people. … He took me [to] another room. Now listen to it. And I listened. There were noises over the wall, people talking in Yiddish, arguing and fighting with each other. He said, what kind of people are you? I'm risking my life and here they start fighting about … stupid things and the neighbors they hear those things. … They're old orthodox people. For some reason they felt they should continue their orthodoxy, their sacred needs. They want kosher food. You know, where you going to get kosher food there? One of the men died, older man died, but he was very religious. What the Home Army did, they put him in an orthodox kind of canvas sack. That's how Jews are buried you know. Not in the coffins. And they threw him over the wall in[to] the Jewish cemetery. And I think this was more than anybody could expect. But this was just one [of] the examples what those people did for us.[443]

Dr. Antoni Docha, who figures in several rescue stories and was recognized by Yad Vashem, arranged for hiding places for professional acquaintances of his and their families as well as other Jews who escaped from the ghetto in Grodno. The teenage sons of Dr. Blumsztajn, one of the Jewish families he placed with a Polish family, would venture out of the hideout, thus endangering the lives of their host's family. At her wits' end, the host threatened to denounce them and had to be restrained. Dr. Docha threatened Dr. Blumsztajn's son with violence to get him to change his ways. He also had problems with two Jewish girls whom he placed with acquaintances in another village.[444]

A rescuer in Stryj whose family sheltered Juliusz Greibach and his wife recalled the quarrels that ensued when his brother Wilhelm Greibach arrived with his fiancée. This hazardous behaviour brought attention to their presence in the neighbourhood and eventually led to their having to move to the homes of other Poles. On their departure, Wilhelm Greibach's fiancée threatened: "Don't think that if we're caught only we will perish! We'll tell the Germans where we've hidden until now."[445] Similar threats were directed at Andrzej and Maria Śliwiak, who sheltered ten Jews in a bunker in Kołomyja. Their charges were frequently quarrelling, which proved to be a source of great distress for their Polish benefactors.[446]

Rescuer Jerzy Koźmiński of Warsaw, who was awarded by Yad Vashem, recalled the boisterous quarrels that erupted among his family's charges, especially the full-blow rage of one of the charges who hurled invectives in Yiddish at the top of his voice. The rescuer credits their survival in these perilous

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[443] Interview with Felix Horn, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, July 19, 1994, 19.

[444] Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945,* 55–57. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 180–81; Testimony of Helena Bibliowicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6485; Testimony of Helena Bibliowicz, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, item 5339450, file O.3/7017; Margaria Fichtner, "'I Shall Not Die': From Holocaust Horror to an 'Impossible' Reunion," *Chicago Tribune,* December 12, 1988.

[445] Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part Two, 20–23.

[446] Marceli Najder, "Dziennik z bunkra," *Karta*, no. 68 (2011): 54–87, here at 63, 66–67, 70–71, 74.

circumstances to the decency of his neighbours who turned a blind eye to these frequent incidents.[447] Similarly, Władysław Kowalski, who sheltered the brothers Filip and Jakiel Rubin in his apartment on Pańska Street in Warsaw, was exposed to danger because of their loud quarrels. However, his neighbours, who heard the commotion, did not betray them.[448] Edward Reicher, who resided with a group of Jews on Waliców Street in Warsaw, recalled: "Petty incidents led us to quarrel constantly and without dignity. We fought not just with words but also with our fists." He continues: "It was obvious that we were living there, but days, weeks, and months went by and nobody denounced us, even though the entire apartment complex, which was home to several hundred people, knew of our presence. Even the Polish prostitutes who received German clients in the same building did not betray us."[449]

Jan Galas, the caretaker of a tenement house on Ogrodowa Street in Warsaw, was sheltering six Jews and a small child in the cellar of the building. Another charge, Dawid Efrati, was willing to stay there only for a few days because of the frequent quarrelling among the Jews. Efrati soon returned to the home of the caretaker's son, Stanisław, which he had left because, in his nightmares, Efrati used to scream in Yiddish and attracted attention. Within days of his departure, the Germans conducted a door-to-door search after a German official had been shot in the vicinity of the tenement house on Ogrodowa Street and discovered the hiding place of the Jews. All of them were executed including the caretaker, whom they had betrayed. Despite this tragedy, Efrati was not asked to leave the son's home.[450]

A loud quarrel in a bunker in a Lwów suburb occupied by 34 Jews was overheard by a Ukrainian policeman and resulted in the arrest, on December 6, 1943, of the Jews as well as three members of the Józefek family, their benefactors. The brothers Kazimierz and Bronisław and their mother, Maria Józefek, together with the Jews were hanged in a public square. They were left hanging for several days, as a warning to anyone else who would contemplate aiding Jews.[451]

As could be expected, living in close quarters under extreme conditions could lead to flare-ups between charges and their rescuers. Insolent behaviour toward their Polish hosts did not facilitate harmonious relations. The stereotype of the "stupid" Pole, widely held by Jews, surfaced even when Poles put their lives at risk to shelter Jews during the war. Teresa Prekerowa, who was active in the Żegota organization, recalls: "It was often that Jews told Poles, 'We are more intelligent than you,' and it made the Poles crazy. It was a very difficult situation."[452] Although such remarks tested the patience of Poles, there is no evidence that it caused any Jew to be expelled from their hiding-place.

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[447] Jerzy Koźmiński, "Wspomnienia sprawiedliwego," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej,* no. 11 (November 2005): 86–103, here at 94.

[448] Leociak, *Ratowanie,* 282–83.

[449] Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 198, 201.

[450] Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 223–24.

[451] Edmund Kessler, *Przeżyć holokaust we Lwowie* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2007), 103; Edmund Kessler, *The Wartime Diary of Edmund Kessler: Lwów, Poland, 1942–1944* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 114, 125.

[452] Lawrence N. Powell, *Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, The Holocaust, and David Duke's Louisiana* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 261.

Sometimes imprudence led to the downfall of Jews in hiding and their Polish benefactors, as was the case in Ciepielów Stary and Rekówka, near Lipsko, where several Polish families and their Jewish charges, who became notorious in the vicinity for their thievery, were burned to death when word got back to the Germans. In retaliation, Polish partisans killed some German gendarmes and a local man who had betrayed the Jews.[453] Three Jews who were sheltered by a Polish family in the village of Zalesie, near Lubaczów, went to a neighbouring village where they stole from a Ukrainian farmer. The latter reported the Poles and Jews to the Ukrainian police in Oleszyce. Three Poles were arrested, and two of them likely perished.[454] Some Jews captured by the Germans during a raid on a forest near Osobnica, in the Krosno area, were found to have in their possession letters that they received via a Pole from Głębokie. In January 1943, two Gestapomen arrived at the Pole's farm and shot him dead as a warning to others.[455]

Poles fighting the Nazis outside of Poland were also put at risk because of and the irresponsible conduct of Jewish charges. A Polish underground guide, known by the code name of "Władysław," who was part of a group based in Marseilles which secretly smuggled Jews out of France, was exposed on what was to be his final crossing into Switzerland. Accompanied by his pregnant wife, he had brought a group of fifteen Jews to within arm's reach of the Swiss border where they awaited an opportune moment to cross over. Defying his instructions, three young Jews left the hiding place to look for food (grapes) and were spotted by gendarmes patrolling the area. The entire group was apprehended, never to be heard of again.[456]

It appears, however, that the ones most often victimized by acts of betrayal by Jews were fellow Jews.

> The Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) … was established [in the Warsaw ghetto] in July [1942] as the transports [of Jews to Treblinka] began. At first two key leaders of the ŻOB were Józef Kaplan and Szmuel Bresław of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir. However, they were caught at the beginning of September [1942], apparently because of informants, after they had succeeded in acquiring a few weapons. The underground collapsed but began to reorganize in October [1942].[457]

> In Warsaw, hundreds of Jews in hiding were suddenly at risk when one of the surviving liaison men of the Jewish Fighting Organization [ŻOB] was caught and tortured. Under torture, he broke; many of those in hiding were then rounded up and killed.[458]

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[453] Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych,* 231–34; Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* Part One, entries 110, 418.

[454] Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 351; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 91–92.

[455] Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 98–99.

[456] Marian Para, *Los polacos y los judíos a través de los siglos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Estudio, 1986), 171–72. The author, who was also a guide in the south of France, recalled that many of the Jews he brought to Switzerland in safety promised profusely to show their gratitude in the future; however, none of these promises ever materialized. Ibid., 174.

[457] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 459.

[458] Gilbert, *The Holocaust,* 654; this is based on Tuvia Borzykowski's diary entry for January 28, 1944.

After some Jews who tried to escape from the ghetto in Lwów were arrested, widespread arrests ensued in the ghetto.[459] About 300 Jews managed to escape during an *Aktion* carried out by the Germans in Trojanówka, in Volhynia, and set up a camp in the nearby forests with the assistance of Polish partisans. About half of them were persuaded to return to Trojanówka by the rabbi, who headed that town's Jewish council, on a promise of clemency. However, they were soon executed. The rabbi and one of the survivors then led the Germans to the partisan base which, fortunately, had been abandoned by that time.[460] Thousands of Jews had fled from the ghetto Głębokie to the forest. When the Germans announced that they had the "right" to return to the ghetto, the Judenrat chairman Lederman was sent out to entice them back. Hundreds of unsuspecting Jews returned in response to this false promise.[461]

A Jew working as a Gestapo agent was apprehended by a Jewish partisan near the Poniatowa labour camp.

> He admitted he was a Jew, and he began to tell me a story about how he was working for the Gestapo on a false name, as a Pole. His mission was to find Jews on false papers or hiding as Christians. When the Germans had shot the Jews in the camp of Poniatov [Poniatowa], a father and two daughters had escaped, he told me, but he had caught them and handed them over to the Gestapo, who immediately shot them. When I heard this I felt enormous contempt for him. … I suggested that he join the partisans, knowing that he would be handed over and interrogated for information. … I delivered them to my commander and they were taken to a barn. … The secret agent got the worst of it, I was told.[462]

The Jews who were on kitchen duty in Poniatowa plotted to poison the camp commandant, but were betrayed by a Jewish informer. The entire kitchen crew was executed.[463]

In the spring of 1943, Jewish partisans helped about 100 Jews to escape from a work camp in Adampol, near Włodawa. One of the Jews, however, denounced the partisans' plans for further escapes and, as a result, about 800 Jews were executed.[464] A group of Jews in the Włodawa ghetto, identified as Moszko Lichtenberg, the son of Lejb from Małoryta, and Hersz Buchbinder, betrayed to the Gestapo the renowned Rabbi Zajzer of Radzyń and some escapees from Sobibór who had brought back news of the death camp and had sought the rabbi's protection. All those betrayed were rounded up by the Jewish police and executed.[465] Some Jews from Mielec who were deported to Parczew were held in a synagogue. "From

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[459] Eliyahu Jones [Yones], *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939–1945* (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1999), 190.

[460] Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945,* 262.

[461] Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia During World War II,* 163–64.

[462] Jakob Friedmann, *Reluctant Soldier: A Jewish Partisan's Story* (Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2005), 56–57.

[463] Robert Kuwałek, "Żydowski ruch oporu," *Strona o Żydach lubelskich,* Internet: <http:///www.jews-lublin.net>.

[464] Harold Werner, *Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 140.

[465] Account of Motel Rabinowicz in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 130–31.

there, with the help of local Jews, they were marched off to Wlodawa [Włodawa] … 3 miles from the extermination camp Sobibor [Sobibór] … They had to wait 7 months for their destruction …"[466] Leon Gongoła (Lejba Goldsztajn) from Sierpc was betrayed by a fellow Jew and was eventually deported to Auschwitz.[467] Examples can be multiplied.[468]

Polish Jews deported to Germany as Poles also faced risks there because of betrayals by fellow Jews. A young Jewish woman who volunteered for foreign labour in Germany recalled that another Jewish girl on the train who tried to pass as a Pole started to talk in Yiddish in her sleep, yet she was not betrayed by the passengers. Later, however, when that same girl was arrested by the Gestapo as a Jew inside Germany, she promptly betrayed her Jewish acquaintance.[469] Bronka Nowakowska, a professional Jewish prostitute, posed a serious threat to Jewish women from Poland who worked in an ammunition factory in Germany posing as Christians: "Her identification as a Polish prostitute eliminated suspicions about her Jewish origin. Bronka knew which of the women was Jewish. She engaged in reckless behavior, returning very late from illegal escapades and then forcing the Jewish women to cover up for her, threatening to denounce them. Bronka argued that the authorities would believe her and not them."[470]

Zosia Goldberg was caught by the Germans in a street dragnet in "Aryan" Warsaw and deported for hard labour to the Reich as a Pole. She recalled many friendly Poles with whom she worked in Germany:

> The Polish, when they were nice, they were really nice. They pretended they did not know. They did not ask questions.[471]
>
> One day I met a fellow from Warsaw, from the Old Town. So many of those Warsaw Gentiles were fantastic, helping Jews wherever they were. The smugglers also came from that same part of town. The workers in the towns, especially from Warsaw, were far from ignorant. … They did not have that hatred of the Jews and saw the Jews more as fellow citizens.[472]

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[466] Statement of Chana Lind (née Reiss), in *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Mielec: Sipur hashmadat ha-kehila ha-yehudit* (New York: Mielec Yizkor Book Committee, 1979), translated as *Remembering Mielec: The Destruction of the Jewish Community,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/mielec/Mielec.html>.

[467] Interview with Leon Gągoła (Lejba Gongola), *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Mazowsze edition), November 20, 1995, Internet: <www.sierpc.com.pl/czytelnia/gagola/zyje_dzieki_polakom.html>.

[468] See the following betrayals in Warsaw: Mary Berg, *Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary* (New York: L.B. Fischer, 1945), 155 (Warsaw); Włodzimierz Kopczuk and Jacek Wilamowski, *Tajemnicze wsypy: Polsko-niemiecka wojna na tajnym froncie* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Związków Zawodowych, 1990), 77–79; Eugenia Szajn Lewin, *W getcie warszawskim: Lipiec 1942–kwiecień 1943* (Poznań: a5, 1989), 52; Henryk Makower, *Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego: Październik 1940–styczeń 1943* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987), 36–38.

[469] Rose Toren, *A New Beginning* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1997), 27–28.

[470] Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 237.

[471] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 88.

[472] Ibid., 98.

She soon noticed the marked difference in attitude of Polish and Russian workers, who engaged in extensive sabotage at the plant, and that of the Ukrainian workers: "The Ukrainians, however, were traitors. They were working against the Russians, against the Poles, against everybody, denouncing all the time."[473] "The Russians had hateful eyes when they looked at the Germans. Ukrainians were always charmingly sweet and sang, 'Heil Hitler!'"[474] "You were not allowed to travel from one village to another. Only Ukrainians had this right because they were pro-German."[475] When Zosia Goldberg was arrested, a Pole who worked as an interpreter and suspected she was Jewish counseled her on her appearance and the "story" she should give to her German interrogators.[476] She also encountered several Jews (and a Ukrainian interpreter) who would betray her, and several other Poles who helped her.

> We were always brought back by truck for interrogation. … One time, those two German Jewish girls saw me in the truck on the way to the Gestapo.
>
> The one that was not pretty told the policeman, "She is Jewish. She's from Warsaw, I know. I recognize her. She is from Warsaw. She is Jewish!" …
>
> The policeman was not paying much attention, but he reported it to the Gestapo anyway. Now they had a lead.
>
> One day, I was sitting, waiting to be interrogated. They brought in a Jewish woman with a yellow star who was also being questioned. An older woman. She had been caught on the train. A German Jewess, she was married to a Gentile man. …
>
> We each understood who the other was without asking. She spoke into my ear. "You know I have this star that I took off. I have to sew it back on. Do you have a needle and thread?"
>
> I happened to have it and gave it to her. They saw. They had purposely put me with a Jewish woman to see how I would act toward her … They observed and saw that I gave her a needle and thread and that I ate the sandwich she gave me.
>
> When they called me in for questioning, they asked, "Why did you eat food from that Jewish woman? Aren't you disgusted?' …
>
> The next time they tried to trick me into admitting I was Jewish we were cleaning the offices. … there was some Jewish fellow who was working with us. I was sorry for him and gave him a bunch of *shtumels* [cigarette butts] for a smoke. I made contact without realizing that this Jew was a damn traitor. He was working for the Gestapo.
>
> He came over to me. "What is your name?" he asked. "I am from Wilno. What is your father's name?" He was talking so softly, and with a Jewish accent. …
>
> I found out that he sewed suits for the Gestapo men. He was a tailor. He sewed their clothing, and he translated whenever they needed it. He was a denouncer.[477]

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[473] Ibid., 93.

[474] Ibid., 99.

[475] Ibid., 130.

[476] Ibid., 129.

[477] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 132–34. Zosia Goldberg describes how she was helped, during her interrogation, by a Pole who was employed by the Germans as an interpreter. Ibid., 129.

Already in the fall of 1939, Jews were being conscripted, often through coercion, to take part in German punitive measures against Poles. After being "fingered" by Polish Jews in the service of the German militia, Jan Dudziński and two of his friends were picked up by the Gestapo in Sanok and sent to Auschwitz where only Dudziński survived.[478] Rev. Roman Pawłowski, a 60-year-old priest from Chocz, was publicly shot in Kalisz in November 1939, in front of the local inhabitants who were driven to the public square to watch the spectacle. "Agents of the Gestapo forced local Jews to tie Fr. Pawlowski to the post, after which he was shot in front of the assembled multitude. The Jews were made to kiss the feet of the corpse, unbind it, put it on a cart, and take it to the Jewish cemetery and bury it according to the Jewish rite."[479] In the fall of 1939 both Poles and Jews were imprisoned, tortured and murdered in Górka Klasztorna, near Łobżenica, by the *Selbstschutz*, a paramilitary formation composed of ethnic Germans, prewar citizens of Poland. On November 23, 1939, a rope was tied to each of Anna Jaworska's legs and two groups of Jews were ordered to pull the ropes in opposite directions until her body was ripped in half.[480]

Throughoutt the war, Jews were utilized to carry out executions of Poles and fellow Jews. In the fall of 1939, the Germans strung up about a dozen Jewish men at the gallows erected in the town square of Łęczyca and ordered the townspeople to watch the spectacle. Instead of executing the Jews themselves, the Germans sought out a local Jew to pull the bench from under the feet of the condemned men. Reluctantly, one of the condemned men's sons accepted.[481] The first execution of Jews who were caught for being outside the Warsaw ghetto illegally took place in November 1941. The victims were bound to the stakes by Jewish policemen and, "under penalty of death, the Polish police were forced to fire on command because the Germans wanted the disgrace of killing to fall on the Poles."[482] On German orders, the Jewish police participated in public executions, usually by hanging, of Jews in Zduńska Wola, Brzeziny, Łęczyca, Bełchatów, Poddębice, Wieluń, Pionki, Ozorków, Warta (all between February and April 1942), Białystok (on December 31, 1943), and Łódź (where one execution was performed by a Jewish executioner and his assistants).[483] Jewish policemen were ordered to publicly hang a group of Jews and Poles in Bełchatów on March 18, 1942.[484] The Germans staged a public hanging of ten people in Brzeziny on Purim in March

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[478] Patricia Treece, *A Man For Others: Maximilian Kolbe Saint of Auschwitz (In the Words of Those Who Knew Him)* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982; reissued by Our Sunday Visitor, Huntington, Indiana), 128; Testimony of Jan Dudzinski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43153.

[479] *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in German-Occupied Poland: Reports Presented by H.E. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, to Pope Pius XII, Vatican Broadcasts and Other Reliable Evidence* (London: Burns Oates, 1941), 58, 105–106, and the American edition (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941).

[480] Barbara Bojarska, "Zbrodnie Selbstschutzu w Łobżenicy," *Przegląd Zachodni*, nos. 5–6, 1963, 147.

[481] Agata Tuszyńska, *Family History of Fear: A Memoir* (New York: Knopf, 2016), 145.

[482] Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld,* 235. See also the entry for November 12, 1941 in Adam Czerniaków's diary, Marian Fuks, ed., *Adama Czerniakowa dziennik getta warszawskiego: 6 IX 1939–23 VII 1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983).

[483] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 482–83; Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 37, 112. In Zduńska Wola the Judenrat selected and surrendered ten Jews to the Germans for execution. See Markowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 136.

[484] Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 462–63, 466–67; Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 42.

1942. They ordered the Judenrat to select the victims, build the gallows, and carry out the public execution.[485] On June 17, 1942, Jewish policemen hanged ten Jews who had tried to avoid forced labour duty in the village of Dzierżbotki-Cegielnia, near Turek, after rounding up the Jewish population to witness the public spectacle.[486] The Germans ordered Jews to hang a group of Polish prisoners in Mława on February 4, 1944. Afterwards, the Germans executed the Jewish executioners, who gained nothing by complying with the orders.[487] Examples of such executions in Kraków are provided later on.

A Jew from Zwoleń recalled:

> Another night gendarmes came, selected several young men, and put them into a truck. We were sure they would be shot. It turned out altogether differently: 2 Germans had been shot not far from the village of Gura-Pulavska [Góra Puławska]. The Germans took Polish hostages and announced that if the guilty ones were not delivered within two days, the hostages would be shot. When the time had expired, the Germans ordered the 2 young Jews to hang the Polish prisoners, among whom was a priest. The Germans took photographs of the entire event. The young men were wearing their yellow arm bands. The next day the photographs appeared with captions in large letters: "JEWS HANG POLES."[488]

On the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, in June 1941, the Germans rounded up Poles in Starachowice, among them women and at least one young girl, leaving church on Sunday morning. The hangmen, young Jews, stood the Poles on stools and placed ropes placed around their necks. The stools were then kicked away, and the bodies were left hanging.

> The most memorable killing of the early period was not of Jews but rather the public hanging of 16 or 17 Polish hostages in the town square in June 1941, orchestrated by the chief of the Security Police branch office in Starachowice, *Kriminalkommissar* Walter Becker. This carefully planned "theatrical" event took place on a Sunday morning in the sealed-off main square, and Poles leaving the church were forced to watch. The bodies were left hanging for several days, and in a transparent attempt to stir up Polish hatred against the Jews, the Germans had forced the Jewish council to provide young Jewish men wearing masks to serve as hangmen.[489]
>
> According to Peretz Cymerman, … this was not the first Jews had been forced into the role of hangmen on behalf of the Germans. Sometime earlier, Jewish police had come and fetch him, two

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[485] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 45. The Jewish police caught Jews who smuggled, confiscated the goods, and the smuggler would have to pay a ranson for his or her release.

[486] Paweł Janicki, "Eksterminacja Żydów w powiecie tureckim w latach 1941–1942," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów,* no. 1 (2012): 60–92, here at 73–75.

[487] Ryszard Juszkiewicz, *Losy Żydów mławskich w okresie II-ej wojny światowej* (Mława: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ziemi Mławskiej, 1994), 79–80.

[488] Berl Kagan, ed., *Zvoliner Yizkor Bukh* (New York: New York Independent Zvoliner Benevolent Society, 1982), 56 (English section).

[489] Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 93.

> brothers, and his brother-in-law. They were put in a horse-drawn wagon, along with a bag of ropes, and taken to [police commander Walther] Becker's office. The "man with the pipe" (Labuhn) told them that, as they were butchers by profession, they knew how to strangle cows with rope. They were to return at 5 a.m. the next day. Jewish police were stationed outside their house to make sure they did not flee. The next morning, the young Jewish butchers were taken by truck, along with eight prisoners—five men and three women—to a small town a two-hour drive from Wierzbnik, where they saw many German troops positioned on the rooftops. Becker went up to them and told them to do a good job or they would be next. The victims were placed on chairs, and ropes were out around their necks by Cymerman's brother, standing on a stepladder. The chairs were then kicked away. It was all over in about four minutes.[490]

Of course, no one was "forced" to do anything in the true sense of that word. No gun was held to anyone's head. The Jewish council or police could have declined to carry out the orders. As in other towns, the Jews of Starachowice themselves directed Germans to Jewish homes, compiled lists of Jewish men fit for labour duty, dug pits and buried Jews executed by the Germans in the local cemetery, and took part in the round-up of Jews.[491] A group of Jews who were planning to escape from the ghetto were worried about snitches among the Jews: "one of them even showed clear signs of his wavering loyalty and we needed to 'remove' him to be rid of the risk. This kind of action, planning the murder of a fellow Jew, was well and truly beyond us." They also feared the Jewish officials: "Their fear of a brutal reprisal could also make them act against us before we did anything."[492]

Jewish policemen assisted the Gestapo in searching the houses for hidden Jews during *Aktions* in the Dębica ghetto.[493] Two Jewish policemen, Monek K. and Pulek G., ordered Izak Sturm to betray the hideout of his father, sister and four other Jews during the December 1942 *Aktion*.[494] An eyewitness relates how, during the later liquidation of the forced labour camp in Dębica, the notorious Jewish policeman and camp elder Immerglick ordered the Jewish police to deliver 50 "illegal" Jews who had escaped and somehow made it back to the camp. They were detained in a room of the local Talmud Torah and killed the same night, with the help of the ghetto police: "the men of the *Ordnungsdienst* grabbed the hands of the victims and Gabler (apparently the *Lagerkommandant*) shot them."[495] A Jewish policeman named Samuel Frisch first extorted money from hidden Jews he located in bunkers in the Bochnia ghetto, and then handed them

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[490] Christopher R. Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave-Labor Camp* (New York and London: Norton, 2010), 48–49.

[491] Schutzman, *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz,* 165ff. (Jerahmiel Singer), 186 (Leibish Herblum), 246 (Zvi Unger).

[492] Zvi Faigenbaum, "Led Like Lambs to the Slaughter," in Schutzman, *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz,* 308ff.

[493] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 499.

[494] Testimony of Berl Sturm, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4596.

[495] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 514.

over to the Germans, who executed them. He also conducted vaginal examinations, looking for hidden jewels, on Jewish women awaiting transport to the death camps.[496]

Jewish policemen were ordered to dig two large pits in a forest on the outskirts of the town of Kołbiel, near Otwock. After the Germans shot the Jews who had been ordered to undress and climb into the pits, the ghetto policemen then covered the dead and the wounded with the earth piled up beside the pits.[497] Groups of prisoners—Jews and Poles—were taken by the Gestapo from Auschwitz. After being ordered to dig a pit, the Jewish prisoners were told to lay in it and the Polish prisoners to cover the Jews with earth. The Poles refused, so the Germans ordered the Jews out of the pit and reversed the roles, commanding the Jews to bury the Poles alive. The Jewish prisoners obliged and quickly started shovelling earth into the pit containing the Poles. However, the Germans soon tired of the whole charade and started to fire at both the Polish victims and the Jewish lackeys.[498] Additional examples from Kraków are described later.

There are many accounts of Jews betraying Poles in other contexts. In the village of Jagiełła, near Przeworsk, Polish army officers who hid with their families were betrayed by two Jewish women. The officers were arrested by the Gestapo and their families were executed on the spot.[499] In Lwów, a Jew betrayed a Pole who was sought afterwards by the Germans.[500] A betrayal by a Ukrainian and a Jewish woman in Złoczów led to the arrest and disappearance of two Poles.[501] Stanisław Stelmach of Kolbuszowa, who was involved in transporting underground publications, was denounced by a Jew named Liber. Stelmach and several members of his family were arrested and imprisoned in Rzeszów. Stelmach was beaten severely by the Gestapo to extract information. After a search of his house revealed no compromising material, they were eventually released.[502] Siudek Meryl, a sergeant in the ghetto police in Rzeszów, informed on Poles who had helped Jews; he was executed after the "liberation" by a Polish underground organization.[503] A Jew from Łuków by the name of Telman is believed to have denounced the gamekeeper Antoni Piećko.[504] A Jew by the name of Wajsberg from Węgrów denounced Władysław Wójcik, who was active in helping Jews and was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem. Wójcik barely escaped when German gendarmes descended on his father's home, and then had to hide for

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[496] Testimony of Abraham Sternhell, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3400; Piotr Gontarczyk, "Naukowa mistyfikacja," *Sieci,* March 11–17, 2019. Samuel Frisch was one of the very few Jewish policemen who were convicted and sentenced to a prison term by Polish courts. The witnesses who informed the authorities and testified against Frisch were Jewish.

[497] Gitel Hopfeld, *At the Mercy of Strangers: Survival in Nazi Occupied Poland* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 2005), 55.

[498] Stanisław Stanek, "Moje wspomnienia (6)," *Goniec* (Mississauga), March 10–16, 2006.

[499] Maria Szczepańska, "Wspomnienie z Jarosławia," *Gazeta Polska* (Warsaw), February 10, 1994.

[500] Barbara Mękarska-Kozłowska, *Burza nad Lwowem: Reportaż z lat wojennych 1939–1945 we Lwowie. Kartki z pamiętnika* (London: Polish Cultural Foundation, 1992), 311.

[501] I. M. Lask, ed., *The City of Zloczow* (Tel Aviv: Zloczower Relief Verband of America, 1967), columns 140–41.

[502] Stanisława Stelmach-Serafinowa, "Wspomnienia z lat młodości," *Rocznik Kolbuszowski,* vol. 4 (2000): 143–52.

[503] Herzog, *...And Heaven Shed No Tears,* 301.

[504] Bechta*, Rewolucja, mit, bandytyzm,* 73.

the duration of the war.[505] Jan Idec was denounced by a Jewish acquaintance who was a Gestapo agent in Kraków; he spent the duration of the war imprisoned in concentration camps.[506]

A gang of Jews was apprehended in Lida after robbing Jewish property left for safekeeping with a local Orthodox priest, a trusted friend of the Jews. The priest was badly wounded, with brass knuckles administered to his head. When the Judenrat refused to intercede to obtain the Jews' release from prison, these Jews informed the German authorities of the residence permits the Judenrat had procured for Jewish fugitives from Wilno by paying off Polish municipal clerks, thereby endangering the lives of all involved. Local Jews were then coopted to identify the refugees. As a result, 75 to 80 Jews were arrested and executed by the Germans together with the members of the Jewish council. Yankel Avidan, the head of the gang, was released by the Germans as a reward for his tale-bearing and returned to Wilno. Believed to have conveyed information to the German authorities on illegal activities in the ghetto, Avidan was liquidated by the Judenrat and ghetto police.[507] In the nearby town of Zdzięcioł, a 12-year-old boy who tried to escape deportation by blending in with members of the Judenrat, was abruptly yelled at by a woman: "Don't stay next to us. You don't belong in this group."[508]

Smuggling food and other items into ghettos proved to be a source of unexpected danger. Poles who, in defiance of German decrees, smuggled food into ghettos or traded with Jews also faced their share of problems. The Jewish police were under orders to arrest non-Jews who made purchases in stores exclusively designated for Jews, and Poles arrested for such transgressions were turned over to the Germans for execution.[509] The greatest obstacle to smuggling food into the ghetto in Łódź was the large network of Jewish Kripo and Gestapo agents employed by the Germans. The ghetto police and other Jewish collaborators were also active denouncers of smugglers. Their activities resulted in the apprehension and

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[505] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 884; Leociak, *Ratowanie,* 39, based on the testimony of Władysław Wójcik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5267.

[506] Michał Czajka, ed., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 4001–5000/ Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: No. 4001–5000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 2007), vol. 5, 52, based on the testimony of Jan Idec, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4128.

[507] Yitzhak Arad, *Ghetto in Flames: The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith New York, 1980), 292–93; Spector, *Lost Jewish Worlds,* 212; Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven and London: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and Yale University Press, 2002), 235–36, 610. Another version of the story is that the Jews who broke into the Orthodox church and stabbed the priest when he confronted them were a family of thieves named Zimleich who stole horses from "from the goyim." The Germans ordered the Jewish council to turn the burglars over, but the three of them escaped from Lida. Instead, the council handed over some refugees who were acquainted with the criminals. In an effort to save themselves, they revealed to the Germans that the council issued false documents to Jewish refugees. See Chaim Basist, *The Story of the House of Plotnik-Monco-Basist,* December 2008, Internet: <http://museumoffamilyhistory.com/wims-basist-02.htm>.

[508] Philip Lazowski, *Faith and Destiny* (Barkhamsted, Connnecticut: Goulet Printery, 2006), 43.

[509] Pogonowski, *Jews in Poland,* 99.

punishment of many Poles and Jews who engaged in smuggling.[510] Meyer Shwartz, a resident of Łódź, recalled: "There were Jewish spies who said that his father was hiding furs, so he was badly beaten. The Germans also beat his aunt, breaking all her fingers."

There was an extensive network of Jewish *szmalcowniks*—made up of smugglers, porters and Jewish policemen—who staked out strategic points in the Warsaw ghetto such as entrances in order to accost Poles who entered the ghetto illegally, usually to trade but sometimes to bring help. These Jews would demand bribes, failing which the Poles would be roughed up or even handed over to the Germans.[511] Jewish children caught smuggling food into the Warsaw ghetto were frequently apprehended by Jewish policemen, who beat the children with their clubs and confiscated their food supplies.[512] Jewish children trying to escape from the ghetto also suffered abuse. Seven-year-old Ludwik Brylant tried to escape from the Warsaw ghetto on three occasions. The first two times Ludwik was apprehended by a Polish policeman when he jumped off a streetcar, which he had mounted as it passed through the ghetto, once it was just outside the ghetto. He was handed over to the Jewish ghetto police who beat him mercilessly. His second beating was so ferocious that Ludwik suffered permanent scaring on his head and brain damage. On the third occasion, towards the end of 1941, an unknown Pole protected the young boy by covering him up to prevent his detection by the German guard on the streetcar.[513] Jewish policemen extorted bribes from bakers and craftsmen, who were engaged in both legal and illegal commerce.[514] They also searched for secret hideouts built by Jews and informed the Germans.[515]

There were many Polish victims as well. Jan Konstański and his mother Władysława, both of whom were recognized as Righteous Gentiles by Yad Vashem, were involved in smuggling food. In 1941, Jan was arrested by the Jewish police inside the Warsaw ghetto. For six days, he was interrogated and beaten. He was released thanks to a bribe paid by his mother.[516] A similar fate met Jan Nowakowski, who smuggled underground publications, food, and even weapons into the ghetto at the behest of his father, a member of

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[510] Dorota Sierpacka, "Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Łodzi podczas okupacji niemieckiej," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 699, 710, 713–15, 717, 719, 721, 728, 736–37, 728, 743, 744, 748–49; Dorota Sierpacka, "Postawy Polaków wobec ludności żydowskiej w Kraju Warty," in Aleksandra Namysło, ed., *Zagłada Żydów na polskich terenach wcielonych do Rzeszy* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 200. The former source, at p. 707, mentions a Polish-Jewish gang of robbers active in ghetto.

Testimony of Meyer Shwartz, July 12, 1991, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=734>.

[511] Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 501–502.

[512] Gutenbaum and Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses,* vol. 2, 123.

[513] Testimony of Ludwik Brylant in Katarzyna Meloch and Halina Szostkiewicz, eds., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią…*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Midrasz and Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2008), 174–77; Interview with Ludwik Brylant, "Z getta uciekałem trzy razy," February 14, 2010, Polska Agencja Prasowa, Internet: <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/198835,Z-getta-uciekalem-trzy-razy>.

[514] Testimony of Izaak Drajer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7283.

[515] Testimony of Krystyna Lewiarz (Halina Bilter), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6141.

[516] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 865.

the Polish Workers' Party. Nowakowski was apprehended by the Jewish police at the beginning of April 1943 and handed over to the Germans. Fortunately, the German gendarme into whose hands 14-year-old Jan Nowakowski was delivered had more compassion than his Jewish counterparts: after receiving a stern lecture and a kick, he was thrown out of the ghetto.[517]

Lech Hałko, a member of the Żegota organization who was charged with the task of smuggling a package of false identity documents into the Warsaw ghetto and bringing back fresh photographs of Jews to be smuggled out at a later date, ran afoul of Jewish policemen when he surreptitiously entered the ghetto with the Jewish work crew he had joined: they beat him mercilessly because he did not have a bribe in the form of smuggled food. "They preyed on people coming into the ghetto," Hałko recalled. "They were brutal." Had he not been rescued by a member of the Jewish underground, Hałko would have been pummelled to death. He spent three days in the ghetto recovering from his wounds.[518]

Occasionally, a Jewish policeman was willing to turn a blind eye during the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto, but this usually required the payment of a hefty payoff. They often demanded enormous bribes to facilitate the release of Jews discovered or apprehended during the Great Deportation in the summer of 1942.[519] It was rare for a Jewish policeman to perform a good deed without some financial reward.

> We used to hide there during each *Aktion.* Once a Jewish policeman noticed us there, and when during an *Aktion* he came into our hiding place, we locked him in together with us, (he agreed to this for a considerable sum of money). After the raid, we let him out.[520]

Sometimes Poles who ventured inside the ghetto simply fell at the hands of ordinary criminals. That was the fate of a Polish policeman who was shot and killed by a Jewish thief in November 1939. The Pole's colleague was wounded in that altercation.[521] Even child smugglers were not out of reach as potential victims:

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[517] Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 230.

[518] Sheldon Kirshner, "Polish Catholics helped Warsaw Jews," *The Canadian Jewish News,* August 26, 1993.

[519] Testimony of Marek Zajdenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1886 (after their hideout was located by Jewish policemen, the author's wife had to pay 60,000 złoty to save herself and her children from being dragged away for deportation to Treblinka); Testimony of Artur Ney, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2227 (a policeman demanded 15,000 złoty just to deliver a letter).

[520] Sholem Kamienny, "With Kałuszyn *Landslayt* in the Warsaw Ghetto," in A. Shamri and Sh. Soroka, eds., *Sefer Kaluszyn: Geheylikt der khorev gevorener kehile* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kaluszyn in Israel, 1961), 411ff., translated as *The Memorial Book of Kaluszyn,* Internet: <http://jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kaluszyn/Kaluszyn.html>.

[521] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 80; Gilbert, *The Holocaust,* 102. The murderer was one Jakub Pinchas Zylbring; in retaliation, the Germans shot 53 Jews.

> Sometimes the child was successful in his mission and in one way or another obtained a loaf of bread from a kindly Pole, only to be attacked by another hungry child or even adult upon his return into the Ghetto. Such fights were frequent in the Ghetto streets, and often nearly to death.[522]

A similar situation prevailed in Wilno when Jews who worked outside the ghetto had to face the Jewish police on their return to the ghetto. The policemen beat up fellow Jews at the gates to the ghetto, confiscated the food they were carrying, and mocked them.[523]

> The behavior of the Jewish police at the gate—the searches and the beatings—made them and their commander, [Meir] Levas, the most hated group among the Jews of the ghetto. These blows and searches were inflicted directly by the policemen themselves, and became the rule when Murer or another German was on the spot. Many Jews saw the Jewish gatemen as the oppressors who prevented them from bringing in food. The gate police more than once exceeded the necessary norm and abused their position to impound food for their own consumption and enrichment.[524]

Internal rivalries and jealousy led to acrimonious quarrels among Jews involved in illicit trade. On occasion they even denounced each other to the German authorities, as was the case in Głowno, near Łódź.

> Kosher butchers would bring cattle for slaughter through the ghetto gate or cut a hole in the fence to get them in. There was a constant war between the butchers and the Jewish Police, whom the butchers refused to bribe. The butchers also fought among themselves, denouncing each other to the [German] Gendarmerie.[525]

Polish farmers who traded with Jews could also get up in internal struggles, as was the case in Izbica, near Zamość, where Jewish traders were in competition with each other to acquire and resell produce at a profit. One Jewish trader summoned the authorities to complain about a rival Jewish trader, thus endangering the Polish farmer who delivered the produce. Luckily, the Polish "Blue" police responded and the farmer was let off with a warning after paying a bribe. Had the German authorities intervened, harsh reprisals would have ensued for the Polish farmer.[526]

There were Jews who smuggled other Jews out of ghettos for hefty sums, and numerous Jewish black-marketeers who bought up Jewish goods for a pittance only to resell them outside the ghetto for considerably more and who made huge profits from the sale of goods smuggled into the ghetto.[527] Iser

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[522] David Wdowinski, *And We Are Not Savied* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985), 46.

[523] Rachel Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna* (Brighton, Massachusetts: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 288.

[524] Arad, *Ghetto in Flames,* 305.

[525] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 372.

[526] Account in the author's possession.

[527] Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych,* 17; Szajn Lewin, *W getcie warszawskim,* 50; Makower, *Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego,* 40.

Rochberg paid a Jewish smuggler the large sum of $100–$150 to be smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto.[528] Jews had to pay a Jewish watchman considerable sums to be snuck out of the Janowska Street camp in Lwów, as one Jew recalled:

> I sensed that he spoke this way only because he wanted to extract more money from me if I wanted his help. First, I offered him $20.
>
> "Do you think I would make my wife a widow and my children orphans for a dog's price?" he asked.
>
> I promised him $50.[529]

A Jewish survivor from Borysław recalled:

> Several dozen people, mainly young boys, went to the forest near Borysław and built underground bunkers there. Later they would come to the *Lager* [camp] and take people to the bunkers for a fee (several thousand złotys).[530]

It was not only Jews, however, who were forced to sell their belongings to survive, and Jewish black-marketeers were eager to take advantage of Poles, as well as Jews. Jews from Warsaw recalled:

> … more and more people were selling their valuables, their possessions, even their clothes. The *Wolavka* [Wałówka], the used goods market [located outside the ghetto], was full of people and getting bigger every day. People from all classes, people who had never set foot there, one and all were selling their possessions—valuable sets of dishes, sets of silver, clothing, bed clothes, and even more modest objects—everything was being offered for sale. The Poles bought; Jewish merchants also bought cheaply from people who wanted to sell as quickly as possible, and then they sold the merchandise to the Poles at a profit. When a Pole came to the market expecting to sell something expensive at its worth, people would laugh at him. After standing in the market for an hour, which seemed like a year, the seller would set his price lower and lower; if he had come to sell something, that meant that he needed money, and quickly.[531]
>
> I remember going to the nearby market to sell our silverware. I told a vendor that I wanted $100 for it. The shrewd vendor offered me $45. I then went from vendor to vendor, trying to sell it for more. When I could not and went back to the first vendor for the $45 he had offered me, he now said that he would give me only $25, and not a cent more. I was stuck—I had no choice.[532]

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[528] Iser R. [Rochberg] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–1891), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

[529] Thorne, *Out of the Ashes,* 83.

[530] Gutenbaum and Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses,* vol. 2, 78.

[531] Dov Freiberg, *To Survive Sobibor* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2007), 102–3.

[532] Alpert, *A Spark of Life,* 22.

Jan Kott, a convert of Jewish origin who was residing in Lwów, recalled:

> I went into business with three specimens of a new subcategory: "merchants of war." They came to buy furs and rugs but most of all goods and diamonds. They knew that not only the Jews but also the Poles had to get rid of everything. Although honest in business in their own way, they were uninhibitedly voracious. …
>
> The circle of my activities expanded. Henceforth I traded mainly in dollars and gold. To say "traded in" is an exaggeration: I simply got from Mr. Lindenfeld, who was my "banker," dollars and sometimes rings and took them to my Warsaw speculators, who came once every two weeks to Lvov [Lwów] to trade, or rather to smuggle them back. Mr. Lindenfled was a prewar merchant; he had had, as he told me one day, a magnificent jewelry shop on the main square of Stanisławów. Before the [Soviet] deportations, he had liquidated the whole business and taken refuge in Lvov.[533]

Kott took up similar activities when he moved to Warsaw where he traded in currency and gold in partnership with left-wing Polish literati.[534]

Criminal elements in the ghettos also preyed on fellow Jews. According to one source, there was an *Unterwelt* (underworld) in Łódź made up of "thieves, prostitutes, and so on, and, in the ghetto reality, those people dominated. It was a regression to primitivism."[535] In Ożarów, a gang composed of Jews and Poles robbed ghetto homes at night.[536] Robberies and muggings were a frequent occurrence in the Lwów ghetto.[537] Jewish informers in Lwów found well-appointed apartments of well-to-do Jews for German officials,[538] and extorted large sums of money from Jews in hiding in exchange for not being denounced.[539] A Jew from Silesia named Hans and his German partner arranged to transport Jews from Lwów to Warsaw for payment and then betrayed them to the Germans. The father of Danuta Lis (then Schmerler) made arrangements with Hans to take his daughter to Warsaw in May 1943. Then only 13 years old, Danuta was sexually abused in Warsaw by Hans, who also stole her money.[540]

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[533] Jan Kott, *Still Live: An Autobiographical Essay* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 53.

[534] Kott, *Still Live,* 80–81.

[535] Testimony of Alina Fiszgrund, March–August 2005, Internet: <http://www.centropa.org>.

[536] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 272.

[537] Moty Stromer, *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Person: The Diary of Moty Stromer* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Srvivors' Memoirs Project, 2008), 79. When the author left the Lwów ghetto he was followed by two secret agents whom he and his companion were able to lose. Ibid., 182.

[538] Henryk Reiss, *Z deszczu pod rynnę…: Wspomniena polskiego Żyda* (Warszawa: Polonia, 1993), 76; Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 556.

[539] Testimony of Mrs. O., recorded January 1958, Archives of the Wiener Library in *Testaments to the Holocaust* (Woodbridge, Connecticut, and Reading, England: Primary Source Microfilm, 1998), reel 50.

[540] Katarzyna Meloch and Halina Szostkiewicz, eds., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...,* vol. 4 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2012), 134–35; Mateusz Wyrwich, "Obcy we własnym mieście," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowewj,* no. 3 (2009): 80. Hans was arrested by the Germans and imprisoned in Kraków, but managed to survive. After the war, he was recognized by a Jew whom he had betrayed. Hans was tried and sentenced to death.

After being denounced to the German authorities by his Jewish neighbours, Dr. Edward Reicher decided to move his family to another apartment in the Warsaw ghetto:

> Moving was a risk because of the "grabbers" and thieves …
>
> So I was extremely cautious. I concealed all our gold, jewelry, and gold watches in [my daughter] Elzunia'a favorite toy, a brown teddy bear. I packed the dollar bills in a condom that I carried on my person. With everything well hidden, we took a rickshaw to our new apartment on Nowolipki Street. Elzunia carried the precious bear.
>
> When the driver stopped outside the front door of our new building, I began to help them unload our possessions into the house. My daughter started to play on the street with a small boy who was perhaps eight years old. Before I came back downstairs, the boy suddenly wrenched the bear from her and ran away. … That yellow bear contained almost all our possessions—and money often spelled the difference between life and death. I was in despair. I tore off to look for the boy.
>
> On the street I ran into a patient of mine who was a smuggler. I told him what had happened, and he advised me to go to a known underworld hangout, a café on Smocza Street. I ran all the way there, asking passersby as I went where the café was. Many of them mocked my desperate question: "Where's the thieves' café?" People looked at me as if I were out of my mind. Suddenly an elderly man with a broken nose and an unkempt beard appeared before me.
>
> "Follow me," he said. "I'm a go-between." He had a strange way of constantly smacking his lips. We came to a dirty bar, the like of which I had only ever seen in crime movies. Behind the bar stood a fat bartender … I ordered tea and the middleman went from table to table, chatting up various people. A moment later he returned to my table with a suspicious-looking middle-aged man in a worn suit with a garish scarf around his neck. This turned out to be the father of the eight-year-old boy who had snatched Elzunia's bear.
>
> "What can I do for you?" the thief asked.
>
> "I would like my things back. I will give you cash worth part of the value of the stolen items."
>
> "We shall see." The three of us left the café and headed to Krochmalna Street. A wooden staircase on the far side of the courtyard led up outside of the building. … I was led into a room. The stench was overpowering. … A woman was nursing twins. The little thief was there too.
>
> The bear was retrieved from inside the sofa; it had already been professionally gutted. And there were its contents: a dozen twenty-dollar gold coins, two diamond rings, one loose diamond, my 75-gram gold watch (a wedding present from my wife's grandfather), and a woman's watch with a gold chain. Nothing was missing. An appraisal was begun. The middleman's valuations were not very high. The value was established in dollars. We also agreed on the percentage for the thief—almost half.
>
> "Do you have enough money on you to pay us?" the middleman asked.
>
> "I do."
>
> "Very well. It will cost you nine hundred dollars. And I get fifty dollars as the go-between."[541]

[541] Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 83–84. The family of the little thief from Krochmalna Street survived the war thanks to thieves who had hidden them on the Polish side. Ibid., 253.

Jews from the Wilno ghetto also fell victim to fellow Jews who agreed to transport them to other, presumably safer localities, for large sums of money, but abandoned them outside the city.[542] Conditions inside ghettos were often unsafe because of gangs of criminals. In Wilno,

> there was a murder in the ghetto in June 1942. The motive was robbery. The underworld gang of 5 who committed the murder consisted of two brothers, Isaac and Eliahu Geiwusz, Leib Grodzenski, Yankel Polianski and Hirsz Wituchowski. They attacked a former Yeshiva student, Josef Gersztein, with the object of robbing him of money … They lured him into a cellar … and there murdered him.
>
> Later it turned out that this same gang had also killed a ghetto Jew by the name of Herzl Lides with the aim of robbing him. They buried him in a cellar …
>
> According to a verdict issued by a ghetto court another name was added to the five gangsters. It was the name of Jankel Avidon. He was confined to the ghetto jail for an attempt to stab Jankel Grienfeld, a ghetto policeman. This Avidon was a squealer to the Gestapo and worked behind the backs of the Jewish police. Therefore, the Jewish police wanted to get rid of him.[543]

Looting, a hazard of war and civil strife everywhere in the world, was carried out by members of all national and religious groups when the Germans and Soviets entered Poland in September 1939.[544] When the Germans set up temporary holding camps for Jews in 1939–1940, there was no shortage of scavengers. Emanuel Ringelblum recorded that Polish Jews were quick to appropriate valuables which German Jews had discarded because the latter were afraid that their possession might lead to serious repercussions at the hands of the Germans.[545] Looting was a common occurrence in the Warsaw ghetto, especially when the size of the ghetto was reduced due to population attrition. Being blackmailed for not complying with German orders was also a pervasive worry. Schemes were hatched to extract money from residents desperate to survive.

> … every once in a while, the district was made smaller, and 15,000 to 20,000 persons were shifted to the overcrowded remaining area. … The fact that the Jewish mob stole mercilessly from their fellow men during such shifts only magnified the feeling of contempt for those who were perishing. There were many of those shifts …
>
> At one time they needed fur coats for German soldiers … many turned their furs over because they had been seen wearing them and they feared blackmail from their fellow Jews.

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[542] Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 415.

[543] Isaac Kowalski, *A Secret Press in Nazi Europe: The Story of a Jewish United Partisan Organization* (New York: Central Guide Publishers, 1969), 133–34.

[544] See, for example, Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 327. For an account of looting by Jews in Skała Podolska, a town in the Soviet zone, see Abraham Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2007), 13–19.

[545] Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego,* 69.

> Things changed the moment the action began. Fictitious firms sprang up and charged tremendous amounts of money and sewing machines for admittance to work; later, it proved that certificates issued by such firms were of no value. … The main objective of the shops was actually to extract money for the German owners and the Jewish managers. Under the firm's cover, items bought for pennies from desperate people were sent to the other side and sold there for thousands. The German owners and Jewish managers became rich within a few weeks.[546]

Later on, after the Great Deportation in the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942, the Jews who remained in the ghetto looted property left behind by the Jews who had been expelled from the ghetto.[547] Jews who remained behind in the Warsaw ghetto and worked in the workshops continued to face selections for deportation, in which the Jewish police stood guard, and denunciations by Jewish work guards.[548]

"Jumpers" left the ghetto in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski to appropriate belongings left by Jews when they were forced to move into the ghetto, deeming that they were entitled to inherit ownerless Jewish property. Rubin Katz boasts of the advantage that Jewish looters had over Polish ones; the latter "didn't know where to dig for valuables. It was only fair that we should benefit from what the Poles called 'Jewish booty' rather than them, or the Germans."[549] In his diary entry of February 28, 1943, Avraham Tory describes the following incident that occurred in Kaunas, Lithuania:

> By chance he [SA Lieutenant Miller] came across fourteen Jewish workers employed at moving the furniture and other belongings of Poles who had recently been expelled from Kovno [Kaunas]. These workers stole everything that they could get their hands on.[550]

Much has been written, in recent years, on such Polish conduct as looting Jews, denouncing Jews for financial gain, housing fugitive Jews only as long as they could pay, etc. Josef Zelkowicz, a resident of Łódź, relates Jewish misconduct in relation to its Polish counterpart. He comments, "Major felonies were committed in the ghetto, where accepted human rules did not apply. … Furthermore, we know, things are no different among the Jews than among the Gentiles..."[551] This had started long before the Nazis began systematically exterminating Jews anywhere in German-occupied Poland. Consider the matter of Polish "greed" in the acquisition of Jewish properties, including previously respectable and not-greatly-needy Poles engaging in this conduct. Zelkowicz describes the same among Jews, as he writes,

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[546] Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld,* 234, 235, 299.

[547] Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 472, 706; Joanna Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams: A Story of a Certain Loneliness* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2004), 53.

[548] Testimony of Jerzy Gladzsztern-Gwiazdowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2098.

[549] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 563; Katz, *Gone to Pitchipoï,* 87.

[550] Avraham Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust: The Kovno Ghetto* Diary (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990), 245. The Jewish workers denied they had stolen anything, and blamed the Jewish supervisors.

[551] Josef Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days: Writings from the Lodz Ghetto* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2002), 132.

> Grave crimes were committed in the ghetto. The gravest of them was the transformation of people who had worked for decades to maintain their culture and ways, the fruits of millennia of effort, into predatory beasts after half a year of life under inhuman conditions. Overnight they were stripped of every sense of morality and shame. Ghetto inhabitants pilfered and stole at every opportunity, whether they needed the booty or not. …
>
> They stole from the community chest, of all places. They stole from the stocks of food for which people had paid in toil, blood and sweat—from the food warehouses that were supposed to feed, equally, all the inmates of this concentration camp that they call a ghetto.[552]

When Jews from Western Europe were deported to the Łódź ghetto, they

> found themselves helpless. Swindled and exploited, they soon sank from relative affluence to a subhuman existence. A large percentage of them were over 50 years old and unable to work. They had to write to relatives to help them, simply to buy food and other essentials. Those who didn't have relative [sic] began to sell off their finery to get daily bread. As a result, ghetto prices skyrocketed creating resentment among the ghetto dwellers that perceived these newcomers, parasites.[553]

Jews were also known to turn on one another after the Germans invaded Poland, a phenomenon that is not widely known. Jewish informers were particularly valuable when the Germans came to plunder Jewish property.[554] In Sokołów Podlaski, Tule Hochberg pointed out to the Germans those Jews who had money and goods, and also assisted the Germans in capturing Jews for work crews.[555] Jewish eyewitnesses from Warsaw report the following occurrences:

> The local mob usually guided the Germans to the rich Jewish houses and stores. With the deepest shame I must admit that there were some Jews among the scum. The fact that a Mojsze Zylberszejn had hidden some cloth, gold or jewels was usually known to another Jew, either his friend or relation. Prompted by greed or vindictiveness they would betray the person to a German who then robbed the victim of everything. Such things were done not only by a professional 'Muser' (blackmailer) but, unfortunately, also by an embittered wife or mistress, a quarrelling business partner, dissatisfied employee or competitor in trade.
>
> A 'poem' was even composed to this effect:

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[552] Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days,* 131.

[553] Anna Eilenberg-Eibeshitz, *My Son…, My Son…: A Chronicle* (Haifa: A. Eibeshitz Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2007), 150.

[554] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 552–53 n.119, with supporting references to the chronicle of Emanuel Ringelblum and diary of Adam Czerniaków. See, for example, "Kutno," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 1, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol1_00223.html>, translation of Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), 223–29.

[555] Testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085. Kopyto also describes how Jews stole the goods of other Jews, for example, those Jews who had temporarily fled to the Soviet zone and then returned to Sokołów Podlaski, as well as from other Jews.

Mummy, Daddy, listen do
With a German the Gestapo came two by two
What shame, what a disgrace
The first was a Pole, the second a Jew!
Mummy, Daddy, listen do
Here come the Gestapo, do you know who?
What a shame, the worst disgrace
The first is a Jew, and the second is too![556]

> The issue of closure inside the ghetto evolved into other problems … Enormous movement was noted amongst the Jews. They were buying huge amounts of foodstuffs, and stocking up especially on flour, sugar and oil. The wealthy bought whole sacks of products. … However, storing large amounts of food at home was not a simple matter. The Nazis conducted frequent searches in Jews' homes. The plight of a Jew maintaining a large store of food at home was no light matter. The Nazis not only confiscated the lot, but turned the owner over to the Gestapo, where his fate was sealed.
>
> How did the Germans detect the goods? Rumor had it that among the Jews were corrupt types who worked for the Gestapo and informed on their brothers who had hidden goods, foodstuffs and furniture. The Nazis would suddenly show up with trucks, enter the apartment and remove the hidden stock. A man could become a pauper in a matter of seconds. It was heartwrenching to witness robbery facilitated by Jewish informants.[557]

> Many highly-placed occupation authorities … were officially and unofficially involved in looting. So were some Jewish criminals who tipped Germans off about the best places to plunder, or threatened Jews that they would do so in order to blackmail them.[558]

> Along with the [German] looters came porters from among our Jewish brethren; these are regular porters who serve the Nazis regularly for pay. … [the Germans] take regularly hired porters who ride from place to place together with the robbers.[559]

Rabbi Shimon Huberband, a scholar descended from a line of prominent rabbis, kept a diary from the beginning of the war until August 19, 1942, when he was deported to Treblinka. In his diary, he wrote:

> The Jewish ghetto is flooded with a huge number of informers, collaborators, blackmailers, and thieves. Admittedly, the major causes of all these crimes are the famine, poverty, and epidemics which are prevalent in such horrible forms in the concentration camp which is called the sealed Jewish ghetto. But that is no excuse.

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[556] Cyprys, *A Jump For Life,* 26.

[557] Mordechai Lensky, *A Physician Inside the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2009), 32.

[558] Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1963, 1978), 9.

[559] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 187 (diary entry for August 25, 1940).

> The problem of denunciations is extremely widespread in the ghetto. Jews have always suffered from informers. … But nothing is comparable to the current goings-on in the ghetto.
>
> The porters were the first Jewish informers in Warsaw. They were the ones who showed the Germans where the wealthy Jews lived and where Jews hid their merchandise. Later on the porters went a step further. Whenever they noticed a Jew carrying even the smallest package, they approached him and ordered him to pay them money.
>
> The porters received regular payments from the clandestine milk producers, the illegal slaughterhouses, and other businesses. Otherwise, the businesses would immediately be denounced to the authorities. In many cases, the porters informed on them because they could not reach an agreement with the owners concerning the size of the weekly payment.
>
> In addition to the sums which the porters received from the Germans and Poles [the identity of these Poles is rather baffling—*M.P.*] to reward them for their denunciations, the porters also stole a large amount of textiles, leather, and other items while carrying them down from homes and loading them into trucks. …
>
> Besides porters, there were also artisans who served as informers. In many cases, Jews called upon their close, good friends who were craftsmen, carpenters, bricklayers, and oven masons, and seeking to secure their jewelry, asked them to conceal their valuables inside a wall, floor, or ceiling. In many cases, Jews asked that their jewelry be built into their ovens or stoves. The artisans were well paid for such work. But in many cases they informed on the wealthy Jews. The Germans would then enter the Jews' homes and head straight for the "hiding place." It was thus patently clear that the craftsmen had informed. In many cases, the artisan even came along with them.
>
> There has emerged a nucleus of informers who are simply Gestapo agents. …
>
> The "big" informers weren't satisfied with merely pointing out Jewish furniture. They uncover and denounce Jewish money-changers, small factories, businesses, and very wealthy Jews. There are, in addition, "private informers." The "private informers" are those residents who denounce Jews with illegal businesses to the Polish police, the finance bureau, and various agents.[560]

The situation was so dire that Jews even turned to rabbinal courts for rulings according to Jewish law.

> During the war, there have arisen specific kinds of wartime litigation. Immediately after the bombing, there was a massive number of lawsuits brought before rabbinic courts by people who had entrusted others with their belongings, clothing, merchandise, valuables, and money. Those who were given the

[560] Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, and Yeshiva University Press, 1987), 136–39.

> belongings claimed that the items had been stolen or burnt and so forth. The owners refused to believe their claims.[561]

> During the flight to the East, "fixers" and smugglers were brought to *Dinei Torah* by people claiming that the smugglers had not taken them across the border as they should have. After the establishment of the Ghetto, there were disputes and such hearing amongst smugglers themselves, in many cases between Jews and Christians. Also, fixers who had undertaken to obtain the release of people arrested, or to supply apartments, or who were "document traders," etc., were called before Jewish *halachic* judges. [562]

Rabbi Huberband referred to another incident, which occurred at the end of 1940 during the evacuation of the Jews of Praga (a suburb of Warsaw) and their transfer to the Warsaw Ghetto. He reported that "during their transportation, the Jews of Praga suffered greatly from thefts of money and food. There were even hearings (*Dinei Torah*) held in front of the rabbi in connection with a long list of thefts."[563]

Rabbu Huberband's experiences in a work camp near the village of Kampinos, outside Warsaw, in the spring of 1941, were also a rude awakening:

> The Jewish group leader of the aforementioned group, a porter called Kalmen from Grzybowska Street, and a very brutal and cruel person, reported Bank's escape to the chief of camp security immediately. The chief and the guards soon appeared on the scene. … The chief and the rest of the guards took revenge by beating inmates right and left with their rifles, clubs, and rods. …
>
> We suffered greatly at the hands of this Kalmen. He forged an alliance with the guards, who were his buddies from back in Warsaw, and received double food-rations from them. He was the Informer in the camp, and used to beat and torture the Jewish inmates mercilessly.
>
> We also suffered greatly due to another "comrade" who was a porter. Upon seeing the master order eight people to carry a beam, this person would begin to mock them by saying that four persons were more than enough for such a job. Needless to say, the master seized upon his suggestion.[564]

Jews also engaged in gratuitous denunciations of fellow Jews. They wrote numerous letters to the German authorities, mostly anonymous, to report Jews who had disobeyed German orders by remaining outside the ghettos, by engaging in smuggling, by manufacturing bogus documents, and for various other reasons. Feiga Rotstein recalled a series of raids by the Gestapo, at the instigation of fellow Jews, looking for hidden

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[561] Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 204.

[562] Based on the 1969 Hebrew edition of Rabbi Huberband's diary, cited in Melech Westreich, "One Life for Another Life in the Holocaust: A Singularity for Jewish Law?" *Theoretical Inquiries in Law,* vol. 1, no. 2 (2000): 341–67, here at 344.

[563] Based on the 1969 Hebrew edition of Rabbi Huberband's diary, cited in Melech Westreich, "One Life for Another Life in the Holocaust: A Singularity for Jewish Law?" *Theoretical Inquiries in Law,* vol. 1, no. 2 (2000): 341–67, here at 344.

[564] Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 91–92.

valuables on the premises of several family members in the Warsaw ghetto.[565] Reports about such activities in Warsaw are abundant, but there also cases from Mława, Żelechów, and other places.[566] This state of affairs prompted the author Jehoszua Perle, a Warsaw ghetto resident, to aver (perhaps too harshly): "The ghetto exposed the sordid underbelly of the Jewish populace. The kind of denunciation that we see in the ghetto certainly doesn't exist among the Poles. I don't believe that any other nation who has preserved their national pride could fall so low. The worst elements have floated to the surface."[567]

The Germans employed Jewish agents in the Warsaw ghetto to inform about the location of hideouts, the identity of smugglers and black marketers, and the location of valuables. Shop owners sometimes cooperated with the SS or helped in the round-up of those who had no work permits. Emanuel Ringelblum wrote, in April 1941: "There is a terrible moral breakdown between even the closest [people in the ghetto]. There are times when [the authorities] come to confiscate a particular picture, or because they know there is foreign currency or gold hidden on the premises."[568] A Jewish refugee from Łódź recalled:

> One Sunday, I was surprised to see a German SS officer come into the courtyard, whistle and shout, "Max!" A window opened from that same apartment on the third floor. And a young man looked out —he was one of the children who used to play in the yard. He answered in German, "I'll be right down!" A few minutes later, the young man appeared in the yard and left with the German, the two of them laughing. Afterward, I found out that he was one of the most dangerous informers in the neighborhood and that everyone was afraid of him. In Lodz [Łódź], I had heard stories of Jewish informers who worked for the Germans, but now, when I actually saw a young Jewish man collaborating with a German—it was said that he helped the Germans plan their robberies—I was in a state of shock. I couldn't understand how his family could let him cooperate with the Germans. Every time I saw him after that, I used to pray that he would be killed.[569]

Rabbi Shimon Huberband wrote about the widespread phenomenon of informing in the Warsaw ghetto, often concerning hiding places for valuables. He goes on to explain that although the phenomenon was tied to the starvation and suffering that was the ghetto population's lot. "But that is no excuse," he says. Jewish communities always had their traitors, Huberband explains, "But nothing is comparable to what is happening in the ghetto."

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[565] Testimony of Feiga Rotstein, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2980. When Feiga's father left Warsaw, a Jewish policeman wouldn't allow him to enter the Otwock ghetto unless he paid a bribe. Edmund Komorowski regularly provided food to a group of 11 Jews in a forest hideout near Konstancin. Since his resources were scarce, he had his own children beg for extra bread and milk. He had to divide what he brought equally among his charges because of their bickering. Komorowski turned for help to a Jew who worked as an inspector on a nearby estate, but since he would not cooperate, Komorowski had to seize produce from the estate.

[566] Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* especially 49–56, 61, 125. For examples of such letters see the illustrations between pages 48 and 49, ibid., and Engelking, *"Szanowny Panie Gistapo,"* letter no. 205.

[567] Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* 70.

[568] Cited in Itamar Levin, *Walls Around: The Plunder of Warsaw Jewry during World War II and Its Aftermath* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2004), 77.

[569] Freiberg, *To Survive Sobibor,* 93–94.

> The Jewish ghetto is flooded with a huge number of informers, collaborators, blackmailers, and thieves. Admittedly, the major causes of all these crimes are the famine, poverty, and epidemics which are prevalent in such horrible forms in the concentration camp which is called the sealed Jewish ghetto. But that is no excuse.
> The problem of denunciations is extremely widespread in the ghetto. Jews have always suffered from informers. … But nothing is comparable to the current goings-on in the ghetto.
>
> The porters were the first Jewish informers in Warsaw. They were the ones who showed the Germans where the wealthy Jews lived and where Jews hid their merchandise. Later on the porters went a step further. Whenever they noticed a Jew carrying even the smallest package, they approached him and ordered him to pay them money. If a Jew refused, they called over a German, a Polish policeman, a street agent, or a simple *goy*. [It is difficult to appreciate how an ordinary *goy* could be of any assistance to a burly Jewish porter.—*M.P.*] This is their practice until this very day.
>
> The porters received regular payments from the clandestine milk producers, the illegal slaughterhouses, and other businesses. Otherwise, the businesses would immediately be denounced to the authorities. In many cases, the porters informed on them because they could not reach an agreement with the owners concerning the size of the weekly payment.
>
> In addition to the sums which the porters received from the Germans and Poles [the identity of these Poles is rather baffling—*M.P.*] to reward them for their denunciations, the porters also stole a large amount of textiles, leather, and other items while carrying them down from homes and loading them into trucks. …
>
> Besides porters, there were also artisans who served as informers. In many cases, Jews called upon their close, good friends who were craftsmen, carpenters, bricklayers, and oven masons, and seeking to secure their jewelry, asked them to conceal their valuables inside a wall, floor, or ceiling. In many cases, Jews asked that their jewelry be built into their ovens or stoves. The artisans were well paid for such work. But in many cases they informed on the wealthy Jews. The Germans would then enter the Jews' homes and head straight for the "hiding place." It was thus patently clear that the craftsmen had informed. In many cases, the artisan even came along with them.[570]

Informing often resulted in death. Huberband told of a Jewish craftsman who, in 1940, informed on the person who commissioned his services, a wealthy Jew who wanted a hiding place for his valuables. The Germans came to the building but went to the neighboring apartment, belonging to the Kaddishson family, by accident and began breaking down the door. When the lady of the house went to open the door, she was shot and killed. "They stormed into the house over her corpse, turned it inside out, especially the area where the 'treasure' was supposed to be, but found nothing. Later on, they discovered that they had the wrong address."[571]

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[570] Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 136–37.

[571] Cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 91.

Another incident occurred to a well-off Jewish family who were banished from their village near Warsaw and were now living in a small apartment on Gęsia Street in the Warsaw ghetto. They called in a Jewish plasterer to remove a brick from the oven and hammer a nail in the recess, so they could hang up a purse containing jewelry. The next day—as quick as that!—several German policemen arrived, walked over to the oven, and began pulling out bricks, but could not find the right one. "They got very angry, beat everyone cruelly. They threw heavy Talmud volumes at the head of one tenant, Mrs. Yudkowsky, until she was covered in blood."[572]

In July 1941, on the eve of the Jewish holiday the Ninth of Av, a fast day and a day of mourning for the destruction of the Second Temple, Huberband was abducted and forced to work in furniture removal from Jewish homes. He was pushed into a truck, along with other kidnapped victims. Next to the German driver sat a young man wearing a Star of David armband. Huberband was convinced he was a German pretender, but in any case, the young man had a list with addresses of Jewish households—information passed on by other Jews. The truck drove from stop to stop, while Huberband and his comrades were forced to take furniture down from the apartments.[573]

Merchants, craftsmen, and businessmen in the ghetto were also informed on. The widow of a well-known thief shot by the Germans turned many neighbours over to the Germans. One neighbor was "a poor, depressed Jew, dying of starvation along with his wife and children," who made a meagre living grinding flour in an underground mill. Despite the tip-off, the man got off lightly with a 100 złoty fine that he begged from his neighbours. Another Jew, who tried to sell a couple of watches to make a living, had his profits of 135 marks and 200 złoty confiscated by the Germans, due to the woman's slander. A third Jew had to pay 500 złoty to stop his children's clothes from bring confiscated. A fourth, an artist, was accused of dealing in cotton wool and made a 200 złoty payoff. The Germans then moved to a fifth, neighbouring apartment, where they demanded—and got—150 złoty. All of this activity was the product of one woman.[574] A man from Łódź who came to Warsaw was threatened at gunpoint to hand over the address of a wealthy Jew. He justified his action by saying: "all I had was the 200 złoty in my pocket—and it would have been terrible for me if the Germans took that." Luckily, the Jewish merchant's name he wrote on a slip of paper had already left Warsaw.[575]

Dr. Edward Reicher recalled a sumptuous Sabbath feast he attended at the home of a Jewish barber who worked for a well-placed German official in the ghetto:

> Leon [Kac] had a very large apartment. … The meal was exquisite—a feast such as we had not had for years: herring, sardines, hard-boiled eggs with mayonnaise, gefilte fish, consommé, chicken, vegetables, and a bottle of genuine Carmel, the wine from Palestine. The Sabbath candles shone in a silver candelabrum, a masterpiece of Venetian art. … After dinner came coffee and a cake washed down with a good cognac. …

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572 Ibid.

573 Ibid.

574 Ibid., 92.

575 Ibid., 92.

> The next day I returned to Leon and listened to his tale.
>
> "Doctor, you're wondering how a poor barber came by such riches. … I was appointed [Hermann] Höfle's 'court' barber. I was then given soldiers and a truck and told to find a proper salon. I amassed everything I needed from the most exclusive salons on Leszno Street: furniture, mirrors, instruments, and everything else. Them I set up my salon in number 103 Zelazna [Żelazna].
>
> "You know yourself, as a physician, what happens when one works with people or takes care of them. At times one speaks of many things. I always chatted with my customers … The officers wanted me to give them the addresses of rich Jews. I gave them those addresses, and will continue to do so. The Jews are doomed in any case; they will all be deported. The fact that I betray their financial status means only that their apartments are searched more thoroughly. Since they're going to be deported, I'm doing nothing wrong.
>
> "Where they're going, no wealth or jewelry can help them. The officers only search the apartments once the owners are deported. They take the best things, and leave the rest for the Office of Estimates. But I can do exactly what the officers do. They do it for their own personal gain. And the officers have so much work that I do it not only for myself but also for them.
>
> "Every day, I go out with the two Ukrainians assigned to me and load valuable things onto a rickshaw. The officers get wristwatches, gold cigarette cases, cuff links, and the pins studded with precious stones. Those are things they can easily hide and sell. They trust Leon the Jew. The rest I keep. …"[576]

Leon Kac amassed an art collection, but was eventually deported to Treblinka with his family.

Some Jews in the Warsaw ghetto directed Germans to well-stocked shops and purchased the stolen goods later on. Chaim Kaplan noted cynically: "The Führer has issued an edict forbidding [Aryans] coupling with Jewish women because it is 'an insult to the race' and his soldiers heed the censure. But he has never forbade them stealing and robbing and thieving from Jews, and that is why you catch them together with Jewish collaborators." Kaplan also noted that there were informants among Jewish porters and that "they know what's going on inside and out, when it comes to hidden restricted goods and other trade secrets." When they weren't informing porters took hush money from merchants, after having moved their merchandise to hiding places. According to Kaplan, the most vile sort of informants were "those who put Jewish souls into the murderer's hands, and because of this, are given benefits and breaks, and keep steady company with the Gestapo. These types are the most dangerous of all, and woe betide the man they pursue."[577]

Jewish memoirs describe the fate of some porters and others who were killed in the Warsaw ghetto in unclear circumstances in July 1942:

> It seems that most of the victims come from circles of the porters, who were occupied in not very savory businesses. They worked with the Gestapo, pointed out where goods were to be found in the possession of Jews, and took extortion money. Now, it is said, they are being liquidated by the

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576 Edward Reicher, *Country of Ash: A Jewish Doctor in Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2013), 100, 105–6.

577 Ibid., 92.

> Gestapo itself, because new people are supposed to be arriving and they don't want any surviving witnesses of their machinations in businesses like these. That's one version. Others say that the porters are split into two that are fighting one another, and that each side blames the other. The latest murders are supposed to be the result of their informing on one another.[578]

Informers received ten percent of all loot collected by the Germans resulting from the information received, Emanuel Ringelblum said. The phenomenon was so widespread (400 informers were recorded in May 1942), that there was a ghetto joke that ran: "Two Jews happen to meet. One asks the other 'How are you?' The other one says: 'Listen, one of us has to be an informer, so I'd better not tell you.'" Ringelblum also pointed out another widespread phenomenon: extortion on the part of Judenrat employees. Given his description, this was clearly commonplace. "The gall of bribe-takers among the Jewish community workers has reached such heights that a post office clerk who knew of a family that had received many packages, came with his wife to the family, and demanded they sell him goods for cheap."[579]

It was not only Poles who sometimes refused to return Jewish belongings temporarily lent them for safekeeping. In fact, the Jews had their own courts that dealt with such comparable Jew-on-Jew behaviour:

> During the war, there have arisen specific kinds of wartime litigation. Immediately after the bombing, there was a massive number of lawsuits brought before rabbinic courts by people who had entrusted others with their belongings, clothing, merchandise, valuables, and money. Those who were given the belongings claimed that the items had been stolen or burnt and so forth. The owners refused to believe their claims.[580]

Another damaging phenomenon noted by Chaim Kaplan in January 1941: Jews who refused to pay rent to their Jewish landlords, who then turned their tenants over to the authorities. He said cynically that "Warsaw's residents don't like paying debts, even when they truly owe them," and that this was doubly the case when no legal threat hung over their heads. Landlords were in trouble; they asked for rent and no one paid. This could have been solved by legal means, but the process was long and complicated. The Germans, said Kaplan, taught us another way: bring in a *Volksdeutsch* to explain the situation to the tenants, that if they did not pay—tomorrow they would be thrown into the streets. Landlords also figure in another unflattering context—trafficking in ration cards. Ringelblum tells of "bloodsucking" landlords and shop owners who took advantage of the fact that many poor people could not afford even the miniscule rations allowed to them. They would buy the sugar ration card from the poor and sell them for a nice profit.[581] There also developed a brisk trade in ration cards of deceased ghetto dwellers, which was facilitated by

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[578] Havi Ben-Sasson and Lea Preiss, "Twilight Days: Missing Pages from Avraham Lewin's Warsaw Ghetto Diary, May–July 1942," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (2005): 40–41.

[579] Levin, *Walls Around,* 93.

[580] Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 204.

[581] Levin, *Walls Around,* 97–98.

corrupt policemen. Given the food shortages in the ghetto, these cards could fetch considerable sums of money.[582]

The Judenrat was also involved in its own schemes to extort money from tenants. Chaim Kaplan describes the following incident that befell him:

> Once an entire delegation from the *Judenrat* entered my apartment (of three rooms and a kitchen) to requisition one of the rooms for a family of refugees. … while we were still arguing, the refugee signaled that he wanted a word with me, and in private he bared his soul. … This whole matter cost him money. If I will reimburse him for his expenses, he will backtrack and inform the delegation that he will forgo this apartment.
>
> When I heard his proposal my eyes lit up. But I bargained with him. The refugee demanded 100 zloty; I offered 20. In the end he agreed to accept 20. Right away the delegation found an excuse to make light of the whole affair. They drafted a protocol that the apartment was full and their requisition nullified. Later on I found out that I need not have been so afraid. This is the way the delegation acts with all of its creatures. They hadn't come to confiscate, but rather to receive 20 zloty. The "refugee" was hired for the occasion.[583]

Wealthy Jews got out of labour duty by sending the poor and Jews who came from other ghettos in their place. The practice was sanctioned by the Jewish councils who took large payments in exchange.[584] The plight of the poor and starving did not elicit considerable sympathy among ghetto dwellers:

> Extremes of luxury and poverty were to be seen. A smartly dressed woman walked alongside a man in rags. A restaurant in Leszno Street displayed a roasted goose and at its door a boy was starving. People leaving a theatre in Leszno Street passed a poor, emaciated child shivering from cold and begging in the doorway. …
>
> When someone died of exhaustion on the streets, passers-would cover the corpse with newspapers, lay some stones on it and life rolled on. Some laughed, others cried.[585]

> But a social differentiation arose in the ghetto, setting apart substantial groups who had the means even under those infernal conditions to lead a comparatively full, well-fed life and enjoy some kinds of pleasures. On the same streets where daily you could see scenes of horror, amid the swarms of tubercular children dying like flies, alongside the corpses waiting for the scavenger wagons, you would come upon stores full of fine foods, restaurants and cafés which served the most expensive dishes and drinks. At 2 Leshno [Leszno] Street, where the Gertner's restaurant had been, there was a café called Sztuka, complete with floor show. There was another at 13 Tlomatzka [Tłomackie] Street, once the Metropole Restaurant. These establishments were run in partnership with members of the

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[582] Testimony of Jerzy Mikołajczyk (Jerzy Warm), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6148.

[583] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 277–78.

[584] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 92.

[585] Cyprys, *A Jump For Life,* 34–35.

> Gestapo by outcast Jews, the most important of whom was the dancer Madame Machno. There were also the well-known Schultz Restaurant at Karmelitzka [Karmelicka] and Novolipya [Nowolipie] Streets, A La Fourchette at 18 Leshno Street, Britannia at 20 Novolipya Street.
>
> The clientele of these places consisted principally of Jewish Gestapo agents, Jewish police officials, rich merchants who did business with the Germans, smugglers, dealers in foreign exchange, and similar kinds of people. The worst nest of drunkenness and vice was the Britannia. The curfew did not apply to the habitués of this establishment. They made merry all night. Feasting, drinking, and carousing went on to the rhythm of a jazz band. At dawn, when the revelers left, the streets were already strewn with naked paper-covered corpses. The drunkards paid little attention, tripping unsteadily over the obstacles in their path. Around the restaurants and cafés hovered human shadows, swollen from hunger, who trailed after the well-fed drunks, begging for scraps; they were usually angrily pushed aside for disturbing the mirage of luxury and well-being.
>
> The Nazi made moving pictures of such festive orgies to show the "world" how well the Jews lived in the ghetto.[586]

Numerous accounts testify to robberies, thefts and extortion, often carried out by gangs that included prewar criminals, which were every-day occurrences in the ghetto.[587] The street urchins who stole in broad daylight did not elicit much sympathy despite their dire predicament.

> The so-called 'chapers' (snatchers) appeared on the streets of the ghetto. A chaper was usually a strong and ragged beggar who assaulted people carrying a loaf of bread or a parcel containing food. The chaper took his victim unawares, snatching whatever he was carrying. The unfortunate victim would have no hope of chasing the beggar and recovering the loss, for the booty was usually consumed during his flight.[588]

> Suddenly there was a movement in the crowd. Someone shouted, "Catch him!" A barefoot, ragged boy, his legs blackened with dirt, splashed through the mud, tripped over a corpse, fell. In his hand was a small loaf of bread, gripped tightly with all his strength. The owner of the bread pounced on him and tried to tear the treasure out of his hands. …
>
> These young food-snatchers were a special category of criminal. Their hunger gave them the desperation and strength to break the holy law of ownership over a piece of bread. They were savagely beaten by the people they robbed and by the police, but extirpating the snatchers was no more possible than extirpating the hunger.[589]

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[586] Bernard Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1950), 91.

[587] This phenomenon is described in Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* 78–105. The examples are mostly from Warsaw, but also mention Jewish gangs operating in Otwock and Działoszyce.

[588] Cyprys, *A Jump For Life,* 35.

[589] Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness,* 80–81.

Teenage girls were particularly vulnerable: "Girls 14–15 years of age lived together with men who were old enough to be their grandfathers. We called them 'Za Chala' (which means 'loaf of bread'). They were playthings for a chala."[590]

Also worthy of mention are the activities of the Jewish grave robbers, mentioned in the diary of Adam Czerniaków, the head of the Judenrat, already on January 4, 1940: "Yesterday for a second time [our] workers were beaten up at the Praga cemetery [by a gang] which was searching for diamonds." Ringelblum also noted the same phenomenon several times in September 1941. The first time his record was dry: "Undertakers open graves, take out the jewels and gold teeth." The second time his reaction was highly emotional: "Unspeakably baseless acts are happening at the cemetery. Mass graves [and] defilement of the dead by the lower orders, who throw them into the graves like dogs. That is not all. It turns out that they open graves at night, pull out gold teeth and steel the shrouds. Recently, there was a serious investigation of Jewish policemen participating in these acts. In one word: the lowest of the low." In April 1942, author and social worker Rachel Auerbach wrote in her diary: "It turns out that a large percentage of items available today for trade come from looting dead bodies. Specialized companies, who make a living from this, strip the clothes from dead bodies lying in the street. By morning, the people are completely naked, covered at most by a sheet of paper, or a poster pulled off the wall."[591] During the quelling of the ghetto uprising, Jewish "shabrovniks" (looters) descended on the bunkers destroyed by the Germans looking for food and valuables:

> When the Germans had started to detect and destroy one by one the bunkers, the "shabrovniks" set up an intelligence network. They knew which bunkers were gassed, and each time this happened, "shabrovniks" from all over the ghetto converged on the place. They took food from the people still living, they trampled on dead and dying bodies, and fought each other over every scrap. There were among the "shabrovniks" those who did their work with a bitter feeling, knowing that tomorrow someone might trample on their still living bodies. …
>
> Not only food was the aim of the "shabrovniks". In those days, when the most precious items had lost all value, the ghouls searched the pockets of the dead for jewels and currency. They removed rings and watches from the victims of the deadly gas, or even a good pair of shoes.[592]

Abraham Lewin said bribery in the *Ordnungsdienst* (the Jewish police force) was a daily event. Abductions for forced labour provided Jewish policemen with another opportunity for extortion. Ringelblum spoke at uncharacteristically great length about a wave of kidnappings that took place in April 1941, which began after fifty Jews showed up for transport to forced labour camps, instead of the 1,500 that were promised. House searches turned up only 130 more persons; it was clear that the remaining inductees were in hiding. Ringelblum stressed that Jews were trying to avoid the labor camps after having seen their compatriots come back broken in body and spirit, while the community did nothing to assist their families.

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590 Alpert, *A Spark of Life,* 32.

591 Levin, *Walls Around,* 98.

592 Tuvia Borzykowski, *Between Tumbling Walls* (Tel Aviv: Beit Lohamei Hagettaot/Ghetto Fighters' House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1972), 79.

Another reason was that the rich managed to save themselves by buying fake sick leave documents, meaning only the poor went to the camps. The nights of April 19 and 20, Ringelblum continued, were waking nightmares

> where the Jewish police earned the title 'gangsters.' … The *Ordnungsdienst*, together with [some] Polish police, took over entire buildings and demanded ransom money in lieu of searching for the people who were in hiding that night. They say one [apparently Jewish] policeman made 4,000 złoty that same night. They went up to people aged 40 and over, and demanded a pay-off. Clearly, the people who went with them were those unable to ransom themselves, people who had originally been released because they were sick or because they were sole wage-earners. Among those abducted was a father of seven children, the youngest of which was two weeks old. In particular, they searched through refugee shelters and took starving, suffering men.

These scenes repeated themselves over the next two days. Ringelblum summed up: "Those hateful days branded a mark of shame on the community."[593]

Adolf (Abraham) Berman confirmed the accuracy of these descriptions in his memoirs. Kidnapping for forced labour, he said, cruelly revealed the difference between classes among Jews: the rich were able to pay off and redeem themselves, while the poor bore the brunt of suffering. This was "a source of corruption and moral degeneration among *Judenrat* clerks, the Jewish police in charge of work gangs and, in time, and

[593] Ibid., 93–94.

to a greater extent, the *Ordnungsdienst.*"[594] There were also minor cases of extortion. Ringelblum told of some policemen who stationed themselves at Sienna and Śliska Streets and "made money from adjusting the clock. At 15 or 20 minutes to 9:00 p.m. [when curfew began], they would stop passers-by, claiming that

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[594] Ibid., 94. A careful reading of Holocaust literature reveals a disturbing lack of solidarity and compassion among the Jews themselves. Many Jewish sources, as well as non-Jewish witnesses, comment extensively on the great chasm that separated the wealthy and poor inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto, and eventually all of its residents. Władysław Szpilman described the stark contrast between the existence of the well-to-do and the poor in the ghetto. Large crowds of beggars would converge on restaurants and cafés begging for food only to find themselves chased away by porters with sticks, as at the Nowoczesna. Wealthy passengers riding in rickshaws would also chase beggars away with canes. See Władysław Szpilman, *Śmierć miasta* (Warszawa: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza Wiedza, 1946), 71–72, cited in Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 564. The memoirs of Władysław Szpilman were translated into English as *The Pianist: The Extraordinary Story of One Man's Survival in Warsaw, 1939–45* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1999); large portions of the 1946 Polish edition, which is significantly different, is cited in Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life,* 41–42. See also: Makower, *Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego,* 207, where the author speaks of the "complete breakdown of Jewish society"; Lewin, *A Cup of Tears,* 127, which describes the enormous disparities in the main midday meal; Acher, *Niewłaściwa twarz,* 48, which describes daily street robberies and the lack of sharing with the more misfortunate. In his diary, Chaim Kaplan notes that widespread tax evasion by the well-off residents of the ghetto seriously exacerbated starvation among the ghetto poor. See Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 262. One of of the most poignant contrasts in the Warsaw ghetto was penned by Shimon Huberband (cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 127–28):

> During the harsh, frozen winter of 1941–1942, with every step one saw half-naked children on the streets of the Jewish quarter. Thousands of Jewish women, finely dressed, made-up and perfumed, would walk by them with equanimity, and only occasionally did one stop for a moment to throw a poor child a penny, and generally this was a mature woman, from the older generation. … seldom do Jews open their wallets to another Jew who is starving to death.
>
> Moreover, I've personally witnessed—and this isn't a made-up horror story—the body of a 30-year-old Jewish man who starved to death against a large shop window filled with baked goods, wines, grapes and other delicacies. The corpse was completely nude, and it was, and at the same time, wasn't ironic that elegant women had to step over it to enter the shop, then exit holding bags filled with good things; if only a portion had been given to the hungry, that Jew wouldn't have died on the doorstep.
>
> Also, as I walked down the street one freezing day in December 1941, I personally witnessed a 16-year-old lad lying on the sidewalk at the corner of Karmelicka and Nowolipki. Next to him lay three little children, each one smaller than the next. The three were almost completely naked. Dozens of people passed by, but only occasionally did someone hand them a donation. My attention was captured by a young student walking in arm with two girls. … The young people stopped alongside the miserable children. I was convinced that they would pull out their wallets, along with the bundles of goodies they held in their hands, and give something to the children. But these young people dallied for a bit, while one of the girls gave the boy an occasional shake; they then burst out in laughter and continued on their way.
>
> … in times like these, when Jewish women waste hundreds and thousands of złoty in nightclubs, never giving a penny to charity, [it indicates] an endless decline in morals.
>
> Moreover, these nightclubs even host dance contests, like the good old days, where Jewish women and girls, Jewish men, dance in these competitions and even win prizes … And so, the myth of the "united, merciful Jewry" had been destroyed. There is no more to say.

Alceo Valcini, wartime Warsaw correspondent of the Milan *Corriere della Sera,* specifically comments on the lack of a sense of solidarity among the ghetto dwellers in their common misfortune. See Valcini, *Golgota Warszawy,* 233–34. A similar state of affairs prevailed in other ghettos which were plagued by corruption, thievery (especially of food supplies), and black-marketeering (stolen goods were sold at exorbitant prices). Ties with the Gestapo greatly facilitated the success of these ventures. This assumed massive proportions in Łódź, the second largest ghetto in German-occupied Poland, and impacted adversely on the survival of lowly Jews with no connections. The wealthy hid away their belongings; milk destined for children was watered down; the sick were deprived of their food ration cards; people were known to kill off family members to get their ration cards. See Icchak (Henryk) Rubin, *Żydzi w Łodzi pod niemiecką okupacją 1939–1945* (London: Kontra, 1988), 236, 243–47, 318, 319–23. Leon Kahn, whose family took refuge in the well-fed ghetto of Grodno in October 1942 after the annihilation of his shtetl, recalled that the Grodno Jews "were cold and inhospitable, and never even offered us a place to sleep, though many had extra room." After the synagogue service one Friday evening, the *shames* (caretaker) announced that "there were strangers in the midst of the congregation who were homeless and had lost all their possessions. Would someone take these unfortunates home to share the Sabbath meal with them?" Kahn recalled their reaction: "We went to stand by the door so the congregation could see us easily as they filed out. Family by family left, carefully avoiding our eyes until at last our little group stood

it was already past none o'clock. In return for 10 or 20 złoty, a ring or something else, [the victim] was set free."[595] According to another diary from Warsaw, in July 1942:

> Up to now they left Jewish women alone. … It is said that the labor office wants to have 20,000 Jewish women for work in the fields. Kidnapping on the street, with the help of the Jewish police, is systematically taking place. Last night they seized [people] from their beds, and this morning they grabbed [Jews] in the streets. Always new victims for the German Moloch, and new opportunities for extortion for the Jewish police.[596]

In May 1942, the Jewish police began arresting Jews aged forty and under whose work permits were not in order. In doing so, Lewin said, "whole new areas of corruption opened up before the Jewish police. Anyone who could give them a few złoty could get away. Again, the poor suffered, just as they suffered a year and two years ago." Yet during the mass deportation in the summer of 1942 (discussed later), their dissolution reached a new low: "The Jewish policemen participated in this travesty. They broke into apartments, emptied closets, shattered dishes and destroyed property just for fun."[597] The Jewish police demanded enormous amounts of bribes for favours. One Jew reported having to pay 10,000 złoty to a policeman to move when the ghetto shrank in size.[598] The Jewish police took an active part in seizing Jews for deportation during the *Aktion* in January 1943.[599] When Jews wanted to flee after that *Aktion*, they had to pay the Jewish police large sums of money to be smuggled out of the ghetto.[600]

David Landau describes another phenomenon in the Warsaw ghetto that led to abuse and the pilfering of Jewish property.

> Another request, for soap, had unfortunate consequences. The Warsaw Health Department, Jewish Section, came back with a strict order from the German command to establish 'hygiene units' to delouse 'the dirty Jewish population' … The Jews were to be deloused in communal disinfecting baths. …
>
> During the spring and summer of 1941, these units became the new scourge of the ghetto. The 'disinfectors' would appear at a given street, seal off a building with police help, then go from apartment to apartment, forcing the people out and marching them under guard to the disinfecting bath. While the inhabitants were away, the disinfectors or the police, or both, would rob the

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[595] Cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 94.

[596] Havi Ben-Sasson and Lea Preiss, "Twilight Days: Missing Pages from Avraham Lewin's Warsaw Ghetto Diary, May–July 1942," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (2005): 53.

[597] Ibid., 93.

[598] Testimony of Karol Muszkatel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1248.

[599] Testimony of Rachela Hönigman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4239.

[600] Testimony of Helena Jakubowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3418. This testimony mentions an organized group of Jewish policemen who worked hand in hand with Polish policemen.

> dwellings while disinfecting them. The deloused inhabitants would come back from the 'bath' stinking of one kind of disinfectant, to apartments stinking of another and robbed of most of their belongings. The people feared the police and the disinfectors more than the plagues of typhus or typhoid themselves. And there was no authority to which they could turn. The targets of the disinfectors were mostly larger buildings, where there were many tenants and more to steal.[601]

Chaim Kaplan confirms the rampant corruption in the health department, among other officials, and in various occupations.

> The entire ghetto is a huge dunghill. The Jewish janitors do as they please, and there is no one to reprimand them. There is no limit to their impudence. …
>
> However, if anyone thinks that only the janitors are corrupt, he is greatly mistaken. … Everyone who holds a responsible position in the *Judenrat* is openly or secretly prepared to do your bidding —for a price. A perfect example of this is the health department established under the auspices of the *Judenrat* to maintain standards of sanitation, cleanliness, and health. In this instance you are not dealing with vulgar, dull-witted janitors, but with apparently highly intelligent, cultured doctors. Yet even here money purifies all filth and covers all iniquities. …
>
> Outwardly no one is more zealous than the officials of the health department in enforcing sanitation. … After a few days the courtyard committee receives notification from the health department that due to below-standard conditions of sanitation in the following apartments, disinfection is necessary. What does disinfection entail? … It entails the complete ruin of all your possessions with the sharp disinfectant they use. …
>
> In my courtyard the following incident once took place: A disinfection was announced and the disinfectors came with their paraphernalia, not to disinfect but to haggle over the size of the bribe. For a full hour they stood on their price. During that time the bargaining would stop and start periodically, not secretly but publicly. In the presence of all the residents of the courtyard, the disinfectors negotiated their deal. Finally they agreed on 400 zloty [złoty]. Every apartment that was supposed to have been disinfected paid its share. Once the money was handed over the courtyard was out of danger, as far as sanitation was concerned, since the health department would receive a duly signed report that everything had been carried out according to plan.[602]

> The post office employs several people, and the Jewish building agents have returned to their jobs and scared all the tenants. The jokesters have made up a new prayer: "Let us fall into the hands of Gentile agents, only let us not fall into the hands of a Jewish agent!"[603]

As historian Gabriel Finder points out,

> The prevailing opinion in the Warsaw ghetto of the Judenrat and its chairman, Czerniaków, was negative. The Judenrat's onerous and unfair tax policy, of which the poor bore the brunt, its

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601 Landau, *Caged,* 78.

602 Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 282–83.

603 Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 231.

> conscription of overwhelmingly poor residents into forced labor contingents, and its tolerance of corruption within the ranks of the Jewish Order Service (Służba Porządkowa), the Jewish police force in the ghetto, which operated under its auspices, all elicited antipathy in the ghetto.[604]

Conditions outside Warsaw were no better. Denunciations and counter-denunciations flowed freely and resulted in brutal retaliations by the Germans. Twenty-four Jews were hung in the central square of Mława, with many more being shipped to Auschwitz. The extent of retaliations against Poles who engaged in illegal trade with the Jews, and were also denounced, is not known.[605]

> The bulk of operational information from inside the ghettos of the region seems to have been gathered from confidential reports delivered to the police or the Gestapo. … frequent references [in the Gestapo files] stress the importance of "confidential" sources for the investigations. One of the few surviving reports illustrates the sequence of events leading to a brutal repression in Mława in early 1942. On November 20, 1941, Lejzor Perelmutter, miller, merchant, and finally chief of the Mława Jewish Council (*Judenrat*), sent a letter to the German mayor of the city complaining that some ghetto residents under the leadership of one Szulim Gutman had been subverting German orders, in part by trying to unseat Perelmutter from the Judenrat. Having listed the crimes of those opposing him, Perelmutter added that "if the Gestapo has received any accusations against me, they undoubtedly must have originated with the very same people, who are completely untrustworthy." Perelmutter asked the mayor to convey his message to the Gestapo.
>
> The Gestapo reacted swiftly. Several prominent Mława Jews were interrogated. Forty-year-old Menachem Davidson, chief of the "Jewish police," had to answer for the "appalling lack of security in the ghetto." But Perelmutter was himself arrested, and killed in prison sometime in January 1942. Worse, the Gestapo learned that the Jews were still able to communicate with the outside, in particular buying provisions. Dallüge, the Gestapo official responsible for the investigation, noted, "all these things demonstrate that, despite the [closing of the ghetto] the Jews continue to corrupt Germans through illegal exchange." Dallüge requested permission to conduct a punitive action … Needless to say, the Berlin head office readily authorized a *Sonderaktion* against the Mława Jews. In mid-January 1942 several dozen were arrested, to be killed in a subsequent mass execution.[606]

> The Mlawa [Mława] ghetto was well organized. There was food and clothing. The "Judenrat" was the contact between the ghetto and the outside world and was also responsible for supplying the needs of the ghetto population. …
>
> The Germans could have starved the ghetto. They asked for volunteers to join the police force. People joined in the hope of saving themselves. There were some who thought it might be a good way to help all the others.

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[604] Gabriel N. Finder, "The Poltics of Retribution in Postwar Warsaw: In the Honor Court of the Central Committee of Polish Jews," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis,* 539–40.

[605] Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* 66–67.

[606] Jan Grabowski, "The Holocaust in Northern Mazovia (Poland) in the Light of the Archive of the Ciechanów Group," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* vol. 18, no. 3 (Winter 2004): 460–76, at p. 463.

… The "Judenrat" received an order to deliver 100 people to the Germans. They chose 50 young people and 50 old ones. The old people dug the pit and the young ones were shot. I wanted to run away but it was impossible. Still I decided to try, as there was nothing to lose. The moment the German guard turned his back in the yard, I ran. There were bars on the windows and Jewish ghetto guards. … A policeman named Purman who now lives in Israel was on guard. He was married to the daughter of my uncle's brother. He saw me attempting to escape and looked the other way. Jewish policemen searched for me later, particularly Haskel Alter, who used to live in Israel. I hid until the end of the "action". …

There was a transport that they brought in from Ciechanow [Ciechanów]. … From there they were sent to Treblinka. A total of five transports left the ghetto. Eliezer Perlmutter was the liaison between the Jews and the Germans. …

Guttman cooperated with the Germans and gossip had it that he had abandoned his own wife. … Guttman was unemployed most of the time, and his wife supported the family by making hats. He was a butcher by trade but did not own a butcher shop. In the ghetto they lived well. Guttman was feared almost like the Gestapo. After his son was hanged, he became a monster, even delivering his wife into the hands of the Germans. He had another son and daughter who were later deported to extermination camps. His son ran the only cafeteria in the ghetto. Guttman knew he would not be able to save his son, and the moment he knew that his son's time was up he no longer cared for anything.[607]

At that time, the head of the Jewish police in the Mlawa [Mława] Ghetto was Shalom Gutman. He was known as "the informer", and his treachery was known to all. Anyone who was concerned about their life would flee when they saw this man of iniquity.

Shalom Gutman found out that my mother and sister had snuck into the ghetto, and he informed the German police about this. The police along with Shalom Gutman came to search for them in our house. When they found them, they brought them to the police yard, and all trace of them was lost. As far as I know, they were shot to death there.[608]

Sometimes the greedy Nazis conspire with some worthless Jew. They share one pocket; both lie in wait for the loot of innocents and for their blood; both fill their houses with the wealth they have stolen and robbed. But robbing doesn't last forever, and when the partnership breaks up it is not convenient for the thieving Nazi to have a Jew know his secrets. The remedy for this is to get rid of him. …

Thus Perlmutter, the president of the *Judenrat* of Mlawa [Mława], was killed by his German overseer, whose hand had never left his while both of them looted and robbed and grew rich.[609]

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[607] Moshe Peles (Poltusker), "Jews and 'Goyim' Together," in David Shtockfish, ed., *Jewish Mlawa: Its History, Development,* Destruction (Israel: Yots'e Mlavah be-Yisra'el uve-tefutsot, 1984), vol. 2, 578(9)–577(10).

[608] Gedalyahu Frajdenberg, "Memories," Elimelech Shklar, ed., *Zhuromin—Polin, sipurah shel kehila she-nichrata* (Teaneck, New Jersey: Puffin Foundation, 2002), 50; English translation: *Zuromin Memorial Book: The Holocaust Remembered*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Zuromin/Zuromin.html>.

[609] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 279.

A Jewish eyewitness from Działoszyce, a small town northeast of Kraków, recalled that soon after the Germans arrived,

> Some Jews, unfortunately, became collaborators with the Germans. They pointed out where Jews had hidden goods or farm animals, which remained the only source for feeding their families. Initially, these people were given coats the same color as German uniforms, but once all the secrets had been revealed, the coats were taken away and the traitors were shot.[610]

Shlomek Leszman, the owner of several houses of ill repute in Brazil who was forced to return to Poland because of his various misdeeds, worked with Gestapo confidant Moshke. Their job was to uncover where Jews were hiding their valuables, and then deliver these confiscated valuables to the Germans after taking their cut. Moshke, in turn, worked with Kowalski, the Polish chief of the Miechów secret police. Moshke identified the secret hiding places, of the Jewish valuables in Działoszyce, and relayed them to Kowalski, who arranged for the hiding places to be torn open and the wealth confiscated. Moshke then bought the valuables from Kowalski for a fraction of its value.[611]

Another eyewitness from Działoszyce, whose family of shopkeepers carefully hid away goods with Jews in various places in town, recalled: "When informers told the Germans where our merchandise was hidden, it was carted away."[612] With time conditions only got worse:

> As conditions worsened, people took bigger risks to survive, and ethical standards deteriorated. …
>
> There was Moshke with his jaundiced thoughts, one of three or four informers from our town who denounced people to the Nazis and who exposed anyone who did things forbidden by German decree. Moshke must have been paid or received some benefit for his treachery. Unfortunately, we were not careful enough to keep all our secrets because we could not imagine anything as disgraceful as Jewish collaborators.
>
> Another bad person was Mottel Platkiewicz (not a close relative), who was having an affair with a non-Jewish prostitute. Together, they denounced Jews and Poles. The Germans ensured the anonymity of the informers—at least while they were still useful. Once their utility expired, the Germans shot them and dumped their bodies on the outskirts of town. Then rumors would circulate about who the informers were. …
>
> One small act of deceit I witnessed haunts me to this day. We had hidden a few rolls of bulky material behind a closet at Reb Moshe Chiel's house. When we needed to sell the fabric, I went to collect it, but the rabbi, who had been held in high regard, said he did not remember whether we had put goods there. After his first lie, he tried to convince me that I had already taken the

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[610] Testimony of Selig Schwitzer in Jacob Biber, ed., *A Triumph of the Spirit: Ten Stories of Holocaust Survivors* (San Bernardino, California: The Borgo Press, 1994), 92.

[611] Chaim Yitzchok Wolgelernter, *The Unfinished Diary: A Chronicle of Tears* (Lakewood, New Jersey: Israel Bookshop Publications, 2015), 148, 177–78. Moshe appears to be Mosze Frydrych, one of the Jews from Działoszyce who pointed out to the Germans wealthy Jews for a cut of the victims' confiscated property. Since he became a liability, Frydrych was eventually eliminated. See Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945,* 227.

[612] Joseph E. Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption: A Life Renewed* (Washington, D.C.: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2005), 90.

merchandise and forgotten that I did. I knew for sure that neither I nor anyone else from my family had retrieved it. Reb Moshe Chiel never returned the fabric.

How could a trustworthy, virtuous person with a reputation for being a pious Jew act in such a way? The rabbi lied, committed theft, and cast aspersions on my family and me. …

One day during the war, my father noticed two peddlers selling suits, shawls, and kerchiefs in the marketplace that looked just like the merchandise we had hidden in Black Laya's attic. Slowly, quietly, we investigated the matter without making any accusations. The two men selling the merchandise were Hartzke and Herskowitz (who used to be called "Einlatch"). They were selling our stock gradually, two suits one day, another suit the next. We checked with the customers and established that their merchandise was definitely ours. Somehow, it had been stolen and was now being sold. We suspected that Black Laya's son was helping himself to our suits and that these two were his fences.

My parents decided to open the secret attic to check whether any of their merchandise was missing. When they tried to arrange an inspection, they were told that Black Laya's son was sick. The family had all kinds of excuses to prevent a visit: it is dangerous; the doctor forbids it; we would now need permission from the man next door, who owned the second floor leading to the attic; and so on. Lie followed lie. One *moytzei Shabes* a short time later, we learned that the Germans came to Black Laya's house with a truck, broke into the hiding place, and with the forced help of some Jews, took whatever was left of our merchandise and carted it away. By delaying our visit, Black Laya's son got word to informers, who were rewarded for the information. He had engineered a tidy little operation to get himself out of his tight spot at our expense.

Hershel Ries, an awkward, cynical loner, who was an underworld figure of sorts in our town, publicly announced that if he "had known that Zisme Tenenbaum had hidden merchandise, [he] would have gone through the roof and taken some of it [himself]." Ries was a well-known thief and used to brag about crimes he could have committed to make himself rich. "Why did they have to tell the Germans, so that the Germans would end up with the goods? Why wasn't I informed instead?" asked Ries. …

Informers also guided Nazis to our house to search for hidden valuables. I was at home, sick, when Nazis led by the *Stadtkommandant* (city commander) barged in and violently opened the book closets and searched between the pages of our holy books for paper currency. These antisemites hated Jewish books in the process threw the books to the floor. … Our house was searched from the attic to the basement, but the Nazis found nothing.[613]

When some Jews from Pińczów arrived in Działoszyce to avoid deportation to Treblinka,

the family hid in a crawlspace at the house of a cousin who himself had lost his wife and children at camp Plaszow [Płaszów]. It was not long until someone informed on them. The Jewish police forced David's family out of their hiding place and beat them. David recalls that the Jewish police "were ugly, as ugly as anyone else." … David particularly remembers one Jewish policeman named

[613] Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption,* 93–96.

> Bialobroda [Mojżesz Białobroda], who wore black boots and often walked through the town with an SS officer and his German shepherd.[614]

> … the Germans had surrounded Dzialoszyce [Działoszyce] to deport all of the Jews. While David and his family hid in their apartment, a Jewish woman came and asked them, "You have money, don't you?" After agreeing on a price, the woman led them through the sewage system to the outskirts of the town where her husband stood waiting for them with a horse and wagon.
>
> … the Jewish woman and her husband, a cattle dealer, had conspired with some farmers to kill rich Jews and take their money. … David's family made a deal to pay the couple in return for sparing their lives, even as they realized that the couple would now start looking for another Jewish family to kill.[615]

In his memoir, another Jew from Działoszyce described the activities of Mojżesz Białobroda, the Chairman of the Słomniki Judenrat, who regularly fraternized with the Nazi Bayerlein, the newly-appointed chief of the Security Service in nearby Miechów. The Nazis gave Białabroda an automobile for his use. The author adds that Białobroda "carried a leather whip with him all the time and struck innocent Jews no differently from a Gestapo agent. … During the deportations in the Miechow district, Bialabrode [sic] was granted an extraordinary level of authority by Bayerlein."[616] The author described the Jewish police as follows:

> Its men pandered to their German masters and distinguished themselves by implementing every decree and ordinance with the sort of cruelty exhibited by newly trained Gestapo officers. Indeed, during the Dzialoszyce [Działoszyce] expulsion raid, they did not sit with folded hands. If ever there will arise a Jewish historian who will record the events of these days, his face will turn red with shame when he reaches the disgraceful chapter of the *Ordnungsdienst*.[617]

The tendency of the Judenrat to try to ransom the Jews was predicated on their authority to collect money from the community, and this had untoward consequences: "On more than one occasion, the *Judenrat* took advantage of an opportunity to help the town by extorting money for their own purposes."[618]

The above events, or the role of the Jewish police in the liquidation of the ghetto, are not mentioned in the Działoszyce Memmorial Book, with the exception of one testimony:

> In 1940 … The Germans conducted searches in merchants' shops and took away wagons full of goods. … There were also many Jews who bought the goods that had been taken from the merchants. Everyone's life was in danger, but they did not realize it.

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[614] Yehudi Lindeman, ed., *Shards of Memory: Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2007), 133.

[615] Lindeman, *Shards of Memory,* 134.

[616] Wolgelernter, *The Unfinished Diary,* 160, 161.

[617] Wolgelernter, *The Unfinished Diary,* 459.

[618] Wolgelernter, *The Unfinished Diary,* 463.

> In 1941, the situation became much worse. Every morning, upon arising, we heard bad news. On a certain day, the Germans killed four butchers. They caught them slaughtering a calf. On the following day, they shot two Jews—Hilel Skopicki, *z"l*, and Szulim Aszer Zelikowicz, *z"l*, who had had business dealings with the commissar in charge of Jewish property.
>
> It also happened that some Jews were afraid to keep their goods in their own possession and thus passed them over to others. The informers had their work cut out for them, and the Germans immediately performed searches. Afterward, a commando group from Kazimierz came and began to search private houses. One time they searched the house of our rabbi, Reb Eliezer Epsztajn, *zts"l* [of blessed righteous memory], and found a bag of silver. They forced the rabbi to walk to the market square with the bag on his back and stand there all day, until the community was able to get him released from his punishment. Thus they humiliated everyone. Each day brought new problems.[619]

Characteristically, Moshe Bejski, who is consumed with railing against Poles, conceals the involvement of Jewish informants in Działoszyce:

> Every Monday and Thursday, thorough searches were conducted for merchandise that was restricted, and the fact was that the gendarmerie would sooner or later find each and every hiding place and take out everything if value and confiscate it. So they found many goods belonging to various merchants, among them Icek Majer Waga, Alter Spokojny, Dula, Gałązka, Szulimowicz, Płatkiewicz, and others. Most of the time these discoveries were accompanied by jail time, fines, and, in some instances, even by a worse fate.[620]

The following testimony is from Kolbuszowa:

> Enemies there were also within our own ranks—not many, mind you, but … betrayal by fellow Jews was all the more devastating. … Two of them were not originally from Kolbuszowa, and the third, though a longtime resident, had always been a disreputable and marginal character. …
>
> Naturally the Germans were willing to listen to him, interested in whatever information he might have to pass on. And when we saw him speaking to German police and going in and out of military headquarters, we understood that he enjoyed a privileged position. Naturally he was not shy about playing it to his advantage. He would look the other way, he said, when Jews violated German instructions—for a price. When, for example, the ritual slaughterers in defiance of orders continued to provide kosher meat to Jews in town, they had first to satisfy this man's demands for fear he would report their activities to the authorities.
>
> When bribes had to be given to German officials he served willingly as an intermediary, taking a portion of the money as his "share." He warned of upcoming raids on our houses and seizures of property and persons, but suggested how, for a sum of money, all might be averted. We paid him, suspecting that most of the time no such raids were planned, that such talk was merely a device to line his own pockets. …

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[619] Fay Busgang and Julian Busgang, eds., *Działoszyce Memorial Book* (New York: JewishGen, 2012), 331.

[620] Busgang, *Działoszyce Memorial Book,* 217.

> Regarding a second informer in town, Shmul Czolik, no one was likely to be surprised at his actions. Czolik was one of those itinerants who traveled from town to town begging. … It so happened that he met and married a girl from Kolbuszowa. Yet he remained a professional beggar, now supporting himself and his wife with the money given him. But Czolik's fortunes improved noticeably when the Germans came to town; however it happened, we soon discovered that he enjoyed close contacts with them. He wore no Jewish armband, and we could see him entering and leaving police headquarters on a regular basis. What a change for Czolik now, from a person who was barely tolerated to one who was suddenly courted, treated with respect. …
>
> Czolik was a threat, and he knew it full well. With his access to the Germans, something practically no one else had, he enjoyed the upper hand. Often he arrived with confidential information, he said, about how the Germans were about to seize a certain person or confiscate a business. But he usually assured people that "something can be done." No one misunderstood his meaning. Money put into Czolik's hands usually meant an end to that "threat." He would then return and assure the intended victims, "It's settled." I don't know how many times he spoke of imminent "threats," but few dared question his inside information. That he terrorized the town for a time is certainly no understatement.
>
> Then there was Pearlman, a thoroughly contemptible creature who also joined the ranks of the informers in town. Like Czolik, Pearlman came from some other place, but unlike him he dressed most stylishly and spoke only German; though Jewish, he identified his fortunes with those of the Germans. Many a time the story of how Pearlman exulted in public when the Germans conquered France: "Good news! We took Paris without firing a shot!"
>
> The success enjoyed by all three informers was fortunately cut short when they overstepped boundaries and their bribe-taking and bribe-giving was uncovered by the Gestapo. … Each of the three was at some point caught in a compromising position. Their past services to the Germans counted for little, could not save them from being executed. Their deaths freed us from a form of terror we had come to despise; but with all the other horrors about, their elimination brought no dramatic change in our condition.[621]

In the town of Łask, near Zduńska Wola, after hearing from some Jewish informers that Rabbi Eisenberg had hidden a horde of valuables, including silver artifacts from the synagogue, the Germans summoned him and demanded he reveal the hiding place, beating him cruelly.[622] Another report states:

> The Germans had ordered the Jews in Lask [Łask] to depart from their gold and money in "Valuta" [currency], their jewels and precious stones … (The Christian population was not spared either from that decree.) … There were in Lask, some "Jews" who helped the Germans to check the list [to ensure that] the 'Robbery' was done lawfully. Those informers knew how to point [to] many of the rich people in town who were missing from the list of the "Robbery", or had not given

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[621] Norman Salsitz, as told to Richard Skolnik, *A Jewish Boyhood in Poland: Remembering Kolbuszowa* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 261–64.

[622] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 72. The entry for Łask also mentions the brutality of the Jewish police.

> enough from their fortune. The informers also pointed at Rabbi Leibel, saying that he had also hidden a part of his fortune and of the holy Kelims of the synagogue.[623]

In Chrzanów, Jews accompanied and assisted German soldiers in removing goods from the few Polish commercial establishments in that town in September 1939.[624] A Jew in Rzeszów was easily duped into believing that the German invaders were potential benefactors. According to one Jew witness:

> I recall to this day how one of our neighbors, Bielfeld, came to our home and told us with excitement how good the Germans are, in that they distribute sugar and other such products, which we had not been able to obtain for some time. He explained how they honored him with a meal fit for a king—in return for some small matter, such as the giving of information about the address of the Jewish communal organization and other such organizations.
>
> The same Biefeld appeared the next day embarrassed and crushed, with half of his beard and one of his payos shaved off.[625]

A Jewish woman who tried to escape to the Soviet zone in December 1939 recalled:

> Crossing from the German side [near Przemyśl] was nerve-wracking because gimlet-eyed soldiers scrutinised every traveller, searching for Jews who might be travelling without armbands or carrying money or valuables. Any pretext was sufficient to beat, arrest or shoot. … A small group of Jews just ahead of her were taking a long time to go through. The guards were examining documents and shaking their heads, finally they motioned for them to step aside. … Just as my mother stepped resolutely towards the sentry, a voice shouted *'Jude! Jude!'* It was the man who'd been stopped from crossing; he must have realised that she was Jewish and was trying to stop her out of spite.[626]

In many ghettos the Jewish police waged a lucrative war against individual smugglers before becoming tools for the liquidation of the ghettos themselves. In Otwock outside Warsaw, the Jewish police became the scourge of Jews who tried to eke out a living by engaging in trade with the local population. They also carried out with model efficiency and rigour all German orders to round up Jews for various tasks, including deportation to the death camps.

> The members and staff of the Judenrat, too, were among the privileged; they were provided with higher bread rations and other necessities. And above all were the Jewish policemen, around a hundred young men, who became the real rulers in the ghetto. They robbed the single smugglers of

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[623] Z. Tzurnamal, ed., *Lask: sefer zikaron (Izcor-Book)* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Lask in Israel, 1968), 27.

[624] Account of Roman Wawrzonek, dated February 2002 (submitted to Poland's Institute of National Remembrance).

[625] Klara Ma'ayan Munzberg, "During the Nazi Occupation," in *Rzeszow Community Memorial Book,* Internet: <http://www/jewishgen.org/yizkor/rzeszow/rzeszow.html>, translation of M. Yari-Wold, *Kehilat Raysha: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rzeszow in Israel and the USA, 1967), 322ff.

[626] Armstrong, *Mosaic,* 216.

their products, took bribes from the organized smuggling gangs, and allowed the rich to buy themselves out from being sent away to work camps. Instead, they dragged the young men from the poor homes and families, often beating them mercilessly with the rubber batons they wielded. …

After Passover I continued to venture outside the ghetto, to the same and other villages, and thus I earned my livelihood and even helped feed my sister's family. …

Worse than these were the Jewish ghetto policemen who sniffed out and chased after the smugglers to rob them of their hard-won products or demand from them a hefty share. Several times I had to pay them off, and once I was brought to the police station where I was beaten and threatened to be sent to a labour camp. …

In mid-January [1942], the Germans demanded two hundred young men for construction work at an unspecified site. … Soon the Otwock ghetto police went into action and dragged the men from homes, cellars and attics. They were all transported by trucks to a place named Treblinka … For a time, nothing was heard from any of them. Suddenly one from the group returned with the dreadful news that nearly all of the Otwock detainees were beaten to death by the Ukrainian guards soon after their arrival. Only about twelve or fifteen people, mostly good carpenters, plumbers and iron workers, were spared. They all worked together with other prisoners on the construction of a large death camp to which Jews from all over would be brought to their doom. Large pits, he told, were being dug at the edge of the camp for the burning and burial of the bodies gassed in special gas chambers. …

Here [in the ghetto], too, he remained in hiding, afraid he would be snatched by the police and sent back from where he came. However, his story circulated from mouth to mouth, and sowed dread in the hearts of the ghetto inhabitants. Still, there were those who disregarded his report as a tale of a braggart. But more evidence of the truth soon became available. …

Now that the Germans demanded another four hundred men to be sent away, nobody was willing to go. The streets of the main ghetto became empty; young and middle-aged men hid wherever they could. Soon [Bernard] Kronenberg, [the head of the ghetto police], with his ghetto policemen, went into action. They broke into houses by day and night, dragging and beating the men and leading them to a wired enclosure beside the ghetto police station. Outside the station, mothers, wives and children gathered, refusing to leave their dear ones. Their cries and pleadings did not move the policemen, most of them relatives and former friends of the interned. The policemen moved briskly, clicking with their leather boots, giving out orders and cracking jokes.

The quota was filled and the next day several Germans arrived and ordered the assembled to form into columns, four abreast. Surrounded by the ghetto policemen and armed [German] gendarmes, the captives were led outside.

Suddenly several trucks with Ukrainian militia-men entered the ghetto … As they moved, roaring and shouting, rifle shots were heard and cries of the dying and wounded pierced the air. People panicked and ran for shelter into the houses, stores and courtyards. The Ukrainian detachments reached the Judenrat and the ghetto police station. Right away they cordoned off the assembled Jews and led them to the square behind the railway ramp, which had been fenced in with barbed wire some time ago. Groups of Ukrainian soldiers, accompanied by Jewish policemen, began to

> move into the ghetto streets and lanes, driving out the people from their homes and hiding places. Many of the people came out by themselves, scared and dumbfounded by the shrieking Ukrainians and the whistling ghetto policemen. Although obeyed the orders and marched silently to the gathering place, the soldiers continued to beat mercilessly whomever they could reach with their rifle butts. From time to time they began shooting straight into the crowd.[627]

When Jankiel Cieszyński (later Jerry Shane) briefly returned to the ghetto in Otwock during its liquidation that began on August 19–20, 1942, to search for his mother, he encountered two Jewish policemen who caught him and wanted to take him to the German gendarme. The boy insisted that he was not Jewish and managed to free himself and run away to the Aryan side.[628] Calel Perechodnik, a Jewish policeman from Otwock, dispatched his own wife and daughter to Treblinka.[629]

When the Germans invaded Eastern Poland in the summer of 1941, similar events occurred there. In Bielsk Podlaski,

> Because the Jews had transferred to the ghetto a store of supplies looted from Soviet warehouses, most avoided starvation. However, after the Jewish Police reported the whereabouts of these supplies to German authorities, conscripted laborers working outside the ghetto were forced to forage for plants and to barter material possessions for food with the local population. Ghetto informers eroded community solidarity. The Jewish Police operated independently, blackmailing and robbing fellow inmates, in spite of the Jewish Council's efforts to restrain them.
>
> Some 24 Jews were executed for attempting to escape from the ghetto or for being found illicitly outside its gates. At least 6 others, including 2 Jewish policemen, were executed, based on a denunciation from inside the ghetto.[630]

> Jewish policemen, however, all non-locals, reported on and turned in Jews … Jewish policemen took the Nazis to the hiding places of foodgoods, which had been taken from the abandoned Soviet storehouses and hidden in the ghetto. The goods were confiscated, and the Jews in whose houses they were found, were beaten.[631]

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[627] Hopfeld, *At the Mercy of Strangers,* 27, 35–36, 38–39, 40, 50–51.

[628] While living in the Jewish children's home in Otwock after the war, Cieszyński recognized one of the former Jewish policemen who had caught him. He was now dressed in the uniform of a Polish soldier. Cieszyński denounced him to the authorities, but there is no information as to what, if any, action was taken against him. See Joanna Beata Michlic, "The Aftermath and After: Memories of Child Survivors of the Holocaust," in Sara R. Horowitz, ed. *Lessons and Legacies X: Back to the Sources: Reexamining Perpetrators, Victims, and Bystanders* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2012), 162, 164.

[629] Calel Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?: Testament of a Jewish Ghetto Policeman* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press/HarperCollins, 1996). After his escape from the ghetto, Perechodnik joined the Polish underground fighters in Warsaw. He perished during the August 1944 uprising, shot by the Germans as a looter.

[630] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 872.

[631] "Bielsk," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 8, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol8_11170.html>, translation of Shmuel Spector and Bracha Freundlich, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 8 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 170–75.

Jews who tried to survive by trading with Poles outside the ghetto were denounced or thwarted by fellow Jews who were envious of their exploits. Irene Budkowski (then Elster) recalled her experiences in helping her father, who ran a butcher shop in Sokołów Podlaski, by delivering meat to customers outside the ghetto.

> "My parents used to send me out and take orders [for meat] from the Polish people," Irene told us. Then my father would make up the orders. And early in the morning, someone would pull out one board from the [ghetto] gate and push me through [to make deliveries]. The policeman was paid off. But some of the Jewish people in the ghetto were wondering how we were making a living. So they watched and they caught me. They took away my money and started fighting with my Dad, who was such a nice, quiet man. And then I couldn't go any more to do business. So it got very bad in the ghetto."[632]

In a number of localities in Eastern Poland that previously came under Soviet occupation, Jews were denounced as Communists by fellow Jews, sometimes to simply to settle old scores, and were executed by the Germans. Bruch Abramovitch, a phatmacist in Holszany, was accused by his Jewish enemies, whom Bruch had opposed during the Polish period and who now sought revenge, of serving the Soviets. He was executed by the Germans in the first month of Soviet rule.[633] A journalist from Kaunas by the name of Caspi-Srebrovitch, a member of the Revisionist Party, was given permission by the Germans to live outside the ghetto and is believed to have identified more than 300 young Communists in Kaunas and Wilno.[634] A young Jewish woman, a former Komsomol member who returned to the Wilno ghetto in early 1942, was cautioned by her father: "A lot of people think you are in Russia. … Let's hope that no one informs on you. So many people have already been lost."[635] Jews who ventured outside the ghetto could also find themselves betrayed:

> Many Jews, at the risk of their lives, tried to recover the things they had left with the Aryans. … Jews on occasion did help the Germans catch those among us who had illegally left the ghetto to recover their belongings. (I later found out, for example, that Sara Zawadzka one of my fellow students at school, was involved in this.)[636]
>
> "Irka and her family were killed. They escaped from the peat works to Lida. They got fake documents saying they were 'Volksdeutsche.' Their last name 'Folkman' fitted in with that, and so did their first names. They worked there, made a good living, and were open about it. Other Jews

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[632] Tammeus and Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People,* 55.

[633] Shepsl Kaplan, "The Outbreak of World War II," in Shabrain Kapland and Meir Shli [Shely], eds., *The Life and Destruction of Olshan* (New York: JewishGen. 2016), 145. In July 1941, a Jewish boy was caught up in a German *Aktion* that targeted Gypsies. Ibid.

[634] Zelig Kalmanovitch, "A Diary of the Nazi Ghetto in Vilna," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science,* vol. 8 (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO, 1953): 21. See also Biographies: Fania Brantsovskaya, Internet: <http://www.centropa.org>.

[635] Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna,* 285.

[636] Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna,* 288.

> informed on them—out of envy. … When they came to get them, Arturek, Irka's little brother, wasn't home. When he found out that they had carted off his family members, Irka, and her boyfriend Julek, he went to the Gestapo himself. They shot them all."[637]

A Jewish policeman by the name of Szmukler who ventured outside the ghetto was apprehended by the Lithuanian police and under torture betrayed the hideout of some 120 Jews in the evacuated ghetto.[638]

Throughout occupied Poland, the Germans secured the assistance the Jewish councils and informants to provide the names of Jews suspected of being Communists or who belonged to left-wing parties. Hundreds, if not thousands, of Jews so identified in the *Kommunistenaktion* in the early part of 1942 were executed or sent to concentration camps. Such measures occurred in Tarnów, Jasło, Gorlice, Nowy Sącz, Rzeszów, Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Radom, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Jędrzejów, and many other towns.

> … in the first half of 1942, the terror of the Gestapo also intensified. In February 1942, the Security Police shot about 50 Jews in Jasło who had been allowed to return from Eastern Galicia in the fall of 1941. A similar Aktion was conducted in Tarnów a few weeks later. These people were deemed suspect as they had lived under Soviet rule. In the spring of 1942, the Security Police also seized and killed prominent Jewish social and political activists in a number of ghettos in Distrikt Krakau [Kraków], especially any Jews known to be Communists, Socialists, or Zionists. For example, the head of the Gestapo in Nowy Sącz, SS-Obersturmführer Heinrish Hamann, received orders from the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and the SD (KdS) in Kraków to arrest and shoot all Jews in the Kreis known to be Communists or to sympathize with them. In response, Hamann obtained an old membership list for the Poalei Zion (left-wing Zionist) movement and ordered that all those on the list be arrested with the assistance of the Jewish Councils and the Jewish Police. … Similar "anti-Communist" Aktions took place, for example, in Rzeszów and Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The goal was to terrorize Jews and forestall efforts at resistance just prior to the deportations.[639]
>
> The largest such Aktion [in Radom] took place on April 27–28, 1942, under the direction of SS-Hauptsturmführer Paul Fuchs of the Radom Gestapo. This was part of a centrally coordinated wave of arrests against alleged Jewish Communists and members of the intelligentsia throughout Distrikt Radom. In the city, 70 Jews were arrested, and another 100 were deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp …[640]

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[637] Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna,* 286.

[638] Testimony of Fania Feldman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1872.

[639] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 477. See also pp. 266 (Opoczno), 337 (Tomaszów Mazowiecki), 497 (Dąbrowa Tarnowska), 509 (Gorlice), 511 (Grybów), 514 (Jasło), 539 (Limanowa), 544–45 (Nowy Sącz), 568 (Rzeszów), 585 (Tarnów). According to a Jewish testimony, the list of Jews killed in Dąbrowa Tarnowska was compiled by a provocateur. See Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 211. Two of the most active Jewish policemen in Nowy Sącz, where some 400 Jews were executed by the Gestapo on April 29, 1942, were Volkmann and Blaustein. See Łukasz Połomski, "Kwietniowa zbrodnia," April 27, 2015, Internet: <http://twojsacz.pl/kwietniowa-zbrodnia/>.

[640] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 291.

> On the night of April 27–28, 1942, members of the Gestapo and the Schupo … entered the Jewish quarter [in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski] and arrested 68 people according to a list provided by the Judenrat, which was supposed to represent the members of the local leftist parties. Although the Aktion was dubbed a "Kommunistensktion," among those arrested were also members of the town's intelligentsia, who had not been targeted at the start of the occupation. Some 36 of the arrested Jews were sent to Auschwitz concentration camp; and 32 were shot on the spot.[641]

> In May 1942, the Germans demanded from the Judenrat [in Jędrzejów] a list of Jews who were active in the left-wing parties, their friends and relatives. The Judenrat handed over a list with 16 names. After a few days, the head of the Judenrat and his family members, some other Judenrat members and the 16 people whose names appeared on the list were arrested. They were all sent to Kielce (cf.) and from there to Auschwitz.[642]

Jewish informants could turn on both Jews and non-Jews. In Krzemieniec, a Czech Jew by the name of Dr. Bronfeld, who was appointed to head the Judenrat, is believed to have supplied the Germans with the list of intellectuals, among them Poles and Ukrainians, who were murdered in August 1941. During the liquidation of the ghetto, the Germans and Ukrainians, with the aid of the Jewish police, drove out, brutalized, and murdered the Jewish victims: "The Jewish scoundrels did not lag behind the murderers. They pounced on the Jewish hiding places, on Jews hiding in the forests and stripped them naked."[643] During the liquidation of the Buczacz ghetto some Jews, among them a certain Landes, took up the German offer of finding Jews hidden in bunkers in exchange for their lives. Hundreds of Jews were betrayed, but the Germans did not spare the turncoats and shot them too or had Jews kill them themselves.[644] Fearful of being executed by the Germans in a collective act of punishment, a young Jew in Jeziornica, near Słonim, falsely fingered an older Jew, thereby sparing his own life.[645] A group of seven wounded Jews who escaped from an *Aktion* and took shelter in a Jewish hospital in Słonim were betrayed by a Jewish doctor, after the Germans threatened to burn down the hospital. The victims were driven to the Jewish cemetery and shot.[646]

In time, cooperation with the Germans became organized and entrenched through the creation of Jewish councils and the Jewish police forces which were established in every ghetto. The Jewish councils were called on, among other things, to compile detailed lists of the ghetto dwellers, which were then used by the German authorities to supply Jews for labour duties as well as for deportations. The Jewish police also

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[641] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 270.

[642] "Jędrzejów," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 7, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00259.html >, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 7 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999), 259–62.

[643] Yehuda Bauer, "Buczacz and Krzemieniec: The Story of Two Towns During the Holocaust," in *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (2005), 264 n.34, 270, 286–87.

[644] Testimony of Emanuel Kriegel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 196; Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 170 (Emanuel Kriegel); Testimony of Izaak Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 327.

[645] Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 355.

[646] Testimony of Mordechaj Jonisz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 141.

ensured that Jews did not leave the ghetto and engage in smuggling, and were used to round up Jews for various tasks and, ultimately, for deportation to the death camps. German orders were, for the most part, dutifully complied with and greatly facilitated the destruction of the Jews.

In Biłgoraj, in early 1942, the German authorities instructed the Jewish council to prepare a list of 1,000 Jews, ostensibly for deportation to a labour camp in the Ukraine. The Jews were later assembled at the town square and taken to the train station in Zwierzyniec, where they were forced onto rail cars and sent to be gassed at the extermination facility in Bełżec.[647] Similarly, in Szczebrzeszyn, in early August 1942, the Jewish council submitted a lost of 2,000 people for deportation supposedly to the Ukraine. The Jewish police subsequently assisted German forces in arresting the Jews on the list and imprisoning them.[648] When the German authorities ordered the recruitment of 50 Jews from Młynów, Volhynia, for construction work in Równe, Ukrainian and Jewish police went from house to house looking for men, using a list drawn up with the help of the Judenrat. In place of those who had fled, the police took whomever they could find. The Germans murdered all the men once they had finished their work.[649] When Ghetto I was being liquidated in Grodno in November 1942, the Jewish council members drew up deportation lists and read out sentencing orders at the public executions. Fearing the personal repercussions of not fulfilling the deportation quota, the Jewish police extricated people from hiding and seized off the streets many of the "useful artisans" and their families, given dispensations from the deportation.[650]

In Raków, near Staszów,

> In the summer of 1942, the Gendarmerie arrived suddenly in Raków to arrest young Jews for forced labor … Raków's youth immediately went into hiding to avoid deportation. Gendarmes, assisted by the Jewish Police under the command of Chairman Zielony, prodded with bayonets the walls and floors of Jewish houses, dragging out all who had hidden. They caught between 30 and 40 young Jews. They locked the up in the synagogue for the night, then loaded them on trucks that headed for Skarżysko the next morning.[651]

The liquidation of the ghetto in Pińczów was carried out on October 4, 1942, by the SS and German Gendarmes, assisted by the Jewish police. On the following two days, the Jewish police assisted the Germans in searching the empty houses in the ghetto for escapees and goods. Jews who were discovered were shot on the spot.[652]

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[647] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 620.

[648] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 714.

[649] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1429.

[650] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 892.

[651] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 298.

[652] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 277.

Corruption also set in. The Jewish council extorted valuables from the Jews in Sochaczew, supposedly to bribe the German authorities, but much ended up in their own pockets.[653] There are a number of damning testimonies regarding the Jewish police and council in Sokołów Podlaski.

> The Judenrat also created a Jewish police force, composed of 30 officers. … The police also established a Jewish jail in the Bet Midrash, mainly to incarcerate those who did not pay dues demanded by the Judenrat. [654]

> In the spring of 1942, the Jewish council cut supplemental bread rations to 200 grams (7 ounces) and opened a special store only for the council employees. As a result, conscripts assigned to the Szczeglacin labour camp refused to assemble. The Jewish police went from house to house, beating those participating in the protests.[655]

> There was no shortage of Jewish policemen among the criminals sentencing [Jews] to death [during the liquidation of the ghetto and deportation of Jews to Treblinka]. I will mention their names here as a sign of disgrace and shame: Majsze Walnowicz, Szpigelman, Szepsl Rozenberg (all from Sokołów), Frenkel (from Kaunas), Arbuz (from Kalisz), Jankiel Farbsztein and others that I was unable to recognize. Some of the Jewish policemen and gravediggers must have watched their relatives being murdered in cold blood.[656]

In Berezna, near Lida, council chairman Yoel Gilber, a one-time public figure, "exploited his status in the ghetto for his own benefit and the benefit of the other *Judenrat* members. He received food for the ghetto but gave only part to the population, taking the rest for himself and his colleagues."[657] After discovering hideouts and robbing the Jews he found, the Jewish policeman Mojsze Wolmanowicz handed them over for deportation to Treblinka.[658] In Zawichost, near Opatów, as in most ghettos, the better-off Jews could avoid labour service by paying money to the Judenrat. Refugees from other towns claimed that only a small fraction of the aid from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Kraków reached the intended recipents in Zawichost.[659] Because local Jews were convinced only the employed would survive another deportation in Dęblin-Irena, they filled the best available jobs, leaving 200 deportees from Slovakia positions as unpaid municipal conscripts. A popular rebellion took place in the Radomsko ghetto because

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[653] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 440.

[654] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 442.

[655] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 444.

[656] Simkhe Polakiewicz [Simche Poliakewicz], *A tog in Treblinke: Khronik fun a yidish lebn* (Buenos Aires: Dos Poylishe Yidntum, 1948), translated as *Dzień w Treblince,* Internet: <https://sokolow.jewish.pl/simche-poliakewicz/dzien-w-treblince/>.

[657] Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia During World War II,* 262.

[658] Testimony of Josek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085. Kopyto also describes the corruption of the Judenrat.

[659] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 352.

the Jewish council enlisted only the poor and refugees for the labour conscription.[660] A crowd of Jewish labourers burst into the Judenrat's headquarters, demolishing the offices and driving out its members. The Judenrat called for the Gestapo's help, resulting in a three-day pogrom and looting of the ghetto.[661] The Judenrat in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski demanded bribes for everything: not to be put on work lists, to be given positions in workplaces, not to to lose those positions.[662] When thousands of Jewish refugees from Vienna began to arrive in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, the Judenrat confiscated their belongings and sent them to the nearby villages where they were taken in by Poles who provided them with accommodation and food.[663] A testimony from Głowno, near, Łowicz preserved in the Ringelblum Archive noted: "The Judenrat was hated by the Jewish population."[664] Reports from the ghetto in Urzędów, near Kraśnik, where there were ten Jewish policemen, are equally damning.[665] A man called Haftke, who was in charge of the Jewish Labour Office in the ghetto in Koźminek, was notorious for his cruelty to his fellow Jews and assisted the Germans to select those who would be sent away.[666]

The Jewish Council and Jewish police in Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, near Warsaw, were typical of many:

> Every day the Jewish police broke into Jewish homes, rushed in and forcefully grabbed people for work, because the *Judenrat* had to provide 350 workers daily. One spring day in the year 1942, when there were only 300 people provided, and they came late, two rows of soldiers lined up at the gate of the ghetto showered us with beatings and screamed: "We'll show you how to be late for work!" Blood ran that day, and the *Wehrmacht* ran to find another 50 workers. Soon I saw how these were brought out, beaten, looking non-human. They were chased across the barbed wire and the blood ran from their bare feet. Many fell faint, and then many of them were thrown into a cell. By noon it was already known that they would be executed. …
>
> One day, after we had gone to work, we did not receive our quarter of a bread ration. We were told that the *Judenrat* did not receive their rations of bread from the German government, but we all knew that was a lie. What happened was that the *Judenrat* staff was selling flour and was becoming rich from that. We went out to work in a mood of despair—even that quarter of a bread was taken away from us.
>
> When we explained to our supervisor, a *Folksdeutch [Volksdeutsch]*, why we were weaker than usual, that they didn't even give us that quarter of a bread that day, he went over to the mayor Wendt. We heard that after hearing this, Wendt immediately summoned the senior [ghetto foreman] Yisroel Tishler and the worker supplier Nakhman Rajkhan [Rajkhman] and he beat them

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[660] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 638.

[661] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 293.

[662] Testimony of Estera Szer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2979.

[663] Adam Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* nos. 15–16 (July–December 1955): 93ff.

[664] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 371.

[665] "Urzędów," Virtual Shtetl, Internet: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/urzedow/5,history/>. The police force was headed by a Jew from Kraśnik. His deputy, Manasi Szejnbrum, was absolutely merciless towards his compatriots.

[666] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 67.

mercilessly. They bribed him with a new suit, a pair of officer's boots, and a sealskin coat. All of this was related to us by the people in the ghetto who had come to us to find out what had happened with the bread and with the complaints to the supervisor.

We already understood that we wouldn't get away with this and that they would get back at us, and that's exactly how it was. At five in the evening, the time we usually returned to the ghetto, the chief of police, Yankel Baranek, was already waiting for us at the gate, and along with him was his devoted assistant Shloime Sosinski (Morde) and a whole band of policemen. They took us immediately to the *Judenrat* where each of us was interrogated individually, sentenced, and then we had to sign the papers. The entire process was in accordance with the rules of the Gestapo. The secretary Abramowicz wrote an official report.

I was the last one to be interrogated. They asked me who told the mayor about the bread, and I answered that I did not know. They began assaulting me with questions from all sides, but my answer remained the same: I did not know. Soon the real chief of police, Baranek, began attacking me. He led me into a separate "police room," and began shouting at me hysterically: "What are you thinking, that you'll be able to conduct your Poalei Zionist tricks here like your brother Menashe?" (My deceased brother was once the head of the Poalei Zion in Nowy Dwor [Dwór].) All the policemen began beating me until I collapsed in a faint. They revived me with buckets of water. I was completely beaten and bloody, and two policemen dragged me out of there because I couldn't walk on my own. They dragged me into the attic where the police arrest happened and then they threw me down like a sack of potatoes.

When I revived, I saw that I was not alone. A boy from Wysogrod [Wyszogród] also lay there, beaten up. They arrested him because he missed a day of work. The following day, they sent the Wysogrod boy to another labor camp near Mlawa [Mława]. This time, my fate was better, since my family pleaded on my behalf and I was able to remain in the ghetto.

After the event with the bread, the *Judenrat* warned the Jews in the ghetto that "those who will talk too much"—meaning those who will give details about the activities of the *Judenrat*—will get their due punishment. And the Jews were afraid.[667]

The following are descriptions from Opoczno:

Mordechai Rosenbaum, the [Jewish Council] chairman's deputy, became a Jewish informant … He later interceded on behalf of arrested relatives but kept from himself a share of the bribes intended for the Germans.[668]

In the middle of April 1942, the Opoczno police chief demanded from the Judenrat a complete list of the Jewish population. It is conjectured that the provision of this list is connected to the upsurge of arrests that began in the Ghetto afterwards on April 27, 1942. Arrested were the Zionist activists, Tuvia Zveir, Abraham Goldberg, Yitzhak Belzhitzki, Mottel Mortkovitch, Moshe Vinogrodzki,

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[667] Leybel Kokhalski, "The Members of the Jewish Council (*Judenrat*) and the Jewish Police," in Arie Shamri and Dov Berish First, eds., *Pinkas Nowy Dwor* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Nowy-Dwor in Israel, USA, Argentina, Uruguay, and France, 1965), 338–39, translated as Memorial Book of Nowy-Dwor, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Nowy_dwor/Nowy_dwor.html>.

[668] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 266.

> Schwartsmann, the two Zuker brothers and Hayim Frosh [Frosz], a few communists and a number of people with no past political involvement – together, some 30 men. They were taken to the stream near the community's slaughterhouse and after three were separated, the rest were shot.
>
> At the end of December 1942, German police came to the Judenrat and said that they wanted a list of all those Jews who had relatives in Eretz Yisrael. The Germans said that these Jews would be sent to a neutral country and would there be exchanged for German prisoners of war who were in Allied hands. The lists were prepared exactingly: questionnaires, the checking of documents, etc. The Jews eagerly reported and those who did not have relatives in Eretz Yisrael forged official documents. Official announcements on this matter, posted on the walls of the city, convinced some of those Jews in hiding or those with Aryan documentation, to come and register. On January 3, 1943, (or perhaps it was January 5), all those who had happily registered, were loaded onto carts that brought them to Kilinski [Kiliński] Square, which was outside the Ghetto. Doubts entered the minds of the Jews when their coats and bundles were taken from them, but they still believed that they were on their way to a neutral country. Only a few guards kept an eye on the travelers, and anyone who wanted to could have escaped. All were taken to Ujazd where a Ghetto was re-established in November 1942, after the series of mass deportations. "Legal Jews" and those who were persuaded to come out from their hiding places were assembled there. The Jews of Opoczno were the last group brought to Ujazd. There they discovered masses of Jews deteriorating in the conditions that prevailed in a transition camp surrounded by barbed wire. Only now, did it become clear to some that the Eretz Yisrael registration was only a cunning plot. In order to make their last hours bearable, others still held the hope that they would indeed be heading for freedom. On January 6, 1943, all the Jews massed in Ujazd were brought to the train station and sent to the Treblinka Death Camp.[669]

In Szydłów,

> In September 1941, deportees from Płock and Łódź complained to the JSS [Jewish Social Self-Help] headquarters in Kraków, accusing the president of the Society for the Protection of Health (TOZ), L. Koralnik (who also held the position of president of the Judenrat), of denying them social help to which they were entitled. … According to the deportees, Koralnik was selling most of the food to other towns and pocketing the money, claiming to have saved it in case of illnesses.[670]

Similarly, in Suchedniów, the Judenrat withheld financial assistance sent by other welfare institutions specifically for the Płock deportees.[671] In Rawa Mazowiecka,

> Survivors maintained that the Judenrat behaved very badly towards their own [Jews] and even worse towards the refugees [from other towns]. One of its members, Abram Bekermos, was a Gestapo

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[669] "Opoczno," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 1, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol1_00047.html>, translation of Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), 47–52.

[670] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 824.

[671] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 829.

> informant who denounced Jews who were trading illegally in foreign currency. [As a result, 17 Jews were seized by the Germans and executed.[672]] …
>
> In the spring of 1940, the community was ordered to pay a contribution of 75,000 złoty; the Germans made the Judenrat responsible for the sum's collection. When better-off Jews refused to pay, the Judenrat identified them to the Germans. Following a few arrests, wealthier Jews soon contributed their share. …
>
> Abram Zand testified that after he moved to Rawa Mazowiecka in November 1941—then already a ghetto—"the Judenrat was sending transports of paupers to Warsaw [the Warsaw ghetto]."[673]

The impoverished Jews from surrounding towns were the most likely to die of starvation in the overcrowded conditions that existed in the Warsaw ghetto. Of the approximately 60,000 Jews who died in the Warsaw ghetto in 1940 and 1941, the vast majority were not natives of Warsaw but had been resettled there from other towns or had sought refuge in Warsaw.[674] On arrival in the Warsaw ghetto, the Jews from the town of Jeziorna were quarantined at 109 Leszno Street, where they were held for dozens of hours under unpleasant conditions. In the quarantine centre bribery, corruption, and theft were rife. The deportees had to pay to collect the parcels they were entitled to and could only be released from the quarantine center early in exchange for a bribe. One account accuses the quarantine manager, Helber, of being a collaborator of the Gestapo.[675] Horrendous conditions of poverty and hunger faced the Jews of Kalwaria Góra in the Warsaw ghetto. Whatever they brought with them was stolen. Hundreds died in the first months and many more daily after that. Most of the remainder were deported to their deaths at the Treblinka extermination camo in the summer of 1942.[676] Most of the arrivals from Jeżów were put into impoverished hostels designated for refugees. They experienced difficulties with hygiene and medical care. A large number of the refugee from Jeżów died of starvation and contagious diseases in the Warsaw ghetto. Most of those who survived until the summer of 1942 were among those deported to Treblonka at that time.[677]

The Jewish police carried out an array of important tasks during the ghettoization of the Jews and in the liquidation of the ghettos. They dutifully carried out German orders to seize property. Manis Szajnbrun, the deputy police commander, used brutality to requisition gold, silver, bicycles, and other items demanded by the German authorities.[678] A group of strong men (*shtarken*) in Zamość confiscated property that the Germans demanded, including by early 1940 some 235,000 złoty.[679] The Jewish police often apprehended those who tried to avoid detection or escape from the ghettos. In February 1941, the Jewish police from

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[672] Testimony of Dawid Taśma, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2010.

[673] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 299.

[674] Andrzej Żbikowski, "Żydowscy przesiedleńcy z dystryktu warszawskiego w getcie warszawskim, 1939–1942," in Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, eds., *Prowincja noc,* 224–28.

[675] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 381.

[676] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 375.

[677] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 382.

[678] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 724.

[679] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 736.

Głowno searched nearby villages to find any Jews still outside the ghetto after the exit passes were withdrawn.[680] Herman Herling's wife was one of many Jews caught by Jewish policemen in Warsaw as she climbed the wall of the ghetto attempting to leave.[681] From 1940, the Judenrat in Zelów, near Łódź, was ordered to assist in the transport of hundreds of men to work in the Poznań area. Jews able to work were kidnapped on the streets and from their homes and sent away. The kidnappers were German policemen assisted by the Jewish police.[682] Jewish policemen often extorted money. A testimony from Głowno, near Łowicz, preserved in the Ringelblum Archive noted: "Extortion was a common and established practice."[683] The Jewish police in Węgrów arrested several families in order to extort money from them.[684] In Łowicz, Jewish policemen demanded payment of an entrance fee from refugees from other ghettos before being allowed through the ghetto gates.[685] Sometimes this was done in order to allow Jews to escape punishment, as was the case in Strzyżów, near Rzeszów.[686] When rounding up Jews for forced labour in Otwock, Jewish policemen employed force and even killed some who resisted.[687] The Jewish police in Tomaszów Mazowiecki earned a very bad reputation among most of the ghetto dwellers. During the deportations in that town the Jewish police assisted the Germans in rounding up the Jews,[688] as they did in many other places such as Wodzisław, near Jędrzejów,[689] Hrubieszów,[690] Łęczna,[691] Łuck,[692] Tarnogród,[693] and Jedlicze.[694] The Jewish police in Nowy Sącz also earned a bad reputation for working closely with the German police. The Jewish police participated in many of the round-ups of Jews in the ghetto, including "black marketers" identified by the Jews themselves.[695] In June 1942, the Jewish police rounded up Jews in

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[680] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 372.

[681] Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 424. Herman Herling and his daughter managed to escape.

[682] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 125.

[683] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 372.

[684] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 463.

[685] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 403.

[686] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 581.

[687] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 416.

[688] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 543–44.

[689] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 345.

[690] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 635.

[691] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 668.

[692] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1413.

[693] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 716.

[694] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 518.

[695] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 337.

Biała Podlaska and handed them over to the Sonderdienst, ethnic German police, at the railway station.[696] In May 1942, Ukrainian auxiliaries, assisted by the Jewish police, rounded up between 430 and 580 men in Bełżyce and marched them to the Majdanek concentration camp. During a subsequent *Aktion* in Bełżyce, the Jewish police identified several hundred young men and women who had been ordered to report to the town square for immediate deportation to Majdanek.[697] Jewish policemen would expel and mistreat Jews who tried to sneak into the ghetto for temporary protection.[698] Similarly, in Bochnia, the Judenrat and Jewish police helped the Gestapo, SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries in rounding up Jews in the ghetto and conducting selections and searching for Jews in hiding. The policemen beat up Jews and even turned over their own family members for deportation.[699] The Jewish police would also lure Jews out of hiding by giving them false assurances of safety, as was the case in Drzewica, near Tomaszów Mazowiecki.[700] Jews who escaped from ghettos were usually apprehended by the Germans, since most of them were readily identifiable as fugitives by their physical features or dishevelled appearance.[701] The Germans sometimes employed the Jewish police during their manhunts, known as *Judenjagd*, to capture Jewish fugitives hunting in the countryside. At the beginning of November 1942, the German command ordered the complete "cleansing" of the county of Miechów. Assisted by the Jewish police and some local Poles, SS forces and the German gendarmerie captured about 600 surviving Jews from throughout the county and murdered them in Chodówka forest.[702] When the ghetto in Ołyka, Volhynia, was liquidated in July 1942, the Jews were executed in mass graves outside the town: "Ukrainian police drove the Jews in groups of 50 to the ditch; the Jewish Police forced them to undress and to lie in the ditches facedown, after which drunken German and Ukrainian policemen shot them in the back of the head."[703] It is little wonder, then, that in the eyes of many Jews, the Jewish police "became the embodiment of evil and public corruption."[704]

In Kraśnik,

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[696] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 617.

[697] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 613, 614.

[698] Testimony of Chaim Gabrel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 228.

[699] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 489. See also the testimony of Dawid Braw, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1909, and the testimony of Teofila Schwimmer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3225. Draw identifies Symche Weiss, Jakub Gutfreund, Gedali Richter, and the policeman Dr. Rosen and Horowitz; Schwimmer identifies the policemen Leopold Ring and Marian Rotkopf as particularly harmful.

[700] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 219.

[701] Ida Rapaport-Gliksztajn, "Getta w Lublinie i na Majdanie Tatarskim (martyrologia Żydów w Lublinie od wybuchu wojny do likwidacji getta)," in Adam Kopciowski, ed., *Księga pamięci żydowskiego Lublina* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2011), 325; translation of *Dos bukh fun Lublin* (Paris: Former Residents of Lublin in Paris, Paris, 1952). The author writes that Jews who escaped during the liquidation of the ghetto in Lublin were easily captured by the Germans and then sent to the Majdanek camp.

[702] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 541.

[703] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1435.

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> The deportation of nearly 2,000 Jews from Krasnik [Kraśnik] to the death camps took place on the 12th of April 1942, *Pesakh* [Passover]. A special command of the *S.S.* and the police headed by *Oberscharführer* [Senior Squad Leader] Handke, a professional at Jewish deportations, came to Krasnik that day. Erich Augustin, the chief of the security police in Krasnik, led the entire *aktsia*. The city was surrounded by the German gendarmes and Polish police. Augustin ordered the *Judenrat* to gather all of the Jews at the marketplace. Carrying out the decree, the Jewish police went through Jewish houses and drove everyone out onto the marketplace, threatening death for those who remained in their house. About 4,700 people were driven out onto the marketplace. They had to line up in fives. The Hitlerists told all of those possessing stamped work cards to leave the rows, taking their families with them. Those left over (among whom were many old men, the sick and children) were immediately chased in the direction of the train station about four kilometers from the city. On the road, the escorts beat and shot those who could not keep up with the march. The road to the train station was sown with the dead bodies of those people who were shot.[705]

Jakob Friedmann, a native of Włodawa, recalls:

> Once I was caught by a Jewish policeman whose name was Matthias. He was an exceptional brute. When there was an *Aktion* against the Jews sending them for extermination to Sobibor [Sobibór death camp], he went up to the house where his family lived and called to his parents: 'Dad, mum, please come down, it's time for you to go.' He called to them, and they came down. He knew they were going to Sobibor to be cremated. That's the kind of man he was.
>
> One night he caught me as I was getting ready to cross the barbed-wire fence back into the work camp … He bashed me nearly to death, saying: 'Next time you will be dead.'[706]

The Jewish council and police in Włodawa were already involved in rounding up Jews at the behest of the Germans as early as July 1940, when the SS arrived from Lublin and ordered them to hand over 250 Jews to work on the construction of the Bełżec death camp. For the August 1942 deportation to the Sobibór death camp, the Jewish council in Włodawa drew up lists of the disabled, elderly and orphans, whom the Jewish police then proceeded to round up. During a subsequent deportation in October 1942, the Jewish police once again assisted the Germans, this time rounding up children. The Jewish police continued the dirty work the following April 1943, when they assisted the German SS, Ukrainian police and Latvian police in rounding up the remaining Jews.[707]

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[705] T. Brustin-Bernsztein (Brustyn-Bernstein), "Jews in Krasnik during the Years of the Hitlerist Occupation," in David Shtokfish, ed., *Book of Krasnik,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/krasnik/krasnik.html>; translation of David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Krasnik* (Tel Aviv: Krasnik Societies in Israel and the Diaspora, 1973), 304.

[706] Friedmann, *Reluctant Soldier,* 22. See also the damning testimony about the Jewish police in Włodawa in the Testimony of Matel Rabinowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2202, Internet: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/article/wlodawa/16,relacje-wspomnienia/32901,relacja-matela-rabinowicza/?action=viewtable>. A Jew from Włodawa stated that the Jewish police behaved worse than the Germans. See the testimony of Nachum Knopfmacher, June 28, 1961, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1787.

[707] Testimony of Motel Rabinowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, no. 2202, Internet: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/article/wlodawa/16,relacje-wspomnienia/32901,matel-rabinowicz-ur-1915-relacja-o-zagladzie-zydow-we-wlodawie/?action=viewtable>.

None of this is mentioned in the entry for Włodawa in *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,*[708] even though the entry authors' mandate included addressing the following topic: "Was there a unit of Jewish Police inside the ghetto? Who were its leaders, and how did it treat the other ghetto inmates?"[709] This is a recurring problem with many of the entries in this uneven work. Some authors (such as those who penned the entries for Włodawa and Lublin) simply ignore available evidence of the bad behaviour of the Jewish police—including the participation of the ghetto police in "resettlement actions" and the liquidation of the ghettos—despite the fact that it is a well-known and well-documented phenomenon. Isaiah Trunk's important study on the Jewish councils published in 1972 already drew attention to this very fact: "the Jewish ghetto police everywhere, to a larger or lesser degree, participated in the 'deportations' and … the horrid events that went along with them."[710]

> As we have mentioned above, the ghetto police took part in "resettlement" procedures in various ways—assisting in chasing victims to assembly places for "selections," personally carrying out "selections," assisting in executions (this, however, occurred only once so far as is known). Here are a few illustrations taken from several occupation areas:
>
> The Lublin Jewish Council announced on March 21, 1942, that the Jewish population was to report "in their own interests" to a certain street, thence to be escorted only by the functionaries of the Jewish police to assembly places. The assurance that the inmates would be escorted "only" by the Jewish police was apparently intended to calm the highly disturbed people. But not all were convinced, and some did not report. The SS interfered in their customary manner. In mates were raided in their hiding places. In the process some were shot on the spot. Others were carried directly to the trains. At this stage the ghetto police were forced to find the hiding places and call on the victims to come out from hiding. SS men and local auxiliary police squads were reluctant to risk their own lives, leaving it to the ghetto police to discover the bunkers.
>
> Diverse reactions by the ghetto police to their imposed tasks became evident from the start of the "actions" when victims were collected for "resettlement." In numerous ghettos the police were given lists of candidates for deportation that had been prepared in advance [by the Jewish council]. All those located at the address given in the lists were directly taken to the places of assembly. … From there victims were sent to trains where they were taken over by German police.
>
> Where some categories were exempted from current deportations, the ghetto police carried out control of personal identification cards of exempted individuals. Such individuals were placed in sealed-off houses, as was, for instance, the practice in Warsaw during the initial stages of the "action." The same procedure was applied in Lwów during the "action" of March 10, 1942. Thus the corrupt members of the ghetto police got a chance to trade in human lives, as already indicated above. …
>
> Ransom payments to Jewish policemen during the "resettlements" are also reported from Łódź, Lwów, Kołomyja, Lublin, Cracow, Vilna [Wilno] and other ghettos. …

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[708] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 730–33. The entry notes the existence of the Jewish police and limits their role to providing German officials with valuables.

[709] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, xlix.

[710] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 508.

As a rule the "selection" of people rounded up was carried out by the German authorities. But there were also instances where the ghetto police both assembled the candidates for the "resettlement" and carried out the "selection." For example, Gens did this in Vilna as chief of the ghetto police, and so did Shamay Grayer [Greier] in the Lublin and Majdan Tatarski Ghettos. It also happened that the Germans ordered the Councils to deliver a certain number of Jews without indicating any specific category, thus leaving it to the Councils to select the victims. In such cases the ghetto police seized people who, in their opinion, were proper candidates for "resettlement." This is reported from Kołomyja, Buczacz, Lwów, Dębica, Oszmiana, Skałat, and other ghettos.

The ghetto police actively participated in uncovering hidden Jews in many ghettos. Familiar with the topography of the ghetto, the layout of the apartments, and the nooks where people might try to hide, the ghetto police were given the task of sniffing out Jews in hiding. No doubt a number of well-camouflaged places in Warsaw, Cracow, Vilna, Kołomyja, Buczacz, Skałat, and many other ghettos would not have been discovered otherwise.

It is reported from several ghettos (e.g., Zamość, Sosnowiec, and Kołomyja), where the police were unable to locate people they were after, that other family members were taken: children, parents, wives, or siblings.

To accomplish their task, the ghetto police chased Jews who, after surviving "resettlements" in other ghettos, had tried to hide in a ghetto which was still in no immediate danger. Since 100 Jews survived the "resettlement" in the Legionowo Ghetto (near Warsaw) on the last day of Sukkot 1942. However, when they tried to enter the Nowy Dwór Ghetto (Zichenau district), the Jewish police arrested them and put them in the local ghetto jail to hand over to the Gestapo.

The police in some large ghettos became such experienced "resettlement" experts that the Germans would send them to adjacent ghettos to help in the "action." Thus squads of the Lwów Ghetto police took part in the deportation of the inmates from ghettos in Jaworów and Złoczów in April 1943, and in a number of small ghettos in the vicinity of Lwów. The Jewish police of the Sosnowiec and Będzin Ghettos were dispatched to take part in "resettlements" in small ghettos in Eastern Upper Silesia, such as in Olkusz in July 1942.

A squad of Vilna Jewish policemen, some 30 strong, were issued new uniforms and dispatched to Oszmiana in October 1942, where Jews from Smorgonie, Soły, and other small ghettos in the Vilna area were assembled. They were told that their task was "to deliver certificates" to the inmates of those ghettos. They took over from the Lithuanians the task of guarding the ghetto gate. On October 23, 1942, the Jews were driven to the assembly place by the police from the Vilna Ghetto accompanied by local [Lithuanian] policemen. They "selected" 200 sick and 392 elderly people; 410 were sent off to Zielonka, some 7 or 8 kilometers from Oszmiana, in previously prepared carts. They were put to death in the presence of several Vilna Jewish policemen. According to Dvorzhetsky [Dworzecki], the Jewish policemen took part in the actual execution.

An eyewitness from the Dębica Ghetto relates that during the final "action" (on November 15, 1942) the last surviving Jews were confined in a kind of *Restgetto,* which was called *Arbeitslager.* The Jewish camp Elder ordered the ghetto police to deliver some 50 "illegal" Jews, those who had escaped and somehow made it back to the camp later on. These were detained in a room of the local Talmud Torah and killed the same night, with the help of the ghetto police ("the men of the

> *Ordnungsdienst* grabbed the hands of the victims and Gabler [apparently the *Lagerkommandant*] shot them").[711]

Hundreds of Jewish testimonies attest to the fact that such conditions prevailed throughout German-occupied Poland.

Unusually, in Białystok, the Judenrat acting chairman Ephraim Barash took drastic steps to address the problem of police corruption:

> Barash curbed the excesses of the Jewish Police. On June 16-17, 1942, the Judenrat ordered 20 corrupt policemen sent to labor camps. When a search, on June 21, of the apartment of policeman Grisha Zelikowicz, a notorious extortionist, revealed large sums of foreign currency, diamonds, furs, and other valuables, the Judenrat ordered him turned over to the Gestapo. Barash appointed the popular Moshe Berman, a pre-war deputy chief of [the Polish] police in Białystok, the fill the position of police commander. Berman restored the force's public image, in part by recruiting policemen with a social conscience. The changes ultimately created a force that refused to help the Germans extricate Jews from hiding places during the expulsions. … When the Jewish Police refused to cooperate, the Germans savagely beat them and turned to informers to find hidden Jews.[712]

The German authorities were also assisted by agents brought into or recruited inside the ghettos and freelance informers. Conditions in Chełm were typical of many towns:

> A certain person unexpectedly appeared in Chelm [Chełm] passing as an administrator of Jewish possessions. At the beginning it was not known if he was a Jew. Later it was learned that the "administrator" was a Jew. He was called "the Jewish overseer"—Reb Pinkhasl. He had a dislikable appearance, was of short stature and with a shaved head—a true German. He always held a whip in his hand like ever Gestapo-man. To the Jews he said he was defending thie interests; he was their "overseer," but, in fact, he worked with the Gestapo.
>
> Once, the "Jewish overseer" entered the ghetto and told those Jews there that he was authorized —by the German regime—to create a Jewish self defense group—Jewish police, so that the Jews could defend themselves. A Jewish police [force] of 150 people was created, over which there was a commandant. The jail was on Pocztow [Pocztowa] Street and there were arrests for every trifle. If a Jew escaped from the jail he was then shot by the Gestapo. The "Jewish Guardian," Pinkhasl, caused the Jews in the ghetto a great deal of trouble.
>
> *Erev Shavous* [eve of the holiday commemorating the Jews receiving the Torah at Mt. Sinai], 1942, this Reb Pinkhasl came to the Chelemer *Judenrat* with a demand for the surrender of 3,000 Jews who were not capable of useful work. The representatives of the *Judenrat* were then, among others, Meir Frenkel (son-in-law of Dovid Liberman), and Anshel Biderman. They called an urgent meeting of all the members of the *Judenrat* and of the Chelmer businessmen. The meeting took place in the butchers' synagogue and lasted an entire night. It was a bitter and dark night. They did

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[711] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 511–14.

[712] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 867–88.

> not know what to do. There was great despair. They wrangled for a long time, but in the end they decided to surrender the demanded Jews to the Gestapo.[713]

Leon Cymlel, who had escaped from a death march and returned to his native Chełm with the help of Poles, found himself pursued by Jewish policemen when he did not report for work. He was chased by one Bocheński in the streets of the city, but fortunately escaped.[714] Kalmen Wewryk of Chełm recalled:

> The Jewish police went to each house after the *Aktion* and made new lists of the remaining population—those who had survived. The Germans then ordered the survivors to live closer together, in a more narrowly restricted area. Two families, with 4 children, were sent to live in my home. … My new neighbors resented my presence—they would have preferred to have the house all to themselves.
>
> … I was completely dejected, totally depressed. In my house there were strangers now who dressed in my wife's clothes; their children wore my little one's clothes. … When I saw them in those clothes I just couldn't control my tears. They slept in my bed and I no longer had a bed to sleep in. I kept a bit of merchandise in a chest, so I slept on the lid of that chest. I had lost my bed because I was outnumbered by them; they simply took over the bed and that was that. …
>
> A big camp, using the military barracks of Chelm as a nucleus, was built. All the Jews from Chelm and the surrounding *shtetlach* were "invited" to report there. … Then a new order was issued: all Jews *had* to report to the barracks. …
>
> I didn't report to that camp. Some of my neighbors in my flat also didn't report. Because of them I could no longer use my false-beam hiding place. Anyhow, they wanted to get rid of me. With me gone, there would be one less body in the crowded room. And they could 'help themselves' to my meager possessions. One woman in the flat lost her husband so she wanted all Jewish husbands everywhere to die. Another had lost 2 brothers who were my age, so she looked at me and her eyes seemed to say: "Why are you alive and they're not?" Somebody in my house squealed on me. One day the Gestapo burst into the flat, ran right over to me and told me to tell them where I had hidden my merchandise. … I showed them where all the merchandise was. They brought a truck and I had to load all the merchandise on it. … I had to go with the Gestapo men there and unload the merchandise. When I finished they beat me and drove me straight to the big new military barracks camp and shoved me in. I was no longer a free man.[715]

In Szydłowiec,

> several weeks after the outbreak of the war, a young Jew suddenly appeared in Szydlowiec [Szydłowiec] driving a German army truck with military license plates. … a few months later he was back, this time in the service of the Price Control Police. He rode around in a droshky [horse-

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[713] Yitzhak Groskop, "Chelm at the Time of the Hitler Occupation," in M. Bakalczuk, ed., *Commemoration Book Chelm,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/chelm/chelm.html>, translation of *Yisker-bukh Chelm* (Johannesburg: Former Residents of Chelm, 1954), 541–42.

[714] Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 694.

[715] Kalmen Wewryk, *To Sobibor and Back: An Eyewitness Account* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 1999), 25–27.

drawn carriage], stopped at certain addresses, broke open a brick wall or a padlock and removed hidden stores of goods such as leather, textiles, etc. He would write down the name of the owner in a notebook, and several weeks later the Jews whose name he had written down would be arrested and no one would be able to learn what happened to them. The resultant panic among the Jews in Szydlowiec was completely understandable, because most of them now lived on what they had managed to hide before the Germans came in. … the "raids" by this man became more and more frequent …

… Meanwhile, the number of local Jewish informers who joined the driver increased. It was clear to us that without these local informers the driver, a stranger in town, would have been unable to find the hiding-places.

The Judenrat then called the young man in and offered to give him a weekly stipend if he would stop … He agreed, and also asked for a stipend for his "assistants." This too was granted. One day later, the droshky reappeared on the street and resumed its old business. The stranger had informed the Price Control Police about the "deal" the Judenrat had offered him. The Police immediately ordered the Judenrat to come to Radom. … The Gestapo had arrested several Jews who were found with hidden goods.

Jewish informers have also sprung forth out of the earth. Early in the summer [1940] the district police appeared and conducted mass inspections, acting on "leads" supplied by Jewish informers. One of these characters, a refugee from Kalish [Kalisz], takes part in these inspections personally. They are usually done at night, when people are asleep. The police beat the Jews unmercifully, rip up floors, dig up the ground, test the walls for hiding-places. If they find hidden goods they arrest the owner and send him to a place from where he never returns. These inspections have been going on for weeks.[716]

After we lined up as ordered, they pulled a Jewish boy [of about 16 years from Iłża] out of a nearby car, and I immediately recognized him as one of those who joined the partisans and never came back. … He was dragged by two SS troopers who were leading him along the rows as if it were a lineup and telling him to identify. … He therefore moved from one person to the next, until he reached the end of the line with no results. But this fact annoyed the Germans, who started threatening him that if he didn't tell them what they wanted to know, they would kill him. Then they ordered everyone to take off their hats and the lineup was started anew. Their threats worked this time, the boy cracked and started pulling people pou of the rows—one, two, three. …

The Germans, who wanted to take revenge against all the people of Iłża [in the Szydłowiec ghetto], had him pointing out people from Iłża, whom they led to the cemetery and murdered there, in addition to those murdered in the forest. This was the tragic end of the Jewish partisans who left camp Skarżysko and reached Polanka forest.[717]

In Chmielnik,

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[716] Abraham Finkler, "A Ghetto Without Barbed Wire" and Motl Eisenberg, "Running From Death" in Berl Kagan, ed., *Szydlowiec Memorial Book* (New York: Shildowtzer Benevolent Association in New York, 1989), 157–59, 172.

[717] Zvi Faigenbaum, "Led Like Lambs to the Slaughter," in Schutzman, *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz,* 308ff.

> Once three Germans, accompanied by a Jewish informant, burst into Kalman's store. Just as they exploited the Judenrat, the Nazi employed Jewish collaborators and Jewish police to maintain order and to carry out unpleasant tasks. …
>
> Bela Nozyce Strauch did not have a favourable or sympathetic impression of Chmielnik's Jewish informant, who raided her home with the Germans. While they ransacked the house, their dogs ripped out her father's beard.
>
> Saul Zernie, the 17, walked to the square with his father, still a young man at age 38. The urge to escape was so overpowering, Zernie bolted. A Jewish policeman pursued and caught him, just as he entered a building. Zernie was forced back to the square. He felt like a hunted animal. "We were all surrounded by German and Jewish police," Zernie said. "They started lining up the people, picking the healthy ones and the younger ones."[718]

In Słupia Nowa, near Kielce,

> There were also traitors among the Jews. According to survivor Ana Flaumembaum, a local Jew denounced the entire Judenrat, including Flaumembaum's father Joshua (Szyja) Kestenberg, her uncle, and cousin. They were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp following their arrests. …
>
> The Słupia Nowa ghetto was liquidated in September 1942, when German gendarmes accompanied by dogs and Jewish policemen chased its residents onto Świętokrzyska Street. The men were separated from the women and children. Anyone who resisted or was too weak to leave was shot inside his or her dwelling.[719]

Often members of the Jewish council and police simply acted like scoundrels and became the scourge of the ghetto, as was the case in Busk:

> While it lasted, the Judenrat officials and the all-Jewish Ghetto police took care of their cronies. They used what power they had, or exploited the powerlessness of those under them, to settle old scores where being Jewish counted for nothing.
>
> Those who became the Ghetto police were usually the local scum. One of our neighbors was especially mean, and he wielded his club without provocation. His name was Laybele. … He turned out to be the meanest of all the Ghetto police in Busk.[720]

In Sandomierz, a Jew confided in a Jewish policeman, telling him where his family had hidden money and gold in the nearby town of Opatów. The Jewish policeman went there with some Germans and retrieved the valuables, but refused to share any with the rightful owner who was in need.[721] In Biłgoraj,

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[718] Suzan E. Hagstrom, *Sara's Children and the Destruction of Chmielnik* (Spotsylvania, Virginia: Sergeant Kirkland's Press, 2001), 98, 108.

[719] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 313–14.

[720] Hecht, *Life Death Memories,* 81.

[721] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 99.

Efraim Farber avoided registration with the assistance of a Polish clerk only to be sent back to register by a member of the Judenrat who acted as a strict enforcer of German decrees.[722] People who clandestinely tried to organize a religious life in the Kielce ghetto were reported to the Germans by fellow Jews.[723] Gustav Spiegel, an Austrian Jew, denounced Jews to the Gestapo in Kielce. According to a Jewish inmate of the labour camp, after Jewish workers acquired arms with the assistance of Poles, their planned breakout was betrayed by Spiegel, who informed the head of the Gestapo.[724] When Spiegel found himself in Auschwitz two years later, a Jew whom he had denounced in Kielce, now a *Kapo,* located him and, after severely beating him together with his (the *Kapo's*) friends, threw him against the electrified perimeter fence where he was electrocuted.[725]

Conditions in Tarnów, where about 40,000 Jews were confined in the ghetto, were typical of those found in many medium-sized cities. The entry for Tarnów in the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* states that, on October 16, 1941, the Germans created a Jewish police force consisting of about 300 policemen, that their numbers grew before the first large *Aktion* in June 1942, and that its last commander was a brutal German Jew named Diestler.[726] However, the encyclopedia entry is silent about the activities of the Jewish police. A number of survivors have left testimonies about those activities, which included frequent betrayals of hideouts during and after the liquidation of the ghetto.

> The Germans burdened the Jewish population not only with *Judenrats*. The tortured, condemned-to-death Jewish population received further "autonomy." A Jewish police [force], the so-called *Judishcher ordnungsdienst [Jüdischer Ordnungsdient]* [Jewish ghetto police] (shortened to O.D.), was organized in the *Judenrats*. The *Judishcherordnungsdienst* was only a name, because it actually served the Germans and blindly carried out all of their orders. The *ordnungsdienst* were a plague on the Jewish population, although there also were those policemen who did not forget that they were Jewish. They would warn the Jewish population of every misfortune and in many cases exhibited [their] humanity. However, those were the rare exception.
>
> At first a certain Miller stood at the head of the *ordnungsdienst*, then Waserman. After him, the command over the *ordnungsdienst* was taken over by a strict, inhumane German Jew, the Austrian Captain Distler, who with the members of the Gestapo caused a [feeling] of terror among the Jewish population.[727]

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[722] Account of Efraim Farber in Dov Shuval, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Shebreshin* (Haifa: Association of Former Inhabitants of Shebreshin in Israel and the Diaspora, 1984); translated as Dov Shuval, ed., *The Szczebrzeszyn Memorial Book* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2005).

[723] "Kielce Ghetto," Internet: <http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/kielce%20ghetto.html>. Idel Bekerman stated that the Judenrat in Kielce managed to send Jewish blackmailers and denouncers to Auschwitz. See her account in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 191.

[724] Testimony of Salomon Reis in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 220.

[725] Thomas Buergenthal, *A Lucky Child: A Memoir of Surviving Auschwitz As a Young Boy* (New York: Little, Brown, 2009), 68–70.

[726] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 585.

[727] Abraham Komet, "The Annihilation of the Jews of Tarnow," in A. Chomet, ed., *Tarnow: Kiyuma ve-hurbana shel ir yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Tarnow, 1954), 811; translated as *Tarnow: The Life and Decline of a Jewish City,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/tarnow/tarnow.html>.

The third deportation took place in autumn of ’41—it was Sunday. I was at work at the time and this man came—a Pole—and he told us that the ghetto was surrounded. …

At 4 o’clock a Jewish policeman came and reassured us that there was nothing happening in the ghetto and we could go home. He escorted us to the ghetto—the ghetto was empty, windows smashed; I go to my flat, open the door—no one is there. I shouted, my cousin answered, he was standing by the window, and was crying. I asked him where my auntie and cousin were, he told me that the Ordnungsdienst (this is the Jewish police) came and took them. And he (the 14-year-old boy) was hidden in the cellar in the house.

From that time on, every few weeks there were round-ups in the streets and in homes, at night or during the day. The Gestapo from various labour camps would arrive and, with the help of the ghetto policemen, organise these round-ups. In November 1942, I was caught together with my cousin, the 14-year-old boy, during one of these round-ups. We were loaded onto a lorry—we travelled several hours to the Szebnie camp near Jasło. 70 men were caught and I (was) the only woman.[728]

In 1942 the Germans created a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire. Cesia [Honig], her parents and extended family moved to the ghetto and shared one room between them. Everyone was assigned to force labor. Cesia worked sewing saddles in a workshop outside the ghetto boundaries where many Poles also worked. Soon afterwards, all the ghetto inhabitants underwent a selection. Cesia’s father received a forced labor stamp, but the German in charge marked Cesia and her mother’s papers with a K. Someone explained that those with a K, mostly women and children, would be shot the next day. They returned to their apartment and hid behind a false wall. However, a Jewish policeman found them and brought them out to join a procession of those being led out of the ghetto. When Cesia walked past the one factory within the ghetto boundaries, suddenly two Jewish boys whom she had recently met grabbed her and yanked her inside. They told her they would tell her father where she was. Cesia could not bear the thought that she would survive while her mother would be killed and wanted to give herself up, but her father arrived and told her that she had to remain alive for his sake. After surviving the ordeal, she and her father returned to their previous work assignments.[729]

[The first liquidation started on June 10, 1942.] … At 5:30 in the morning the OD [*Ordnungsdienst*, the Jewish police] took us—me and my family—with a few hundred people. On the corner of Polna and Widok Streets I met my driver driving by and he says to me, “Boss! Where are you going? I’ve heard a Gestapo officer saying that those with the stamps don’t get deported.” I asked the OD-man

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[728] Record of Witness Testimony No. 111, January 12, 1946, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview111.pdf>. For additional examples of betrayals of Jews and their hideouts by Jewish policemen in Tarnów, see Serge-Allain Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés: Les vies multiples d’un intinéraire juif de Pologne en France* (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 1992), 111, 112–13. Another survivor from Tarnów writes: “Through 1942/43, until March, I stayed in the Ghetto; conditions were dreadful. Aryans, co-workers from the Tarnów factory, smuggled food to us, but could be executed for that by the Gestapo.” See Record of Witness Testimony No. 115, January 13, 1946, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview115.pdf>.

[729] “Cesia Honig,” Unites States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <http://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1172383>.

to return my registration card, but he didn't want to. He told me to go to the Gestapo station. When he went to get some other people and we stopped for a moment, it was on Polna Street, I caught a droshky [horse-drawn carriage], put my wife and child on it and went to the Gestapo station. There was nobody outside the Gestapo station. So I went to the *Judenrat,* but there were lots of people. I barely got through to Reiss and I told him everything. Reiss told me to immediately go back to get back my papers. The OD-man didn't want to do that. But I wanted to beat him up, so he returned the papers. …

At 11 my brother wanted to visit his wife and child; he lived on the next street. As soon as he entered the apartment, OD-man Sambor came running and drove him and his wife and child to Magdeburski Square [renamed during the war from Plac Wolności]. They herded all the people from Starodąbrowska and Dwernickiego Streets (where the poorest Jews lived) to Magdeburski Square, to meet the quota. The OD-man knew that they were all going to the cemetery [to be executed by the Germans]. The *Judenrat* was to deliver a contingent of 600 people and it delivered the poorest ones. …

The *Judenrat* clerks spent the whole night writing the lists of people [to be granted stamps]. … In the evening I took all the Jews' registration cards to the *Judenrat.* Everybody ran to the droshky, everybody was looking for their [registration cards]. There was shouting, crying, people were trampling one another, snatching the registration cards away from one another so that some of the cards were damaged. Those who had no stamps were stealing other people's cards with the stamps. They were tearing off the [original] photos and placing their own pictures instead. Everybody stormed into the *Judenrat* office. There were a few thousand people [inside]. Robbery began. I was also looking for my wife's registration card. I didn't find it, because it probably had the stamp and somebody had stolen it. …

Half an hour later all the people were already on the square. [The Germans began searching the basements of abandoned houses.] … They entered another basement. They found a full storehouse of clothes, shoes, and underwear. It all belonged to the *Judenrat.* Those were the clothes [sent] from England and donated by the Joint for the camp in Pustkowie [Pustków]—but the *Judenrat* didn't give anything [to anyone]. Lehrhaupt even put up an announcement that there was no point in asking for clothes because there were none. And there were thousands of items. …

It was already around midday when Romelman arrived and ordered all OD-men and those who worked in the *Judenrat* to stand in another corner with their children and entire families. He said that if the quota assigned for deportation isn't met, then the OD and the whole *Judenrat* with the families would be deported too. A panic broke out in the square. The wife of a certain OD-man from Bielsko said to Listewnik (he was a Polish Gestapo functionary), and to German police head Jungnons and to Polish Police commissioner Laske, that she would show them a bunker with people hidden so that the quota would be filled. They all sat on my droshky and we drove to Dębowa Street no. 1.2. There was a bunker in a chimney. Nobody would've found it. They took a couple of people and 8 corpses out of there, because they opened fire inside. Among others there was Kluger, who was a *Judenrat* board member. They all went out covered in soot. The people from the bunker in the next house saw that and began jumping out on their own. They were given a horrible beating and were escorted to those kneeling on the square. My little daughter who saw it, closed her little eyes and kept saying, "Daddy! I'm not crying." My driver took the gendarmes to lunch. They roughed him up on the way. They were all drunk. On the way they shot a Jew hidden outside the ghetto in his store. At that time one could still have stores outside the ghetto and go

there with a pass. They ordered my driver to take off the dead man's shoes and take them. He told us about all that after he came back.

All the ODs spread around the ghetto in search of the bunkers. They were promised that those who find a bunker would save themselves and their families. Wasserman, the Jewish Police superintendent, whose mother-in-law was 85, lived in the same building as my brother. To save her he gave away the location of the bunker where my brother was hiding with 50 other people. I arrived when they were already escorting the people out to the Czacki school. …

I informed the others where were the guards so that they'd avoid those places. I covered my sister and the children on the wagon with straw and hay and returned to Nowa Street. There was an empty apartment on the third floor abandoned by the deportees. We entered it with those who managed to sneak out. Luckily they managed to sneak through. Only my mother-in-law was spotted by the OD when she wanted to enter the apartment on Nowa Street and she was taken because she had no stamp. My driver cousin who saw me escorting everybody also wanted to go get his mother, who was hidden on that other side. His mother was hidden in a wardrobe. One half of the wardrobe was open and she sat on a stool covered with a coat. They kept coming in the whole day to look for those in hiding but they didn't see her. The cousin came down to his mother and took her onto the wagon and wanted to ferry her to the other side of the ghetto. OD-man Weiser, who was even his distant relative, saw it and removed his mother from the droshky. Pleading didn't help. He jailed her pending Romelman's [Rommelmann] decision.[730]

During the third action [in November 1942] I lost my family, only my sister survived. It was in the fall of 1942. On the day of the action my sister went to work, I had escaped from the ghetto a week earlier and stayed at that school friend's of mine I mentioned earlier, Gabriela, her maiden name was Niedojadlo [Niedojadło]. My sister told me later how it happened. It turned out that our parents were hiding in the same basement as I had with my sister during the previous action, but someone informed on them. It was someone who was taken away. He was at the train station and said he would tell where the Jews were. He was a Jew as well. He thought he would save himself.

There was even this one incident where a son, who was in the Jewish police, informed on his own mother, he said where she was hiding. He went to that shelter where his mother was hiding and said, 'Don't be afraid, come out, don't be afraid. Come out, don't be afraid, you'll be fine.' And that mother came out. And later they were teasing him when he was leading people to work, someone from the first row would call this text: 'Come out, don't be afraid', and someone else called: 'You'll be fine' and they'd repeat it, and he would turn back, but could never catch the one who was teasing him.[731]

Informers from Tarnów were also active in nearby towns. A Jew from Gorlice recalled: "Once, four Jewish informers came from Tarnow [Tarnów], and sniffed out those who traded in currency. They caused

[730] Testimony of Izaak Izrael, dated May 1945, in Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews,* 198–208.

[731] Interview with Gizela Fudem, December 2004, Centropa, Internet: <http://www.centropa.org/biography/gizela-fudem>.

fifty Jews to be shot, among them, Felder, Buksbaum, Zilber, and others."[732] As elsewhere, local Jews played a significant role in the destruction of the Jews of Gorlice. Jews who hid their furs when the Germans demanded their surrender were known to have been denounced and executed. A Jewish militiaman informed on Jews engaged in illegal trade.[733]

> The Jewish police consisted of shady characters. One was a *shammes* in a synagogue, and had hundreds of Jews on his conscience. They were very diligent at their filthy tasks. One person who especially "distinguished" himself at this work was a person who got drunk with the Nazis, and betrayed the entire Jewish council of Gorlice and the vicinity. His end was terrible, regardless. Before all the Jews were driven out of the ghetto, all those mentioned above were shot. But the woman Bertha, who especially "distinguished" herself and handed over Jewish people and property, is now living in America.[734]

Similarly, the entry for Dąbrowa Tarnowska in the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* is silent about the activities—and even the very existence—of the twenty-strong Jewish police force in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.[735] A witness has described their conduct during the existence of the ghetto and the September 18, 1942 *Aktion* as follows:

> The Jewish police were under orders from the Germans to make sure that no Jewish family remained living in the forbidden part of town. When they did find someone and delivered them to the SS, they received an award of extra rations for their own families. Occasionally, we heard that they turned in members of their own families. …
>
> I still have a picture in my mind's eye of a couple of those Jewish policemen. People were envious of their position, believing that they had a better chance of staying alive. They strutted around in their special uniforms, armed with rubber batons that they were urged to use, whether necessary or not. They were ordinary men from our midst, but the situation lifted them up and I recall people saying that any of them could be bribed with valuables so as not to reveal if they found someone in the wrong part of town. One of the grownups said, "Even at this horrible time, a diamond still has some value even if nothing else does."[736]

Accrording to another Jewish eyewtness, the police commader, Kalmam Fenichel, stole from rich Jews in the ghetto, searched for hideouts during *Aktions*, and pulled out Jews he found there. During the final

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[732] Testimony of Meir Shvimer in *Gorlice Book: The Building and Destruction of the Community,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/gorlice/gorlice.html>, translation of M.Y. Bar-On, ed., *Sefer Gorlice: Ha-kehila be-vinyana u-ve*-hurbana (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Gorlice and Vicinity in Israel, 1962), 249.

[733] Yoel Rappoport, "This Is How We Were Taken Captive Before the Enemy," in Bar-On, *Gorlice Book,* 271ff.

[734] Testimony of David Buksboym in Bar-On, *Gorlice Book,* 251.

[735] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 496–97.

[736] Molly Applebaum, *Buried Words: The Diary of Molly Applebaum* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017), 62.

liquidation of the ghetto, the remaining policemen "eagerly" pulled out Jews from their hideouts and delivered them to the Germans, who then executed them in the Jewish cemetery.[737]

German Jews enjoyed a particularly bad reputation as lackeys of the German authorities. They also did not like Poles and looked upon them condescendingly.[738] Conditions in Kielce have been described as follows:

> Along with the establishment of the ghetto, a unit of Jewish Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) of several dozen men was recruited. Most were refugees who had arrived from Austria and the areas annexed to the Reich. Bruno Schindler, a German Jew, was appointed as the police chief, and his deputy was Gustav Spiegel from Austria. The Jewish Police were subordinated to the Judenrat. However, in the case of Kielce, they received orders directly from the Schupo and felt protected by their authority. Most Jewish policemen regarded the native Jews of Kielce as *Ostjuden*—miserable Polish Jews. They did more than what was demanded of them, and the head of the Judenrat was unable to prevail over them. Within the ghetto they were regarded as corrupt opportunists who blackmailed money from the Jews. They lived a life of luxury, and the entire Jewish community feared them.
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> … By the beginning of 1942, the number of Judenrat employees had reached 4,000. They did not conceal the benefits they received from the other ghetto inhabitants. The entire ghetto knew that the Judenrat and the Jewish police were not lacking for anything, even as many were dying from starvation and disease. …
>
> Since Bruno Schindler, the commander of the Jewish Police, had been shot to death in the Third Aktion, his deputy, Gustav Spiegel, a Jew from Vienna and a bloodthirsty informer and collaborator, was put in charge of the Jews in the small ghetto, which was essentially turned into a work camp.[739]

> With the transition to the ghetto in April 1941, control over the Jewish police was assigned to the Schupo (Schutzpolizei)—part of the German Security Police—which selected eighty Jewish policemen, mostly from Jewish refugees from Vienna and Łódź, although some local Jews and refugees from other parts of Poland were also included. In early 1942, the number of Jewish policemen was increased to 120. Bruno Schindler, a German Jew who had arrived in Kielce from Łódź, was appointed chief of the Jewish police, and an Austrian refugee by the name of Gustav Spiegel was made his deputy. …
>
> Feeling protected by the authorities, the Jewish policemen took advantage of their position and, since most were refugees from Austria and Germany, they treated the Jews of Kielce as *Ostjuden*—wretched Polish Jews. From survivor testimonies we further know that, relative to the prevailing hunger and poverty in the ghetto, the Jewish police lived lives of luxury and profligacy and engaged in drinking bouts at the ghetto's restaurants and canteens. Some beat up lawbreakers, and going above and beyond the Germans' requirements. Policemen also were exempt from taxes,

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[737] Testimony of Awigdor Weit, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2020.

[738] See, for example, Drori and Grinboim, *Dina, Surviving Undercover,* chapter 2.

[739] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 238–39.

> received increased food rations, demanded and received bribes from Jews, and even extorted money. On the whole, they were perceived throughout the ghetto as corrupt, and the entire Jewish public feared them and regarded them as an integral part of the German authorities in charge of the ghetto. Levy, head of the Judenrat, was unable to restrain the Jewish police, and it seems he made no effort to rid it of corruption.[740]

The Kielce memorial book mentions Johann Spiegel, an expellee from Düsseldorf, as well as other ghetto policemen such as Proszowski, Białobroda, Strawczinski, who "harassed the Jewish population very much and their behavior was like that of the Nazis themselves."[741] According to another source,

> To ensure that their orders and decrees were fulfilled exactly, the Nazi authorities set up a Jewish council in the ghetto with a Jewish police alongside it, who had to ensure that the entire Jewish population followed every decree and command. Thus, for example, a command was given to hand over hundreds of strong young men, suitable for backbreaking work for forced labor. The council with the aid of the police fulfilled this command precisely. …
>
> The Ukrainian guards, the Gestapo and several of the Jewish police, who had been recruited from the underworld joined forces to wreak havoc on the inhabitants of the ghetto.[742]

Two young men who were among the first to be deported to the Treblinka death camp managed to escape, made their way back to Kielce, and spread stories about what they had seen in the camp. The reaction was swift:

> A certain Spiegel, a German Jew who was the *Älteste* of the Jewish police in the Kielce Ghetto, expelled these two young escapees from Treblinka out of the ghetto, saying that they were spreading panic among the Jews of Kielce.[743]

As in many other cities, the round-up and deportation of the Jewish population of Kielce proceeded smoothly with the Jewish authorities (Jewish council) and police performing the bulk of the tasks under German supervision. The Germans also employed Ukrainian policemen; the local Polish police did not take part.

During the deportation in Kalisz, on November 30, 1941, the Judenrat ordered the Jews to assemble in front of the synagogue where they selected 600 Jews, mostly the infirm, the elderly and children. One of the members of the Judenrat by the name of Haftke searched out Jews who had hidden, but allowed some

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[740] Sara Bender, "Similarity and Differences: A Comparative Study between the Ghettos in Białystok and Kielce," in Goda, *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust,* 81–82.

[741] Pinchas Cytron (Zitron), ed., *Sefer Kielce: Toldot Kehilat Kielce. Miyom Hivsuduh V'ad Churbanah* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kielce in Israel, 1957), 240; translated as *Book of Kielce: History of the Community of Kielce. From Its Founding Until Its Destruction*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kielce/kielce.html>.

[742] Cytron (Zitron), *Sefer Kielce,* 239, 240; translated as *Book of Kielce: History of the Community of Kielce. From Its Founding Until Its Destruction*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kielce/kielce.html>.

[743] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 123.

of them to go free upon payment of a bribe.[744] In Chrzanów, "Although their living conditions were better than those of the native Jews, later on many of these German Jews caused trouble. Unfortunately among them there were traitors who ruined many families."[745] In Tyszowce, near Hrubieszów, after the expulsion, the Germans appointed a new leader of the Judenrat named Markus Fischleiber, a German Jew. Fischleiber required Jews who evaded deportation and returned to the ghetto to pay an exorbitant fee to legitimize their residence. Some days later, the SS raided the ghetto and shot some 47 to 60 still unregistered ghetto residents.[746]

In Parczew,

> Then a new figure arrived on the scene: Rudi Kresh [Kreusch], a German Jew in his mid-thirties, who dressed like a German, always in a long leather coat. … Somehow, he became an intermediary between the Gestapo, or the local gendarmerie, and the *Judenrat.* His way of communicating with the *Judenrat* was official, German-like.[747]

According to Home Army reports, Rudi (Chaim) Kreusch was a Gestapo confidant who was permitted to live outside the ghetto. He played an active role in liquidating the ghetto in Parczew and amassed Jewish valuables by way of the ghetto police. He created a network of Jewish confidants who were dispatched to the forest to join Polish and Jewish partisan groups and then relay information about their activities back to Kreusch. The Home Army liquidated him in November 1943.[748] Another resident of Parczew recalled that a young Jewish man, who was often seen in the company of German SS-men, informed them that his father (Pinhas Wunderbojm) was concealing merchandise in his home. His father was arrested and then released on a bribe of 50 gold rubles, which was negotiated by the young Jew.[749]

Corruption, favouritism, and servility flourished in ghettos. Jekuthiel Zwillich provides the following description of conditions in the ghetto in Zamość in the Lublin district:

> … it was possible to buy everything in the ghetto in the *Neustadt*—but understand, at exorbitant prices. In the ghetto there was a woman named Goldhammer. This was the wife of that Goldhammer who initially was the 'liaison' with the Gestapo, and whom the Gestapo subsequently

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[744] Aleksander Pakentreger, "Losy Żydów m. Kalisza i powiatu Kaliskiego w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej (od 1940 do 9 VII 1942: Martyrologia i zagłada," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* nos. 2–3 (1980): 114 – 15.

[745] Mordechai Bochner, ed., *Sefer Chrzanow: Lebn un umkum fun a yidish shtetl* (Roslyn Harbor, New York: Solomon Gross, 1989), 1ff., translated (by Jonathan Boyarin) as *Chrzanow: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Shtetl,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Chrazanow/Chrzanow.html>.

[746] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 721.

[747] Mandelkern, *Escape from the Nazis,* 41–42.

[748] Czesław Bardzik, "Rejon II Obwodu AK Radzyń Podlaski (Placóka Parczew)," in Tomasz Strzembosz, ed., *Armia Krajowa na środkowej i południowej Lubelszczyźnie i Podlasiu: Materiały sesji naukowej KUL, 24–25 IX 1985 r.* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1993), 375–76.

[749] Testimony of Adam Winder, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, August 15, 1995, Interview Code 5517.

shot. She had a restaurant in her house. It was possible to obtain the best of everything there; fried and roasted meat; fish and a variety of beverages. The members of the Judenrat would come to her, and other 'Big Shots' with their loved ones. Each of these people had their own 'food servant' (the title was appropriate). The wildest orgies took place in her house. … the *Judenrat* would often conduct its sessions in her restaurant.

In Zamość, there was a family from Krakow [Kraków], a mother with two daughters and one son. They were named Lieberman. One of the daughters was the 'friend' of Memek Garfinkel. The city referred to her as 'The Blonde Beast.' She had a considerable influence with the *Judenrat.* If someone wanted a favor, or couldn't get something dome by ordinary [sic: legal] means, they would go to her at home, and she already got it arranged. Understand though, that one had to pay quite well for this. …

The mission of the police was to collect the monthly payment from the populace, who had not turned it in by themselves to the *Judenrat.* …

The *Judenrat* represented that it is strictly forbidden for people to gather in one house in the *Neustadt.* However, in the ghetto, no great mind was paid to this order. Jews would come together and pray in a congregation. So the police would come, and detain the Jews, and it was then necessary to pay a fine. …

Lejzor Schultz, and a certain Blonde Jonah, from the 'Hayfl' had the reputation in the ghetto of being informers. …

Czech Jews were brought to Zamość. All of the Czech Jews looked well. All were dressed well … these newcomers held themselves at a distance from the Zamość Jews, it didn't displease them that they had been brought to Zamość, but rather why was it that they had been mixed in together with Polish Jews … they were assimilated Jews—we called them *Jaeckes.* Many went to church on Sunday to pray. They were settled in the houses of Jews, that had undergone 'evacuation.' A number of them immediately became policemen for the *Judenrat.* …

On May 17, 1942, a notice appeared at the *Judenrat* in German and Polish: 'To all older people' and the names were listed. Within 2 days, those listed were required to present themselves at the *Judenrat* with the purpose of being forcibly taken from Zamość. …

The Jewish police went around during the day, and night, and looked for older Jews, which were on their list for 'evacuation' and wherever they did not find these people, they arrested the children. …

However, the *Judenrat* and the police applied themselves vigorously to find my parents, and they gave one of our neighbors a bribe to disclose the hideout. Police came, and indeed, did discover my hidden parents. The joy of the *Judenrat* knew no bounds.

As in the case of the neighboring villages, the Jewish police took a rather significant role in the 'evacuation' in Izbica, which consisted mostly of Czech Jews. They conducted their work with German punctiliousness. They took a direct part in driving and shouting at the Jews, that they should get into the wagons more quickly. A few minutes, however, before the wagons were locked, the Gestapo man Engels ordered the police that they should also get into the wagons.[750]

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[750] Jekuthiel Zwillich, "The Extermination of the Jews of Zamość," in Mordechai V. Bernstein, ed., *The Zamosc Memorial Book: A Memorial Book of a Center of Jewish Life Destroyed by the Nazis* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2004), 559–70. See also Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 736, 737.

Additional reports on the various *Aktions* in Zamość state:

On Saturday April 11, 1942 at 2 P.M., German units surrounded the whole New Town. …

The concentration of the [Jewish] population in the square was the task of the Judenrat and the members of the Ordnungsdienst, the Jewish police. If the orders were not carried out by the prescribed time, German units would go into action. According to Jewish testimonies, at the first stage of the evacuation small groups of the Judenrat and the Jewish police (OD.) went through the ghetto and announced to any Jews they met to come to the square for classification. The police warned the Jews that if they did not go of their own free will, the Gestapo would go into action and would shoot any Jews they found outside the square. To calm the people and get them to come to the square, the Jewish policemen promised that are after a checking of their documents, all the "productive" [those employed] would be free to return home. The number required for evacuation was ready only at 5 P.M., but already at the time mentioned by Schubert [4 P.M.] German units went into action. They went from house to house and dragged to the square those who had not obeyed the call by the Judenrat and Ordningsdienst. While doing so, many old and disabled people were murdered on the spot …

Before the second aktcia [*Aktion*] of evacuation from the Zamość ghetto, the Germans made sudden arrests, "lapankas" [łapankas], to catch all those not working, or the old or disabled. According to J. Cwilich, on May 17, 1942, they hung on the walls of the ghetto announcements in Polish and German, signed by the Judenrat, addressed to the old population, demanding that all the people whose names appeared on the poster report within two days at the Judenrat office, to be evacuated from Zamość. They were all to take with them warm clothes and food for three days. Those who refused would be subjected to collective punishment—their families would be evacuated. Zamość Jews were furious in the wake of this announcement.

In spite of "the explanations" by members of the Judenrat that "if the old people are not evacuated, all of us will be", the families of those old people, whose names appeared on the list, began to prepare hiding places for them. As a result, at the end of the time mentioned, only a few of the old people reported at the Judenrat, those without families.

The Judenrat members, not satisfied by the low turnout, started to look for "the evaders" with the help of the Jewish police. If they did not find the old people at the addresses mentioned, they arrested their children and tried using all means to get information from them about their parents' hiding places. The old people they caught were put in the ghetto prison, called "koza". Thus the Judenrat adopted the methods used by the Germans.

The policemen who stood out in their cruelty and "extreme diligence" and will be remembered eternally in disgrace were the following:

Szmul Feldsztajn
Stach Flajszman
Abram Arct
Lejzor Szulc
and the member of the Judenrat, Szlomo Cibele (Blumsztajn).

The second evacuation began in Zamość on Friday, during the Shavuot Festival, on May 24, 1942. Unlike the first evacuation, this one was carried out by the civilian groups Landratura

> [Landratsamt] and Arbeitsamt. The aktcia started early in the morning, at 4 A.M. The ghetto was surrounded by units of the military police, policemen and SD. The ghetto was searched thoroughly by a "Czech" Jewish unit (composed of Jews brought from Bohemia), who also cooperated with the Germans, and were brought in especially on that day from Izbice. The people who were caught were concentrated in the Nowy Rink [Rynek] next to the Judenrat office.[751]

Lejzor Rochman, a fugitive from Warsaw, recalled how he was pursued by Jewish officials in Zamość, namely, Glatt, Szulem Cybełe, Szeps and the policeman Schulz (Szulc). Afer his arrest, Rochman was sent to the nearby Luftwaffe work camp where he encountered its brutal Jewish headmen: Meisner and another Jew called "negus".[752]

Salomon Podchlebnik, a survivor of Sobibór, described the head of the Jewish council in Izbica, Abram Blatt, as being more efficient than the SS-men in carrying out the round-up of Jews for deportation to Sobibór.[753] Jewish policeman and council members often exacted exorbitant amounts for special favours:

> In Izbica, there was a Jewish policeman who for 1000 zlotys, in the course of 2 days made an Aryan passport with a photograph. …
>
> For such dwellings, one had to pay a goodly sum of money. A Zamość baker lived in Izbica, Sholom Hantwerker, who was a member of the Izbica *Judenrat,* and it was he who allocated dwellings. For a good house, he took between 500 and 1000 zlotys.[754]

Open conflict broke out between the Polish Jews in the Izbica transit ghetto and the Jews who were transported there from other countries. The latter, who were mostly culturally assimilated and affluent Jews from Bohemia and Germany, felt superior to the primitive and "dirty" Polish Jews, who were relgious and poor. The open animosity between these two groups was exploited by the Germans, who encouraged this state of affairs by setting up separate councils and police forces for the two groups and allegedly favoured the non-Polish Jews. "During the course of the various Aktions the non-Polish Jewish policemen arrested Polish Jews, and vice versa."[755] Non-Polish Jews also betrayed the hiding places of Polish Jews.[756] In addition to their own forces, the Germans relied on Jewish-Czech policemen from Izbica and Komarów to

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751 Adam Kopciowski, "The Extermination of Zamość Jews and their Resistance," Internet: <http://zamosc-jews.com/wb/pages/en/holocaust/extermination-and-resistance-of-zamosc-jews.php>.

752 Testimony of Lejzor Rochman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4605.

753 Testimony of Salomon Podchlebnik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 10.

754 Jekuthiel Zwillich, "The Extermination of the Jews of Zamość," in Bernstein, ed., *The Zamosc Memorial Book,* 570.

755 Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 641.

756 On the conflict in the Izbica transit camp see Robert Kuwałek, "Zagłada sztetl: Zydzi w Izbica pod okupacją nazistowską," in Weronika Litwin, Monika Szabłowska-Zaremba, and Sławomir Jacek Żurek, eds., *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie: Historia—kultura—literatura* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, 2012), 255–77, here at 273; Jakub Chmielewski, "Izbica jak przykład getta tranzytowego (1942–1943)," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów,* no. 2 (2012): 191–206, here at 203–4.

search for Jewish fugitives and carry out deportations in surrounding towns and villages such as Krasnystaw, Tyszowce, and Krasnobród.[757]

Gary Keins describes how German Jews who had been deported to Zamość and the nearby town of Izbica looked down on the poorer Polish Jews, took advantage of them and even betrayed them to the Germans: "The small-town ghettos now became overcrowded and the newcomers forced the remaining native Jews out of their shacks; talked deprecatingly about the 'filth' in those Polish Jewish shanties. I found their behavior, sorry to say, despicable. … Some of them even pointed out hidden Jews to the Nazis."[758] Jewish ghetto police would hand over to the Germans non-local Jews who managed to sneak into the ghettos. Shlomo Kandlik from Brześć, who served in the Polish army, escaped from a prison camp near Berlin and smuggled himself into the Zamość ghetto. "He was recognized as a stranger by the Jewish ghetto police who handed him over to the Germans. They sent him to Lublin. From there together with other Polish prisoners they were sent to Majdanek …"[759] Another time, Jews who had returned to Zamość from Lwów were seized. The Jewish police "seized 18 Jews, brought them to the offices of the Judenrat, who immediately handed them over to the Gestapo. They were then taken outside the town and shot."[760]

In Bielsk Podlaski,

> A Jewish police force was founded, headed by a contemptible individual from Orla …If I had been told that such vile beasts, capable of losing all vestige of humanity, existed among the Jewish people, I would not have believed it. … They revealed secrets, endangering the very lives of their fellow Jews …
>
> The police dragged people physically to forced labor. Sometimes they added the old and the weak to the work details, despite the fact that these people had not been designated by the Judenrat. …
>
> I shall never forget the most despicable act these irresponsible police committed. … when the Russians fled the town they left, in their great haste, storehouses filled with merchandise and foodstuffs. The Jews took from these storehouses various items for the hard times … Upon moving to the Ghetto we attempted to bring as much as we could of these abandoned supplies. … So what did these 'police' do? Somehow they found out about the goods, and immediately they squealed to the Germans. …
>
> [A Polish woman assisted in securing the escape of three Jewish prisoners of war.] The three young men were concealed by their families, until the fact was discovered by the "Drovitchin boys" [Jewish police from Drohiczyn], who squealed to the Germans. … the three young men were held

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[757] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 651, 663, 721; Robert Kuwałek, "Zagłada sztetl: Żydzi w Izbicy pod okupacją nazistowską," in Litwin, Szabłowska-Zaremba, and Żurek, *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie,* 274 n.64; Testimony of Berko Finger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2985 (Tyszowce). The Judenrat in Tyszowce demanded large payments from Jews who avoided the first deportation to be properly registered and allowed to remain in the ghetto.

[758] Keins, *A Journey Through the Valley of Perdition,* 130–31.

[759] S. Winograd," "The Days of Destruction," in E. Steinman, ed., *Brisk de-Lita* (Jerusalem: The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 1958), vol. 2, 575ff., translated as *Brest Lit(owsk),* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Brest2/Brest2.html>.

[760] "Zamosc," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 7, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00203.html>, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 7, 203–12.

in the Bielsk jail and forced to work as grave diggers. … When the three had finished their task, they too were shot by the Germans.

… Someone informed on Shlomo Epstein and another Jew whom I had taught something of the trade … I don't mention his name for personal reasons. A similar case was that of Aron Glachinsky whom we had all liked and had taken in to live with us.[761]

In Rzeszów,

Living conditions were horrible. … But worst of all were the Jewish police. They were to be dreaded more than the Germans. Markuse, the Commander of the Jewish police, and Hirshborn, the second in command, were two of the most brutal murderers in the world. Their hands were covered with the blood of many Jews. It was as if they had to outdo the Gestapo in bestiality if they wanted to stay alive. …

Other Jewish policemen arrived … They grabbed me. I knew that anyone who got into the hands of the Jewish police, whether guilty or not, was severely beaten …

During my incarceration a lad of about eighteen years of age, Isaac Silver, came to me and told me that I would not live much longer. Later on I learned that Silver was a Gestapo informer. His visit seemed to portend the last hour of my life.

In the meantime, I was beaten continually, day after day. The climax came when an officer named Repun struck me so violently with a hose that I passed out. I lay on the ground as though dead. …

I barely survived one dangerous situation before another one appeared. An eighteen-year-old boy by the name of Eisenberg was caught by the Gestapo in Krosno. The Gestapo promised not to harm him in exchange for information concerning other Jews who were in hiding.

He told the Gestapo that I, Jakob Breitowicz, had sent my wife with false papers to Germany. He also said that I had papers permitting me to leave and that I was now in the Reishof [Rzeszów] Ghetto.

The Gestapo men immediately came to the ghetto and contacted the Jewish police. Luckily, I had one friend, Weisenfeld, on the Jewish police force, and he warned me about what had happened. I didn't waste a moment. I climbed over the fence and fled into the west side of the ghetto. …

One day while I was at work stacking furniture, a Jewish policeman named Med caught me smoking a cigarette. He took me to see Szupke, the Commander of the Gestapo. I was told to empty my pockets. I took out cigarettes among other things. Szupke told Med to take me back to the Jewish police, who were to hold me until the Gestapo decided what my punishment would be. Med suggested that they would be better off getting rid of me because I was a trouble maker and detrimental to the morale of others. But Szupke said that the Gestapo would be the ones to determine my fate and told Med to take me away.

The night in the police station was pure hell, full of pain and terror. At 11:00 p.m. they stopped beating me and let the chief's dog into the area where I was held. They left me alone with the dog.[762]

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[761] Meir Peker, "In the Bielsk Ghetto & Camps," in Haim Rabin, ed. *Bielsk-Podliask: Book in the Holy Memory of the Bielsk Podliask Jews Whose Lives Were Taken During the Holocaust Between 1939 and 1941* (Tel Aviv: Bielsk Immigrants' Association of Israel and the United States of America, 1975), 29–30, 33.

[762] Jakob Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life* (New York: Shengold, 1983), 43, 45–46, 48, 60.

A witness reports that in the Brańsk ghetto, "the more the Council raised the taxes, the more the Jewish police carried out confiscations of the last pieces of bedding, clothing, and whatever else they were able to lay their hands on." A group of ghetto policemen in Łuków, headed by their commandant, "denounced the Jews and whipped them, thus assisting the Gestapo in forcing the Jews to surrender gold. Each new oppression became a source of income for them. They became very rich in partnership with the Germans."[763] Another account from Łuków states:

> In June 1942 were taken 42 Jews in the night from their houses according to the list prepared by the Jewish police, brought out of the town and murdered. Part of them were Jews caught playing cards and part Jews, who returned from the Soviet zone.[764]

A Jewish account states that two Jews agreed to betray Jewish hideouts during the liquidation of the ghetto in Adamów, near Łuków.[765]

Of the Jewish police in Głębokie, one observer writes: "Who could better accomplish the looting of Jewish wealth, either willingly or by force, than Jews themselves? Who could know better than other Jews where Jewish treasures were hidden?" After carrying out German instructions to strip the Jews of their wealth, the ghetto police then proceeded to meet German quotas by rounding up and handing over Jews as required until the ghetto was virtually empty. "While assembling Jews for forced labor, or when carrying out changes in homes, the police learned from their German masters, they would quite often beat Jews." During the final stages of the liquidation, they scoured the ghetto and dragged Jews out of their hideouts.

A similar role was played by the Jewish police in Niemirów,[766] and in many other towns. An account from Przemyślany reads:

> With this "action" the Jewish militia participated actively for the first time, breaking into hiding places, seizing children, young people, women, and old men in the streets. For thousands of złoty and for dollars they saved certain people. In this respect, they were not better or worse than many Germans, who for a bottle of vodka or a can of sardines spared one's life. They [Jewish militia] were just somewhat cheaper.[767]

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[763] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 502.

[764] Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today,* volume II: *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 2007), 187.

[765] Testimony of Rubin Rosenberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 639.

M. and Z. Rajak, *Memorial Book of Gluboke* (Canton, New York, 1994), 40, 77; translation of *Khurbn Glubok… Koziany* (Buenos Aires: Former Residents' Association in Argentina, 1956), 71.

[766] Sandra Brand, *I Dared To Live* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1978), 50.

[767] Wendy Lower, *The Diary of Samuel Golfard and the Holocaust in Galicia* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press/ Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 55.

In many rural localities, the Jewish police was employed to round up Jews working in the countryside and bring them to town for deportation to the camps.

> At the beginning of November 1942, Jewish militia men went to all the villages near Hrubieszów, and also to the small towns, in which Jews still remained, with an order to the *wójt* [village mayor] and the mayor, that all Jews must appear … in Hrubieszów. In fact, all of them appeared.[768]

In Brześć nad Bugiem (Brest), "conditions in the Brześć ghetto were very disadvantageous because the Jewish police eagerly cooperated with the Germans. There were constant denunciations to the Gestapo."[769] The existence of the two Jewish underground organizations abruptly came to an end on the night before the liquidation *Aktion,* when the Gestapo, which was informed of all developments in the ghetto, arrested many of their members.[770] Not only did traitors and spies plague the ghetto in Brześć, but also no Germans were required to hold the gates: "Jewish police shared watch over the gates with Ukrainian collaborators. … The Germans could rely on Ukrainian and Jewish policemen to aid them in starving out the Jewish population."[771] A Jew from Warsaw assisted the Germans in capturing Jews outside the ghetto and turning them over to the Gestapo.[772] During the liquidation of the ghetto in October 1942, the Germans, probably tipped off by informers, surrounded the hiding place of the printing press and radio and blew them up, along with the people there.[773]

In Kamień Koszyrski in Polesia, "the Germans set up a new Ukrainian police watch, which included a Jew. … Even more distressing was the discovery that there were traitors in our midst, who reported to the Germans on events in the ghetto."[774] In Krzemieniec,

> Two of the Jewish policemen acted as German agents: Bronfeld, a Czech Jew (who later became Judenrat chairman), and a Jew from Łódź, Itsi Diamant. Diamant was connected to an international band of thieves and swindlers. He was shot when diamonds were discovered in his house.[775]

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[768] Testimony of Motel Kaufman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2182.

[769] Testimony of Towia Grol, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2614, cited in Regina Grol, *Saving the Tremors of Past Lives: A Cross-Generational Holocaust Memoir* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014), 120, and in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 110. See also the testimony of Masza Groll, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2151. Masza Groll describes the betrayal of a Jew from Warsaw who came to organize the underground, as well as other betrayals by Jews.

[770] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1339.

[771] Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust,* 154.

[772] Ajzensztajn, *Ruch podziemny w ghettach i obozach,* 89.

[773] "Brest," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 5, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol5_00226.html>, translation of Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), 226–37.

[774] Shlomo Kogan, "The Long Walk," in Leo W. Schwarz, ed., *The Root and the Bough: The Epic of an Enduring People* (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, 1949), 101, 106.

[775] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1396.

In Lublin, "The SS was looking for returnees from Russia. The Judenrat informed the SS about any such arrival."[776] A young Jewish woman who worked as a nurse in a Jewish hospital in Lublin realized that its director, Dr. Salomon Bromberg, soon became an agent for the Gestapo; when the SS arrived for an inspection of the premises, they were readily able to identify specific items that the staff had hidden away.[777] The head of the Jewish Hospital at Czyste in the Warsaw ghetto decried "the intrigues, the informing" and "the atmosphere of intrigues and denunciations by anonymous informers," while "stressing that such qualities could never be met with in the Polish medical world."[778]

Two brothers who returned to Międzyrzec Podlaski after escaping from Treblinka were turned over to the Germans by the head of the Jewish Council.

> Cienki Brothers. Two brothers from Międzyrzec Podlaski, Poland. They were deported from there to Treblinka during the second Aktion which took place on October 6-9, 1942, together with about 7,000 other Jews from Międzyrzec and the surrounding area. They managed to escape from the camp and returned to Międzyrzec Podlaski where they informed the Jewish Council (Judenrat) about Treblinka and the fate of the deportees. The chairman of the Jewish Council, Klarberg, informed the Germans about the two escapees who were arrested and shot by the Gestapo. Because some of the Jews from Międzyrzec Podlaski had heard the accounts by the brothers, some of them decided to jump from the trains during the course of the following deportations.[779]

Sometimes, the role of informer, confidant, and agent merged with that of ghetto functionary and policeman, as exemplified in Międzyrzec Podlaski, where there was no shortage of people ready to step in to fill positions of power and to abuse their power.

> In December 1939 was established in Międzyrzec Podlaski *Judenrat* composed of 24 members, at the head of which stood the apothecary Klarberg, former revisionist leader, who received from the Germans many favors … Many Jews saw him as German collaborator, and informer. According to survivors, also the Jewish police was known from their collaboration with the Germans. …
>
> There were attempts to organize an underground cell in Międzyrzec Podlaski … The members of the group decided first to acquire arms, and only later to escape to the forest, but the two leaders of the cell were denounced and arrested in October 1942, and the whole organization disintegrated. Several members decided to join a group of Jewish partisans who acted in the neighboring forest, but the Jewish police also denounced them.[780]

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[776] Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 112.

[777] Krystyna Modrzewska, "Pamiętnik z okresu okupacji," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* no. 31 (1959): 60, 63.

[778] Marian Małowist, "Assimilationists and Neophytes at the Time of War-Operations and in the Closed Jewish Ghetto," in Kermish, *To Live With Honor and Die With Honor!…,* 630. See also Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto,* 95.

[779] Chris Webb and Michal Chocholatý, *The Treblinka Death Camp: History, Biographies, Remembrance* (Stuttgart: ibidem, 2014), 234.

[780] Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today,* volume II: *District Lublin,* 198, 200.

Germans had spies everywhere. … Lazar was a furrier by trade, working in a factory making coats. In fact, he had ten to fifteen men working for him who would break into shops and warehouses, then steal furs, pelts, bristles, and anything else of value. They would either sell their booty on the black market or ransom it back to its original owner. Lazar also ran a protection racket, making sure police didn't bother people who were running a business without a license. He suited the Germans' purpose perfectly. They had sought him out to make him head of the Jewish Council because he was the local underworld king … But if Lazar hadn't done the job, somebody else would have. …

Lazar was particularly useful to the Gestapo … Lazar would tell them whatever they wanted to know: who had a lot of money, who worked in the government, who was politically active. He would pinpoint who was part of the intelligentsia: teachers, doctors, lawyers, rich manufacturers, politicians. In short, anybody who was wealthy or prominent. To the Germans, these people were particularly suspect. Lazar also would tell who belonged to Zionist or Communist organizations.

… the Germans formed a Jewish police squad. The ones who joined were in their late teens and early twenties. They all were from rich homes, so they were accepted because their parents had enough money to bribe the Germans. … The Jewish police turned out to be worse than I imagined. Lazar was in charge of them as well, and he made sure they did the Germans' bidding. In fact, the Jewish police later became spies for the Germans, turning in many people who were going into hiding. …

Despite our precautions, the Jewish police came to our house a couple of times and carted away new clothes, coats, furs, a half dozen pairs of my father's new shoes. The Jewish police lived among us. They knew what we had and where we had it. If they hadn't known, a snitch likely had told them. …

[Lazar] now occasionally would extort money from people by threatening to have them sent to the camps unless they paid him.[781]

A new chief [of the Jewish], Srulejski, was installed by the Gestapo. He was a tall, strong, handsome man in his mid-thirties, a native of Miedzyrzec [Międzyrzec], who as a young boy had been arrested for petty theft. He stole from the peasants anything he could get his hands on. His criminal record was known to the Polish police and subsequently to the Gestapo.

Srulejski was a shameless tool of the Germans, one of their collaborators. He recruited agents from the underworld to spy on people. It was no surprise when the Germans made him leader of the Jewish police. The Gestapo, however, harboured a certain distrust toward the man. …

The following Saturday at noon they [the Gestapo] brought him, shackled, into the ghetto. There was talk that when the homes of the deported Jews had been abandoned, he had rummaged through them to plunder the valuables. The Gestapo took him to the yard where he resided, and ordered him to show them where he had buried the gold and jewellery which he had amassed. They took the valuables for themselves and led him back to jail.

As chief of police Srulejski had become influential and bold. He went out with an educated woman named Hela Rubinstein. Hers was one of the most respected and wealthy families in pre-war Miedzyrzec. After he became police chief, somehow his affair with Hela became known to his

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[781] Joe Rosenblum with David Kohn, *Defy the Darkness: A Tale of Courage in the Shadow of Mengele* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Praeger, 2001), 18–29, 108.

wife, an attractive woman from the same background as he was. She sought revenge by betraying him to the Gestapo. …

A week later, on a Friday, two Gestapo agents, Dieter and Bock, brought him into the ghetto once again. Srulejski knew that the Gestapo had him trapped. But he was aware that they were looking for the employment officer, Mr. Finkelstein. Hoping to regain some of his lost influence, he directed the Gestapo to a wall in the house where Finkelstein was hiding. While they were breaking down the wall, Srulejski inconspicuously slipped away. The Gestapo searched, but could not find him. However, Mr. Finkelstein was taken away and never seen again. Soon the news spread through the ghetto that Srulejski had escaped. The Gestapo issued an ultimatum that unless Srulejski was brought forth, five hundred people would be shot. That caused great panic. The Jewish police announced that whoever knew the whereabouts of Srulejski must report it immediately.

The next day a woman revealed that Srulejski was hiding in her attic. … Hauled down, he was shot by the Gestapo.

On a Saturday evening several weeks later a Jewish policeman named Goldman was shot in the back while walking to the store across from the Jewish police station. The people in the ghetto fell into an uproar. The shooting added to our horror because it indicated to the Gestapo that there were weapons in the ghetto. It was rumoured that Goldman was a traitor and that someone had shot him in revenge.[782]

In Jan. 1946 [Szymon Tob] stood trial in the district court for collaborating with the Germans in the ghetto of Międzyrzec Podlaski in the Siedlce district. According to eyewitnesses, he denounced his fellow Jews to the Gestapo and participated in the liquidation of the ghetto, leading [German] gendarmes to Jewish hideouts.[783]

Jews in small towns, especially those who ventured out of the ghetto, knew that the Jewish police and informers would soon be on their trail. As the following accounts show, it was above all fellow Jews whom they feared. The diary entries of a 13-year-old Jewish boy from Bodzentyn, a small town in the Kielce region, record the following experiences:

[May 10, 1942] The Jewish police has received the order that 50 men are still required. Immediately on receiving the order, they began picking people up. …

[May 11] The Jewish police have also been picking up people today. I stayed almost the whole day at a Polish boy's house, I was frightened of staying at home.

[May 12] During the night the Jewish police were in our yard. They were looking for our cousins, but they weren't there.[784]

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[782] Gitel Donath, *My Bones Don't Rest in Auschwitz: A Lonely Battle to Survive German Tyranny* (Montreal: Kaplan Publishing, 1999), 115–17.

[783] Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 139, n.56.

[784] *The Diary of Dawid Rubinowicz* (Edmonds, Washington: Creative Options, 1982), 73, 75.

The Jewish police in Bodzentyn also assisted the Germans in carrying out searches insode the ghetto, and during the liquidation of the ghetto in September 1942, helped the German gendarmes to chase some 3,000 Jews to the place from which they were deported.[785] Historians have described the attitude of the Bodzentyn Judenrat towards the 600 Jews deported there from the town of Płock as "reprehensible."[786]

A Jewish woman describes conditions in Raków, near Staszów. In defiance of regulations, she remained outside the ghetto living with Poles and was relentlessly pursued by Jews:

> At that time the head of the Judenrat in Rakow [Raków] was Zielony. Not one person in the village could stand this Jew. His actions irritated everybody. He was feared more that [sic] the agents of the S.S.
>
> Many German Jewish refugees who were cruelly driven from their homes arrived at this village. Zielony used to treat them very rudely and impose upon them all sorts of taxes and payments … those who could not ransom themselves through bribery and could not withstand the load of the various taxes, were forced to appease him with their daughters in order that he could satisfy his lust through his continual debaucheries. …
>
> … [Zielony] said that if he saw me one more time without an armband on my sleeve, he would order my arrest, for he was in charge of everybody there. …
>
> At that time I moved from Forysiowa's house to that of Zacharski … All the residents of the village, old and young, Jews and Poles, praised me for my courage and for the caustic words that I said to Zielony. …
>
> I believe that it was in the middle of 1942. One day a big roundup took place … Precisely then I arrived at Rakow. …
>
> Stach Zacharski and his wife came up to me, frightened, and said that they had heard from reliable sources that Zielony intended to have his revenge upon me now. They asked me to dress like a farm woman and to go to the field and pretend to be working. I was about to do this, but at that point some of my friends arrived and forcefully took me and hid me in a safe place. …
>
> Meanwhile, Zielony declared that whoever caught me would be rewarded, and the family that turned me over would be saved from the roundup. The Zacharskis were in despair. … My companions and I succeeded in finding a hiding place …
>
> Suddenly, a girl unfamiliar to us arrived and was surprised to see us. She was sent by Zielony to look for us … At that moment Jewish police arrived on the run with members of the S.S … Meanwhile another member of our group, Krysztal, was caught, and both of us were brought to the synagogue, which served as a collection point for those who were captured. … the two of us were led through the village like two criminals. I marched in front, with an S.S. man on each side, Jewish policemen behind me, and in the back of them came Krysztal, escorted by two S.S. men, and finally, Jewish policemen together with S.S. men. They brought me to the synagogue … [This woman managed to escape from the synagogue.]

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[785] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 203.

[786] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 202.

> After three days I returned to Rakow, to Forysiowa, for she lived practically at the edge of the village … On the second day at dusk I went to Zacharski … He told me that all the people of the village took an interest in my fate … In Zacharski's house I felt at home.
>
> Suddenly … a knock on the door was heard. Zacharski's daughter opened the door, and in the doorway there were two Jewish policemen. … Mr. Zacharski asked them the purpose of their visit, and they replied that Mr. Zielony wanted me to appear at his office. Zacharski told them that I was sick and if I was so vital to Mr. Zielony he could bother himself to come and see me. Having thus spoken, he slammed the door in their faces. Fifteen minutes had barely passed when three policemen arrived, and this time asked that I accompany them to the chairman of the Jewish community. Hearing this, Zacharski snatched an axe and threatened to kill them if they did not immediately get out. I, fearing big trouble, calmed Mr. Zacharski down and asked him to let me go with them, since there was nothing to fear now that the Germans had gone …
>
> With considerable effort I persuaded Mr. Zacharski that my reasoning was sound, and he let me go with the policemen on the condition that they would be responsible for me and my well-being, and if, God forbid, even one hair of mine were touched, he would take revenge upon them and slaughter them like pigs in cold blood. Of course he did not trust them and their promises and accompanied us. … After all of this I returned to the Ghetto exhausted …[787]

The Germans relied on Jews to fulfill various functions, both official and unofficial, as the following diary of a resident of the Staszów ghetto shows:

> At about noon on the same Saturday [November 7, 1942], a Jew arrived in Staszow [Staszów] from Ostroviec [Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski]. His name was Abraham Itshe Kerbel. He was accompanied by a German S.S. man, and offered to take Jews on to work at the Bodzichow [Bodzechów] labour camp near Ostroviec for the payment of a thousand zlotys [złoty] each.
>
> Jews paid the sum demanded in the hope of saving themselves, although the entire transaction was afterwards found to be a miserable swindle.
>
> While we were in the shop we learnt that at 2 a.m. [on November 8, 1942] a number of the Polish intellectuals like Dr. Koslowski [Czesław Kozłowski] and Dr. Lemiescewski [Witold Lemieszewski] had been arrested and handed over to be guarded by the Jewish police.
>
> [After the deportation of the Jews, a search of the houses in the ghetto began, and anyone found hiding was shot on the spot]: For this purpose they [the Germans] took the Jewish police with them when they went looking for all the remaining Jews.[788]

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[787] Rachel (Roza) Majerfeld, *Nightmare Days* (Tel Aviv: I.L. Peretz, 1988), 25–31.

[788] Joseph Goldstein, "Extracts from a Ghetto Diary," in *The Staszów Book,* Internet: <http:www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/staszow/staszow.html>, translated from Elhanan Erlich, ed., *Sefer Staszow* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Staszów in Israel and in the Diaspora, 1962), xxv ff. These prejudicial references are nowhere to be found in Sara Bender's detailed study of Staszów, although its primary focus is Goldstein's diary. See Sara Bender, "The Jews of Staszów, 1939–1943: History Through a Diarist's Eyes: A comparative Discussion," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 43, no. 1 (2015): 133–69. Another testimony states that Kerbel (Abram Icek Koerbel), the head of a workshop in Ostrowiec Świętkorzyski, employed well-to-do Jews from whom he demanded bribes. See the testimony of Szyja Grynberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2775.

During the deportation and liquidation of the ghetto in Staszów, several Jewish policemen exploited the chaos to demand money from their fellow Jews.[789]

An analogous role was played by Jewish collaborators, Gestapo agents and informers outside the ghetto. It was not at all uncommon for Jews to encounter them when passing as Christians in larger centres. A Jew hiding in "Aryan" Kraków listened to his friend speak of the dangers he feared should his family leave the ghetto:

> You know, there are people in the ghetto who are now in the Gestapo's service; they go out into the town every day and look for Jews hiding on false papers because they think that they will save their own skins that way. Even one of my colleagues at the bank, a man I have worked with for many years, broke down and now works for the Gestapo. He turns in *everyone,* even members of his own family. Not long ago he whispered to me that he knew that Basia was living on false papers somewhere in the vicinity of Cracow. He doesn't know you personally, and doesn't know your name or where you live, but he is looking for you and is convinced that sooner or later he will find you. When he does, he will turn you in. I had always thought him a man of honor, but the times have changed.[790]

A Jew from Lwów recalled:

> In November [1941] … a German edict hit those Jews who lived in the Gentile part of the city. They were ordered to relocate immediately …
>
> On a gloomy morning, we heard the first sounds of the Umsiedlung. Police kicked at our door and pounded it with rifle butts. … I ordered mother and the younger children, Wilo and Rozia, to slip under the covers of the feather bed. I told Abo to cram into a corner of the balcony. Then I shoved the heavy wooden wardrobe over the entrance to it, so that a stranger to the apartment might not guess what was behind it.
>
> The intruders, meanwhile, pushed their way in and confronted me as I was about to open the door for them. A German Schupo man, or policeman, slapped my face sharply.
>
> "You son of a bitch!" he howled. "Why didn't you open up immediately? Where are the other Jewish swine hiding?"
>
> He held me against the wall, as three of his men, one German, one Ukrainian, and one Jewish policeman, searched the apartment. Within seconds, they found our father in the dining room and Abo on the balcony, the imposing wardrobe notwithstanding. Lined up against the wall, each was administered the regulation slap in the face, after which the Jewish lawman stepped forward. I knew him. He had been my teammate on the Hasmonea, a Jewish soccer team.
>
> "Where are your mother and the two children?" he asked in a commanding voice.
>
> It was an unbelievable scene, something to which we weren't yet accustomed: a Jew selling out another Jew.

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[789] Sara Bender, "The Jews of Staszów, 1939–1943: History Through a Diarist's Eyes: A comparative Discussion," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 43, no. 1 (2015): 133–69, here at 151.

[790] Shatyn, *A Private War,* 195.

> "You can't mean it!" I appealed desperately to the myth of brotherhood among Jews. "You know what happens to people who get deported!"
>
> "I mean it," he repeated glacially. "Where is the old woman? Where are the children?"
>
> "I managed to regain my composure, "I don't know," I said quietly. "Nowadays, it's everyone for himself. They must be hiding somewhere in town." …
>
> We were chased out to the street and into an open truck now filled to capacity with Jewish hostages.
>
> The main [railway] terminal of Lvov [Lwów] was the first serious hurdle for any Jew intent on fleeing the city. … I was soon concentrating on avoiding eye contact with the men in the green uniforms of the Schupo, the gray and black of the SS and the black of the Ukrainian militia. They were all there, and so were innumerable plainclothes Gestapo. There were even, God pity us, Jews posted by the Germans to point out brethren who were trying their luck at escape. …
>
> I was also told that a man named Altman, an officer of the Jewish Police and a Gestapo collaborator, had fallen in love with her [Nesia]. Altman's job was to discover Jews in hiding …[791]

Jewish policemen and informers played a highly destructive role in most ghettos. Reliance on the Jewish councils and the Jewish police was a cornerstone of German governance. Proportionally, more Jews served in the Jewish police than Poles in the Polish police. There were more than 2,500 Jews recruited in Warsaw alone, and some 750 in Lwów. Emanuel Ringelblum described conditions in Warsaw as follows:

> In those days, during 1939, 1940, and part of 1941, people would be seized for forced labor almost every day—so the men hid out in the shops, under bench beds, in mezzanines, cubbies, cellars, garrets, etc. … The Germans knew the location of such hideouts, thanks to their Jewish informers, who accompanied them and pointed out the hiding places. … During the time when there were blockades, the resettlement period, hideouts assumed a new importance. People took special pains to build good hiding places, because they had become a matter of life and death. Old folks, children, and women hid out there. … In 90 percent of the cases it was the Jewish police who uncovered the hideouts. First they found out where the hideouts were; then they passed the information along to the Ukrainians and Germans. Hundreds and thousands of people are on those scoundrels' conscience.[792]

Many Jewish testimonies describe the treacherous behaviour of Jewish policemen in the Warsaw ghetto. Natalia Daniel was beaten by Jewish policemen and had her front teeth knocked out for refusing to disclose the hiding place of some Jewish children they were looking for.[793] Solomon Radasky (Radosiński) recalls:

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[791] Uri Lichter, *In the Eye of the Storm: A Memoir of Survival Through the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987), 38–39, 61, 89.

[792] Jacob Sloan, ed., *The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum* (New York: Schocken, 1974), 339–41. This edition is a significantly truncated version of Ringelblum's diary.

[793] Testimony of Natalia Daniel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5631.

> My father was killed in April 1942. He went to buy bread from the children who were smuggling food into the ghetto. The children brought bread, potatoes and cabbages across the wall into the Warsaw ghetto. A Jewish policeman pointed out my father to a German and told him that he saw my father take a bread from a boy at the wall. The German shot my father in the back.[794]

The involvement of the Jewish councils and police was crucial to the success of the Great Deportation of the summer of 1942, when 250,000 Jews from Warsaw were seized and sent to the death camps. During the first weeks of this operation the task of rounding up six to seven thousand Jews daily was given over entirely to the Jewish police, who managed to accomplish this without any help from the Germans. (Later, German gendarmes reinforced by Ukrainian and Baltic auxiliaries were brought in to finish the task, without any Polish participation.[795]) Jewish policemen used force and brutality to round up their fellow Jews, and taking hefty bribes from those willing to pay to avoid deportation was a source of easy money for policemen.[796] Reuben Ainsztein notes:

> … the majority [of the Jewish ghetto police], according to Ringelblum 'carried out with the greatest eagerness the orders of the Germans. It is a fact that on most days the Jewish police supplied more victims than the quota demanded by the Germans. That was done to have a reserve for the following day. … Many a hideout was discovered by the Jewish police, who always wanted to prove themselves *plus catholique que le pape* and thus curry favour with the Germans. The victims who escaped the eye of the German were seized by Jewish policemen. For two hours I watched the march of victims to the trains in the Umschlagplatz and I saw groups exempted from deportation being forcibly driven back to the trains by the Jewish policemen. Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of Jews were sent to their deaths during those two hours by the Jewish policemen.' Szmerling, a former boxer, a giant with a little beard and the face of a killer who was in command of the Jewish police in the Umschlagplatz, did not hesitate to use his whip and took advantage of his position to extort money and jewels from wealthy victims for allowing them to escape from the point of departure for Treblinka. His subordinates, acting in partnership with the Sonderdienst composed of Polish Volksdeutsche [i.e., ethnic Germans] and the Ukrainian and Latvian cutthroats, demanded from 1,000 to 10,000 zloties from their victims to allow them to escape. 'There were cases when the police demanded from their victims, apart from money, also payment in kind: women had to submit to their lust.' The police plumbed the depths of their baseness in the final weeks of the Great Liquidation, when thousands of survivors refused to obey orders to surrender for deportation, even if it meant dying in hideouts. Each policeman was then ordered to supply seven victims daily or share with his family the fate of the other Jews. Having already sold their souls to the Nazi devil,

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[794] Survivor Stories: Solomon Radasky, Internet: <http://www.holocaustsurvivors.org/data.show.php?di=record&da=survivors&ke=7>.

[795] Pogonowski, *Jews in Poland,* 115.

[796] Only a very small number of examples are mentioned in the main text. Many other examples can be found in published accounts and testimonies found in the Archive of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute and other institutions. See, for example, Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness,* 123–24; Testimony of Najmarkowa, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4497; Testimony of Jochwed Kantorowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2493 (Jewish policemen demanded large bribes to release persons to be taken to Umschlaplatz); Testimony of Izaak Wacek Kornblum, Centropa, 2005, Internet: <https://www.centropa.org/biography/izaak-wacek-kornblum>.

> the policemen did their best to carry out the order. This did not stop the Nazis from killing over 1,700 policemen and their families at the end of the Great Liquidation.[797]

The descriptions of the round-ups and deportations penned by first-hand witnesses of those events is horrific. Small wonder that Ringelblum writes that the hatred towards the *Ordnungsdiesnt* "exceeds the hatred of Germans."[798] Chaim Kaplan penned the following entries in his wartime diary:

> At the beginning … a directive was issued to the *Judenrat* to deport 6,000 a day; in point of fact they are now deporting close to 10,000. The Jewish police, whose cruelty is no less than that of the Nazis, deliver to the "transfer point" on Stawki Street more than the quota to which the *Judenrat* obligated itself. Sometimes there are several thousand people waiting a day or two to be transported because of a shortage of railroad cars. Word has gotten around that the Nazis are satisfied that the extermination of the Jews is being carried out with all requisite efficiency. This deed is being done by the Jewish slaughterers.[799]
>
> [July 28, 1942]: Anyone who could see the expulsion from Warsaw with his own eyes would have his heart broken. The ghetto has turned into an inferno. Men have become beasts. Everyone is but a step away from deportation; people are being hunted down in the streets like animals in the forest. It is the Jewish police who are cruelest toward the condemned. Sometimes a blockade is made of a particular house, sometimes of a whole block of houses. In every building earmarked for destruction they begin to make the rounds of the apartments and to demand documents. Whoever has neither documents that entitle him to remain in the ghetto nor money for bribes is told to make a bundle weighing 15 kilos—and on to the transport which stands near the gate. Whenever a house is blockaded a panic arises that is beyond the imagination. Residents who have neither documents nor money hide in nooks and crannies, in the cellars and in the attics. When there is a means of passage between one courtyard and another the fugitives begin jumping over the roofs and fences at the risk of their lives … But all these methods only delay the inevitable, and in the end the police take men, women, and children. The destitute and impoverished are the first to be deported. In an instant the truck becomes crowded. … Their cries and wails tear the heart out.
>
> The children, in particular, rend the heavens with their cries. The old people and the middle-aged deportees accept the judgment in silent submission and stand with their small parcels under their arms. But there is no limit to the sorrow and tears of the young women; sometimes one of them makes an attempt to slip out of grasp of her captors, and then a terrible battle begins. At such times the horrible scene reaches its peak. The two sides fight, wrestle. On one side a woman with wild hair and a torn blouse rages with the last of her strength at the Jewish thieves, trying to escape from their hands. Anger flows from her mouth and she is like a lioness ready for the kill. And on the other side the two policemen, her "brothers in misfortune," who pull her back to her death. It is obvious that the police win. …

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[797] Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe,* 583.

[798] Cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 151.

[799] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 324.

But isolated incidents don't hold up the operation. The police do what is incumbent upon them. After the completion of the arrests in one house, they move on to another. The *Judenrat* prepares a daily list of houses in which blockades will be made that day. And here a new source of income is opened for the graft-chasing police. The wealthy and the middle class have yet to be brought to the transports. For those who have no documents, banknotes turn into documents. There is almost a fixed price for ransom, but for some it is cheaper, all according to the class of the ransomed one and the number of people in his household.[800]

[July 29, 1942]: The expulsion is reaching its peak. It increases from day to day. The Nazis are satisfied with the work of the Jewish police, the plague of the Jewish organism, and the police too are satisfied: the Nazis, because through industry and cruelty the police have succeeded in supplying exiles above and beyond the daily quota originally specified, and close to 70,000 people have already gone into exile; the police, because they are lining their pockets. This income is fortuitous and apparently not dangerous. The Nazis don't bother about details. … In any event, the respite that the bribe creates is only temporary. A house which is blockaded today can be blockaded tomorrow too, and the next day, and so on ad infinitum. A man who was released once can be caught again—even by the same policeman who set let him go the first time—especially since the police have nearly 2,400 dogs. The wiles of the policemen know no bounds. Besides taking bribes, they also steal and rob. How? They order the inhabitants of the house to go down, while they themselves remain in the unguarded apartment. Thus they profit from all that is abandoned.

This criminal police force is the child of the *Judenrat*. Like mother, like daughter. With their misdeeds they besmirch the name of Polish Jewry which was stained even without this. At the transfer point where the exiles are collected, the policemen traffic in bread. Those loaves of bread, which the police force gets in abundance free of charge, are sold to the hungry and oppressed captives at 80 zloty [złoty] a loaf. For delivering a letter, ten zloty. They are growing rich on these profits, and for the time being they are experiencing the eternal reward in this life—until the Nazis take pity on them as well. Their day will come, and they too will be destroyed, but they will be the last. …

Immediately a great movement arose to set up factories to work for the good of the German army, and the German commandant invited German firms to establish branches in the General Government. The Jewish shop-factories received raw materials from these firms and began to manufacture for each one what was required to meet their obligations to the commandant. In this way factories for various trades were opened which employed tens of thousands of people. … Henceforward, only one who is enrolled as a worker in one of the factories under the protection of some German firm has the right to remain in the ghetto. A certificate (*Ausweis*) granted by a firm of the Reich has the power to save its bearer from expulsion … Within a week, tens of thousands of tradesmen, peddlers, unemployed men, idlers, spreaders of false rumors, and bums have been turned into creative workers, into a productive element; they sit hunched over a needle, sewing buttons on a pair of army pants.

The entire ghetto is a mammoth factory producing for the good of the German army. We have become a laughingstock![801]

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[800] Ibid., 325–27.

[801] Ibid., 329–31.

[July 30, 1942]: There is one category among those "insured" against expulsion whose eyes reflect fear, who despite the documents in their pockets, never go out of the doors of their houses … These are "officials" of the Jewish Self-Aid Society, who numbered over two thousand at the outbreak of the catastrophe. … Before the expulsion, the Self-Aid employed about four hundred people who were registered with the labor office … Thousands of people were left without legal protection and doomed to exile. Accordingly, the directors of the society, with the consent of the *Judenrat,* decided to provide their friends with a legal haven in the form of "legitimizations," documents stating that So-and-so was an official of the society. … A veritable factory for legitimizations was set up. Anyone who had had any connection whatever with the activities of the society … received certification as one of its officials.

Within three days, over two thousand certificates were prepared and distributed … In point of fact it did save many people. They were seized and later released.[802]

[July 31, 1942]: The hunting goes on full force. … The Jewish police are fulfilling their humane duty in the nest possible manner, and the Nazis are so pleased with their work that some of them are being sent to Radom and Kielce, where expulsions have now been ordered as well. …

More factories are established every day. This is the only source of salvation now … Many people scurry to register for the factories. … Everyone is pushing his way into a "shop" and is prepared to sell all his possessions and give away his last cent, if only to be considered productive. …

None of the newly erected factories has any validity or future unless they are incorporated into the network of factories of some German firm; and this privilege too must be bought with cash from the Germans, who demand immense sums in return for the right to work for the German army.[803]

Vladka Meed wrote the following account:

The Jewish police were now very important people in the Warsaw ghetto. The Nazis relied on them to carry out their roundups, to control employment cards, and to load unemployed Jews into the wagons and transport them to the waiting railway cars. Obviously, no one was very fond of the police; even in better days they had been known to badger and harass people in their daily lives by insisting on rigid adherence to the Nazi regulations. Now they had become even more hostile and aggressive. They were feared, but at the same time they were the objects of envy. For one thing, the Jewish police were secure; even the Germans thus far had left their relatives alone. They were never threatened with "resettlement."

One afternoon, during the first week of the deportation, I happened to be at home with my mother when a column of police suddenly sealed off our building. All residents were ordered to go down and assemble in the courtyard. In their alarm, people tried to snatch up a few belongings, but the raiders, some wearing white armbands reading *"Judenrat,"* told them, "You'll have time to pick up

[802] Ibid., 332–33.

[803] Ibid., 333–34.

your things when the wagons get here." So, it was no longer only police, but also functionaries of the *Judenrat*, who had been delegated to assist in the task of "resettlement."

The luckless residents of the building submitted to the orders of these men. Without protest, they were herded roughly down the stairs. With the callous arrogance of the privileged, the Jewish police dragged children, the elderly and the ailing down to the courtyard. Although a number of the residents had employment cards, the faces of all were pale with fear. Families clung together for whatever comfort they might be in closeness.

The elderly were pushed to the rear, while the young were lined up in front. Children snuggled up close to the adults. Hearts pounding, the distraught residents prepared for the inspection. Several women brushed past rudely and walked up to the police, flaunting their employment cards.

"These women are going to be released immediately," one of the bystanders muttered. "Their husbands are in the police force." And, indeed, as the troopers saw these cards, their arrogance softened; they smiled and motioned to the women to return to their homes. Envious glances followed them as they hastened off.

Three men approached the police. Someone behind me whispered that they were the richest Jews of our building. It was easy to guess their intention was bribery. The police never objected to having their palms greased. …

But the Jews who were about to be deported did not move. Ashen white with fear, they begged the police for mercy. …

It was no use. The men in the uniform ignored their anguish. A few of the less hardened, visible distressed by the scene, walked out of the courtyard.

We stood as though turned to stone. Near me someone muttered, "Dear God! Put an end to this misery!" Yet not one of the hundred and fifty-odd Jews who had been spared many any effort to help. They did not want to jeopardize their own good fortunes. One group gave thanks to the Lord for His Mercy; the other, defeated and resigned to their fate, handed over their sacks and baskets, and climbed slowly into the waiting wagons. From there, they stared out at the remaining crowd. Some of them broke into cries of despair. What grief was reflected in their eyes! What mute reproach! We stood there, stunned, silent and conscience-stricken. …

But why had no one helped the others? Why hadn't somebody—why hadn't I—pleaded for them? Flinching, I tried to silence these questions, to justify my cowardice, saying to myself, "Our own chances of being allowed to stay in the ghetto were slim enough. We could not afford to stick our necks out for others."

Shortly thereafter, the police threw up a roadblock at the corner of Zamenhof and Nowolipki Streets, where the cards of all passersby were subjected to inspection. Any Jew without the proper documents was immediately forced into a waiting wagon. I showed my card and was waved on.[804]

David Landau described the round-ups in the Warsaw ghetto as follows:

From the first day of the deportations, a routine was established … A block of streets would be closed off in the morning; the Jewish police would call out that the street had been surrounded and no one was to leave their dwelling; the caretakers of the buildings would immediately close the building gates and anybody found in the street would be either shot on the spot or handed over to

[804] Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall,* 26–28.

> the police. The Germans and their assistants would then go from building to building and the Jewish police would call to the trapped inhabitants: '*Alles herunter!*' (All to come down.) Pressure was applied to hurry: '*Schnell, schnell!*' It was the duty of the Jewish police to go in first to check the apartments in case anybody had disobeyed the order. Walls would be tapped, wardrobes opened; they would look under the beds. The cellars and attics were searched for anyone who failed to obey the German order. The police would drag out those found hiding to be dealt with by the Germans or their helpers. …
>
> When all tenants were assembled in the yard the selection started. … Those selected for deportation were handed over to the Jewish police. Together with their Aryan colleagues the police led the victims to the *Umschlagplatz* on foot or in carts.[805]

Landau wondered also about the continued collaboration of the Jewish police after the deportation of the summer of 1942:

> The Germans had to enter the houses to remove the people they wanted for deportation yet they were still assisted by the Jewish police. I often ask myself what evil force made the Jewish police co-operate in January 1943, when they themselves had been decimated after the great deportation?[806]

Ruth Altbeker Cyprys provides the following description of the round-ups in the Warsaw ghetto:

> Immediately after the publication of the 'Resettlement Order' the manhunts started. Ordinary large carts, accompanied by a few Jewish policemen, appeared in the streets. All those with inadequate documents, or with none, were forcibly pushed on to the carriages. …
>
> I witnessed the expulsion of the Korczak Orphanage. … On the day that they left the ghetto they made a strange procession as they walked along Sliska [Śliska] Street led by an elderly, dignified man, and accompanied only be a few policemen. … Mr. Korczak would not leave his children. And I learned, later, that he gave the same answer to his Aryan friends when they tried several times to take him to the Aryan side.
>
> In the first weeks after the expulsion order the Germans did not show up in the ghetto. Jews themselves, as for example the Jewish militia, were entrusted with the job. They carried out the checking of identity papers in the streets and even on the Umschlagplatz where the Germans were present; the loading and forcing of Jews into the railway carriages was left to the militiamen. After all 'points' and other places of collective Jewish misery had been cleared out, street catching was carried out ceaselessly. …
>
> The institution of the blockades carried out by the Jewish militia became a daily routine. During a blockade, which as a rule took place in the early hours of the morning, a strong detachment of militia men would cordon off a whole street or a part of big road, and begin sweeping the blocks. There would be a shrill whistle and shouts of 'All down, all to the courtyard' which would announce the beginning of the blockade. After a while the militia men would enter the flats, chasing

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[805] Landau, *Caged,* 133–34.

[806] Ibid., 204–205.

the inhabitants out. They were very efficient in their searches, even too meticulous, for they looked into the night tables and drawers, they climbed into the attics and descended to the cellars. The courtyards were swarming with militia men and when all the tenants were gathered, an officer would begin the checking. The lucky owners of good Ausweis passes were placed on one side of the yard, all the others on the other side. They were then chased out into the street and loaded into the waiting carts. …

On 6 August [1942] I was resting at home after my night shift when I suddenly heard a terrible noise in the street, loud cries, shots and shouts of 'Alles runter' (all downstairs). I knew what this meant. The street was already full of Germans, Ukrainians and Jewish militia. A normal blockade had started. We all had to go out into the street guarded by Germans, Ukrainians and Shaulis (Lithuanians), while the militia searched the rooms and hideouts, forever dragging somebody out. …

Alas, they checked no papers. Only the families of the militia men were released on the spot. The rest, formed in fives, were hurried to the Umschlagplatz. The way was strewn with horrific sights. …

… During all this time the Jewish militia loaded the freight wagons with struggling people, sealed them in, while new trains pulled in to the station … [807]

Izrael Lichtensztajn and Zosia Goldberg describe the round-ups in the ghetto with understandable bitterness:

The course of the operation is as follows: units of Jewish police march through the streets. They rush at the gate [of the tenement house] and surround the entire courtyard. Everyone has to leave their apartments and come downstairs. When the residents of the house find themselves in the open area, the entrances to the dwellings are blocked. All of the rooms are searched again and only then does the inspection of people begin. Everyone must come forward with his document. Those with a good certificate—for a workshop, an official of the community or self-help organization—are set aside. … All those without certificates are loaded onto carriages and sent to the Umschlagplatz … There empty freight wagons are waiting for them, into which are packed from 120 to 200 persons, and are sent on their way. …

Unfortunately, we were betrayed. Our leaders do not have the courage to die like people. They die like fleas, bugs or mice. Today I saw Dr. [Emanuel] Ringelblum sitting in a carpentry workshop at 59 Nowolipki Street. He's hiding there with his family. … Did it have to come to this that activists worried only about their private life, and wrote everything else off as a aloss?[808]

One day the Germans encircled the house at Leszno 42, and they called everybody down. I was with my mother and we were sleeping on the floor with my aunts and we were supposed to go down with them. Instead, I ran upstairs to Bolek, a young fellow who was a friend of mine. He knew many of the Jewish police and he spoke Russian, so I said to him, "Go down and see what

[807] Cyprys, *A Jump For Life,* 49–50, 54–57.

[808] Testimony of Izrael Lichtensztajn in Markowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 175–77.

> you can do." Along with the German Nazis, there were Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Jewish police.
>
> "Try to get all the family out," I told Bolek. They were already forming lines to march to the trains at the *Umschlagplatz.* So he came back and said, "I saw Marian. He's in the police. I'll see what he can do." But Marian, my ex-husband, the one I had married and divorced before the war, simply washed his hands of us and turned away. … He did not lift a finger to help. …
>
> Then Bolek tried to talk to a Ukrainian who understood his Russian. He made up a story that my mother was his mother and I was his sister. He said our family was dead. Maybe because Bolek spoke Russian to him, which is close to Ukrainian, he felt sympathetic. I don't know why, maybe it was just luck, but the Ukrainian said you can take out your mother and sister from the line, but nobody else. Everybody else had to stay.[809]

Calel Perechodnik, himself a policeman in the outlying Otwock ghetto, provides the following damning verdict:

> There is no justification for the Jewish policeman in Warsaw. They cannot defend themselves by explaining that they had a mental blackout. This might be done in the course of one day, but not for three long months. Their hearts turned to stone; all human feelings became foreign to them. They grabbed people, they carried down in their arms infants from the apartments, they robbed if there was opportunity. So it was not surprising that Jews hated their own police more than they did the Germans, more than the Ukrainians. There is nothing like setting a brother against a brother.[810]

Yitzhak Katzenelson, an eyewitness to these events, penned "The Song of the Murdered Jewish People,"[811] in which he bemoaned the role of the Jewish police.

> *Ani ha-gever,* I am the man who watched, who saw
> How my children, my women, my young and old, were thrown
> Like stones, like logs, into wagons,
> Brutally beaten, rudely abused.
>
> I watched from the window and saw the brutes—O God!
> I observed the beaters and the beaten—
> I wrung my hands in shame. O what disgrace and shame.
> Jews were being used, ah, to destroy my Jews!
>
> Apostates and near-apostates with shiny boots on their feet,
> Hats with the Star of David, like a swastika, on their heads,
> An alien, corrupt and vile tongue on their lips,
> Dragged us from our homes, flung us down the stairs.

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[809] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 34–35.

[810] Perechodnik, *Am I a Murderer?,* 104.

[811] Katzenelson, *The Song of the Murdered Jewish People,* 23–24.

They smashed doors and forced their way
Into closed Jewish homes with raised clubs in their hands—
They hunted us, beat us and drove young and old to the wagons,
Into the street! They spat in God's face, profaned the light of day.

They pulled us out from under the beds and closets, cursing:
"The wagon is waiting! Go to hell, to the *Umschlag,* to death!
They dragged us to the street and continued to prowl—
The last dress in the closet, last bit of cereal, last morsel of bread.

Look into the street and you'll go mad!
The street is dead, yet full of shrieks and screams—
He street is empty, yet the street is full.
Wagons laden with Jews, with mourning and grief!

Wagons laden with Jews, wringing their hands, pulling their hair—
Some are silent—their scream is loudest!
They watch, they look … Is it a nightmare? Is it real?
Around the wagons, alas, woe is me! Jews in police uniforms, in boots and hats!

The German stands aside, as if smugly sneering—
The German stands aloof—he doesn't interfere.
Woe unto me—the German had Jews destroy my Jews.
Look at the wagons, behold the shame, look and see the suffering!

The United States Holocaust Museum goes out of its way not to disclose the true state of affairs in the entry on "Deportations to and from the Warsaw Ghetto" from the *Holocaust Encyclopedia* put online for mass education. Although the entry contains some five references to "non-German auxiliaries" and "collaborators," there is no indication as to who they might be. The average reader would probably think they were Polish auxiliaries and collaborators, after all the operation occurred in Poland's largest city and capital. In fact, the Polish police was not directly involved in the Great Deportation. In addition to the Jewish police, which was charged with the task of rounding up 250,000 Jews, Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian police were also brought in for that operation. Why is none of this disclosed? Why is the role of the Jewish police being concealed?

> Between July and September 1942, German SS and police units, supported by non-German auxiliaries, deported approximately 300,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to the Treblinka II extermination camp. German SS and police personnel used violence to force Jews to march from their homes or places of work to the Umschlagplatz (concentration point), and forced them to board freight cars bound for Malkinia, on the Warsaw-Bialystok rail line. When the trains arrived in Malkinia, they were diverted along a special rail spur to Treblinka.

The Germans demanded that members of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) assist in organizing the deportations. The head of the Jewish council in Warsaw, Adam Czerniakow, refused to cooperate. Although Czerniakow did not call for resistance to the Germans, he refused to pass on the deportation order and committed suicide on July 23, 1942, by swallowing a cyanide capsule.

Generally, the Germans and their auxiliaries rounded up Jews by cordoning off a city block and systematically forcing the residents out onto the street. They then forced the Jews to march to the Umschlagplatz under heavy guard. As soon as one block was cleared, German SS and police units and their auxiliaries would secure the next block and repeat the process. German SS and police personnel viciously beat and tortured Jews to make them move more quickly; they shot those who were unable or unwilling to move. To lure Jews out of hiding, the German authorities often resorted to announcements that the deportations were over and those who not been deported would receive food. Starving and unaware that they would be transported to their deaths, some Jews reported and they too were deported to Treblinka. Toward the end of the deportations, German forces and collaborators systematically searched the then empty apartment houses and workplaces to find Jews in hiding.

In September 1942, as many as 70,000 Jews remained in the ghetto.[812]

Looting was a significant component of the overall tragedy that befell the ghetto. The Jewish police looted vacated apartments on a massive scale often amassing for themselves considerable fortunes, about which there was considerable boasting within the ghetto.[813] Emanuel Ringelblum noted the "wholehearted cooperation," as he put it, between the assisting forces and the *Ornungsdienst:* "They loot together. The entire Jewish police force is awash in money and jewelry." Chaim Kaplan determined that the Jewish police was actually pleased with the deportation order, delivering 10,000 persons per day, and not only the 6,000 requested by the Germans, "because it fills their pockets with gold." Abraham Lewin described several times the manner in which Jewish policemen took their brothers' property, even as they were being sent on their final journey. "People talk about terrible robbing and looting during deportation. They cast out the people, then steal and plunder all of the tenants' property. Shops are also opened forcibly, so they can take out merchandise. The participants: *Ordnungsdienst,* plain ordinary Jewish neighbors, and the Germans." Ten days later Lewin wrote: "Jewish policemen are participating in looting. They break into apartments, empty closets, break dishes and destroy property just for fun." A week later he wrote: "Yesterday evening, at around six o'clock, the *Ordnungsdienst* raided homes and made the tenants vacate them. They threw tenants out by force, broke into empty apartments, looted and robbed anything they got their hands on, while at the same time arresting women, mainly those without papers. How did Jews come to be pillagers?"[814]

After the deportation, the Germans reactivated the *Werterfassung* department (the "collection of valuables detail"), which had been previously active in stealing furniture from apartments before the ghetto was established. The Warsaw division employed 4,000 Jews who always managed to rob from the robbers and

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[812] Internet: <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005413>.

[813] Makower, *Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego,* 62.

[814] Cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 149–51.

take something for themselves out of the stolen and confiscated items being transported outside the ghetto. Operating alongside this official unit were those the ghetto residents called *shabbers*—Jews who looted empty apartments. Initially, they took only money, jewelry, or other items that could be exchanged for cash. Later on, everything was up for grabs, wrote Rachel Auerbach. Rolling down the ghetto streets were "armchair-beds and folding sofa-beds. New metal bed-frames that quickly rusted, old fashioned mattresses … giant piles of all sorts of bed linens, children's coverlets, pillows, sofa cushions, straw mattresses, field beds. … There were pots, pans, kettles, Sabbath candlesticks and Passover *Seder* plates, undergarments and outerwear, dominos and chess sets, soccer balls and playing cards, baby clothes and toys, and many family photos." Soon the Jews remaining in the ghetto were engaged in dealing in abandoned Jewish property with buyers from outside the ghetto on a massive scale.[815]

The beginning of the Jewish underground was fraught with difficulties, not the least of which was the plague of informers inside the ghetto.

> The Jewish Fighting Organization [*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa*—ŻOB] … was established in July [1942] as the transports [to Treblinka] began. At first two key leaders of the ŻOB were Józef Kapłan and Szmuel Bresław of Ha-Shomer Ha-Za'ir. However, they were caught at the beginning of September, apparently because of informants, after they had succeeded in acquiring a few weapons. The underground collapsed but began to reorganize in October.[816]

Before the Jewish underground could carry out their planned resistance to future German deportations from the Warsaw ghetto, they had to get liquidate Jewish Gestapo agents and informers in their midst and collect money to arm themselves. Bernard Goldstein, a Bund activist, records:

> In further preparation for the events ahead, the Jewish fighting organization took steps to clear the ghetto of all Jewish servants of the Gestapo. Special counterespionage groups tracked down every Jewish Gestapo agent and liquidated him. For example, there was Alfred Nossig, a Jewish intellectual from Galicia. He had been a contributor of articles in Jewish, Hebrew, and German to various journals. He had served as an informer on Jewish matters for the German government even before Hitler. His specialty was the Polish Jewry. After the First World War, when Poland became independent, he used to visit Warsaw from time to time. Now he appeared in the ghetto on special work for the Gestapo. One of our comrades discovered his apartment and searched it. An identity card showed that Nossig had served the Gestapo since 1933, the year Hitler came to power. The fighting organization passed sentence of death, and he was shot.
>
> Fuerst, one-time director of the prewar Jewish Students' Home in Praga [a suburb of Warsaw], and a Gestapo informer, was shot by order of the fighting organization. Lolek Kokosovsky, a Maccabre leader from Zgerzh [Zgierz], was a Gestapo agent whose specialty was political information about the ghetto and the members of the underground organizations. At first he escaped our agents only with a bad wound. His friends took him from the ghetto, and he recovered. Later, however, he was shot and killed on the Aryan side as he walked out of a restaurant.

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[815] Cited in Levin, *Walls Around,* 153–56.

[816] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 459.

> Sherinsky [Szeryński], an apostate Jew, already has been mentioned as the commissioner of the Jewish police. Our attempted execution of him failed, though he was seriously wounded. Afterward he took his own life. Laikin, who had been a lawyer before the war, was Sherinsky's assistant. After Sherinsky's death he assumed the position of Jewish police commissioner. Greatly hated in the ghetto, he was sentenced to death and shot.
>
> These executions further strengthened the morale of the fighting groups and increased the prestige of the Jewish fighting organization. It felt sufficiently powerful now to levy a tax on the entire ghetto to buy arms; it even taxed the Judenrat. Some of the wealthy who refused to pay the tax were arrested. The authority of the fighting organization began to be felt throughout the ghetto. Its influence and power grew with every passing day.[817]

David Landau, a member of the Jewish Military Union, writes:

> From a speech by ŻZW leader Paweł Frenkel: '… both the ŻOB and the ŻZW have been collecting large sums of money from the rich Jews in the ghetto and from the departments of the Eldest to pay for the arms some of you are buying. Up to a few weeks ago we had mutually agreed to report to each other where collections had been made, in order not to duplicate our work. Of course, here and there, we used force, but in general even those who were approached knew that once they had paid up and the collectors gave them their receipts they would be in the clear. However, in the last few days it appears that some clever individuals have been going around making collections for their own pockets in our name or in the name of the ŻOB. … we have confiscated the collected money from the individuals who believed they were clever and have warned them that their game is very dangerous. …
>
> A man we sent to execute a Jew who was an informer to the Gestapo, did his duty; he killed the traitor … The woman was Anna Milewicz, who previously belonged to the Hashomer Hatsair. She was removed from it. The Hashomer Hatsair was in full agreement with what we did, because it was proved that she worked for the Gestapo.'[818]

When the Germans embarked on the final liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, among the collaborators that marched into the ghetto on April 19 were the Jewish ghetto police, who headed the column of collaborators, a small group of Polish police (who were withdrawn once fighting erupted), and Latvian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian troops.[819] The insurgency (street fighting) was soon over. Some of the fighters and many other Jews took cover in numerous hideouts, called "bunkers," which had been prepared in advance.

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[817] Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness,* 178–79.

[818] Landau, *Caged,* 189–91.

[819] Many sources confirm the participation of the remnants of the Jewish police, who then numbered probably no more than one hundred men. Some of them were killed in action. See Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe,* 624; Landau, *Caged,* 221; Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 218; Władysław Bartoszewski, "The Martyrdom and Struggle of the Jews in Warsaw under German Occupation 1939–43," in Władysław Bartoszewski and Antony Polonsky, eds., *The Jews in Warsaw: A History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1991), 338–39; Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta,* 45; Moshe Arens, "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: A Reappraisal," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (2005): 101–42, especially 114.

Many, if not most of the bunkers were closed and hostile to outsiders, even to those who had helped to construct them. One Jew recalled:

> One morning when we came to the entrance of the bunker we had been working on, there was a tough man standing guard there who would not let us in. The place was now filled with people who had come from all over and were using our shelter. When I tried to get in around him, he smashed me over the head with his rifle butt. I had to have my head bandaged up.
>
> The next morning, there I was standing on line at the "Umshlag Place" [Umschlagplatz] (the train depot), the place from which all Jews were deported to camps and to the gas chambers.[820]

Another bunker occupant recalled:

> One morning we heard some knocking. The voice of a woman called my name and begged to be allowed in with her children. It was Mrs. Windman, with two children, her mother, and the brothers Kopchuk. It was clear to me we had no choice but to let them in, yet the others were staunchly opposed. The arguments continued all day; we almost came to blows. Those most adamantly opposed to accepting outsiders were those who still had some provisions. Softly, we, who were in agreement to let them in, instructed them when to come back and to use the entrance on Zamenhof Street.
>
> We waited in vain. They never came. If, as we feared, the Germans had caught them, we were also lost. We learned later, that, indeed they had been picked up by the Germans and taken to the Umschlagplatz but they had not given us away. …
>
> Yet to our astonishment, a group of Jews appeared in the opening, … who had made their way through ruins and dug passages to the Aryan side to enable them to escape. … They were in the same position as we, without means of livelihood, without room for the hundreds of survivors of other burnt-out bunkers, seeking a place of refuge.
>
> Among them I saw many who had worked in the vegetable storeroom. Rabbi Meir whispered to one who knew my brother-in-law, Ackereisen, that I still had some alcohol on me. He did this to detract the attention from himself and the provisions he still had, which he wanted to share with no one, not even with the young children. He had taken over a section of the cellar and there closed himself off with his provisions. I bartered with one of the newcomers, agreeing to exchange some of my alcohol for dry biscuits for my son. I gave him the alcohol but never received the biscuits.
>
> The new arrivals asked us to take in another thirty survivors. The arguments broke out again. …
>
> We were all very worried. Only Reb Meir believed he would survive and refused to share any of his supplies.[821]

Residents who were regarded as liabilities were expelled from bunkers. A mother and her deranged young son, who had screaming fits, were evicted from one large bunker, but the woman's daughter was kept as a

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[820] Alpert, *A Spark of Life,* 34.

[821] David Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds: The Testimony & the Testament* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2004), 31–32.

hostage so that the mother would not betray the location of the bunker.[822] Infants were suffocated or poisoned by occupants who were afraid that their crying would betray the existence of the bunker.[823]

The Germans relied on Jewish policemen, Jewish agents and Jews who had been apprehended and turned informers to ferret out Jews in hiding, both during the revolt and afterwards.[824] One Jewish survivor records that informers were already searching out the locations of bunkers before the uprising in the ghetto.[825] Rikvah Trapkovits-Farber reported that Jewish policemen were employed to lure Jews out of underground hideouts, holding out the promise of safety in work camps.[826] Some other examples of betrayal follow:

> Along with us, neighbors from our stairwell and employees of the hospital were hiding in the attic. We heard shooting all the time—machine guns from the German side and solitary shots from the Jewish. …
>
> Once—perhaps on the third or fourth day—I fell asleep in the attic. I was tired. Suddenly, something woke me up. I opened my eyes, moved a bit. … No one said a word. …
>
> At one point I heard a loud *ein, zwei, drei* (one, two, three) behind the wall, then a pistol shot. Somebody was removing the loose bricks from the outside. It was a Jewish policeman. We had been discovered. …
>
> We crawled out one by one. It was funny: a few Jewish policemen, one German, and a whole bunch of us. We could have just killed that German![827]

> The Germans now proceeded to demolish these [bunkers], on the strength of the lists furnished by Brandt [a Jewish agent]. … As soon as a bunker was discovered, some of the occupants would be shot in full sight of the rest. A German officer would then offer a reprieve to anyone who would disclose the location of other bunkers. This would sometimes produce the psychological effect of breaking down the resistance of one or other of the survivors, who would then lead the Germans to any hide-outs they knew of. A new plague of informers now infested the ghetto. The Germans, as a rule, would keep these informers alive only until they had squeezed them out of every bit of information, and then shoot them out of hand. The average life-expectancy of such an informer, therefore, was no more than a few days, and the Jews continued living in the ghetto.[828]

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[822] Zofia Rozenstrauch, "Historia czterech miesięcy," *Przełom,* no. 1 (1947), cited in Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 804.

[823] Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta,* 61; Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 804, based on the testimony of Stella Fidelseid, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4873.

[824] Paulsson, *Secret City,* 91; Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 828. Jewish "musers" were housed on Zamenhof Street and worked with a special 137-member German police unit tasked with locating hidden Jews. For several examples of the activities of Jewish informers see the eyewitness testimony of Władysław Świętochowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4423.

[825] Estelle Glaser Laughlin, *Transcending Darkness: A Girl's Journey Out of the Holocaust* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 42.

[826] Dan Porat, *the Boy: A Holocaust Story* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 95.

[827] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 70.

[828] Chaim Lazar Litai, *Muranowska 7: The Warsaw Ghetto Rising* (Tel Aviv: Massada–P.E.C. Press, 1966), 269.

> While some German units were engaged directly in fighting, others were engaged in sniffing out bunkers. Expert units were employed in this work. They were helped by sniffer dogs and here and there by the last Jews they managed to capture. They would leave one of them alive and make this unfortunate person follow them as they approached a bunker. The living sacrifice would be made to call in Yiddish: 'Jews, you can come out, the Germans have gone!' Sometimes the ruse worked.[829]

Jack Klajman, one of the many Jews whose hideout was betrayed by Jewish informers, states: "Clearly, the most effective method for the Germans was the use of Jewish informers—and that is how my hideout was uncovered on 21 April [1943]."[830] Benjamin P. describes how his bunker was betrayed by a Jew who had come around asking about his relatives, and then returned the next day with German gendarmerie.[831] Halina Birenbaum states that her bunker was betrayed when one of its residents went out to scavenge and was apprehended by the Germans; he betrayed the location of his hideout and all of its residents were seized.[832] The bunker where Marek Zajdenfeld's wife and children were hiding, which held 169 Jews, was betrayed by a Jew who disclosed its location to the Germans in exchange for safe passage out of the ghetto for himself and his family.[833]

Israel Mittelberg's hideout was also betrayed by fellow Jews:

> The Germans had come from the same opening as our guests of two days earlier; quite clearly they had denounced us. … Outside, we caught sight of the two young men who had denounced us—one was eighteen, the other in his early twenties. They tried to deceive us, further assisting the Germans in their treacherous work. … The informers were often put to death before their victims.
>
> A selection took place. About one hundred and sixty of us stood for an hour in the yard. Those prepared to talk were told to move to the right. Out of our ranks, no one volunteered except for a couple by the name of Shuster—he had served as a Jewish policeman. We turned away from them in contempt.[834]

Another Jew captured during the mop-up of the ghetto recalls:

> There were a few underworld personalities in our bunker, who had arms. They played the role of our "protectors". A sharp debate broke out among them over some shady matter, and the defeated one, Yisraelikl, was threatened with revenge. Outside, we heard the shooting and bomb explosions from quite near. Houses were burning around us. The smelly smoke came in from around us. The air in the bunker was difficult to breathe. The eyes were tearing, the throats were strangling, and we

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[829] Landau, *Caged,* 235.

[830] Jack Klajman with Ed Klajman, *Out of the Ghetto* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000), 71.

[831] Donald L. Niewyk, ed., *Fresh Wounds: Early Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 129.

[832] Halina Birenbaum, *Nadzieja umiera ostatnia* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1988), 72.

[833] Testimony of Marek Zajdenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1886.

[834] Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds,* 33.

> were all choking. At night we opened the secret trap door to get some air. This also let us see what was going on outside. Suddenly, Yisraelikl was snatched out of the bunker. He disappeared. We had a suspicion that he would betray us. During the day we heard a strong explosion, and the lights went out. We were overcome by great terror. We heard Yisraelikl's voice near the trap door: "Here you have the group to be annihilated!" At that moment, the trap door opened and the order was issued: "Out!" A hand grenade fell into the bunker with a bang. There was a terrible stampede. We crawled out of the bunker with the fear of death. The wounded were dragged out by the Germans with terrible beatings from their guns and whips. Encircled by the armed Germans, we were taken to Umszlagplatz.[835]

The largest and best equipped bunkers belonged to the criminal underworld. The most famous one was located at 18 Miła Street and served as the headquarters of the Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa—ŻOB*) after its previous premises on 29 Miła Street was betrayed. In actual fact, this bunker belonged to Shmuel Isser, a prominent figure in the Jewish criminal underworld. It was one of the best equipped and largest in the ghetto, housing about 200 persons, among them many thieves, prostitutes and their families. This bunker was also betrayed.[836]

Leon Najberg, who held out in the bunkers of the Warsaw ghetto until the end of September 1943, witnessed the use of Jewish informers by in the service of the Befehlstelle, the local SS command headquarters, repeatedly throughout this period.[837] Dawid Białogród moved around from place to place to avoid the Germans and their Jewish informers, who continued to hunt down the remaining Jews, until January 1944, when he escaped from the ghetto.[838] The Jewish police also proved useful by throwing grenades into the entrances to subterranean shelters.[839] All of this led to universal suspicions among the survivors toward all Jews: "the residents saw in every unfamiliar Jew who did not live in the hideout an informer in the service of the Germans or at best a suspect person."[840] As a precaution Jewish survivors in the ruins of the ghetto would not reveal their hideouts to fellow Jews.[841] Jews seized by the Germans were employed to burn the bodies of Poles who were executed by the Germans in the Pawiak prison, located in

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[835] Miriam Flajszman, "From the Last Days of the Warsaw Ghetto," in A. Sh. Stein and G. Weissman, eds., *Pinkas Sochaczew* (Jerusalem, Former Residents of Sochaczew in Israel, 1962), 510 ff., translated as *Memorial Book of Sochaczew,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sochaczew/sochaczew.html>.

[836] Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie*, Second edition, 806–7. See also Kobi Ben-Simhon, "World of our (god)fathers," *Haaretz,* October 21, 2004; Cezary Gmyz, "Zdrada przy Miłej," *Wprost,* May 1, 2005.

[837] Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta,* 89, 110, 115, 120, 132 (Tyszler), 142–43 (Tyszler).

[838] Testimony of Dawid Białogód (Stanisław Nowakowski), dated November 7, 1957, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5003.

[839] Stefan Ernest, *O wojnie wielkich Niemiec z Żydami w Warszawie 1939–1943* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 2003), 74. See also p. 287 on the use of Jewish policemen. Reissued under the author's full name: Stefan Szpigielman, *Trzeci Front: O wojnie wielkich Niemiec z Żydami w Warszawie 1939–1943* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma, 2020).

[840] Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta,* 68.

[841] Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta,* 137.

the ghetto.[842] Bernard Nissenbaum, a Jewish survivor, wrote with admiration about the Polish prisoners of Pawiak prison for their acts that brought the Jewish prisoners "comfort and encouragement," both "physically and morally."

> The behavior of other [Pawiak prison] inmates, all political prisoners—towards us, Jewish prisoners, deserves high praise. They showed good comradeship and solidarity with us. When passing the street of the prison, they threw us their bread rations through the prison windows. On Sunday, when we were brought to the prison for [delousing], the kitchen personnel, with the inmates' agreement, had kept for us the entire rations of soup and bread for distribution among us: What that meant to us, only people who have suffered acute hunger as we had under the Nazis know.[843]

Many Jews went into hiding again after the general uprising of August 1944 was crushed by the Germans, and the Poles were ordered to evacuate Warsaw. Jews awaiting the arrival of the Soviet army in the ruins of Warsaw often had to be leery of those with whom they hid. David Landau recalls:

> Under the ground, Jews inhabited caverns and bunkers, like moles, eking out a wait which stretched into three and a half months. A few hundred Jews were daring to defy the fury of the Germans. …
>
> But when we finished and went in to the next room attached to the basement it all became worthwhile. The place had belonged to a jeweller. We found a safe with the key in the lock. Inside it was a small box containing gold coins, a gold-covered cigar box, ladies' watches with wristbands and on chains, and a considerable number of smaller pieces of jewellery. In ordinary times such a safe would have made one very comfortable.
>
> … we had five women and thirteen other men on our hands … The contents of the safe were later divided more or less equally between us, but we soon discovered we had a thief among us.[844]

A Jewish woman who hid in cellar with a group of more than thirty Jews stated:

> On another night, Sukharevitch came upon someone else again, this time a woman with a five-year-old child, who were lying in the ruins not far from our bunker. It turned out the woman had been wandering around through the ruins for weeks and found nowhere to hide. We took them in with us. They stayed down here even though the second group, which had come in later, objected.
>
> And still another time, we ran into a very religious Jew and a *mishimed* staying together. They'd also been wandering over the ruins. They found a bunker, but the Germans uncovered it and they only got away at the last minute. We took the in with us, but this time, a violent argument broke

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[842] Janina Hera, *Losy artystów polskich w czasach niewoli 1939–1945* (Kraków: Arcana, 2019), 209.

[843] Bernard Nissenbaum, "My Deportation," p. 28, United Stated Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1984.066, RG number RG-02.005.01, cited in Michael Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007), 87.

[844] Landau, *Caged,* 325, 329–30.

> out. The violent people refused to keep them. They even talked about taking them outside to be shot. After a long quarrel, they finally agreed to let them stay with us.
>
> Not far from where we were, there was a second Jewish bunker and when they discovered ours, they attacked us and it almost came to bloodshed. To this day, I have no idea what made them do it, but in the end, they realized their mistake and we united. …
>
> For a month, a silence hung over everything as if we were in a cemetery. … Finally, for several nights without stop, we heard heavy artillery barrages. This gave us hope. … We couldn't stop arguing among ourselves in the bunker. Our "enforcers" even thought of ways to keep all the valuables we'd gotten for themselves. But most of us only thought of surviving these last few days.[845]

The situation was much the same in most ghettos in occupied Poland. When the remnants of the ghetto population were being mopped up, the Jewish councils and police played a key role in detecting Jews who tried to escape or hide. The ghetto authorities actively participated in uncovering Jews who hid in bunkers and other hiding places. The combination of Jewish police and informers was particularly lethal. Familiar with the topography of the ghetto, the layout of the apartments, and the nooks where people might try to hide, the ghetto police were given the task of sniffing out Jews in hiding. Many well-camouflaged places would not have been discovered otherwise. Numerous examples have already been described earlier. The same was true in Warsaw, Kraków, Wilno, Kołomyja, Buczacz, Skałat, and many other ghettos.[846]

Similarly, in Łańcut, a number of Jews who had hidden during the liquidation of the ghetto were betrayed by Jews.[847] In Szczebrzeszyn, "The Gestapo arrived from Zamość with its Jewish helpers who led them to the homes of rich Jews demanding money and that they turn over their gold."[848] When the Szczebrzeszyn ghetto was being liquidated in October 1942, "The German police and the Jewish police, with the assistance of the *Judenrat,* ran about and dragged the Jews out of bunkers in order to have them sent to Belzec [Bełżec]."[849] Four Jewish youths who were particularly adept at locating hideouts were later executed by the Germans.[850]

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[845] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 308–10.

[846] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 513.

[847] Testimony of Diana Grinbaum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1501.

[848] Account of Efraim Farber in Shuval, *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Shebreshin.*

[849] Dov Shuval, ed., *The Szczebrzeszyn Memorial Book* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2005), 104.

[850] Zygmunt Klukowski, *Dziennik z lat okupacji Zamojszczyzny (1939–1944)* (Lublin: Lubelska Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1958), 294 (entry for October 31, 1942); Zygmunt Klukowski, *Zamojszczyzna,* vol. 1: *1918–1943* (Warsw: Ośrodek Karta, 2007), vol. 1, 308–9.

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Radomsko in October 1942, the Jewish police force was employed to drive Jews out of their homes and to dump bodies of Jews killed during that operation into large pits that had been dug in the Jewish cemetery.[851]

> After the liquidation of Radomsker Jewry, there were a number of Jews in hiding places and in bunkers in addition to the remaining Jews in the small ghetto on Limanowski Street. A number of those in the bunker in the knife factory 'Unitas' (Limanowski Street 46) were discovered on the first day and all forty of them were taken to Piotrkow [Piotrków] Trybunalski, where an aktsia was then taking place. At Limanowski 42, two Jews Aitsze Fiszman and Zilberszatz were discovered by the Folks [Volks]-Deutsch Kunitsky. They were given to the German regime and they were shot at the Jewish cemetery on the same day.
>
> Every day, new bunkers and hiding places were uncovered and new victims fell. It was suspected that this was the work of a member of the Judenrat and of the commandant of the Jewish police, who knew exactly where the Jews were hiding. Hundreds of Jews from the bunkers were shot on the spot or sent away to Czenstochow [Częstochowa] and from there by transport to Treblinka.[852]

In Kosów Lacki, there was a 20-member Jewish police force who broke up a Sabbath strike of female farm labourers and assisted the German police in arresting the protesters' mothers, as well as a militia of Jewish youth to enforce the labour quota.[853] However, it was during the liquidation of the ghetto that the role of the Jewish police peaked:

> The liquidation of the Jewish community in Kosów Lacki began on September 22, 1942. … SS officers ordered the Judenrat and Jewish Police to gather all the Jews in the marketplace but separated off the families of the labor camp craftsmen in the building where the Judenrat met. SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries accompanied the Jewish Police on a house-to-house search for those in hiding, shooting those they found. … About 150 ghetto residents were killed trying to flee and were

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[851] Symcha Hampel, "Życie pod knutem okupanta: 1 września 1939 r.–16 stycznia 1945 r.," Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/950.

[852] Simkha Hampel and Yisokhar Minski, "The Megillah of Suffering," in L. Losh, ed., *Sefer yizkor le-kehilat Radomsk ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Radomsk, 1967), 361–62; translated as *Memorial Book of the Community of Radomsk and Vicinity*, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/radomsko/Radomsko.html>.

[853] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 389.

> buried in a mass grave at the Jewish cemetery. The next day, the SS searched Polish houses throughout the town and in the surrounding countryside, killing Jews they discovered there.[854]

Conditions in Lwów, which is representative of the fate of many larger ghettos, have been described in numerous accounts such as the following:

> The Jewish police force was patterned on the Nazi police: *Schutzpolizei, Sonderdienst,* and *Kriminalpolizei* (Kripo). It grew to a force of approximately 500 officers.
>
> In the beginning the police were well-regulated, acknowledging the authority of the *Judenrat.* … However, most joined for personal reasons, having in mind the privileges which went along with the job, such as larger food rations and exemption from forced labor and resettlement, as promised by the Gestapo. Some, driven by the instinct of self-preservation, lost their ability to differentiate right from wrong, and any human feelings. In time they acquired the mentality of the SS and fully cooperated with these murderers.

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[854] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 390. In her article "Jewish–Gentile Relations in Hiding during the Holocaust in Sokołów County, Poland (1942–1944)," *The Journal of Holocaust Research,* vol. 33, no. 4 (2019): 277–301, Miranda Brethour neglects to mention (at p. 288) the Jewish police at all. Most notably she ignores their participation the liquidation of the Kosów Lacki ghetto: gathering the Jews in the market place and scouring for Jews in hiding together with the SS and Ukrainian auxiliaries. She also fails to mention that Jerzy Himelblau (Himmelblau), whose testimony she cites (incorrectly identifying him as Himmelbrau), escaped during the liquidation of the ghetto with his mother, two brothers, sister, and sister-in-law, and found shelter with a local Polish family. Four members of his family survived a German search for fugitives. See the testimony of Jerzy Himelblau (Himmelblau), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3073. Brethour also manages to overlook the harsh punitive measures undertaken by the Germans against Poles suspected of helping Jews. For example, Estera Kuper denounced three Poles from Kosów Lacki who had come to her assistance; one of the Poles was sentenced to death, and the other two to six months' imprisonment. Remarkably, Brethour also ignores the well-known case of the murder of eleven Poles (some sources give 10 or 12) in Paulinów, near Sterdyń, in the vicinity of Kosów Lacki, who were betrayed with the help of Jewish *agents provocateurs*. See Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 447 (Paulinów); Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej,* 107 (Kosów Lacki), 348–50 (Paulinów); Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 89–91 (Paulinów), 337–38 (Kosów Lacki). Nor does she take into account that it was these punitive measures that led some Poles to renege on promises of assistance and may have resulted in a few Poles killing their charges out of fear:

> The Germans simultaneously took punitive measures against Poles known to be hiding Jews from Sterdyń. The best documented of these reprisal Aktions was on February 24, 1943, at the Paulinów estate just south of Sterdyń. There the Germans shot 10 Poles suspected of providing food and shelter to Jews from Sterdyń. From March 25 to April 23, 1943, the Germans executed as many as 47 other Poles and may have arrested 140 others suspected of rendering assistance to Sterdyń's Jews. These reprisals, coupled as they were with similar punitive actions in Sadowne, near the Łochów and Stoczek ghettos, provoked many Polish villagers to renege on promises of assistance they had extended to Sterdyń's Jews. Following the reprisals, some Poles purportedly murdered Jews they had agreed initially to protect.

See Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 447. Brethour does a shoddy job of canvasing Polish rescue efforts, even though that topic has been researched in depth by other scholars (Brethour is unaware of that scholarship or chose to ignore it). See Agnieszka Dąbek and Kinga Mrozek, "Mieszkańcy Kosowa Lackiego i okolic ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady," in Artur Ziontek, ed., *Żydzi Kosowa Lackiego* (Kosów Lacki: Miejsko-Gminny Ośrodek Kultury w Kosowie Lackim, 2016), 285–307. Brethour refers to two Jewish testimonies that mention the postwar murder of Jews in Kosów Lacki (at p. 297), without acknowledging what the scholarship (she is aware of) has established, namely, that they were not targeted as Jews but as state functionaries along with non-Jews: "as many as 11 Jews … were killed in its immediate aftermath, along with Poles, when the non-Communist underground blew up Kosów Lacki's Citizen's Militia building." See Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 391. More information about the postwar period can be found in Ziontek, *Żydzi Kosowa Lackiego,* 101.

The worst were the members of the *Sonderdienst* … Golligier-Schapiro, Krumholz, Ruppert, Scherz, Vogelfaenger, and others fell into this category. The *Sonderdienst* assisted the Germans and actively participated in the so-called resettlement of Jews. They helped search for hiding places. Living in the ghetto they knew where to look for a bunker. They carried Jews from their hiding places and handed them over to the SS slaughterers. During an *Aktion* each was given a quota of Jews to be delivered to the SS. Anyone whose operation showed a shortage had to join the detainees himself.

Once one of these "catchers," who previously had deliberately overlooked a bunker where his sister-in-law was hiding, failed to fulfill his quota. He then rushed back to the bunker, pulled out his sister-in-law, as well as the other Jews who were with her, and delivered them to the SS for deportation.

Morally corrupt, they accumulated large sums of cash and valuables by accepting bribes, blackmailing people, and extorting ransom money for excluding from deportation those who could pay.

They assisted the Germans in confiscating Jewish possessions. Although they were supposed to combat smuggling, they worked hand in glove with corrupt German officers, sharing the spoils with them. They participated with their German principals in drinking and sexual orgies, and in their stupor no longer differed from the SS hangmen. Some Jewish policemen once accompanied the SS to Jaworze [Jaworów?] and Złoczów to assist their masters in an *Aktion.*

The authority of the *Sonderdienst* increased with each *Aktion.* From August 1942 on, they slowly gained the upper hand over the *Judenrat.* In 1943 they achieved total superiority, functioning exclusively as agents of the SS, and became the paramount authority over the remnants of the ghetto, replacing the *Judenrat* entirely. The Gestapo had complete confidence in them. This went so far as to hand over any Jew caught outside the ghetto to the Jewish *Sonderdienst.* The *Sonderdienst* kept these Jews in the jail at Weyssenhof [Weyssenhoff] Street. At the earliest opportunity they were delivered on time to join the others on their way to the gas chambers. They did their jobs well.[855]

Historian Eliyahu Yones fully supports this account of the Jewish Order Service (*Jüdische Ordnungsdienst*), as it was officially known.

Functionally, the Jewish police were divided into four main units:

a. *Ordnungsdienst* (Order Service)—the largest unit in terms of number of members.
b. *Kripo* (an abbreviation for the German word *Kriminalpolizei*), the Jewish criminal police.
c. *Sonderdienst* or *Spezialabteilung,* the special service. This unit dealt with problems defined as "political," including manhunts for Jews who were suspected of belonging to leftist circles and sympathizing with the Soviet Union.
d. The Jewish gendarmerie.

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[855] Joachim Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwów Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1985), 80–82. For additional damning accounts about the behaviour of the Jewish police in Lwów see Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 283; Testimony of Róża Hochberg, October 13, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4630. The concentration of 512 Jews in a school on Sobieski Street on March 25, 1942 was accomplished by 10 German, 20 Ukrainian, and 40 Jewish policemen. See Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* vol. 2, 506.

The three last-mentioned units reported directly to the Gestapo, not to the *Judenrat,* and attracted members of the underworld. The difference among them was not clear-cut and self-evident. …

The Jewish criminal police was headed by Max Guliger-Szapira of Lvov [Lwów], the scion of a family of grain merchants and members of the Jewish sports association Hashomonea before the war. Guliger-Szapira excelled in exposing Jews' hideouts and handing many Jews over to the Germans. In 1943, the Germans deposed him and replaced him with Rupert. His deputy was a refugee from Kraków named Krumholtz. The two of them competed for primacy with abusive and obscene behavior. The gendarmerie was commanded by Janek Scherz … Other "officers" in the Jewish police force were Barch Roisen, Dr. Abraham Rosenmann, Narcisfeld, and Dr. Tunis. The de fact commander of the Jewish police was Guliger-Szapira. These men inflicted severe damage on the Jewish community of Lvov. …

As the Germans' policy toward Jews in the *Generalgouvernment* became tougher, the duties of the Jewish police changed in ways that affected their relations with the *Judenrat* and caused the Jewish population to view them differently. These matters led to changes in the human makeup of the force. When the function of the police as an instrument of persecution against the Jews became strongly emphasized, men of public sensitivity resigned from the force and were succeeded by riffraff, thugs, brutes, and seekers of illicit lucre—all of whom were willing to obey the Germans' orders dispassionately, unflinchingly, and mercilessly.

… When compulsory forced labor was introduced, and forced-labor camps were established, the Jewish police was instructed to deal with recalcitrants and to flush out and turn over people in order to meet the labor quota that the Germans had given the *Judenrat*. Policemen accompanied officials of the Supply Department to expropriate belongings from Jewish homes in accordance with "orders" placed by Germans. This action usually entailed the use of force. In the later summer of 1941. When the Germans established the first slave-labor camps in the Galicia District and ordered the Jewish community to meet the quota of Jewish workers that it required, the Jewish police abducted those marked for labor and turned them over to the Germans. …

Dr. Adolf Rotfeld collaborated with the Germans from the start; during his tenure as chairman of the *Judenrat,* the Jewish police performed every mission they were assigned. In the autumn of 1941, the Germans began to establish slave-labor camps across Eastern Galicia and presented the *Judenrat* with new demands for workers who would toil there. Armed with lists from the *Judenrat*, the Jewish police fanned out in the ghetto. Since most of the targeted persons evaded the dragnet, the Jewish police met the Germans' quota by circulating in the streets and arresting every Jew they encountered. Their eagerness to carry out the mission, their ambition, and the necessity of filling the quota were stronger than any permit. Thus, they often disregarded labor permits that those abducted possessed …

Jews who could afford to bribe the kidnappers did so and were released on the spot. Indigent and refugee Jews fell prey to the policemen and were taken away, first to the Jewish labor bureau and thence to slave labor camps.

In November 1941, as SS and Ukrainian police perpetrated the "*Aktion* under the trestle," the Jewish police—who continued to abduct Jews in the city streets—also took possession of the battered Jews who had been taken to the labor bureau. There, members of the *Ordnungsdienst* handed them over to the SS, who then sent them to the camps. …

At this time [1942], the Jewish police were given additional duties and their numbers grew to 750. … The expanded units were the criminal police (the *Kripo*) and the special service (the

Sonderdienst), which were tasked with monitoring Jews who belonged to left-wing circles, keeping track of suspected collaborators with the Soviet regime in 1939–41, and dealing with Jews who traded on the black market. Ordinarily, there was no need for evidence to demonstrate someone's guilt. A denunciation was all it took to have someone arrested, and the detained person would then come under extortionist pressure. These units of the Jewish police had their own prison where they "interrogated" these miserables, whom they handed over to the Germans only after they had squeezed them dry.

A week after the March 1942 *Aktion*, the Gestapo ordered the Jewish policemen to report to the front of the *Judenrat* building. *Hauptsturmführer* Erich Engels, head of the Jewish Affairs Department of the Gestapo in Lvov, came to this location, escorted by a company of SS men, and informed the commander of the Jewish police that since the ghetto population had contracted by 30,000, there was no longer a need for so many policemen. Accordingly, their population would be trimmed by 200, starting with those who had failed to meet their quota during the *Aktion.* They were ordered to step out of line and turn in their caps, armbands, and billy clubs; a short time later, they were loaded aboard trucks. Thus the men who several days earlier had helped dispatch Jews to extermination were now banished to labor camps. In several cases, the destination was Janowska. The Germans promised the *Judenrat* that the deportation of the wayward policemen would be followed by a resumption of calm. As time passed, the ranks of the Jewish police swelled again—to 500 or, according to another source, to 750. Again, the newcomers were coarser that their predecessors …

The Jewish police had various duties in 1943: maintaining hygiene, taking morning roll-call, and escorting workers their jobs. They also hunted for "illegals" who were hiding in the camp and helped the Germans perform selections, in the aftermath of which many Jews were deported for extermination. The Jewish police in Lvov were also sent to nearby towns to take part in *Aktionen,* because Jewish policemen in those localities usually preferred to escape than to participate in the reviled task of turning over their brethren to the Germans. …

The misdeeds of the Jewish police left such a deep impression in the memories of the survivors of the Lvov ghetto that all testimonies mention them. The worst of all, according to the witnesses, were the *Sonderdienst* men, who believed that their total obeisance to the SS would save their lives. Members of this group, such as Guliger-Szapira, Krumholtz, Rupert, Scherc and Vogelwanger, aided the Germans by participating actively in deportations and in searches for hideouts. As inhabitants of the ghetto, they knew where to search. They dragged people out of their hiding places and unhesitatingly handed them over to the SS hangmen. They were corrupt; they amassed fortunes from bribes that they charged people to spare them from deportation. They also shamelessly participated in the Germans' drinking parties and merrymaking.[856]

With the approach of Passover, the Germans launched an *Aktion* against "asocial" elements. It began on March 19, 1942. To carry it out, the Jewish police were mobilized. The first group consigned to deportation was the poorest, located on the basis of a list of welfare recipients. Several days later, all Jews who lacked labor permits were gathered in the school on Sobieski Street. When the Germans found the roundup too small, they decided to complete the job themselves with the help of Ukrainian police. … On Passover eve, as the Jews seated themselves at the Seder table,

[856] Yones, *Smoke in the Sand,* 118–25.

policemen raided their homes, tore them away, and brutally led them to trains. They day after the festival, it transpired that the previous day's eve had been the last and bleakest day of the "March *Aktion,*" in which 15,000 Jews were removed from their homes and murdered. …

Before long, the Gestapo embarked on a purge among Jews who had collaborated with it. One by one, various agents and liaisons vanished and were murdered. The Germans began to eliminate anyone who seemed unnecessary to them or who knew too much. Thus, Reiss, the former soap-factory owner who had brokered between Engels and the *Judenrat* disappeared. So did the *Kripo* agent Oskar Halperin.[857]

On December 5, 1942 … A new *Aktion* had begun. … The ghetto was totally surrounded.

The Germans and Ukrainians—aided by members of the Jewish police—tossed grenades into the cellars and set afire the wretched wooden dwellings that lined Kleparów Square on all sides. The blaze spread quickly to adjacent buildings. Where Jews were suspected of hiding, the hovels were doused with large quantities of gasoline and then torched. … The dense smoke drove the Jews out of their hideouts. The Germans chased them down and murdered them. Infants were vivisected with bayonets, thrown into the fire, or smashed against the walls. …

After the *Aktion,* the Jewish police abducted Jews to bury the many corpses that remained in the streets. The "gravedigger unit," as this group was called, interred the bodies in the trenches across from Pilichowska Street.[858]

The 30 gravediggers were well situated materially, since they took valuable things from the corpses.[859]

In the middle of 1943, SS officer Warzog [Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Warzok], having finished his assignment with the liquidation of the Złoczów camp, replaced Willhaus as the commander of Janowska. The new commander … brought several Jews with him; they mingled among the prisoners, gathered information, and kept him abreast of the prisoners' doings. By means of deception and dissimulation, Warzog tried to create the impression that the regimen had become more humane. His purpose was to mislead the prisoners in order to obviate the possibility of an uprising.[860]

With regard to the aforementioned Warzok, a Jewish inmate of the Złoczów camp identified by name several Jewish policemen—the commander Julek Pordes, his brother, and Mundek Neuwelt (Schneider)—who served Warzok with exemplary diligence, stole from and physically abused fellow Jewish prisoners,

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[857] Yones, *Smoke in the Sand,* 164–65.

[858] Yones, *Smoke in the Sand,* 171–72.

[859] Testimony of Abraham Schuss, November 9, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1153.

[860] Yones, *Smoke in the Sand,* 208.

and reported on their activities. A Jewish foreman named Schildhaus denounced Jews who had secretly obtained arms, thereby resulting in their being killed by the German police.[861]

Jews in Brzeżany went out of their way to conceal from other Jews the hideouts they constructed in the ghetto in anticipation of raids by the Germans. Jewish policemen searched for hideouts and dragged out Jews, who were then loaded onto transport trains. Menachem Katz identified the Jewish policeman, Yankele Messer, as going around with the Gestapo and giving away hideouts during the liquidation of the ghetto.[862]

Jakub Lang recalled a Jewish policeman by the name of Stark who excelled in locating hideouts of Jews in the Lwów ghetto, thereby exceeding his quota.[863] Ada Kessler-Pawlak also recorded what she witnessed in the Lwów ghetto:

> Maks Goligier [Goliger] was in the Jewish police. He walked around the ghetto with his head raised and hit Jews with his rubber truncheon. He had friends among the Gestapo men … He was the right-hand man of the cannibals … He drank with them. His office was in a separate room in the Gestapo building on Pełczyńska Street, which Jews and Poles avoided from a distance. He pointed out former friends, and he knew everyone who wanted to pass as Aryans and did not wear their armbands.[864]

Goliger was also employed at the train station where he fingered Jews to the Germans. Jewish policemen were also employed to search for and apprehend Jewish converts.[865]

Other Jewish survivors from Lwów confirm this picture. Corruption flourished in the Judenrat. Dr. Ludwik Jaffe, who enjoyed excellent relations with the German authorities, made a fortune selling residences to wealthy Jews, as well as foreign documents that proved to be worthless.[866] The ghetto was "full of informers," thus paralyzing any underground activities. The *Sonderdienst* was also known to ferret out people with pro-Soviet sympathies and those who belonged to leftist organizations.[867] Jewish informers provided information for money to the Kripo (criminal police) about wealthy Jews in the ghetto for

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[861] Testimony of Jakób Chamaides, February 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4719.

[862] Testimony of an anonymous Jew, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/1373; Oral Interview with Menachem Katz, December 22, 1995, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1995.A.1272.269, RG number RG-50.120*0269.

[863] Testimony of Jakub Lang, December 21, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1340.

[864] Kessler-Pawlak, *Nie chcę nocy,* 52–53, 99, published also in French as Ada Pawlak, *Je refuse la nuit* (Paris: Giles Tautin, 1974). See also the testimony of Abraham Schuss, dated November 9, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1153

[865] Testimony of Henryka Trauber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1385.

[866] Testimony of Karol Orenstein, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4065; Testimony of Dawid Kahane, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4066; Testimony of Tadeusz Zaderecki, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4067.

[867] Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939–1945,* 190 (Rywka Kuper), 227–28.

extortion purposes. These wealthy Jews would be arrested, and, upon paying a bribe, were released.[868] Blackmailers were drawn not only from marginal elements of society, but also included some upright members. According to Samuel Drix,

> I would like to add that in the almost eleven months of my stay at Janowska camp and OT camp, I observed how people behaved at such a time of distress and struggle for life, often in a manner quite hard to predict from their education and social status. They showed themselves as they really were, beneath this veneer. There were some from good homes and privileged backgrounds who behaved like animals, not just stealing to survive but blackmailing and profiting through others' miseries so they could have a more comfortable life. Fortunately, such people were few, but they were influential. On the other hand, there were people from very simple backgrounds, poor and uneducated, who did all they could to help others at great personal sacrifice and risk.[869]

Drix describes what happened when four Jewish policemen tried to hide among the other Jews of the work camp:

> News about it spread like lightening and soon a crowd gathered, hostile to those four. Jewish policemen from the ghetto, in the period 1942 to 1943, had a very bad reputation. They had actively helped the Gestapo in all the actions, and were very eager, even too eager and brutal. They had filled their pockets with money and valuable objects from their victims or from those whom they had blackmailed. It was therefore understandable that this crowd of inmates granted no mercy to them and offered them no refuge. … These traitors and Judases had earned their punishment at the hands of their own brothers, and their masters' prize for their faithful service.[870]

Helene Kaplan, who was imprisoned in the Janowska camp in Lwów, reported:

> The Jewish policemen were also known for their lack of compassion towards their fellow Jews. If the lives of their own wives, husbands or children were in danger, all the others would be sacrificed. That was how they operated and how they earned their awful reputation. …
>
> Of course, some of the Jews were rank opportunists, people without scruples and with no soul. One of these was a cook in Janowska. He was killed by the inmates after they learned that he was selling food for money and diamonds while the rest were starving. Unfortunately there were quite a few like him.[871]

William Ungar, who lived in the ghetto in Lwów, also recalled the Jewish ghetto policemen as being "cruel and unscrupulous":

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[868] Drix, *Witness to Annihilation,* 38.

[869] Drix, *Witness to Annihilation,* 169.

[870] Drix, *Witness to Annihilation,* 171–72.

[871] Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska …,* 126.

> But many acted more like devoted servants in the hope of ingratiating themselves with the Gestapo. Others were just callous, brutal people, untouched by any of the nobler sentiments when it came to hunting down their fellows.

While at the Janowska labour camp, Ungar was denounced to the Gestapo by *oberjude* Tenenbaum, the German appointed chief of the Jewish workers.[872]

A handful Jews from the Lwów ghetto managed to escape and join work crews in Kiev where they posed as Christians. The Jewish intermediaries made a small fortune transporting those desperate to save their lives.

> Marek was fascinated with the Lvov-Kiev escape path that we uncovered. He felt that a lot of Jews could be shipped through it out of Lvov. He was getting friendly with Romek and was trying to get involved in the transports. Was he motivated by the desire to help our compatriots? This was undoubtedly important to him, but what really fascinated Marek was the business opportunity. A safe escape from the Ghetto was worth a lot of money. Marek felt that if he made contact with the Ghetto, he could get a thousand gold dollars per escapee. In a few trips he could make a fortune.[873]

The Jewish police from Lwów also took part in the liquidation of ghettos in outlying areas.[874] Throughout Eastern Galicia, as in Lwów, the Germans employed both the Ukrainian and Jewish police to liquidate the ghettos and to search for Jews who tried to hide or escape during the round-ups for deportation to death camps. The following towns are documented in the United States Holocaust Memorial Mesuem's *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*:[875] Bóbrka, Bolechów, Borszczów,[876] Borysław, Brody,

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[872] William Ungar and David Chanoff, *Destined to Live* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000), 171–72, 253, 276, 277.

[873] Edwin Langberg with Julia M. Langberg, *Sara's Blessing* (Lumberton, New Jersey: Emethas Publishers, 2003), 70.

[874] In Stryj and Rawa Ruska, they helped the German and Ukrainian police round up Jews for deportation to Bełżec, and were particularly adept at discovering and destroying hideouts. See Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 356; Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* vol. 2, 506. In Busk, in addition to the SS, Wehrmacht, SD, German gendarmes, armed local *Volksdeutsche*, and Ukrainian police, the Germans brought in over a dozen Jewish policemen from Lwów. The terrorized Polish population, appalled by what was happening, locked themselves up in their homes. See A. Shayari, ed., *Busk: In Memory of Our Community* (Haifa: The Busker Organization in Israel, 1965), xlvi. Jewish policemen from Lwów were also employed in *Aktions* in Rudki, near Sambor, and Brody. See, respectively, the testimony of Henryka Trauber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1385, and the testimony of Kalman Harnik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1777.

[875] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 750, 752, 754, 755, 759, 763, 765, 771, 775, 778, 785, 791–92, 796, 815, 819, 822, 825, 827, 830, 835, 838, 840, 844, 850, 854.

[876] According to the testimony of Lusia Mehr, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2522, corrupt Judenrat members lived very comfortably in Borszczów thanks to the bribes they demanded from well-off Jews for protection. Another survivor identifies Abusz Seidmann as a corrupt police officer who looked for Jewish hideouts, took the valuables of those he betrayed, and partied with Gestapo men. After the war, he managed to retain some of those valuables. See the testimony of Bronisława Heinberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4100. This information is not found in Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 754.

Buczacz, Bukaczowce, Czortków,[877] Drohobycz, Gródek Jagielloński, Jaworów, Kołomyja, Kopyczyńce, Przemyślany, Rawa Ruska, Rohatyn, Sambor,[878] Skałat, Sokal, Stryj,[879] Tarnopol,[880] Tłumacz, Trembowla, Złoczów, and Żurawno. Episodes of corruption on the part of the Jewish councils (Judenrats) and Jewish police abound.[881] Despite this overwhelming evidence, Israeli historian Yitzhak Arad claims: "Cases in which the Jewish police openly aided the Germans were few, and such conduct was not characteristic of the Jewish police in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union."[882]

In Złoczów,

> On the 28th of August 1942, the Tarnopol Gestapo arrived in Zloczow. The Ukrainian militia from the entire area was mobilized. All of the streets where the Jews lived were closed and attacked. The *aktsia* began. The Jews hid, some in an attic, some in a cellar and some in rooms. The murderers banged on closed doors everywhere. Since the murderers were no great heroes and since they were afraid to happen upon resistance on the part of the hidden, a representative of the *Judenrat* or of the Jewish militia had to accompany each group [of the murderers].
>
> The Jews had to walk in front and open the Jewish houses and when this was of no help, they were given axes and they hacked open the doors. All of the *Judenrat* members took part in this shameful work. The only one who refused to [take part] was Dr. Majblum. The people were attacked without restraint during the *aktsia*. They tried to provide the designated quota as quickly as possible. (It should be said that one of those taking part in this *aktsia*, Dr. Gerber, still is alive and lives in Paris.) D. Landesberg, the commandant of the Jewish militia, promised Jewish children candy and thus induced them to go out to the street. B. Szapiro went to his woman friend, R. Rozenbaum; he knew that she had a small child. He did not leave until he found the child and he took it from the house. The chase for souls lasted two days. The victims were brought to the train station where they had to wait kneeling for the train wagons. They were not permitted to have any

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[877] According to the testimony of Lusia Mehr, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2522, when members of the Czortków Judenrat and their families arrived at the Głęboczek estate, where Jews were still employed, after the liquidation of the Czrotków ghetto, they lived opulently.

[878] Immediately after the war, Jews from Sambor identified twelve Jewish survivors as collaborators: Herman (Henryk) Stahl, Aleksander Berger (Zamieński), Bruno Szeps/Feiner, Chaim Lainer, Izak Enner, Treibicz, Hamerschmid, Bronisław Begleiter (deceased), Dolek Frei, Dr. Fenster, Izko Lewental, Helka Cailer (the mistress of the head of the Gestapo). See the letter dated November 21, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2199.

[879] For the activities of Jewish policemen in Stryj who handed over Jews to save themselves and searched for Jews hidden in bunkers see the testimony of Sydonia Ebner, dated July 19, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3371 and the testimony of Zygmunt Wohlman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4044 (Wohlman mentions Roth, Sobel, Rudolf, and Bienstock).

[880] For confirmation of the pivotal role played by Jewish policemen in Tarnopol see the testimony of Salomon Katz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2155.

[881] For the activities of corrupt Jewish policemen from Radziłłów, several of whom survived and settled in Israel, see the testimonies of Paulina Hecker and Zofia Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5439.

[882] Yitzhak Arad, *In the Shadow of the Red Banner: Soviet Jews in the War against Nazi Germany* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, in association with Yad Vashem, The International Institute for Holocaust Reseach, 2010), 258.

food or drink. During the wait for the train wagons, a number of those caught were freed due to their patronage.

The second *aktsia* took place eight weeks later, on the 2nd and 3rd of November 1942. This time the city had to provide 2,500 victims. The *Judenrat* provided them. Special emphasis was given to children during the second *aktsia*. The living children were packed into sacks and they were taken to the train in vehicles.

Shortly after the typhus epidemic, on the 2nd of April 1943, the last and most frightening chapter in the history of Zloczow Jewry occurred – the liquidation of the ghetto.

Engel, the well-known murderer and liquidator in the Galicia district, who was the representative of Katzman, the Lemberg and Tarnopol Gestapo [commander], came to the liquidation.

The ghetto was surrounded on the night of the 1st into the 2nd of April, as the Jews slept calmly, not sensing that danger was so near. Thus, the murderers made sure that no mouse could leave from there. All who were in the ghetto that night had to die. There were many from the camps and workshops who, by chance, were spending the night with their families in the ghetto and, therefore, they paid with their lives. In the morning the murderers accompanied by Jewish militia men went from house to house, drove the victims out of their beds and everyone, from young to old, was driven to the collection point which was located at the so called Green Market. The hunt was large. The victims were not given any time to dress. The mood of the masses on the 2nd of April was more apathetic, in contradiction to the panic that reigned during the pogrom and *aktsias* [deportations]. Few believed in the sweet promises of the Germans; they knew that this was the end – and yet they acted calmly…

The marketplace was full of people. The Germans placed a basket into which the victims had to toss their money, watches, rings and other such items that they had with them. The Jewish militiamen saw to it that the order would be precisely carried out. The militiaman, Yosl Landau, was particularly brutal. He tore the rings from fingers with such brutality that blood began to flow from a number of victims. Trucks pulled up to the square. They began to load in the people. Up to 40 people on each truck.[883]

In Buczacz,

most survivors condemned the Judenrat and the Jewish Police for corruption. When supplying the Germans with workers for forced labor camps, the Jewish Police, initially commanded by Josef (Józef) Rabinowicz, would "seize … only the poorest Jews … who could not ransom themselves." … The last head, Baruch Kramer, came in for the harshest condemnation. This "handsome Jew … was still a follower of Hasidism and wore side locks" before the war. But "under the Germans he shaved and became their servant." As head, "he ran around with a hatchet during the roundups and betrayed the hiding places of the Jews. … He celebrated with the Germans and forced young Jewish women to come to these feasts." He was thus deemed "more of a collaborator than a Jew,"

[883] Szlojme Mayer, ed., *Der Untergang fun Zloczów* (Munich, 1947), translated as *The Destruction of Zloczów,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Zolochiv/Zolochiv.html>.

> in charge of a Judenrat that "became a tool of the Gestapo." Similar bitterness was expressed about "the shameful actions of the Jewish Police, which, at the height of its degeneration, was headed by Mojżesz Albrecht." Moshe Wizinger, who later fought with the Polish Resistance, wrote scathingly: "The Jewish Police are robbing, killing, worse than the Germans; Albrecht walks down the streets in an Ordnungsdienst uniform. Like the Germans, he is holding a whip in his hand and woe to whoever will stand in his way."[884]
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> The face of a German appeared in the hole. Then the triumphant cry: "Juden sind da!" [There are Jews here]. The children started crying. … The Jewish OD and the Germans burst into the bunker. They beat the people wherever they could and chased them out to the street. I was the third to go out. As I left, I was hit in the side with the butt of a rifle, but at that moment I didn't even feel the pain. … After everyone had come out of the bunker, they escorted us, surrounded by Gestapo and OD-men, towards the prison.[885]

In Stryj,

> From time to time little Actions were carried out by the Jewish police under Nazi orders. Why should the Nazis bother to hunt the despicable Jews if the work could be done by the Jews themselves? It was so easy to set Jews against Jews. How tragic! How low we had fallen! The kidnappers came to the ghetto to find the bunkers of their fellow Jews and hand them over to be killed. The order of the Gestapo required a certain number of Jews to be handed over, and the police had to supply that number. Sometimes there were thrashings and absolute murder when they found a bunker. Those who were caught were first taken to the Great Synagogue and were kept there under police guard until they were handed over to the Gestapo. The well-to-do who could pay a ransom to the Jewish Council were set free, and others were caught in their place.[886]

In the town of Bolechów, south of Stryj, conditions are described as follows:

> After Dr. Reifeisen's suicide, Dr. Schindler was appointed as the head of Judenrat. Jewish police (or militia) were, as well, organized under the command of the lawyer Dr. Pressler. Initially their role was quite modest and restricted, as for instance, the safeguard of order in the public kitchen of the Judenrat. Later on their importance increased. They got a special cap with a yellow band and an armband they wore on their lower forearm that read, "JUEDISCHER ORDUNGSDIENST" in red embroidered letters. A kind of cooperation developed between them and the Ukrainian police. Jewish policemen helped in the forced mobilization of Ukrainian labor for compulsory work in Germany. For some time the Ordungsdienst was much feared by the Gentiles in the neighborhood. …

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[884] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 763.

[885] Account of Mosge Wizinger in Bartov, *Voices on War and Genocide,* 328–29.

[886] Jonah Friedler, "The Destruction of the Stryj Community," in N. [Nathan] Kudish, et al., eds., *Sefer Stryj* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Stryj in Israel, 1962), 179; translated as *Book of Stryj,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/stryj2/Stryj2.html>.

Since the early autumn one could see dozens of men, women and children begging for food from door to door. Most were horribly swollen from hunger. They also picked nettle and other supposedly edible plants in order to prepare something to eat. These people came mostly from the poorer element as well as from the expelled. The Judenrat kitchens supplied hundreds of meals but, unfortunately, these only consisted of thin soup. Typhoid and hunger played havoc with scores. The mortality rate started with several deaths per day and gradually rose to more than 40 deaths a day in the winter of 1942. Then there was a decline. Almost daily, Jewish policemen had to break into dwellings and pull out dead bodies. The total number of victims was then estimated at between 600 and 800.

In contrast, some relatively well-to-do Jews still managed to lead more or less normal lives. Some even had Gentile housemaids and their children got private lessons. Some problems could still be solved by money. …

The Jewish police (Ordnungsdienst) then consisted of several tens and had ties with the Ukrainian police. …

People got used to beatings and humiliating insults, to "searches" serving as a pretext for looting or bad treatment. The fact that there were several informers and traitors ceased to be considered unusual. …

The "Great Action," as the second action was called, differed from the first action in many ways: public executions (although not of hundreds or thousands), searches in Christian houses, apparently better and more methodical planning, participation of the Jewish police and groups of "Hitlerjugend" (Hitler's youth organization) brought from outside. Paramilitary organs of "Railway Guards" (Bahnschutzpolizei) and "Forest Guards" also joined. Helmets were commonly worn, a kind of novelty at that time.

The worst murderers proved to be the Ukrainian policemen, Luhovyi, Demianyn and, above all, the depraved sadist Matowiecki. Another horrible assassin, equal only to Matowiecki was Strutynski, also a Ukrainian policeman. The German Piatke of Stryj Schupo (Schutzpolizei), chief of Bolechow's [Bolechów's] Ukrainian police, had dogs trained to literally tear their victims to pieces.

Some Jewish policemen showed extraordinary ability, enthusiasm and initiative when searching the hiding, often being praised by the Germans and Ukrainians.

When some 2,500 Jews returned from the woods, villages and hideouts they found a looted and deserted town. Dead bodies were still lying everywhere. … It seems the Germans decided to monopolize this "branch." They sent great amounts of commodities and furniture to Lwow [Lwów] by lorries. It appears, however, they only took interest in goods of higher quality. …

On October 24, 1942, the Judenrat was ordered to extradite 400 Jews to the Gestapo. The task was carried out by the Jewish police. Only on the third, and last, day the Ukrainian police were approached to "give a hand." … During this action, whoever had the means to bribe the Judenrat, the Ukrainian and the Jewish police, was released. To replace the freed, poorer people were arrested. In fact, they only recently turned poor since the bulk of the original paupers had already disappeared in the spring. This base practice, in addition to being a means for extorting money, also represented the policy of the Judenrat to get rid of the poor. They were considered an element lacking the ability to survive. Finally the 400 were packed into a freight train and transported to an unknown destination (We later learned it was Belzec [Bełżec]). …

> Some weeks after the third action, from the 20th to 23rd of November, the fourth action took place. 300 Jews were caught by the Jewish police. This time it was without the help of the Ukrainian police. Again, they were put into a cargo train. In all aspects this action resembled the third action. But now, the employed were exempted. The equipment of he "policemen" consisted of axes, picks and so on used to break the "bunkers" (i.e.: kinds of hiding places). In order to prevent the arrested from escaping, they used various tricks such as taking away the men's trouser belts, thus making running impossible. They also tied the victims to the policemen with ropes. They held them on leashes like dogs. All this was mainly because they had no real weapons. …
>
> All believed the hour of the final action had come. But after some time it became clear that the aim was only to capture the newcomers from Stryj. Jewish policemen arrived and took the unfortunates out, promising they would be sent to the Janowski camp in Lwow. This was an infamous labor camp in Lwow where thousands died. The group was escorted to the Magistrate. There they were held until the afternoon (pending the digging of the grave). Then they were led, until heavy guard, including the "Ordnungsdienst," to the Jewish cemetery. There they were ordered to completely undress and had to wait an additional two hours as the grave was still incomplete. Some tried unsuccessfully to escape. All the others were shot. The Jewish policemen intended to leave the cemetery but suddenly the Germans and Ukrainians surrounded them. Prior to being executed, the Jewish policemen performed a kind of military parade with salutes, standing at attention, etc, literally to the verge of the grave. Finally they, too, had to undress. Apparently their commander, the lawyer Pressler, son-in-law of Dr. Schindler, had slapped the face of the Nazi superior officer. It should be mentioned that early in the morning several Jewish policemen fled, since they felt endangered. On the next day, Dr. Schindler committed suicide.[887]

Throughout occupied Poland, the Jewish police played a pivotal role in the round-ups of Jews for deportation to death camps and the killing fields. Since membership in the police force carried with it many benefits (later on those who joined also came to believe their cooperation might spare them and their families), recruits were not hard to find. However, the abuses they committed against their fellow Jews, such as extortion, robberies, beatings, and even rapes, are inexcusable. The testimonies of Jews from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski about the behaviour of the Jewish police are among the most damning of many such reports.[888] Jewish testimonies state that Jewish policemen were more brutal, sadistic and zealous than the Gestapo itself.[889] Moshe (Moszek) Puczyc, the commander, organized hunts for escapees from the ghetto and handed them over to the Gestapo, and extorted money from those wanting to avoid deportation; the brothers Abram and Lejb Zajfman extorted money, beat Jews and stole their property, and raped Jewish women; Michał Klajner ferreted out hidden Jews during deportations, beat Jews, and selected Jewish girls

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[887] Joseph Adler, "Chapters of Annihilation," in Y. Eshel, ed., *Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Bolechow*, Internet: <http:www.jewishgen.orf/Yizkor/Bolekhov/Bolekhov.html>, translation of *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kedoshei Bolechow* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Bolechow in Israel, 1957), 120ff., 305ff.

[888] Testimony of Anzel Daches, Majer Gdański, Laja Goldman, Mojżesz Klajman, Chana Kohn, Jakub Libman, and Izrael Szerman, dated October 13, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2932.

[889] Testimony of Szlama Gutwilen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2054; Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

for the sexual amusement of the Gestapo; Pinkas Langer was a Gestapo informer; Dawid Najman, another Gestapo informer, exposed Jews who hid their valuables and avoided paying the forced contribution.[890] Naftali Hersz Wajngenszperg, a Judenrat member and later policeman, as well as Mosiek Alterman, another Judenrat member, acquired bad reputations for denouncing Jews who failed to pay levies or attempted to escape.[891] Abram Zajfman, Moszek Puczyc, Gaj, Motel Goldsztajn, Lejbuś (Leon) Sztajnbojm, and Dawid Diament took part in round-ups, beating those they apprehended and seized their property.[892]

The Jewish police played an important role in the deportations to the death camps from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski in October 1942 and January 1943, by rounding up Jews and luring them out of their hideouts.

> On the first night of the Aktion [of October 10, 1942], the Judenrat was eliminated, and all its remaining members were absorbed into the Jewish Police, which became responsible for life and death in the quarter. …
>
> The Germans soon realized, however, that a large number of Jews had gone into hiding or fled the ghetto during the early phases of the Aktion. With the help of I. Rubinstein, the head of former heard of the Judenrat, and also members of the Jewish Police, hundreds of Jews were assembled in the market square, after they had been lured out of hiding, on the false pretense that they would be sent to work in the Starachowice factory camp. Most of this group was sent to Treblinka.
>
> On January 10, 1943, a second deportation Aktion was carried out, this time against the small ghetto. … The Jewish Police assisted the Gestapo in finding those Jews who had gone into hiding. On that day some 300 Jews were shot by members of the SS and the Schupo.[893]

Jews who were held for deportation in an enclosed area would beg Jewish policemen for water. The policemen demanded $100 and $200 dollars, telling those unfortunates condescendingly that they no longer needed money.[894] After the deportation, Jewish policemen like Moszek Puczyc, Chaskiel Pelman and others, searched for Jews who had hidden in hideouts. Promising clemency, they took their valuables and money, and then handed the Jews over to the Gestapo.[895] Estera Szer, a native of Ostrowiec Świętkrzyski, wrote: "my entire close family perished thanks to the Jewish police."[896] Abram Zajfman and Szafir, who were in charge of one of the work camps, demanded valuables and money for the privilege of working at

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[890] Testimony of Szlama Gutwilen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2054.

[891] Testimony of Szyja Grynberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2774.

[892] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[893] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 270.

[894] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[895] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[896] Testimony of Estera Szer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2979.

the camp, and then turned the people from whom they extorted over to the Gestapo for deportation.[897] Abram Zajfman, a policeman, had a notorious reputation from the outset. Initially, he searched for goods that Jews had hidden away and took a cut of the proceeds. Afterwards, he searched for Jews in hideouts with the help of the Jewish police, and handed them over to the German authorities for deportation to Treblinka. As camp head, he demanded bribes for protection, beat inmates, and sexually abused women.[898] The Jewish policemen at that camp—Moszek Puczyc, Ber Blumenfeld, Michał Klajner, Gaj, Leon Sztajnbojm, Dawid Diament, Szmul Wajnworcel—were known for their sadistic mistreatment of the inmates. They demanded bribes from well-off Jews for the privilege of not having to work.[899] Hersz Balter demanded large sums of money from Jews who wanted to return to their homes for things they left behind, and then abandoned them.[900] At another work camp, the foreman Icchak (Icek) Rozenman imposed excessive production quotas and beat workers who did not meet them, as well as other workers.[901] The Jewish police commander of a work camp near Kielce informed the German authorities of a planned prisoner escape; nine Jews were apprehended and hanged by Jewish policemen.[902] Work camps were closely guaded by Jewish policemen to prevent escapes. When the Stein brothers (Kopel and Moshe) ran away from the work camp to join the partisans in July 1944, a Jewish foreman named Ezril Blumensztok reported it to the Gestapo and joined the Schutzpolizei in the hunt for the escapees. After their capture, the brothers were tortured and then shot dead in front of all the inmates. Blumensztok received a reward of one kilogram of sugar and 200 cigarettes.[903]

According to Isaiah Trunk, the trial in Israel of David Neiman, a policeman from the Ostowiec ghetto, "gives an idea of the deplorable role the Jewish police played during the 'resettlement' in some of the ghettos and of the attitudes of the inmates towards them: the mere fact that a bunker became known to a Jewish policeman was enough to scare the hidden Jews and to compel them to scatter."[904] While the testimonies of survivors regarding the Jewish policemen from Ostrowiec are merciless, the courts in Israel saw things differently. Moshe (Marian) Puczyc, the local police commander, was acquitted at his 1952 trial. Mordechai Goldstein, a policeman at the Ostrowiec camp, who was tried in 1953, was sentenced to a prison term of one month. According to witnesses, Goldstein used to beat people with a stick for no reason, even

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[897] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[898] Testimony of Szyja Grynberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2779.

[899] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[900] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089.

[901] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089; Testiomony of Miriam Gutholc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3877.

[902] Testimony of Gerszon Lewkowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 64.

[903] Testimony of Chil Rozenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3089; Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 79. Another inmate of the Octrowiec labour camp identifies the person who betrayed the Stein brothers, who were said to be planning to escape from the camp, as Blumental, a *Kapo*. See the testimony of Wolf Fajnsztadt, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 945.

[904] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 558.

when the Germans were not present. He would chase half-dressed prisoners out of their huts at night in winter by beating them. "Everyone feared him. They feared him more than the Germans."[905] The Israeli rabbinate in Jerusalem exonerated the notorious Zajfman brothers who settled in Brazil, much to the dismay of survivors with painful memories of the brothers' many cruel deeds.[906]

Josef Zelkowicz condemns the Jewish ghetto police in Łódź. He provides details on their motives,[907] which did not include imminent fear of death or family members held as Nazi hostages. After all, Zelkowicz made the statements in September 1942,[908] at which time the Jewish population of the Łódź ghetto was overwhelmingly still intact, and was to remain so for nearly another two years. Interestingly, Zelkowicz makes it clear that the German rewards to the Jewish police were strikingly similar to that given to Poles in order to get them to denounce fugitive Jews. Zelkowicz writes,

> They bought the Jewish police—got them drunk, and drugged them by exempting their children from the [deportation] decree … and by giving them a kilogram and a half of bread per day—plenty of bread, plus sausage and sugar—in return for the bloodstained job. … Who should do it but the Jewish police, who in one stroke have been bought off, intoxicated, and ideationally persuaded.[909]

Another resident of the Łódź ghetto recalled:

> Once, before one of the most dramatic *shpera* (curfew) in the Lodz [Łódź] ghetto, the Jewish police needed more helpers for their horrible task of selecting all the children for deportation to the death camps. They also tried to mobilize the ghetto firefighters … Everyone who agreed to participate in this criminal action would receive a big loaf of bread … Some firefighters accepted the bread and participated.[910]

After bribing their way out of the prison where they were being held for deportation, Seva Scheer and her brother made their way back to the Łódź ghetto. "But then a Jewish policeman showed the Germans where

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[905] Rivka Brot, "The Gray Zone of Collaboration and the Israeli Courtroom," in Jockush and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 331–50.

[906] Gershon Silberberg, ed., and M.S. [Meir Shimon] Geshuri, comp., *Sefer Ostrovtsah: le-zikaron ule-'edut* (Tel Aviv: Society of Ostrovtser Jews in Israel,
with the cooperation of the Ostrovtser Societies in New York and Toronto, 1971); translated as *Ostrowiec: A Monument on the Ruins of an Annihilated Jewish Community,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/ostrowiec/Ostrowiec.html>, 549–52: A. Boymfeld, "My Hometown Ostrovtse!"; Eber Beynerman, "We Do Not Pardon the Jewish Collaborators."

[907] Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days,* 305–6.

[908] Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days,* 297.

[909] Zelkowicz, *In Those Terrible Days,* 305–6.

[910] Michael Moshe Checinski, *Running the Gauntlet of Anti-Semitism: From Polish Counterintelligence to the German/American Marshall Center* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2004), 38.

we were hiding, in an attic. One German had a whip and he hit my brother! … When my brother could hardly walk they took us both." They were deported to Auschwitz.[911]

Anatol Chari, a policeman in the Łódź ghetto, describes his duties—guarding food depots and controlling bakery employees, patrolling the ghetto to confiscate food from residents, rounding up prisoners for transport to death camps—as well as the privileges his position brought: "We walked into stores that were off-limits to the general population. We received special ration cards, which meant larger rations, better quality food, and no standing in a long line at the general distribution store." He recounts the involvement of Jewish policemen in swindling food rations and in forcing women to provide sexual services in exchange for bread.[912]

Dr. Leopold Lustig points out that those who joined the Order Police in Drohobycz tended to come from well-off families, rarely from the social margins, and often were prominent members of the Jewish community.

> After work, I stopped by to see Salek Welzer … His mother says, "Salek has hidden because they're looking for him to unload potatoes." In comes Wilek Ornstein, an *ordner,* former hockey-player for "Betar." … Where's Salek?" "I don't know," says Mrs. Welzer, and he hits her in the face, and raises his fist again, but I grabbed his arm from behind and twisted it. People came running so he went off. The next morning, Schönbach comes to the *appellplatz.* … Wilek points at me. Schönbach hits me with that signet ring and crushes my nose. That amused him. He ordered a *lauspromenade,* louse road, to be shaved down the middle of my scalp, so that they could keep an eye on me …
>
> Fredzio W. went to secondary school with me. His mother died before the war. His father, a pipe-fitter by trade, muscular as a bull and incapable of speaking in a human way in any language, became one of the most dreaded *ordners.* When the Germans had taken away most of the Jews and didn't need so many *ordners,* they led them in a formation to the cemetery and said, "We swore to you that, in recognition of your good services, you wouldn't be taken away, so we are going to kill you on the spot." Later the *ordners'* new commandant brought Fredzio his father's cap. "If you want to, you can put it on." And Fredzio put it on and became an *ordner.* Alek Madfes, also from my gymnasium, talented, from a well-to-do family, his father was in the oil business, became an *ordner* after they had taken his parents away. And Mićko R.—the best soccer player in "Betar"—they took his wife, he

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[911] Rhoda G. Lewin, ed., *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 75.

[912] Anatol Chari and Timothy Braatz, *From Ghetto to Death Camp: A Memoir of Privilege and Luck* ([Lakeville, Minnesota]: Disproportionate Press, 2011), 46 (better food rations). Jan Peczkis made the following illuminating observations in a review on Amazon:

> Anatol Chari, the Jewish ghetto policeman, implicates himself in the roundup and loading of Jews onto the trains (e.g, p. 73). However, in doing so, he could not possibly have been trying to save his own life, for the simple reason that he did not realize—at least not fully—that boarding the train was usually synonymous with death! He thus candidly admits that, "We didn't know where the transports went, we didn't know about the gas vans and gas chambers, so a person could pretend it was just a new work assignment." (p. 73) To be sure, there were indirect clues, such as the initially-exclusive shipment of the young, old, and infirm (inconsistent with labor requirements at the destination); the arrival of bullet-ridden clothing; and (later, in 1944), notes in the returning empty trains with "We are at Auschwitz. It's not good." (p. 73, 76) However, by Chari's own admission (p. 73), the Jews were usually in denial in the face of these clues (p. 73). In addition, according to Chari, "Most people in Lodz had never even heard of it, so 'Auschwitz' meant nothing to us." (p. 76) Consequently, the Jews, of the Lodz ghetto at least, had at most a vague concept of their impending collective annihilation. Clearly, their collaborative acts with the Germans could not have been motivated by a desperation in the face of an annihilation that they did not believe in.

turned his own relatives in. And Leonek Felsen, the goal-keeper … All strong, fit, in athletic condition.

There were specialists among them. Bross and Baustein knew how to find children who had been hidden and blackmail their parents. Bross had a furniture store before the war; Baustein had been a sergeant in the Austrian army in the previous war. Handsome Bronek Dauerman, black hair and blue eyes, a butcher who knew his trade, hit where it hurt the most. Poliwka, a snitch with watery eyes, watched where someone was hiding and informed Mensinger, brought in from Lwów by Hildebrand. Meszko Weiss, a pre-war street urchin, headed the *Raubkommando* and searched wealthy homes. They killed Imek Grunfeld's parents and he went around bloated with hunger, so he joined Weiss.

And the intelligentsia. Yoel Holzman, an attorney, he took our Yetka to *Sammelstelle.* Nemlich, a refugee from the west, who taught us geography in the Soviet school. A first-rate young violinist, Galotti, who father was an Italian Jew and mother a Polish Gentile, became the first commandant of the ghetto police. … Maciek Ruhrberg, a young lawyer, unsuccessful before the war because there were too many lawyers in Drohobycz. His father-in-law, Doctor Rosenblatt, became chairman of the Judenrat and Maciek handled extortions. Educated, speaking good Polish and German, they had better access and took more. After he had robbed enough, Maciek bought himself Aryan papers and fled to Warsaw. He sported a beard and paraded there, elegant as an English lord. But the Gestapo, who had their snitches from Drohobycz in Warsaw, brought him back, beat him until he returned everything, and shot him by the fence.

Nobody else, though, enriched himself as much as Engineer Weintraub. He prepared the lists for Hildebrand—who was indispensable and who wasn't—and he was the lord over life and death. He had his experts who knew who had dollars and valuables, because he wasn't from Drohobycz himself, he had drifted to us. Small piggy eyes, fat face, he ate and drank with Hildebrand and Mensinger. …

Baumgarten, Weintraub's main confidant and supplier, drank with him and the SS men. He supplied them with gold and the best boots from the artisan bootmaker, Freilich. Baumgarten had a lover, Giza Bachman, former secretary to an attorney. She knew how to blackmail people, and his son specialized in servicing beautiful married women. They believed that the world belonged to sons-of-bitches, and, indeed, it did. One of the Wiesenthal brothers—they owned a perfumery on Mickiewicz Street—was with us on Borysławska with his wife and little son. They had money. During a selection in the court, Minkus pulled their boy out. "Herr Scharführer, we need this Jew, could you make an exception?" Minkus, with his red, drunkard's face, foamed at the mouth and put the barrel of the gun to Baumgarten's temple, *"Saujude du sollst nicht frech warden!*" And afterwards they drank together again.[913]

Rabbi Leon Thorne, who observed their activities, was merciless in his assessment of the Jewish police in Drohobycz.

> The Jewish Police were more pliable and worse than the [Jewish] Council. They did nothing to help their fellow Jews, although they did try to save their own relatives. They attempted to hold on to their valuables and bribe their way out of danger. Their record was a disgraceful one.

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[913] Henryk Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories: True Tales from the Holocaust and Life After* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 28–30.

> In the ghettos, Jews were busy making hiding places for themselves and many of the camouflaged entrances to cellars and lofts. The expected the worst to happen.
>
> On November 4, 1942, the Germans went into action, and the Jews scurried into their carefully prepared hiding place. During the first few days, the Germans managed to find only a few dozen Jews. They were so angry and frustrated they thought of bombarding the ghetto with artillery, thus forcing the Jews to leave their hiding places. There was even talk of sending tanks into the ghetto, but it never materialized.
>
> And then the Jewish Police proposed to carry out the arrests themselves. The Germans gladly agreed and the "November Action" began.
>
> The Jewish Police at first arrested only the older people. … In this fashion, at least the lives of the young people could be saved. Naturally, the old folks felt that they had been betrayed. They were right, but there was nothing anyone could do about it.
>
> The prisoners were moved into a large building called the Komarner Synagogue. The windows were barred and the doors bolted. German police and Ukrainian militia guarded the area, thus the ancient House of Worship had become a prison.
>
> For more than three weeks the Jewish Police rushed about the Jewish quarter with axes and mattocks, searching for Jews. Doors were smashed, floor planks uprooted and hundreds of elderly Jews were discovered and arrested.
>
> As I write these lines, I don't know how people will think about this event in the future. Will they believe it was especially cruel to single out the old people? But the saddest thing of al is that the Jewish Police were so willing to help the Germans and do all the dirty work.
>
> Then one day, typhoid fever broke out in the Komarner Synagogue. Hundreds of Jews died like flies. This matter was particularly bothersome for the Jewish Police who had to supply a new quota of Jews to replace the dead. The more Jews they brought in, the more deaths there were.[914]

The ghetto police in Wilno were a privileged class dominated by right-wing Zionists. They participated in rounding up Jews during various German operations such as the mass deportations in autumn 1941 and winter 1942. They acted as guards en route to Ponary and helped unload passengers on arrival at the killing fields. They also rounded up Jews for the deportation to the Kaiserwald concentration camp near Riga in the fall of 1943, and took part in *Aktions* carried out in smaller towns in the vicinity.[915] Jewish policemen

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[914] Thorne, *Out of the Ashes,* 108–10.

[915] Arūnas Bubnys, "Kauno ir Vilniaus getų žydų policija (1941–1944 m.)" [The Jewish Police in the Kaunas and Vilnius Ghettos (1941–1944)], *Genocidas ir rezistencija,* no. 1 (17), 2005; Monika Tomkiewicz, *Zbrodnia w Ponarach 1941–1944* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 189. See, for example, the testimony of Chana Grynszpan, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 169. According to the testimony of Chaja Morewska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 276, well-to-do Jews from Riga helped create a party-like atmosphere in the Kaiserwald camp for the privileged prisoners, which entailed keeping lovers and holding orgies, concerts and dances. When the Soviet front was approaching and bribed German personnel allowed these wealthy Jews to escape, Jewish prisoners organized enforcers to prevent them from doing so.

robbed evacuated apartments and delivered to the Lithuanian police hundreds of Jews whom they had found in hiding places.[916] An eyewitness described some of the scenes she witnessed:

> In the morning we heard heartrending cries from the courtyard next door. Passageways had been carved out there as was done in other courtyards between buildings. I saw Jewish policemen dragging eight women, children, and old people out of the basement on the far side of the courtyard of the building. The young men and girls resisted, would not give in to the police, and wormed their way out of it. …
>
> One of the carriers ran in with a new communiqué: the police had sent for all doctors and nurses to assemble in the hospital courtyard. About a hundred people in white gowns were lowered down; the police surrounded them and led them to the entrance and evidently from there to the camps as well.[917]

Mendel Balberyszski, a ghetto resident accuses the Jewish council, in conjunction with the Jewish police, of luring Jews to their deaths.

> A few days after the small ghetto was liquidated and stood empty, the Judenrat of the large ghetto announced that anyone who wanted to could move over to the liquidated ghetto and receive comfortable accommodation there. Those who rook up the offer would be permitted to take over the items left by the people who had been removed. Many Jews accepted the offer and went to the small ghetto. …
>
> The Jewish police of the large ghetto wanted to get rid of what they termed "illegal Jews"—Jews who had no valid work permit. They were particularly interested in eliminating the older and sick people living in the provisional old-age home. The Jewish police of the large ghetto forced out old and lonely people who had no one to save them. … To drive back Jews to the small ghetto after its liquidation was one of the many cynical exercises of the Judenrat in the large ghetto. As soon as the population in the small ghetto was once more large enough for the Gestapo to become interested, they arrived and with whips and dogs dispatched the whole population to Ponary.[918]

Belberyszski dismisses the arguments justifying those who joined the Jewish police force.

> In time, the police force grew bigger. It established additional branches—a criminal branch and the gate police at the entrance to the ghetto—as well as a police command office, a cooperative, a public kitchen and a court.
>
> The gate police were under the command of a young captain named Meir Levas from Kovno. He was a pathological sadist who trained his unit in his own sadistic spirit and the ghetto often suffered as a result.

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[916] Daniel Blatman, *En direct du ghetto: La presse clandestine juive dans le ghetto de Varsovie (1940–1943)* (Paris: Cerf; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), 423. Among the victims was the father of Mikail Brantsovsky, whose hideout was betrayed by a Jewish policeman. See Biographies: Fania Brantsovskaya, Internet: <http://www.centropa.org>. See also the testimony of Chaja Morewska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 276.

[917] Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna,* 358.

[918] Mendel Balberyszski, *Stronger Than Iron: The Destructon of Vilna Jewry 1941–1945: An Eyewitness Account* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2010), 10.

> The expansion of the police force reached its highest point during the summer of 1942, when the Judenrat was dissolved and the authority of the ghetto fell into the hands of [Jacob] Gens, who became the chief of police and the sole ghetto representative. At that time the police department employed more than two hundred people. Some had joined the force because they felt more secure there than anywhere else. The police also offered food and accommodation privileges. This influenced individuals to join the force as a way to survive the dark period. It should be said that many of the police did not cause any harm to the ghetto community on their own initiative. They "only fulfilled" their duty as police officers and one of their duties was to send other Jews to their death. According to their own moral understanding they were not guilty at all. They fulfilled their duties not by cooperating with the Gestapo but by order of the Jewish authorities. According to the police logic if there was any guilt in their work, the guilt was first of all of the Judenrat and at a later stage that of Gens. I heard this often in conversations with many policemen whom I had known earlier to be decent and morally honest men.
>
> Haim Malczadski had a conscience that worried him a little. But there were many policemen who had no conscience at all. They were the ones whose power went to their heads as soon as they put on their police uniform. They used their position to live it up as much as they could, often holding drinking parties where food was served in overabundance. They used their position to become rich because they were sure that in the Jewish police uniform they would survive.
>
> Other Jews became business people who dealt in the life and death market; still others acted as agents of the Judenrat, informers. It was known in the ghetto that Dessler had his informers while he was the contact man with the Gestapo. At a later stage these police became open traitors to the Jews of the ghetto. They used to go around and seek out the hideouts and hand the people hidden there over to the Gestapo. They were nothing less than the helpers of the Gestapo and the Lithuanians in destroying Jews.
>
> Much Jewish blood lies on the conscience of many of the Jews who wore the police uniform in the large ghetto.[919]

Herman Kruk is equally critical of the Jewish police. In his entry for January 29, 1942, Kruk writes, "The Jewish police are more German than the Germans. The Germans once ordered furs taken. They took what they could, and it calmed down. But the Jewish police never rest. Just yesterday, they 'uncovered' a radio and 15 furs." On March 18, 1943, Kruk had this entry in his diary, "Paradoxes. One strange and extremely difficult situation here leads, among other things, to paradoxes no one would probably ever have been able to invent … Germans have no trust in the Aryan Poles, Russians, and Lithuanians. But, on the contrary, their Jewish slaves are their best … co-workers. Paradoxes, paradoxes, and paradoxes."[920]

During the liquidation of the Wilno ghetto in September 1943, a brigade of 100 fighters of the United Partisan Organization was surrounded and killed as a result of treachery by the Jewish police and a Jewish informant.[921] One of the informers turned out to be a member of the Jewish underground.

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[919] Balberyszski, *Stronger Than Iron,* 201–2.

[920] Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania,* 187, 479.

[921] James M. Glass, *Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust: Moral Uses of Violence and Will* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 50.

> The Germans left after [Jacob] Gens [the head of the Jewish council] promised that he and his policemen would bring the necessary number of workers to the gate. … the police and informers searched for Jews hiding in *melinas* [hideout] and brought them out by force, while the Jews hid in every conceivable corner. During those last days of the ghetto hatred for the informers and police and for those who betrayed other Jews reached its height and was later manifested in the forest: "I was running around in the ghetto and saw Lotek Zaltzwasser [Salzwasser] accompanied by police officers open a *melina* full of crying children and screaming others, and drag the men out," recounted [Vitka] Kempner. … "He had once been my brother's friend and even a member of the underground. And he betrayed and abandoned us and went over to Gens. After we went into the forest I returned, found him in hiding and brought him back with me so he might be executed, and I am proud of having done it."[922]

After the liquidation of the ghetto in Wilno, in September 1943, Jews found hiding in the ruins of the ghetto were known to reveal the hiding places of other Jews in exchange for a "promise" that they (i.e., the informers) would be spared. Even after their arrival in the killing fields of Ponary, outside the city, Jews continued to reveal the hiding places of other Jews. Hundreds of Jews were betrayed and murdered.

> … the Lithuanians have proven good psychologists of the Jews sentenced to death with their tactic of searching for Judases who, for the doubtful possibility of saving their own lives, have betrayed their brethren's well-concealed hiding places.
>
> Now the Lithuanians confirm the effectiveness of their tactic when they bring a [new] group. They separate 3–4 Jewish men and women and shoot the rest before their eyes. When it is the turn of these 3 or 4 they tell them "you will live," but they must reveal hiding places. When one of them reveals one, he goes to the city, to the ghetto, but immediately returns and dies. At the same time a new "troika" of Judases is chosen, as in a cycle, with excellent results for the executioners and a fatal ending for the Judases.[923]

Jewish policemen from Wilno were dispatched to the labour camp in Rzesza to arrest Jews suspected of smuggling weapons into camp and brought them back to be interrogated and tortured.[924] The Jewish police became so experienced in "resettlement" that the Germans would send them to adjacent ghettos to help in the "action." The Jewish council in Wilno dispatched a squad of policemen, some 30 strong, to carry out the liquidation of ghettos in small, outlying towns.[925] On October 23, 1942, the Jews of Oszmiana were driven to the assembly place by Jewish policemen from the Wilno ghetto accompanied by local

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[922] Dina Porat, *The Fall of a Sparrow: The Life and Times of Abba Kovner* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010), 139.

[923] Kazimierz Sakowicz, *Ponary Diary, 1941–1943: A Bystander's Account of a Mass Murder* (New Haven and Yale: Yale University Press, 2005), 122–23, 127–28, 144.

[924] *The Words to Remember It,* 97.

[925] M. Gelbart, ed., *Sefer Zikaron le-kehilat Oshmana* (Tel Aviv: Oshmaner Organization and the Oshmaner Society in the U.S.A., 1969), 25–31, English translation on Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Oshmyany/Oshmyany.html>, 115; Rich Cohen, *The Avengers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 70–73.

policemen. They "selected" 200 sick and 392 elderly people; 410 were sent off to Zielonka, some 7 or 8 kilometres from Oszmiana, in previously prepared carts. The victims were put to death in the presence of several Wilno Jewish policemen. According to Meir Mark Dvorzhetsky, the Jewish policemen took part in the actual execution.[926] A Jewish policeman from Wilno named Nika Drezin, who "betrayed melinas [hideouts] freely," was put in charge of the ghetto in Oszmiana.[927] Other Jewish policemen from Wilno who participated in the liquidation of the small ghettos in the Wilno area were Bernshtein, Natan Ring, Salek Dessler, and Meir Levas.[928] At least three Gestapo agents were planted at the H.K.P. work camp in Wilno: Nika Drezin, Auberbach and Jona Bak.[929] Jewish policemen from Wilno were also dispatched to Kaunas to select Jewish skilled workers. Avraham Tory, in his diary entry of June 6, 1943, writes: "The conduct of these Jewish policemen from Vilna [Wilno] was nothing short of infamy. They came dressed in Jewish police unforms, truncheons in hand. Their tone of voice was commanding and severe …"[930] Some of the Jewish policemen who escaped from Wilno and joined the Soviet partisans in Rudniki forest, among them the aforementioned Lotek Salzwasser (Zaltzwasser) and Natek (Natan) Ring, were executed by fellow Jewish partisans.[931] Isaac Auerbach, a Jewish police officer who became a double agent for the Gestapo and informed on Polish members of the underground, was assaninated in the street by a squad of the communist underground.[932]

In October 1941, Gestapo officer Rauke decreed that all Jews of the Kaunas ghetto must assemble at the town square at a specified time. Anyone hiding would be shot. At this assembly, those Jews unfit to work would be "relocated," actually, put to death. The Judenrat, well aware of Nazi intentions, wrestled with the

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[926] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 514; Arad, *Ghetto in Flames,* 342.

[927] Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania,* 411. In describing the situation at Oszmiana (October 27, 1942), Kruk comments, "The 30 Jewish police are splendidly set up; they eat and drink the finest and spend their time with the local girls. None of the local residents believe in an *Aktion*—this is the major achievement of sending Jewish police there!" (p. 386).

[928] Nathan Cohen, "The Last Days of the Vilna Ghetto—Pages from a Diary," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 31 (2003): 36, 42; Margolis, *A Partisan from Vilna,* 331.

[929] "Life Story of Perella née Esterowicz (Pearl Good)," Internet: <http://www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/vilna/vilna_pages/vilna_stories_perella.html>.

[930] Tory, *Surviving the Holocaust,* 373.

[931] At least six former ghetto policemen in Wilno were executed in Rudniki forest in November 1943 as collaborators by order of the commanders of their partisan units and the "special department" of the brigade headquarters. They included Natek (Natan) Ring, Vovek Zaltzstein, Lotek Salzwasser (Lutek Zalcwasser or Zaltzwasser), Schwarzbard (Szwarcbord), and Szurka Kewes (Kwas). Zaltzstein and Salzwasser were accused by two Jewish partisans of having revealed Jewish hideouts and dragging out Jews during the *Aktion* of December 1941. Vitka Kempner states that she found Zaltzwasser in hiding and brought him to the forest so that he might be executed. See the testimony of Abram Mieszczański, dated June 10, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2536; Porat, *The Fall of a Sparrow,* 139, 166; Arad, *In the Shadow of the Red Banner,* 289–90. Isaac Kowalski lists these persons among the Jewish partisans in Rudniki forest. See Kowalski, *A Secret Press in Nazi Europe,* 406–407. The execution of Natek (Natan) Ring by Isser Schmidt is described later in the text. Isaac Kowalski describes the execution of his Jewish schoolmate from Wilno named Goldin, who became an informer for the Gestapo and tried to infiltrate the Jewish partisans operating in that area. See Kowalski, *A Secret Press in Nazi Europe,* 310–11; also reproduced in Kowalski, *Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance, 1939–1945,* vol. 4 (1991), 406.

[932] Ofer Aderet, "The Zionist Activists Who Collaborated With Nazis, and Were Executed by Jewish Partisans," *Haaretz,* November 14, 2020. This article also mentions the assassination of Lotek Salzwasser and Wobek Selzestein (Vovek Zaltzstein).

question of whether it should comply with the order in the hope that the remainder of the Jews would possibly be spared by the Germans. They consulted the venerable Rabbi Abraham Dob Beer Schapira. "On the following morning the Rabbi gave his decision as follows: if—God forbid—a decree is issued to destroy a Jewish community and means exist by which a part of the congregation could be saved the heads of the community must have the courage and take the responsibility upon themselves to comply with the order and save what is possible."[933]

Squads of the Lwów ghetto policemen took part in the deportations from the ghettos in Jaworów, Złoczów and Bóbrka in April 1943, and in a number of other smaller ghettos in the vicinity of Lwów.[934] As in many other towns, during the liquidation of the ghetto in Złoczów, a Jewish policeman by the name of Schapira led the Germans to Jewish hideouts to capture the remaining Jews.[935] Jewish policemen were brought from the Kraków ghetto to assist in the deportation from the nearby town of Wieliczka.[936] The Jewish police from Nowy Sącz participated in the deportation of Jews in Stary Sącz.[937]

The Jewish police played a pivotal role in the deportations in Eastern Upper Silesia. The round-ups in Modrzejów in March 1941 were conducted with the participation of the Judenrat and the Jewish police. As Jews came to expect further round-ups for labour camps and deportations, some created concealed hiding places in the ghetto. However, the German authorities and the Jewish police knew who was missing and searched for those in hiding, calling for them to come out.[938] The Jewish police from the Sosnowiec and Będzin ghettos were dispatched to small ghettos in Eastern Upper Silesia to take part in "resettlement" operations: Jaworzno in the fall of 1940, Kłobuck in June 1942, and Olkusz in June 1942.[939] According to a Jewish witness, their treatment of the Jews was more brutal than the Gestapo's. Afterwards the Jewish police ferreted out scores of Jews in well-concealed hideouts the Germans had failed to detect, and brought them to assembly points from whence they were deported to Auschwitz.[940] Later on, the German employed the local Jewish police in the final clearance of the Będzin ghetto. Tusia Herzberg recalled:

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[933] H.J. Zimmels, *The Echo of the Nazi Holocaust in Rabbinic Literature* ([New York]: Ktav, 1977), 51.

[934] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 514; Testimony of Chaim Efraim Gimpel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1336 (some 40 Jewish policemen from Lwów took part in the liquidation of the Bóbrka ghetto).

[935] Ephraim F. Sten, *1111 Days In My Life Plus Four* (Takoma Park, Maryland: Dryad Press, in association with the University of Wisconsin, 2006), 26–27.

[936] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 593.

[937] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 580.

[938] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 156.

[939] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 152, 154, 158; Trunk, *Judenrat,* 514.

[940] Account of Marian Auerhahn (Głuszecki) in Krzysztof Kocjan, *Zagłada Żydów olkuskich* (Olkusz: Olkuskie Stowarzyszenie Kulturalne "Brama", 2002).

> In the night of 21–2 June 1943 the German police and members of the order police went into the Jewish homes and pulled the Jews out and brought them to a square in the ghetto. There a selection took place … The whole square was surrounded by Gestapo people …[941]

In addition to using local Jews, the Germans dispatched Jews from Sosnowiec to assist in the liquidation of the ghetto in Chrzanów:

> The last member of the Judenrat in Chrzanow [Chrzanów], whom the Germans left behind to carry out the "technical" liquidation of the Judenrat after all the Jews of Chrzanow had been taken away to the gas chambers—this person, who watched his brothers and sisters being led away to the slaughter, followed the Germans' command two days after the final "transfer" and demanded that the few Jews who were still hiding in attics and basements come out of their hiding places and report voluntarily to the police. He himself personally went through all the empty Jewish houses, shouting that the Jews should come out of their bunkers, that nothing would be done to them. And the few Jews who still believed him this time fell into the bestial hands of the Germans.
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> [Major] Lindner and his Jewish helper Moniek Merin understood this, and therefore recruited the Jewish militia to help carry out the last labor action. They didn't even rely solely on the local Jewish militia from Chrzanow, instead bringing along some Jewish police from Sosnowiec for the purpose. In November 1941 a detachment from Sosnowiec arrived, and with true devotion to the German hangmen, they carried out their vile task. Although officially only those girls who had been assigned by the Judenrat to be taken to the labor camp were to be seized, the roundup by the Sosnowiec police turned into a general hunt for young women. The Sosnowiec militia, or "Merin's Bodyguards" as they were called, were the equal of their German supervisors in many respects. Without second thoughts, with cynical cruelty, nearly all of them burst into Jewish homes, searching for terrified Jewish girls, dragging them out of their hiding places, and taking them to Sosnowiec and thence to the local transit camp. Afterward the young women, along with similar victims from other towns, were transported to various labor camps.[942]

Jewish policemen from the larger nearby towns of Sosnowiec and Olkusz were used to liquidate the ghetto in Kazimierz, near Strzemieszyce. They called in the German police to assist them when things got out of control:

> One night in April 1942, several "Ordners" came to our town [Kazimierz] from Sosnowiec and in the morning made a roundup for Arbeitseinsatz. However, no one was taken because the men had hidden in a nearby forest. The Ordners caught only one 10-year old boy whom they took to Sosnowiec.
>
> In May 1942, at the same time as took place in Sosnowiec, there was a deportation. At 7 o'clock in the morning, five Jewish policemen came by vehicle from Olkusz together with a representative of the Olkusz Judenrat, a Mr. Czarnecki. The Ordners gave each Jewish family a list with specification of

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[941] Mary Fulbrook, *A Small Town Near Auschwitz: Ordinary Nazis and the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 291.

[942] Bochner, *Sefer Chrzanow,* 80ff., 99ff.

items which the families could take with them. The came by vehicle Ordners informed the populace that all Jews would be resettled to Strzemieszyce.

I was ordered to remain so as to guard the property of the Judenrat. Each person was allowed to take three changes of underwear, certain items of clothing as well as food. The total taken could not exceed 10 kg. Everyone had to appear by 10 in the morning near the Judenrat office for registration. Everyone reported for the registration. The person who registered us was a representative from Olkusz. After registration, the Ordners set all the people into columns and led the march by foot on the road to Strzemieszyce.

By 11 o'clock, the entire Jewish population had been removed. Only I remained there. When the column began to march, Jews began to escape across the fields. Men, women and children escaped. The Ordners couldn't bring the situation under control. Mr. Czarnecki sent an Ordner to Kazimierz to take from there "Schupos" (German armed police).

Immediately, there arrived over a dozen "Schupos" with 4 dogs. The "Schupos" set their dogs upon the Jews and beat Jews. They shot as a deterrent and in this manner completed the column's march.

The Ordners helped the "Schupos" in the hunting of Jews. The "Schupos" beat Jews bloodily and, with assistance of the Ordners, drove everyone to Strzemieszyce. About 50 persons escaped and weren't caught. Among the escapees were my sister, her husband and children. Just after the column left, I packed my valise and went to railway station to go to Sosnowiec. After I had I arrived in Sosnowiec, just an hour later, an Ordner came to me and demanded I return immediately under threat of sending me together with others to Auschwitz.

The Centrale had been informed by Mr. Czarnecki of my escape. The following day I went to Strzemieszyce. In Strzemieszyce, a member of the Judenrat told me that, after assembling the Jewish people from Czarne Morze, they had all been held in a school building near the Judenrat. There, the Germans carried out a selection and left in Strzemieszyce only the young people who were working.

The remainder, together with a group of older persons and invalids from Strzemieszyce, were taken by the Schupos and assisted by Jewish Ordners, on the following Sunday morning at 10 o'clock to Dabrowa Gornicza [Dąbrowa Górnicza]. Handicapped people were taken on wagons. Some old people were afraid to sit on the wagons because they thought that they would be the first to go for extermination.

The Judenrat board ordered me to go to Dabrowa Gornicza because there a nurse was needed there. The transport of Jews from Strzemieszyce was put into the synagogue where a part of the Jewish population of Dabrowa Gornicza destined for deportation had already been gathered. Everyone assigned to deportation was held in the synagogue and an adjacent building of the Judenrat. The gathered persons were guarded by German police and Jewish Ordners. I acted there as a nurse. This transport waited three days for departure. During the entire time Jews couldn't leave the closed two buildings (synagogue and the Judenrat building). Physiological needs were performed on the spot since it wasn't permitted to leave the building. Jews brought buckets (of waste) out of the buildings under guard of Ordners.

The night before the transport left, several Gestapo persons, with assistance of Ordners, performed a roundup among the Jewish population so as to complete the transport's assigned quota of victims. During the entire period the Judenrat supplied food for the guarded Jews (dinners, bread, coffee).

On Tuesday noon, the Gestapo and Ordners formed the assembled Jews into a column and marched them to the railway station. Sick persons numbering about 50 were brought in vehicles by order of the Gestapo. All the people were loaded by Germans onto railcars and taken to Oswiecim [Oświęcim]

(Auschwitz). During the deportation in Dabrowa Gornicza, there were present representatives of the Centrale including Moniek Merin, Frania Czarna, Dr. Lieberman and others. I don't remember all the names.

There were also present representatives of the Strzemieszyce Judenrat such as president Flaschenberg, Laskier and others.[943]

In Dąbrowa Górnicza, the Jewish police assisted the Germans in deporting the Jews to Auschwitz:

On August 12, 1942, all the inhabitants of Dąbrowa were summoned to appear on Kreutzstrasse at 7:00 A.M., on the basis or orders issued by the Gestapo and the Sipo (State Police) from Katowice and Organisation Schmelt. The aim was to stamp their identity cards (the so-called *Lichtbildausweise*). There were between 2,500 and 3,500 Jews gathered in the yard. A witness to these events, Karol Herszkowicz, reported: "At about 100:00 A.M., Germans arrived with arms and the police with guns. There were eight of them; groups of three went to the roofs of the houses and were standing there with guns ready for use in a shooting position, while Jewish Police [Ordners] stood around the people with whips in hands." A commission divided the people gathered there into three groups: one group was to remain in the town to work in the workshops, the second was to remain only temporarily in Dąbrowa, and the third group was to be transported to Auschwitz. As a result of the selection, about 1,500 people were deported. … an official of Organisation Schmelt based in Sosnowiec who was in charge of the Aktion, was assisted by Dreier, the military police, and the Jewish Police.[944]

During a round-up of Jews in Plissa, near Dzisna, a policeman named Yakov helped the Germans by pointing out the places where some Jews were hiding in the ghetto.[945] In Raków, near Mołodeczno, Jewish policemen prepared a list of Jews and handed it over to the German police.[946] In Oleszyce, the deportation took several days. People ran and hid. The Jewish police helped to find the people in hiding. They had been promised that they would stay alive if they cooperated."[947] In Brańsk, a Jewish policeman pointed out escaping Jews, and the head of the Judenrat tracked down the hideouts of 70 Jews who had tried to avoid deportation. These Jews were then apprehended and executed by the Germans.[948]

Non-police informers played a similar role in many localities such as Markuszów:

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[943] Testimony of Rosa Felczer, Internet: <http://isurvived.org/Frameset_folder/-PolishJews.html>.

[944] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 151.

[945] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part B, 1257.

[946] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part B, 1269.

[947] Testimony of Eva Galler (née Vogel), Holocaust Survivors, Internet: <http://www.holocaustsurvivors.org/data.show.php?da=survivors&di=record&ke=6>.

[948] Zbigniew Romaniuk, "Brańsk and Its Environs in the Years 1939–1953: Reminiscences of Events," in *The Story of Two Shtetls, Brańsk and Ejszyszki: An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Northeastern Poland during World War II,* Part One (Toronto and Chicago: The Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998), 27, 78, 144; Hoffman, *Shtetl,* 224–25.

> In May 1942, there was a deportation from the nearby town of Markuszow [Markuszów]. Hundreds of Jews, tipped off by the Judenrat that they were going to be sent to death camps, fled into the forest at Wola Przybyslawsl [Przybysławska]. Many of them escaped to Kamionka. Twenty of them were recaptured when [Jewish] informers tipped off the Nazis, who ordered the local Judenrat to round them up. …
>
> All the men and women who were rounded up that day were taken to the meadow … and shot.
>
> One of those who escaped from Markuszow to Kamionka was Blinka Rubinstein, a beautiful, brown-haired, blue-eyed girl. When I met her later, she told me that, after being captured by the Judenrat police, she and the other Markuszow escapees had been handed over to the Polish police and the Germans. While they were standing in front of the police station, one of the Jewish informers who had tipped off the Germans walked up to her and said in Polish, "You are a Czech. Don't say a word." He pulled her out of the lineup and led her to a spot where she could slip away. I imagine that the informer, Moishe Klerer, did not have the heart to send such a beautiful young woman to what he knew would be certain death.[949]

A number of Jews, among them a painter named Brethmelt, helped the Gestapo to locate hiding places during the the deportation of Jews from the ghetto in Przemyśl.[950] A bunker in which several hundred Jews took shelter was betrayed by a Jew who had been apprehended by the Germans; only two Jews managed to hide and avoid detection.[951] According to another account from that city,

> There was a bunker in the Ghetto that involved lifting the top of a stove and there was a staircase to go down. People were ingenious the way they built these bunkers in the Ghetto. When they discovered one, they [i.e., the Germans] would promise the people they would spare their lives if they would tell of others. They would spare their lives for a couple of hours, that was all.
>
> So they gave away where my aunt and uncle were hidden with their children. The Germans were afraid to go down the stairs and the people would not come up. So they threw Molotov cocktails down the stairs and burned them alive.[952]

Benjamin Alma's, who had protected his family from deportation, was removed from the Przemyśl Judenrat and replaced by Frimer, who paid Goldman, one of the leading members, a 15,000 złoty bribe.[953]

The Judenrat in Tłuste, near Stanisławów, was notorious for its thievery and misappropriated property collected for various purposes such relief for the poor and bribes for the Germans. When one of its few

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[949] Frank Blaichman, *Rather Die Fighting: A Memoir of World War II* (New York: Arcade, 2009), 17–18.

[950] Testimony of Stefania Hirsch, Archive of Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 691, cited in Marcin Janowski, "Polityka niemiecka władz okupacyjnych wobec ludności polskiej i żydowskiej w Przemyślu w latach 1939–1944," in *Kresy Południowo-Wschodnie: Rocznik Przemyskiego Centrum Kultury i Nauki Zamek,* vol. 3/4, no. 1 (Przemyśl 2005–2006): 217–18.

[951] Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 173.

[952] Account of Teodora (Cesia) Zimmerman Miller in Hartman and Krochmal, *I Remember Every Day…,* 49.

[953] Testimony of Regina Alma, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 681. During the deportations, Jewish policemen scoured the ghetto looking for hideouts.

honest members protested, he was harassed and denounced to the Germans as an NKVD confidant.[954] As Baruch Milch explains, the Jewish council worked hand in glove with the Jewish police and other collaborators:

> I agreed to sit on the Judenrat before I knew what this would entail … At first I cooperated and delivered anything I could find, even wedding rings. However, after I observed some Judenrat officials cheating and pilfering, I quarreled with them and resigned. My act backfired; from that moment on they made my life was miserable. The head of the Judenrat was an acquaintance, a doctor, who retaliated at the professional level. …
>
> My place on the Judenrat was taken by one Dr. Aberman, a quiet, polite man who showed his true colors later, during the Aktionen. Dr. Aberman aided the Jewish and the Ukrainian police in their Jew hunting, and was named the Judenälteste (chairman of the Judenrat), and exercised great cruelty. Disregarding medical ethics and his kinship with the persecuted Jewish community, he acted in ways that, he believed, would help him and his family to survive unscathed.
>
> To command the Jewish police, the authorities appointed a vicious and mentally disturbed Jew who was an epileptic. He caused the community great suffering and with his own hands dragged his parents out of hiding at the climax of a sudden Aktion and delivered them to the killing ground in the cemetery.[955]

The Jewish police in Kołomyja was actively involved in policing the ghetto and rounding up Jews for deportation and execution:

> Several weeks before the move into the ghetto, the Judenrat began to recruit the A.D. [*Ordnungsdienst* or Jewish police], and in order to be a member of the A.D., money or influence was needed. People believed that membership in the A.D. would give them a better chance of going out from the ghetto more easily and thus enable them to provide their families with all they needed in order to survive. And by then each Jew had already suffered great need and hunger. People had also heard from other cities where ghettos had been established earlier that the Jewish police had earned a lot of money. The members of the A.D., however, had abused their power. They were supposed to watch the ghetto gates. But they used to help the Ukrainian police search the Jews when the Jews came back from work in the evening. They searched to see if the Jews had hidden a little bit of food in their clothes for their families in the ghetto. And since each worker, out of great need, was forced to "smuggle," the A.D. extorted from him a portion of the food or all of the food, or a cash payment. The A.D., also took away or, better said, robbed the Jews who were taken away of their remaining possessions; they could step out of the ghetto without being stopped and trade or sell the items. They also helped the Gestapo in the time of the "actions".
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> …
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> In the ghetto there still remained several hundred people. (When the ghetto was established, there were over eighty thousand, including those from the surrounding areas.) Some held that there were

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[954] Baruch Milch, *Testament: Z Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2001), 108; Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 72–74.

[955] Baruch Milch, *Can Heaven Be Void?* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 76–78.

still 700 people in the ghetto and others said there were 1200 people. No more searches were carried out. Whoever could do so lived in hiding. Mostly, these were old people and children.

Four days after the Hallerbach action, the Judenrat received the order to shoot 500 old people. This time the Gestapo did not come to the action. It was given over to the Jewish A.D. to carry out and the A.D. copied their masters very well. Without pity, every hiding place was torn down. And if they couldn't find the hidden ones, they forced the sons and the daughters to give up their parents. And if the daughters refused to reveal the hiding place, took the mothers and their children to the slaughter. Shameful bargaining began. Sons bought back their mothers or fathers for several hundred dollars. They took the money and in place of an old one, they sent a young life, a child. For the required number of corpses had to be correct. There were also situations where someone took the ransom money, freed the old person, and soon told another A.D. about the hidden one, and the second one took the victim since there was no money left to buy back the person one more time. Every day they needed new victims. The childrens' action came right after the action against the old people which had lasted several days. It was claimed that the homeless and orphaned children were not productive and were a burden upon the city. So they all have to be put to death.

The A.D. also took care of this work. They did not only search for homeless and orphaned children. That would be too much trouble for them. Wherever they saw a child, they put an end to him. In some cases, if the parents had money, they were able to buy back the child. They brought the children to the prison, just as they had done with the old people.[956]

In Stanisławów,

> The Jewish ghetto police became, with few exceptions, arrogant, corrupt and dangerous. They protected their own lives by helping the Germans to kill Jews more efficiently. At intervals, they were ordered to collect a specific number of Jews for transport to Belzec [Bełżec]. They took bribes from people who hoped to be exempted from the quota and grew rich and more arrogant.[957]

The Jewish police in Tarnopol, who played a key role in the various *Aktions*, was indispensable in uncovering hideouts built by the Jews. According to one Jewish witness, "if not for the treacherous Jewish militia, it would have taken the Germans ten years to discover these hideouts." The Jewish police "throughout the night … plundered [evacuated Jewish] homes" and was also "rewarded for its efficient service with monetary bonuses of 50 złotys … and those with stars received boots, pants, etc." from the booty that had been gathered from the victims.[958] The Judenrat member Pohorylec, a lawyer, handed Jews over to the Gestapo.[959] A diary penned during the war as these events were occurring is particularly vivid

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[956] Chana Weinheber-Hacker, "The Annihilation of the Jews of Kolomey June, 1941 – February 1943," in Shlomo Bickel, ed., *Memorial Book of Kolomey*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kolomyya/kolomyya.html>; translated from *Pinkes* Kolomey (New York: Rausen Bros., 1957), 325–56.

[957] Tannenzapf and Krakauer, *Memories From the Abyss/But I Had a Happy Childhood,* 27. Tannenzapf notes that this "nasty policeman" survived the Holocaust, while a kinder policeman perished. Ibid., 28.

[958] Żaneta Margules, "Moje przeżycia w Tarnopolu podczas wojny," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* no. 36 (1960): 78.

[959] Testimony of Jakub Zajd, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2166. Pohorylec survived the war.

and scathing. Aryeh Klonicki devotes his harshest criticism to the Judenrat and the Jewish ghetto police, and does so as an eyewitness. He faults them for beating Jews, for taking all the Jews' valuables for themselves, for enriching themselves through the taking of bribes, and even of throwing Jewish children out of windows.[960] Klonicki assigns, first the foremost, the role of "greedy" people helping themselves to the belonging of the Jews to the Jewish ghetto police. He comments,

> But the main source of profit offered itself during the "actions" against the Jews, when the policemen would rummage amongst the clothes of the dead, extracting dollars and other valuables.
>
> Here you have a new chapter in the history of our martyrdom: The descent of Jewish morals to their lowest depths. Do not think for a moment that distress has ennobled our souls. The very contrary is true.[961]

Clearly, this repulsive conduct was the result of severe wartime demoralization. Robbing the dead was not the characteristic of any specific nationality.

The Jewish police from Tarnopol gained notoriety in surrounding towns, where they were deployed in various operations. In Czortków, the Order Police from Tarnopol took part in the deportations to the death camps.[962] A survivor from Rohatyn writes: "Jewish police from Tarnopol came to Rohatyn and behaved as badly as the Germans."[963] After the Germans decreed that Jews turn in their gold and silver, "several Jewish traitors" accompanied the Border Guard when they made their rounds in Skała Podolska, looting Jewish houses in search of gold and silver.[964] Since the Judenrat was finding it increasingly difficult to collect the required number of labourers, the Jewish police, with the help of the Ukrainian police, began to forcibly remove people from their homes and assembled them for shipment to a labour camp. The Jewish police then patrolled the streets searching for more Jews to include in the contingent.[965]

An account from Skałat states that Jewish policemen from Tarnopol participated in helping the Germans search for Jews in hiding.

> The town of Skalat [Skałat] was to have been declared *Judenfrei* following the mass murder during the "Sobbing Graves" 'action' in April 1943. However, since a sufficiently large number had managed to hide, an order came from Tarnopol permitting the surviving Jews to return to the ghetto. Again they were told that they would be permitted to live there peacefully. Most importantly, they were to

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[960] Aryeh Konitski, *The Diary of Adam's Father: The Diary of Aryeh Klonicki (Klonymus) and His Wife Malwina, with Letters Concerning the Fate of Their Child Adam* (Jerusalem: Beit Lohamei Haghetaot/Ghetto Fighters House, 1973), 41–42.

[961] Konitski, *The Diary of Adam's Father,* 41.

[962] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 771.

[963] Regina Hader Rock, "From Hiding Place to Hiding Place," in M. Amihai, David Stockfish, and Shmuel Bari, eds., *The Community of Rohatyn and Environs,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/rogatin/rohatyn.html>; translated from *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962), 250ff.

[964] Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced,* 86.

[965] Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced,* 88–91.

maintain their strength and sanitation, as they would still be needed as laborers. To encourage them further to believe that they would not be killed, the Tarnopol Gestapo sent down ten Jewish policemen, led by one Aba Tennenbaum, assigned to maintain Law and Order and, at the same time, to serve as tools in the execution of the Germans' plan.

The Jewish police from Tarnopol exerted themselves to instill calm and to persuade the people that as long as *they* were around there would be no new slaughters. This time, however, no one believed them. Every evening, an exodus would begin. As night came on, people sought out lodgings among the Gentiles or crept stealthily into barns and stables to spend the night. At dawn, learning that all was quiet in the town; they would return to the ghetto, only to roam again the next night. …

The ghetto was emptied of many people every night. … The police searched the empty houses during the nights, taking whatever they liked of the furnishings, and also taking the opportunity to note down suspected hiding places or bunkers.

Generally, the Jewish police from Tarnopol behaved abominably. In addition to maintaining close relations with the officials of the local camp and with the Germans, they engaged in drunken revelry, robbery and rape.[966]

A Jewish witness recalled conditions in the ghetto in Zbaraż, near Tarnopol:

The better nourished Jewish militia members suddenly acquired a maximum of 130 new recruits. This event reinforced our fear that mass executions would soon be implemented. Mr. Gruenfeld, the despicable collaborator, knew precisely what the Nazi masters expected him to achieve. The local Jews feared his presence as much as that of the SS overlords. … German SS soldiers, Ukrainian militiamen, and the Jewish auxiliary police made sure that we poor devils would not succeed in escaping our predetermined destiny. [967]

A survivor from Mikulińce, near Tarnopol, recalled:

The Germans kept rounding up and sending us away to hard labor. … There was also a Jewish *Militz* [militia] which used to escort us to and from the labor sites, and also to our execution. Some Jewish militiamen were worse than the Germans. Not one of them survived.[968]

According to an account from Radzyń Podlaski,

The most inhuman order of all consisted of providing a number of Jewish people for extermination before a certain date. For Lichtenstein and Gruenblatt [who stood at the head of the Judenrat] in

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[966] Abraham Weissbrod, "Death of a Shtetl," Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Skalat1/Skalat.html>, translation of Abraham Weissbrod, *Es shtarbt a shtetl: Megiles Skalat* (Munich: Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, 1948), 41.

[967] Kurt Grübler, *Journey Through the Night: Jakob Littner's Holocaust Memoir* (New York and London: Continuum, 2000), 55. For additional information about the collaboration of the Jewish council and police in the liquidation of the ghetto in Zbaraż see the testimony of Marek Szmajuk, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2571.

[968] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 113.

> Radzyn [Radzyń]—and others in other cities—their punishment was the task of deciding who would die sooner, and who later. … Money, kinship, friendships and other relationships with these two men were the decisive factor for one's resettlement. Some judgments were postponed, but more were annulled.
>
> It is no wonder that these two men who had the absolute power of life and death over the Jews of Radzyn were feared and hated by everyone. …[969]

In the nearby town of Międzyrzec Podlaski, the Jewish police and informers struck fear into the hearts of those Jews who still survived the deportation. In May 1943, relying on Jewish informants to locate ghetto bunkers, members of Reserve Police Battalion 101, Ukrainian SS auxiliaries, and the Radzyń SS demolished walls to uncover hidden Jews.[970]

> Miedzyrzec [Międzyrzec] was a collecting point for Jews for the whole area. … At this time there was no Judenrat, no administration, only a brutal Jewish police force which was known to cooperate with the Gestapo. …
>
> Every few weeks people were deported from Miedzyrzec, usually to Treblinka. The first task for arriving Jews was, therefore, to build bunkers and underground hide-outs. …
>
> The Jewish police, including its agents and informers, distinguished itself by its brutality. …
>
> An Aktion against the Jews … It was like hunting wild animals. The police were the beaters and the SS the hunters. …
>
> About 25 men, women and children were in our bunker. … We were in the bunker for two days and two nights when we heard a new wave of attacks on our house. …
>
> Just when we thought that the search was over, the Nazis reappeared, this time at the toilet entrance to our bunker which we had considered absolutely safe. Later we learned that they had discovered a neighboring bunker and were given the location of our hide-out by a young man who knew something about it. Under the threat of smoking us out with grenades, they ordered us to leave the bunker immediately. …
>
> We crept out of the bunker with raised hands. … In 1947, in Marburg and [sic] der Lahn, I recognized the man who had revealed our hiding place. I found no reason to reproach him at this time, but I did not want to talk to him either.[971]

After the *Aktion*, Benjamin Lubicz, an SS informant, was named the "ghetto commander." He recruited a Jewish police force that turned over unregistered fugitives to the German gendarmerie. These Jews were shot.[972] Lubicz persuaded the Germans to strip and search Jewish deportees to death camps in order to confiscate their valuables. Afterwards, he looted some of the valuables that had been seized from a storehouse. When the Germans found out, Lubicz pinned the deed on other Jews who were promptly executed. Lubicz demanded bribes to allow Jews to remain in secure positions, and personally captured

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[969] Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 56–57.

[970] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 686.

[971] Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 105–106, 115–17.

[972] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 686.

Jewish fugitives. Lubicz's wife, by the name of Tysz, used to organize orgies in the ghetto for the Germans. After some Jewish partisans issued a death sentence against him, Lubicz helped the German gendarmerie organize a raid in which four partisans were killed.[973]

Similarly, when some Jews who had escaped the deportations in other towns arrived in Łosice, the Germans, who were tipped off, conducted searches throughout the ghetto and excuted all the escapees they found.[974] On occasion, there were retaliations against informers and looters. In Łosice,

> Soon after the deportation, the gendarmes announced that the large ghetto was off-limits. Anyone found there without permission would be shot. The Germans wanted to prevent looting, since they considered any abandoned belongings to be Reich property. However, the inhabitants of the small ghetto, who worked in teams to "clean" dwellings in the old ghetto, had been pilfering long before that. … several people were murdered [by the Germans] for attempting to steal confiscated property that had already been placed in storage.[975]

After one of the last deportations in the Białystok ghetto in February 1943, looting and denunciations abounded. The Judenrat published a list of 35 ghetto residents who were caught looting abandoned Jewish homes. They were detained for a few weeks and lost their work permits.[976]

> The Germans, aware that they were having less success in rounding up the Jews with each successive day, tried a new tactic—encouraging people to inform by granting them immunity from deportation. Each informer would be issued with a document stating "Dieser Jüden verräter ist befreit von Transport" (This Jewish traitor is exempt from the transport). Dozens of people chose to save their lives by becoming turncoats: "Three soldiers go by led by an old woman—a *mayserte* [Yiddish for "informer"]. Five Germans are led by a young lad—a *moyser* ["informer"]. They make a beeline for places no one would have suspected of hiding people, and expose their wretched inhabitants."
>
> This tactic, which resulted in the exposure of hundreds of Jews, caused a moral degeneration in the ghetto. … The few dozen informers in the Białystok ghetto were responsible for hundreds of deaths, and the Germans were pleased with the results of this tactic.
>
> Looting was another phenomenon that ate away at the moral fabric of the ghetto. People left their hiding places at night, entered abandoned apartments, and took food, property, and silver. Most of the looters were members of the underworld, but some were honest people driven to this extreme by poverty and hunger. The Judenrat put up a notice threatening heavy penalties for looting, but the temptation was too great, and few heeded the warning.[977]

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[973] Testimony of Lejb Goldberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3502. As mentioned later on in the text, Lubicz was arrested after the war but managed to escape from prison in 1946 and went abroad, never to face justice.

[974] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 401.

[975] Weinstein, *Quenched Steel,* 90.

[976] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 965.

[977] Sara Bender, *The Jews of Białystok During World War II and the Holocaust* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2008), 201–2.

> On Saturday, February 13, 1943, a day after the end of the *aktion,* the Germans erected a gallows near the Judenrat building and hanged three Jews for looting empty apartments. On the same day, the ghetto Jews began hunting for informers. The hunt continued for about a month: "They are hunting down informers and beating them to death. One has only to point to an informer, for hundreds of people to set upon him. … They have already hanged three informers and lynched another three. They are thrown on to wagons while still breathing and taken to the cemetery. The police turn a blind eye to what's going on." The Judenrat also condemned the informers, and on February 19, it published a list of thirty-five ghetto residents "who in those dark days, looted empty or abandoned apartments. Most of them received two or eight weeks in jail, or open-ended prison sentences, and had their work permits permanently confiscated. Among those arrested were the Yudowsky brothers, who moved to Białystok after the *aktion* in Słonim. Rumor had it that even in Słonim they had been Gestapo agents. In Białystok, they were exempt from wearing the yellow patch and roamed freely through the city, terrorizing both the Jews and the Poles. During the *aktion,* the Yudowsky brothers denounced Jews to the Germans and took every opportunity to extort money from the Jews. … after the *aktion,* Yaakov Feyerman, of the underground shot one of the brothers, but only wounded him. This incident, which created a furor within the Gestapo, was exploited by the Judenrat to show up the Yudowsky brothers in their true colors. The Germans arrested them and their families, and later shot them.[978]

Another publication that deals with the 200-strong Jewish police force and individual collaborators, at least several dozen, in the Białystok ghetto states:

> Unlike the Judenrat clerks, the Police members were paid regular salaries. "The first wave of the people who joined the ghetto police were criminals. A group called 'The Black Hand' terrorized and blackmailed people. They were purged, however, and the second wave of joiners were the members of the intelligentsia, a lot of mama's boys who believed it was safer than doing other work," recalled Charles Zabuski (Zabuski and Brott 1996). Contrary to this view, Lipa A. described the Jewish police as "the best young people in the ghetto" (HVT-1842). Although seemingly contradictory, these two statements are not mutually exclusive. Among the first wave of recruits to the Jewish police were Pfenigstein, who served as the police superintendent, and Grisha Zelikowicz, a low ranking serviceman. Both actively engaged in extortion, blackmailing of rich Jews and informing on ghetto inhabitants to the Gestapo. Pfenigstein, who acted independently, was neutralized rather quickly and killed by his German masters who did not look favorably on his clandestine attempts to amass personal wealth (Bender 2008). Zelikowicz and his collaborators in the Jewish police turned out to be a more serious threat because they had an ambition to gain control over the Judenrat financial department and probably even to oust Barasz. However, Zelikowicz was also outsmarted by Barasz and his allies, and ended up in the Gestapo jail. Yet, even Zelikowicz, who was considered "the most negative personality in the ghetto," even by people whom he assisted, was capable of compassion when it came to people he knew. The father and the sister of Lipa A. were among the deportees to Prużany [Prużana]. Lipa's mother, who was friends with Zelikowicz's sister tried to bribe him to obtain the family return to Białystok. Zelikowicz helped and refused payment for his efforts (HVT-1842).

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[978] Bender, *The Jews of Białystok During World War II and the Holocaust,* 211–12.

> Unable to discover the Jewish hideouts themselves [during the February 1943 *Aktion*], the Germans were forced to recruit individual collaborators, who tried to save their lives by betraying other Jews.
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> The *mosrim* (literally "givers away" in Hebrew and Yiddish) became the plague of the Białystok ghetto during the February Aktion because they were extremely effective in discovering the hideouts. "Three soldiers are going with an old lady—an informer. Five Germans—a lad leads them—an informer," wrote Mordechai Tenenbaum (Tenenbaum-Tamaroff 1984). As a compensation for their services, the Germans gave the informers a document stating that "this Jewish traitor is exempt from the transport" (Bender 2008). The fear of the *mosrim* was so high that when Jack R. [Rubin] and his friend went out of their hideout to search for food and accidentally discovered a bunker with hiding Jews, the people in this bunker wanted to kill them. Their lives were spared only because among the people in the bunker was a lady from Jack R.'s hometown, who knew his family (HVT-1516).
>
> After the Aktion, a witch hunt started in the ghetto and informers or suspected informers were lynched by the outraged mobs. "It was a death penalty" if someone betrayed a hideout, recalled Avraham K. [Kapica] (HVT-3639). Some informers were identified by the members of the Jewish police, who could walk freely around the ghetto during the Aktion and therefore saw the *mosrim* at work (HVT-1842). However, it was "enough to walk on the street and someone would call you an informer from behind to be killed. No one asked, no one interrogated. Just kicked them to death" (HVT-3639). A friend of Avraham K. [Kapica] killed his girlfriend after discovering that she betrayed a hideout to the Germans. "He was from a family of butchers, so he just took out a knife and killed her" (HVT-3639). Zvi Yovin was a teenager at that time and he vividly remembered taking part in the lynchings (OHD-110(11)). The graves of the *mosrim* were desecrated (OHD-110(22)).[979]
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> After the Aktion, Baruch Piletzki saw an old man lying on the street, bruised and crying. When pressed, he admitted to betraying—out of a desire to live—the hiding places of his three sons. "He didn't make it through the night," recalls Piletzki. "We finished him off. All the people. One spitted, another hit." Several testimonies mention the killing of mosrim with hammers. According to Hadasah Levkowitcz even the mosrims' graves were vandalized.[980]

The Jewish underground in Białystok was also infiltrated by agents working for the Jewish police, who then carried out raids on their premises. One of them, a certain Aleks, was later killed by Jews who left the ghetto for the forests.[981]

In Grodno,

> The ghetto lay behind a high, thick wire fence with a single gate, where a [German] gendarme stood with a Jewish policeman. Like mushrooms after rain, young men with truncheons appeared, recruited by the *Judenrat.* They had blue ribbons on their caps and armbands on their sleeves. With their

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[979] Evgeny Finkel, *Victims' Politics: Jewish Behavior During the Holocaust,* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin—Madison, 2012, 268–70. See also Evgeny Finkel, *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival during the Holocaust* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 93–95.

[980] Finkel, *Ordinary Jews,* 94–95.

[981] Account of Abram Manelis in Diatłowicki, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 1, 274, 276.

sergeants, officers and police chiefs, they kept order with a firm hand. Initially considered "Purim police," they slowly turned into the lackeys of the gendarmes and later, when the ghetto was liquidated, were traitors to the people and faithful servants of the Gestapo. The people could "smell" them and hated them, not because Jews did not like order, but because people sensed that they were synonymous with Hitler's rule.

Like faithful dogs, they stood at the barrier, standing and taking money to turn a blind eye to every Jew smuggling in a pound of potatoes, grain, flour or other vital commodity. For them, the gate was a source of blackmail, bribes and a life of comfort. They wallowed in prosperity at the expense of their hungry brothers. …

Then rumors spread about the liquidation of Ghetto No. 1—that the deportations would begin and soon Grodno would be *Judenrein.* …

The ghetto police went from house to house in precise accordance with the lists, gathering the victims in the Great Synagogue. People went there, resigned, laden with rucksacks and baskets, holding their children by the hand or carrying them in their arms. Thousands of people were crammed into the narrow space, standing on their feet for hours on end, in their own urine, unable to move a limb …

The "redeemers" arrived early next morning in the form of Ukrainians and [German] gendarmes who, on their last march to the station, chased the masses along with wooden clubs. The [Jewish] police tried to seize me and my little family for deportation. The evening was restless. Station workers returned to the ghetto, and told us that 40 empty railway wagons stood ready on the siding. The workers who did night work were not allowed out of the ghetto. …

Then, of all places, my brother, Shlomo Reizer found a hiding-place in the synagogue attic. …

The Angel of Death enjoyed himself in the ghetto, and everyone felt his eerie breath. He filled the littele streets, the cellars and attics. The [Jewish] police were extraordinarily active, searching everywhere with electric lamps and tapping the walls with hammers to see of they were hollow. The Gestapo warned them that if a sufficient number of victims were not assembled by morning, they themselves would be packed up with their wives, brides and children.

People paid great sums of gold for an hour of life—especially when the Gestapo told the police that no harm would come to them, that they would let them live. The policemen worked like angels of destruction to save their own lives. They discovered one hideout after another, from which the stench of nitrogen poured forth. They discovered people with weak nerves who could not stand it, who went mad, dancing, jumping, clapping their hands and singing. (The police took those people to a place where the Gestapo finished them off at a stroke.) …

The following morning they "sniffed out" our hiding-place and we had to disappear. … There was a well-camouflaged little brick door 30 centimeters square in a brick enclosure, and it moved on iron hinges. *Judenrat* officials had prepared it for themselves. …

The Gestapo and the [Jewish] police were still rampaging in the streets and deported about 6,000 people.[982]

Survivor accounts from Bełchatów, a small town near Łódź, illustrate a number of factors at play in the destruction of the Jewish community such as denunciations and intrigues among the Jews themselves. The

[982] Leib Reizer, *In the Struggle: Memoirs from Grodno and the* Forests (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2009), 114, 132–34.

assault on the Jews was led by the local ethnic Germans (or *Volksdeutsche*) and the German military, with the Jewish council and Jewish police being coopted as needed, including for the final liquidation of the Jewish community.

> While marching in, they [the German military] lit fire to a portion of the town, especially the Jewish part. … The German baker's son … was giving signals to the German military. Immediately, as he was doing this, the Germans began to throw firebombs on the Jewish part of the town, and was later said that this was organized by the local Germans … The robbing of the Jewish homes was carried out by the local Germans … unashamedly in the open.
>
> The local Germans took a great part in these sadistic actions. Especially prominent were the Belchatower Germans, Willer and Bretkreitz, and Dolke from Zelow [Zelów]. … The Germans considered it their patriotic duty to every day to find Jews whom they could "honor" with beatings. … And anyone who wanted to [could] beat the Jews; 10-11 year old little German boys, tugged at elderly Jews and beat them.
>
> In the beginning, when the Germans first arrived in Belchatow, all the positions were filled with Folks-Germans, [*Volks-Deutschen,* ethnic Germans living outside of Germany] … They filled the positions in the city administration, in the police force, and as commissars over Jewish fortunes. In time, however, Reich-Germans [*Reischs-Deutschen*] took their places.
>
> Smuggling and illegal dealings grew, because between Belchatow and Piotrkow [Piotrków Trybunalski] was the border between the German Reich and the General Gouvernement. Textiles were smuggled out of Belchatow, and leather and other articles were brought in. The persons engaged in this knew that their lives were in danger, but they had no other choice. Starvation forced them into it. The majority of their earning they had to give to the bribed gendarmes. They were dealing with all kinds of extortionists and blackmailers. They too had to be cut in. The Jewish police, Shmuel Jakubowicz's gang, also had to be bribed. Then a battle started between the richer and the poorer smugglers. The wealthier smugglers, who had the greater wherewithal with which to bribe the gendarmes, helped to liquidate the poorer ones. The smuggling took place only at night after police hours. They took a sack or a backpack on their shoulders and, with careful steps, slipped through the fields and meadows to the border. Others would be waiting to get the merchandise from them, Jews or Christians from Piotrkow and surrounding areas. Also waiting for them were German border guards with bloodhounds.
>
> The role that the Judenrat played in Belchatow during the German occupation was the same in all the cities of Poland: they obediently fulfilled all the German commands and even, in certain cases, collaborated. Often, they voluntarily told the German officials and the Gestapo what was going on among the Jews. The majority of those in the Judenrat and the Jewish police were people with no integrity, who sought a way to make a living by selling out the impoverished masses.

The Judenrat aided the German government in a series of actions against the Belchatower Jews. This was in the effort to deport Jews to the camps in Poznan [Poznań] in August 1941, as well as creating a list of very sick people, who were also deported.

The other members of the Judenrat, who remained until the end, assisted the Germans in the liquidation of the Jews of Belchatow.

The role of the Jewish police in Belchatow was absolutely no different than the role of the police in other occupied cities. The Jewish police obediently fulfilled all the German orders.

The Jewish Police in Belchatow was created and confirmed by the German government on the 15th of October 1940. A young criminal element found its way into the Jewish police, which blackmailed the smugglers, and squeezed sums of money out of the Jews by beatings, persecution, and the like. Also to be found in the Jewish police were young citizens, who had the money to bribe the individual members of the Jewish police. From [others'] misfortunes, they made an easy living for themselves and wangled their way out of forced labor camps. These were people with weak moral resistance and who, of course, did everything precisely as the German government told them to. Among the Jewish policemen, there were almost no proletarian elements, except for someone like Note Szpigelman, who, even before the war, had been thrown out of the proletarian ranks for embezzlement. The Jewish police in Belchatow consisted of 33 persons. These are their names: Yisroel Baum; Avraham Bogdanski; Hershl Bram; Yakov Galetski; Yechiel Fishl Dichtwald; Leybish Zuchowski; Szame Grinberg (who for a certain time was also on the Judenrat); Avraham Meyer Goldberg (*khmal*[?]); Moshe Goldblum; Shimon; Josef Goldberg; Hershel Jakubowicz; Moshe Klug (who was also a member in the Judenrat); Yankel Lipszyc; Moshe Mendel Lipman; Fishl Levi; Kive Lipmanowicz; Yakov-Mendel Lejb; Tuvia Machabanski; Yitzhak Miller; Wolf Przemyslawski; Lejb Rozencwajg; Itzik Sztrauch; Note Szpigelman; Moshe Wielniwicz; Itik Wishniewski; Henoch Zuchowski; Ber Markowicz; Melech Galster (also a member of the Judenrat); and Berish Grinberg. The latter was the wagon worker in the Poznan Camp and distinguished himself by beating the Jews and taking their food away from them. In addition there were: Jakob Sztern, Mendel Dzialowski, and Berish Piula. The latter, along with his brother, played a shameful part in the Poznan Camps. He was a camp "*kapo"* and beat [the Jews] black and blue. Many Jews became crippled because of him. He was responsible for the deaths of many people, who were sent to the crematoria because of him. The Belchatower police distinguished itself by assisting the Germans in the rounding up of Jews in the *aktsion* [action] of April, 1942. Together with the Germans, they went down into the cellars and up into the attics to search for hidden Jews. At that time, they succeeded in dragging another 400 Jews out of their hiding places. These Jews were sent out to be liquidated.

The Judenrat also helped in this evacuation.

In the beginning of 1942 the Germans arrested 16 Belchatow Jews, as so called "plotters". Ten of them were hung … the Jewish police, in the accompaniment of the gendarmes, brought the 10 Jews who had been designated to be hung. They all were with bound hands.

At the beginning of June 1942, Jews were once again required to gather in the courtyard of Klug's factory. Having learned from the previous "resettlements," the Jews were not as quick to report. They hid in cellars, in attics, in the woods. The Germans wreaked havoc: they shot a woman named

Gliksman; they shot Lewkowicz, Zerach Cymberknap, all to no avail. The Jews did not come out of hiding. If it hadn't been for the Jewish police, who were assisting the *gendarmerie* [German police] in their search and pointing out the hiding places, the Germans would not have accomplished much on their own. At that time, the Germans succeeded in dragging 400 Belchatow Jews to the Poznan camps. It was seldom that anyone taken away ever returned home. In the rare case that someone did succeed in escaping and returning [home], Jewish informants collaborating with the Gestapo turned him in.

In fact this matter presented itself differently: the abovementioned Yecheskel Zwierszynski escaped from the Poznan Camps, returned home and hid in various places. On the evening that he was shot, he was actually at home. Someone let the Germans know, and they came right into his house. He was not shot in the German cemetery, but while he was trying to jump out of the window.

In the Poznan Camps, the Germans utilized a group of Belchatower criminal youths. They were installed as "*kapos*" and "*stube-dienst*" ["chamber-service"—inmates in charge of a chamber]. Because of their cruelty, these underworld people were absolutely no different than the German beasts. The Belchatower hairdresser, Szwarcberg, worked as a "*feldsher*" [an old-time barber-surgeon] in the Nekla Camp. He was the expert on all illnesses. He has hundreds of deaths on his conscience. He is guilty in the death of Fradl Wolfowicz's youngest son, who died at work. He is also guilty in the death of old Szjtnicki and his son Moshe. He sent people to work with broken ribs, with bones broken in two by beatings. A second *kapo*, Berish Fila, beat people violently. He broke people's hands and feet and then turned his victims over to the Germans to be sent to Auschwitz. He himself survived the war and wound up in Germany in the American Zone … [The following] distinguished themselves as murderers: Mayorek Nus, Melech Krawitski, Berish Grinberg, and Avraham Pila. They took everything that they owned away from the Jews of Belchatow, every package of produce that came from home. The unfortunate camp prisoners had to share every bite with them. They were the masters of the inmates' lives and deaths. Whoever tried to oppose them was reported and recommended for transportation to Auschwitz as having sabotaged the work effort. These louts broke the bones of Avraham Lipsycz and Asher Jakubowicz, because they didn't want to give away their food. Asher Jakubowicz died of these wounds while at work; Avraham Lipsycz was turned over for transportation to Auschwitz. The starvation in the camps was so impossible to endure that, ignoring the fact that people in the camps knew that stealing was punishable by shooting or hanging, they nevertheless tried to steal whatever they could and at least once be sated. For stealing a few potatoes in the Poznan-Wronczyn Camp, Yerachmil Szwarcberg, Welwel Walder, and two other Belchatower Jews, whose names are uncertain, were hanged. One of the four hanged succeeded in extricating himself from the noose on the gallows and was still alive, but the Germans shot him. Also hanged for trying to escape was Avraham Liszczanowski.

The liquidation of the rest of the Jews who remained in Belchatow began on the 11th of August 1942, at 6 o'clock in the morning. The whole town was locked in and surrounded by newly arrived killing squads and the local German gendarmes and police force. All of those who had tried the previous night to escape to Piotrkow were, for the most part, shot. The women, Zuchowski and Pilakowicz, were killed as they tried to escape into the woods. Hans Biebow, the hangman of the Lodz [Łódź] Ghetto, led the liquidation. He brought with him a division of the Lodz Jewish "Special Police" [*SonderPolizei*]. The local Jewish Belchatow police also helped. First thing in the morning,

Itche Winter came into the tailor's factory and removed the Jewish policemen, who guarded the factory, and gave them the job of gathering all the old and sick people together on Zelower Road. There cars with Gestapo were already waiting for them and took them immediately to the Chelmno [Chełmno] death camp. These were the first victims. Thus started the final liquidation of the Jews in Belchatow.

After work, there was a repeat of everything that occurred yesterday. Once again we had to undress naked while being beaten. The second night we were sent to sleep in Machel Piotrkowski's house. On the first floor the brutes were sleeping, the Jewish Police from Lodz.

[In August 1942] … a group of police from the Lodz Ghetto, that Biebow had brought with him to liquidate the Jews of Belchatow. A lot of Jewish policemen also helped to rob for themselves. … The Germans required 25 benches to be brought and all 25 men had to lie down upon them. The Jewish police from the Lodz Ghetto lashed out upon them for so long, until the Germans told them to cease.[983]

Groups of rich smugglers established themselves, and they competed, fought, and informed on one another. The Jewish merchants and workers paid dearly to the German police, to the Jewish smugglers, and to extortionists. … A number of cases against groups of smugglers were adjudicated in the special court that was established in Lodz. In July 1941, based on the testimony of a Jewish detective, six Jews from Belchatow, who wanted to cross General Government border, were arrested in the fields of Dobrzelow [Dobrzelów]. The aforementioned court sentenced them to 1½ years of hard labor (read: death).

In August 1941 the deportations to labor camps commenced. Approximately 2000 men assembled in the yard. Jewish and German police guarded the fence and gate. … This time also, the wealthy Jews redeemed themselves with money.

The Belchatow Judenrat's goings-on were tumultuous. The continuous interference of the German authorities with regards to the Judenrat's composition, the number of members, caused the constant substitution of persons, imprisonment, and even the death of a number of the Judenrat chairmen. The source of this interference—as was the source also in other settlements, for example in Pabianice—was jealousy and conflict in the Jewish community, between groups and cliques, and, understandably, also informing to the German authorities as a result of these relationships. The opponents and the Judenrat members, that since they could not attain any standing in the pre-war Kehilla, now they were making careers. They also accused them of laziness, passivity, corruption, and gaining wealth at the expense of the community, by tattling to the Nazis and by cooperating with them to the detriment of the Jews.

A Jewish police force was established in Belchatow. … About 30 men served in the Jewish police … The pre-war Left argued that the police were underworld persons and licentious petty bourgeois that

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[983] Accounts of Leib Pudlowski and Zaken Liberman in Mark Tarkov and Abraham Mittleberg, eds., *Belchatow Memorial Book,* Internet: <http://jewishgen.org/yizkor/Belchatow/belchatow.html>, a translation of *Belchatow yizker-bukh* (Buenos Aires: Association of Polish Jews in Argentina, 1951), 391–462.

> obtained their positions by bribing the Judenrat. There were members of the proletariat among the Jewish police. The public accused them of Jewish persecution, of accepting smugglers' bribes, of taking ransom from persons that were freed from being sent to work, of aiding the Germans during the destruction of the settlement, of capturing hidden Jews and sending them off to their deaths. Some say that, in the Poznan [Poznań] camps, some of these Jewish police served as Kapos.
>
> On Purim (March 18, 1942), a public hanging of ten Jews took place by the order of the Gestapo, with the official reason given: in order that the smugglers should see and fear. … All the Jews were brought to the courtyard near the synagogue, were lined-up in fives, and were brought to the hanging place. The German policemen, with readied machine guns at hand, surrounded the masses of people. … At ten o'clock German and Jewish police brought the condemned, handcuffed.
>
> The final destruction of the Jewish settlement in Belchatow started on August 11, 1942. … By German orders, the entire Jewish police force was mobilized. They were ordered to gather to Zelow street all of the elderly, children, and sick, and from there they were transported by wagon to the Chelmno [Chełmno] death camp. … To these deportees were added also hidden Jews, who were uncovered in the interim. During these three days, those Jews that were chosen to clean up the quarter and to gather the Jewish possessions returned to the synagogue, and there they were strip-searched and their bags were searched. This work was done by the Jewish policemen that were sent from the Lodz [Łódź] ghetto. This work continued for a number of days, and thereafter these men were deported …[984]

As we can see from these accounts, Poles played no role in these events. The Germans utilized the Jewish leadership and police to carry out the "Final Solution" in Bełchatów. Some Jews were able to live relatively well during those times because of their lucrative black market activities, and others were able to survive at the expense of fellow Jews. Groups of smugglers took goods from Bełchatów, which was incorporated into the Reich, to the city of Piotrków, which was "across the border" in the *Generalgouvernment*, where they could be sold at a very high profit.

> Despite ghettoization and a climate of dark despair, "the Hafts found themselves prospering as never before." The "smuggling ring" of Harry's older brother, Aria, supplied the family "with more money than they could ever spend. Their small house was filled with food … not just bread and potatoes, but meats and fruits and candies …" Harry's girlfriend, Leah, was the daughter of another local family prominent in the black market. …
>
> Harry was first transported by bus to Poznan [Poznań], where the Nazis immediately sought to recruit a group of Jews who would help them maintain discipline. "The local Jewish criminals and bullies," Haft writes, "saw an opportunity to save their own skins." Later, Harry noticed that he "knew

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984 "Belchatow," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 1, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol1_00070.html>, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), 70–77. The information about Jewish *Kapos* in Poznań camps has been corroborated. Abram Rozenbaum, the right-hand man of the commander of the camp in Krzesinki, was said to be the terror of the camp. See the testimony of Stanisław Suchecki, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1431.

most of the Jewish cops as petty thieves from Belchatow." Ironically, Harry's lot improved in Poznan where he regularly engaged in burglary "in exchange for food and some protection."[985]

The same held true for other ghettos such as Piotrków Trybunalski, where the Germans relied on the Jews themselves to help run and then liquidate the ghetto:

> The newly established Jewish Militia ("Order-Keeping Police," or Ordnungsdienst, OD for short) was relentless in its attempts to implement the rules laid down by the German authorities. The militia's duties included the task of supplying workers for the Nazi war machine, most of the time forcibly. Also, a new breed of informers laid the foundation for distrust and fear among families and the best of friends. … the informers delivered "violators" to the Seventh Bureau.
>
> My grandfather's second cousin on his mother's side, Josele Lazar, was a man of considerable influence at the Gestapo headquarters. … Many Jews who were in the servitude of the Nazis adopted the latter's mannerisms in their attempt to please their masters. Thus, most of the OD members made every effort to dress and carry themselves with the arrogance characteristic of their masters.
>
> … we huddled behind curtained windows each night as we watched our neighbors and friends being driven away from their homes. The Gestapo officer's voice could be heard throughout the neighborhood as he announced, "You are being resettled! Come out into the street immediately! …"
>
> People filed out of their homes onto the street. … Neighbors were quickly rounded up and herded through the streets in orderly columns. The Jewish Militia was on its exemplary behavior as it aided the SS mercenaries in completing their task.
>
> The remaining ghetto population of some six thousand, save those performing forced labor at the two glass factories, assembled on the streets of the ghetto. The Nazis planned the *Aktion* to the minutest detail. Aided by the surrogate Lithuanian and Ukrainian SS as well as by the Jewish OD, they combed all of the abandoned dwellings. Anyone found inside was summarily shot, their bodies dumped unceremoniously on the sidewalks.[986]
>
> Meanwhile, the people who had remained hidden in their houses outside the Small Ghetto filtered back in. Those several hundred "illegals" were of concern to Warszawski [a Judenrat member] and his aides, who feared that the clandestine influx might provoke a further selection. Indeed, soon the Germans began intensive searches assisted by the Jewish police. The search uncovered several hundred Jews, including entire families. They were incarcerated in the Great Synagogue. Here, the murderers committed brutal atrocities with satanic pleasure. They carried infants out of the building, smashed their heads, and hurled their bodies into basin heaters over bonfires. The first group of

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[985] From a review by Michael Berkowitz of Alan Scott Haft, *Harry Haft: Auschwitz Survivor, Challenger of Rocky Marciano* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 20–22, 32–33, 39, in *East European Jewish Affairs,* vol. 37, no. 3 (December 2007): 400.

[986] William Samelson, "Piotrków Trybunalski: My Ancestral Home," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos During the Holocaust* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 5, 8–9, 12, 14.

> people was sent by horse carriages to nearby Tomaszów Mazowiecki, where the deportations to Treblinka were still going on.[987]

Another witness from Piotrków recalled:

> The ugliest part of our predicament was that we had some informers in our midst. There was Josek Szwartz from Litewska Street, who would denounce rich Jews to the Gestapo. They, in turn, usually liquidated the informers after their information was exhausted. The worst stool pigeon of them all was Joine Lewi. Before the war, he was a furrier and used to partake in amateur theatres. What was happening to some of our people? He associated himself with William of the *Schutzpolizei.* William was the "phantom" of the ghetto. He would come in with his big German shepherd dog and terrorize the ghetto population. Aside from robbing people at will, he would say to his dog: "Man, get that dog." (meaning the Jew). His dog, trained to attack, would hunt Jewish man or child, bite the victims and tear their clothing. We had informers—beside our own—refugees from other towns. We had to be careful and watch out for them.
>
> Soon the small ghetto began to get crowded. On November 4, [1942] Szymon Warszawski, our *Judenrat* chairman ordered all "illegals" to come out of their hiding places to be registered. He promised to obtain for them legal status in the small ghetto. Most of them came out of their bunkers, because they were hunted by the informers. After a few days, all the new "legalized" people were picked up by the Jewish police and taken to the synagogue and jailed. Later they were taken out and added to out-of-town transports for extermination.
>
> There was another bloody execution at the cemetery on April 21, 1943. Some Jews obtained "Aryan" documents in order to escape from the small ghetto, but they were denounced by our informers.[988]

Dr. Maurycy Jakubowicz, who was made the head doctor and used his office for his own material advantage, compiled a list of doctors and their families for deportation to Treblinka.[989] Among those denounced to the Gestapo by the Jewish policeman Hamer was a Jewish woman who had left her hideout to visit a family member interned in the work camp in Piotrków Trybunalski.[990] The Jewish police demaded a bribe of 5,000 złoty not to turn over to the Gestapo Józef Glatter-Zasikowski and his family for having left the ghetto illegally.[991]

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[987] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 281.

[988] Charles Kotkowsky, *Remnants: Memoirs of a Survivor* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, 2000), Internet: <http://migs.concordia.ca/memoirs/kotkowsky/kotkowsky.html>.

[989] Testimony of Mieczysław Grynberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3893.

[990] Testimony of Mieczysław Ruzga (Mordechai Lebental), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7007.

[991] Testimony of Józef Glatter-Zasikowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3895.

When a few Pabianice Jews tried to escape from forced labour camps in surrounding towns, most were caught with the assistance of the Jewish police from the Łódź ghetto. Two of the escapees who were caught were hanged in public in the Łódź ghetto.[992] It is not surprising therefore that many Jews recall times in the ghetto when they feared Jewish police and informers more than the Germans. Fanny Solomian-Loc states that that was the case in Pińsk, especially during the round-up of Jews. There, as in other towns, the Judenrat held drunken orgies with young girls.[993] Chaim Rumkowski, the "President" of the ghetto in Łódź (there was no Judenrat as such, but an Advisory Council), created a mini-police state with his own police guards operating above the regular Jewish ghetto police. Rumkowski was known to put on deportation lists those he personally disliked and sexually abused vulnerable girls and young women under his charge.[994] (The members of the Łódź Jewish council and their families benefitted from special shops and rations—enough to live quite comfortably.[995]) A Jew who witnessed the abuses of the Jewish police in the ghetto in Stołpce also stated that a stronger aversion had grown toward them and the Judenrat than the Germans.[996] Mojżesz Bahn of Kielce recalled that the Jewish police were feared more than the Germans, since the latter were more likely to accept a bribe and allow one to escape.[997] In Chęciny, despite the fact that there was no permanent German outpost, the 30-member Jewish police were known for their brutality which surpassed that of the Germans.[998] Henryk Gotlib, who commanded the 14-man Jewish police force, reportedly abused fellow Jews with frequency.[999] In Koluszki, near Łódź, Riwen Berliner, who commended a five-man unit of the Jewish police, "always beat his fellow Jews during his daily rounds of the ghetto."[1000] In Maniewicze, in Volhynia, the Germans "were assisted by the Jewish police who at times were no less cruel than their 'colleagues,' the Ukrainians."[1001] A Jew from Włodawa stated that the Jewish police behaved worse than the Germans.[1002] A Jew from Wołomin, near Warsaw, recalled, "Among the Jewish militia there were

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[992] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 89.

[993] Fanny Sołomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiazdy* (Wasaw: Czytelnik, 1993), 68–69, 71, 82. This book is also available in English translation as Fanny Solomian-Loc, *Woman Facing the Gallows* (Amherst, Massachusetts: Wordpro, 1981).

[994] Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: The Nazis and 'The Final Solution'* (London: BBC Books, 2005), 129–31; Rees, *The Holocaust,* 375. Reicher also accuses Rumkowski, a former director of a Jewish orphanage, of molesting young children in the interwar period. Ibid., 47–49, 55.

[995] Rees, *Auschwitz,* 105.

[996] Anatol Wertheim, "Żydowska partyzantka na Białorusi," *Zeszyty Historyczne,* no. 86 (1988): 127.

[997] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 96.

[998] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 98.

[999] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 208.

[1000] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 242.

[1001] Tarmon, ed., *Memorial Book,* 52.

[1002] Testimony of Nachum Knopfmacher, June 28, 1961, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1787.

sadists who enjoyed inflicting punishment: they assaulted and robbed and so on."[1003] A survivor from Jędrzejów wrote that there were "very few" in the Jewish police force, whose strength reached 20 men, "who had any humanity in them. Most of them behaved like beasts of prey, some even worse than the Germans." The excelled in rounding up Jews for various tasks and deportation.[1004] A survivor of the Warsaw ghetto had nothing favourable to say about the corrupt and servile Jewish police: "I hated them. Everybody hated them. … Had I possessed a gun, I would have murdered Jewish policemen and even tortured them! My hatred toward them was simply eating me up."[1005]

The loathing that most Jews had toward the ghetto police is noted in many early memorial books, as the following selection illustrates:

> The ghetto police were generally an affliction in all ghettos. This point is attested to by all of the books of the Holocaust period that were written about the ghetto police in other ghettos. Shneor Vaserman writes the following about Chelm [Chełm]: "For the murderers (the Nazis), it wasn't enough that they alone murdered. For their sadistic pleasure, they instituted that Jewish extermination was also carried out by Jewish hands. That, incidentally, was the devilish tactic in all of Poland, and everywhere their bloody paws reached. The Jewish police were recruited from the dregs of society." ("*Yizkor Bukh* [Memorial Book], Chelm," Johannesburg, 1954, pages 90–91).
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> Melech Neishtadt declares: "Between the broad Jewish masses and the ghetto policemen, a thick wall was set up. The entire population of the Jewish quarter had an attitude of deep hatred to the servants of the Germans." (*Khurbn un Vidershtand fun di Yidn in Varshe* [Destruction and Resistance of the Jews in Warsaw], New York, 1948, page 84). …
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> Dr. Mark Dvorzshetzki writes: "The ghetto population in Vilna [Wilno] related to the Jewish ghetto police with distrust and hatred. Many policemen were people without scruples, without shame, and without ethics. During Actions, they more than once opened hiding places and betrayed hidden Jews." ("*Yerushalayim D'Lite in Kamf un Umkum* [The Jerusalem of Lithuania in Battle and Holocaust]," Paris, 1948, page 302).
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> In *Pinkas Mlave* [The Record Book of Mlave (Mława)], we read: "As commandant of the Jewish police, the authorities nominated Shalom Gutman who became the terror of the ghetto. With body and soul, he collaborated with the Germans and created great miseries for Jews. He informed on all that was taking place in the ghetto. He murdered and beat. He carried out the German decrees with pleasure." ("*Pinkas Mlave*" under the editorship of Dr. Yakov Shatzki, New York, 1950, page 406).[1006]

[1003] Tzvi Shedletzki, "A Saga of Pain and Heroism," in Shimon Kanc, ed., *Sefer zikaron kehilat Wolomin* (Tel Aviv: Wolomin Society, 1971), 485, translated as *Volomin: A Memorial to the Jewish Community of Volomin,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/wolomin/Wolomin.html>.

[1004] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 234–35.

[1005] Testimony of the Brothers Avrach, in Tarmon, *Memorial Book,* 51.

[1006] Binyamin Orenstayn (Orenstein), "Czestochowa Jews in the Nazi Era (1939–1945)," *Czentochov: A New Supplement to the Book "Czenstochover Yidn",* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa/Czestochowa.html>, translation of S.D. Singer, ed., *Tshenstokhover: Naye tsugob-material tsum bukh "Tshenstokhover Yidn"* (New York: United Relief Committee in New York, 1958), 39ff.

Even in a very small town like Komarówka Podlaska, near Międzyrzec Podlaski, the Germans relied heavily on the Jewish police to carry out the Final Solution. As Marian Finkielman recalled,

> Toward evening I arrived in this town, in which a deportation was to take place the next morning. A Jewish policeman stopped me and led me to a shed with several people already inside. More arrived throughout the night. The policemen made sure that the German order to deport people for extermination was carried out precisely.[1007]

Jews were also conscripted to dig grave pits and to transport fellow Jews to the sites of their massacre. In Rabka, the Germans organized a Jewish grave-digging kommando that worked under the watchful eye of Jewish *Kapos*.[1008] When the Germans took the first half of the Jewish community to their place of execution in Brona Góra forest near Bereza Kartuska, 25 wagons driven by Jews transported the victims.[1009] When thousands of Jews were massacred in Załuż, near Sanok, Jewish policemen loaded the guns for the Gestapo executioners who shot the Jews as they fell into a large pit.[1010] In one case, a Jew by the name of Chaim Siegal took on the identity of a Ukrainian (Kyryl Syholenko or Sygolenko) and became the commander of the Ukrainian police in Dąbrowica, Volhynia, where he took part in the annihilation of the Jewish population.[1011] Zygmunt Prinz, a Jewish policeman in Kołomyja, teamed up with the Ukrainian police to extort money from Jews, among them a rabbi.[1012] Two Jews from the village of Kluwińce, near Tarnopol, joined up with the pro-German Ukrainian Insurgent Army and took part in a murder expedition directed at local Poles.[1013] In one case, a Soviet prisoner of war who was half-Jewish became the orderly of the commandant of the hard labour camp in Treblinka.[1014]

An eyewitness recalls the following scene he witnessed in Warsaw: "That same evening, sixteen skilled labourers marched in fours, led by a rabbi's son in an S.S. uniform."[1015] Gypsies apprehended in "Aryan" Warsaw were taken to the prison on Gęsia Street where they were guarded by functionaries of the Jewish

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[1007] Gutenbaum and Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses,* vol. 2, 51–52.

[1008] Robin O'Neil, *Rabka Police School,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/galicia2galicia2.html>.

[1009] Warshawsky, *Drohiczyn,* 316.

[1010] Jan Radożycki, "Nasze się skończyło," *Nasz Dziennik* (Warsaw), August 18, 2001.

[1011] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part B, 1344.

[1012] Marceli Najder, "Dziennik z bunkra," *Karta*, no. 68 (2011): 54–87, here at 74.

[1013] "Eksterminacja ludności polskiej dokonana przez bojówki OUN-UPA w powiecie Kopyczyńce, woj. Tarnopolskie w latach 1939–1945. Część 1," *Na rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 1 (20) 1997: 17; Daria Nałęcz and Hennadii Boriak, eds., *Wołyń, Galicja Wschodnia, 1943–1944: Przewodnik po polskich i ukraińskich źródłach archiwalnych,* vol. 1 (Warsaw: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych and Kiev: Derzhavnyi Komitet Arkhiviv Ukrainy, 2003), Polish appendix, Document 12 (page 5).

[1014] Peter Black, "Prosty żołnierz 'akcji Reinhard': Oddziały z Trawnik i eksterminacja polskich Żydów," in Libionka, *Akcja Reinhardt,* 107.

[1015] Amnon Ajzensztadt, *Endurance: Chronicles of Jewish Resistance* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1987), 40.

police.[1016] Jewish policemen escorted Jewish prisoners from the Gęsia Street prison to the execution site where they ried them to posts before they were shot.[1017] A Jewish woman imprisoned in Lublin Castle recalled her Jewish interrogator: "one of the people there, a very nicely dressed Jew, came over and asked me the same question in Yiddish. When I told him again that my mother had a German lover, he began hitting me."[1018]

A similar situation prevailed in German prisons and camps where the immediate perils faced by Jewish inmates often stemmed from fellow Jews who served as *Kapos* (*Kapos* were prisoner functionaries used by the Germans to control the everyday functioning of camp prisoners; for example, they were put in charge of work details or labour crews made up of prisoners), block elders and informants. Historian Peter Hayes, however, claims that such trustees "were almost never Jews."[1019] Hundreds of Jewish testimonies tell a different story, as do Polish prisoners. In a work camp in Kraśnik, "Jewish supervisors, afraid for their lives, regularly handed over to the Gestapo Jews whom they thought were 'thinking about escape.' Like the Stein brothers."[1020] Another inmate of that camp reported that a Jewish supervisor by the name of Szczypiecki would beat the workers. Similar stories emerge from inmates of the work camp in Stalowa Wola, where there were a number of corrupt Jewish *Kapos* and informers.[1021] Stasia Ałapin, who was thrown in a cell full of Jews at the Gestapo premises in Warsaw, recalled that "one of the women had been put in the cell as an informer."[1022]

A Jew who arrived in the Majdanek concentration camp recalled: "We got out of the [railroad] car. No Germans awaited us on the ramp, only Jews with horsewhips. They were brutal. They yelled 'son of a bitch' at everybody."[1023] In the camp, "SS men with whips and dogs, aided by Ukrainians and former Jewish POWs (*yentzes*), were pushing, whipping, and kicking the Jews. … The SS, it seemed, were giving the orders. The Ukrainians and *yentzes* were carrying them out."[1024] According to other Jewish prisoners, "The Czech and Slovak Jews in camp aren't much better than the Germans. When it came to the Jews,

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[1016] Institute of National Memory, Warsaw Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation, file no. S 5/20/Zn.

[1017] Testimony of Bajla Kaselberg in Markowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 132–33.

[1018] Wrobel, *My Life My Way,* 63.

[1019] Hayes, *Why?,* 204. Most of the examples in the text refer to camps in occupied Poland. However, Jews were also well represented in the *Kapo* contingent in other camps, for example, Issak Judalewsky from Białystok, who brutally beat and even killed prisoners in Belsen. See Thomas Harding, *Hanns and Rudolf: The True Story of the German Jew Who Tracked Down and Caught the Kommandant of Auschwitz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 191.

[1020] Nachemia Wurman with Margaret Russell, *Nachemia: German and Jew in the Holocaust* (Far Hills, New Jersey: New Horizon Press, 1988), 81.

Testimony of Berko Finger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2985.

[1021] Testimony of Julian Flajszer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1749.

[1022] Heather Laskey, *Night Voices: Heard in the Shadow of Hitler and Stalin* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 70.

[1023] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 76.

[1024] Jack Eisner, *The Survivor* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1980), 208.

every one of them was armed with a club and ready to beat up any victim."[1025] Jurek Kestenberg, another prisoner, stated: "They were all murderers. The leaders of the camp, though they were Jews, were all murderers. The worst sort of Jews."[1026] Israel Mittelberg, another prisoner of Majdanek, recalled:

> We were subjected to a horrible examination [on arrival]; even our anuses were checked. Nor did the Czech Jewish barbers return our valuables. Moreover, on one occasion, when I attempted to win one of them over, he yelled at me so much that a German guard came and gave me a violent beating. Those who had swallowed the gold coins later had to take the block-elders into their confidence, and that was fresh cause for torture and blackmail. …
>
> In the yard, we met many inmates we knew. Many were working in the registration offices. They served loyally, sometimes a little too loyally, at the expense of their own brother Jews, in whose place they might easily have been. …
>
> On that very first day in Majdanek, we began a search for those who had denounced the whereabouts of the bunkers [in the Warsaw ghetto], or those who had collaborated with the Germans. There were a few inmates in Majdanek—the block-elders of barracks six and seven—who executed retribution, bloodily settling accounts with the informers. The one in charge of my block was a character by the name of Heniek Kulik, the son-in-law of a reputable family in Warsaw, the tailor Nissan, who in turn was the Mendzickis' son-in-law. That scoundrel addressed us in language fit for the gutter, cursed us with the crudest Russian expressions to prepare us for camp life. …
>
> … the name Kulik was familiar to me. … We discussed his family whom I knew well … For the promise of a little soup, he found informers who would eavesdrop on conversations and denounce anyone who had any money. The barrack supervisor insisted that the money be given to him. When anyone refused he was given fifty lashes.
>
> One of the Kapos, Bobi [Bubi], was a particularly well-known looter of money and a blackguard. He was only fifteen but looked like a grown man. That scoundrel … had come to Majdanek with his parents and, in order to find favor with the Germans, personally hanged them at the Germans' request. His methods of torturing could lead one to his death in just a few minutes. Bobi beat me, but I had no money. He then left me alone. He would always visit the camp elders, looking for people to persecute. …
>
> And now, a new spate of ordeals was beginning for me. A new supervisor by the name of Osfiss, another of Kulik's brother-in-laws, joined us, who even surpassed the other two in vulgarity and callousness. He dispatched any inmate without money to do the heaviest jobs and subjected them to agonizing hardships. He confiscated our bread rations and demanded cigarettes in exchange. He would serve us one-half liter instead of three quarters and sell the leftovers. We were completely at the mercy of these three brother-in-laws.
>
> We reported the soup scoundrel to the kitchen. Osfiss was given a bloody flogging, and lived to take revenge on us. He organized night searches, embittered our already miserable lives. The three flogged us until their arms ached. …
>
> … Jews in position of power saw to it that no one should go short of beatings, our daily bread.

[1025] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 204.

[1026] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 113. Kestenberg recalls how a Ukrainian guard shot dead a Polish boy who wanted to bring water to a transport train loaded with Jews and the kindness of a Polish who brought him bread inside the camp. Ibid., 111, 114.

> … our own Jewish Hitlerite servants exhibited their skills: Kulik, Osfiss and Nissan. They woke us in the middle of the night and listed the crimes each one of us had committed. This one had relieved himself incorrectly, (pardon my vulgarity); that one had spat; that one had sewn on his number wrongly—and other crimes of this sort. For these wrongdoings each received ten, fifteen, and even twenty lashes. The Germans did not perform all the torture themselves; they also trained their servants.[1027]

Another Jewish inmate of Majdanek recalled:

> the elder of our block, Moshe, called Poer, who was known for his crudity and brutality. He had been a porter in Warsaw … He hit us in the morning and in the evening during roll calls using the excuse that we were not in a straight line. In reality, he wanted to become the pet of the kapos and the SS. I often saw Moshe Poer kicking Jewish prisoners in the face or stomach so hard until they were half-dead and some actually died later. Naftali Gaslen, known as the "killer", was of the same caliber. He had been a thug in Warsaw. They knew each other well. These two brutal underworld types were especially at home in Maidanek.
>
> One character who was unique even in Maidanek was a 15-year-old Jewish boy, called "Bubi". He was small, fat, well-dressed, and moved among the kapos, the prominent prisoners and even close to the SS. … The 10,000 prisoners of Field 4 were under his command, sometimes for hours. They were forced to carry out all of his orders: "Attention! Caps on! Caps off! Right! Left! Keep in step! Double time, Line march! March!" With club in hand and his childish voice, he ridiculed and taunted us to the full satisfaction of the SS. We found out that this boy was a "pupil" (dependent and accommodating in every way) of the head kapo. He had earned his reputation with the SS by putting the nooses around the necks of his father and mother in Maidanek.[1028]

One of the many victims, often elderly, of the sadistic Jewish *Kapo* known as Bubi was Rev. Canon Roman Archutowski, rector of Warsaw's Archdiocesan Seminary. Rev. Archutowski was arrested (for the second time) in November 1942 for, among other reasons, helping Jews. He was imprisoned in Pawiak and tortured. He was deported to Majdanek on March 25, 1943, and died there on April 18, 1943 at the age of 60. According to a prisoner who witnessed one of Bubi's many brutal mistreatments of fellow prisoners:

> Suddenly, Bubi, the *Lagenjüngster,* appears before us. A thirteen-year-old Jew, the bane of Field 3, a sadist about whom I heard things when I was still in Warsaw. In all the clatter and noise, we never heard the squeaky double doors of the barracks opening. Seeing a prisoner sitting down, Bubi leaps toward him and beats him on the face with his hand [fist]; next, he orders the tall man to bend over and whips him in the behind. The painful lashes last a long time. His whip is reinforced with wire. The priest [Rev. Archutowski] emits a quiet groan. An old, gray-haired Polish Jew, block overseer

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[1027] Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds,* 48–58. Mittelberg's claim that a young Jew by the name of Bobi hanged his own parents is confirmed by Jurek Erner, another prisoner of Majdanek, who refers to him as "Bobka," a 13-year-old boy. Erner says that Bobka spied and informed on fellow prisoners. See Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 87.

[1028] Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 126.

> Bass, standing near me, mumbles curses at Bubi under his breath. But what can we do, we are helpless.[1029]

Yet another Jewish prisoner of Majdanek wrote:

> I went into block number 8, where the block master was a Jew, one of the greatest murderers in Majdanek. Already at the first encounter, I received 25 lashes. Then, I received a brief lecture about restraining myself. In the afternoon, I went under the supervision of a kapo to my first stop, for a medical examination. Standing in line, I recognized my cousin who was sent away together with my father. I wanted to run to him, however fear took away my strength, and I was not able to stir. As he passed by me, he told me that father had been together with him, and he died in the middle of January.
>
> The next day, we were placed into groups and assigned work places. I worked for the first two days at the railway grounds with a group of 100 people. The kapo was a Jew from Vienna who arrived a few days before us. As time went on, he learned from his friends their sadistic methods, and our life became hell. Every day brought with it beatings. In order to save ourselves from the massacre, we had to sell our daily bread ticket (referred to as the "peike"), and one of us would give the kapo 1,000 Zlotys each week. Thereby, our situation improved slightly. Nevertheless, the work was very difficult.[1030]

There are many such accounts attesting to the cruelty of the Jewish *Kapos* and block elders in Majdanek.[1031] According to Shiye Goldberg, "The Kapos beat the inmates just to find favor with their German masters." A Jewish inmate recalls:

> Who can forget the pump, with the water trough around it, in which a Jewish *Kapo* (I think a murderer from Lemberg [Lwów]) would on each night, grab a Jew by the beard, and turn him with his face down, and hold him in the water, until a Jew would expire. The longer the Jew flailed with his feet, the higher the Nazi murderers would carry on and laugh.[1032]

[1029] Jerzy Kwiatkowski, *485 Days at Majdanek* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2021). See also Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), 126.

[1030] Adasz Rozenstrauch, "The Way of Martyrdom for a Jew of Zgierz," in David Shtockfish, ed., *Sefer Zgierz, mazkeret netsal le-kehila yeduhit be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: Zgierz Society, 1975), 560ff., translated as *Memorial Book Zgierz,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/zgierz/Zgierz.html>.

[1031] Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom,* 193. Another account mentions a well-known Maccabi sports figure from Warsaw who became a *Kapo* in block 19 as a blackmailer. See the testimony of Kuczykiewicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2119. A Jewish prisoner alleged that Kielski, a block elder, and Mojsze Goj stole from, abused and denounced fellow Jews. See the testimony of Karol Muszkatel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1248. Another Jewish prisoner, who was held in the sixth block, stated that the block elder, Reichman, was a sadist, as was his son, and that Reichman's assistant, a strongman known as "Tom," would choke prisoners for the slightest infraction. See the testimony of Lejzor Rochman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4605.

[1032] Moshe Schliam, "Zamość Without Jews," in Bernstein, ed., *The Zamosc Memorial Book,* 754.

As in other camps, "There was a black market in [Majdanek]. Those who bought from the Poles now sold the food to camp inmates at a good price."[1033] Shamay Greier, the head of the Judenrat in Lublin, took part in the liquidation of Majdanek:

> He was with the SS commandant when the latter ordered all the Jews to prostate themselves. He then poked each one after the other, saying "You go", "You stay", "You go", "You stay". Those ordered to go were taken to their death, and this game went on until the camp was vacant.[1034]

On arrival in Majdanek, Poles also became the victims of Jewish functionaries:

> We arrived there morning 26th [of March, 1943]. We marched two km from the station to the camp, escorted in every 2–3 meters by Ukrainians with machine guns. We entered the camp, which gave us depressing impression. It was scenery itself and people there as skeletons. Only Jews were there holding through not so bad. The Jews were at that time assigned to block leaders—robbing us, by leaving to us only one third or one fourth of our food rations.[1035]

Another Polish inmate, Jerzy Kwiatkowski, recalled:

> The block overseers, clerks, and office workers are almost 99 Jewish. Slovak Jews occupy all the positions in the offices, the political department, the *Arbeitseinsatz,* kitchens, washroom, laundry, and post office, and serve as doctors, nurses, and orderlies in the hospital. When there is no Slovak Jew for a position, then a Polish Jew might get in. On the outside, the Germans lock Jews into ghettos, force them to take off their hats in their presence and portray the Jews as social rejects, who have to be eradicated. Here in the concentration camp, Jews rule over Aryans, Jews carry whips, and the Aryans must stand at attention and take off their hats before them. Here, Jews address Aryans as "you" while the Aryans say "sir" to the Jews! Jews and SS men work hand in glove, Jews beat Christians bloody. Everything the opposite of *Mein Kampf*. Where do these Jewish privileges come from?[1036]

Kwiatkowski continues, "As much as the medical staff rises to the occasion with great effort, the auxiliary staff, especially the Jewish orderlies, exploit and steal from the sick at every step." Also, "Due to the commonplace hatred with which the (mostly Slovak) Jewish functionaries treat Poles, only on rare occasions are the Poles listened to or get a chance to speak."[1037] Jews also engaged in theft on an organized basis. Kwiatkowski writes, "There are still complaints about the mail. Packages don't arrive, especially the

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[1033] Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 140, 141–42. Goldberg states: "The Poles came every morning for an eight-hour working day. They were fairly decent people." Ibid., 140.

[1034] Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 134.

[1035] Record of Witness Testimony No. 327, May 27, 1946, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview327.pdf>.

[1036] Kwiatkowski, *485 Days at Majdanek,* 134–35.

[1037] Kwiatkowski, *485 Days at Majdanek,* 120.

most valuable ones. The Slovak Jews came up with a new method. Packages that they can see are wrapped well, are unpacked at the post office, repackaged into different paper, and addressed to their trusted friends. The Jews are still forbidden from receiving any letter or packages."[1038]

The Jewish *Kapos* in the labour camp in Chełm treated fellow Jews with cruelty, and partied hard. According to Kalmen Wewryk,

> There was a *kapo* there named Scherer, who used to live on my street in Chełm. … He had been our friend, and yet this tall *kapo* used to beat me mercilessly in the camp. … I saw a man I knew, Tishler, a carpenter. He had had a wife and 4 children all shipped to their deaths. And yet Tishler was dancing and singing and partying with the other kitchen *kapos.* He looked well because he ate well."

Wewryk witnessed even more atrocious behaviour in the Sobibór death camp where Jewish *Kapos* led Jews to the gas chambers, where well-fed train commando Jews insulted their starving co-religionists and refused to share their food with them, where Jews betrayed other Jews to the Germans, and where *Kapos* would party with attractive Jewish women prisoners and rape pretty young girls in front of their mothers. In his memoir we read:

> Some of the women … [to] please "their" *kapo*, would change clothes 3 or 4 times a day. Sobibor had no shortage of clothes, all taken from the incoming transports.
>
> … the ordinary Jewish prisoners were terrified of the *kapos*. If a Jew didn't obey a *kapo*, that Jew was reported to the Germans who took him away to his death. … most [*kapos*] had become brutalized. … I was afraid of my *kapo* as he was of the SS. He carried a big whip, was well-dressed, had his own room and a private life." "The train *kommando* prisoners … were terrific squealers. There was one *Oberkapo* from Berlin (we called him 'Berliner') who spoke an excellent, refined German. … When *Oberst* Franzl went on a furlough, this *kapo* thought that his chance had come—he would show Franzl how devoted he was, how efficient! If he saw a straw in the wrong place, he beat the nearest Jew mercilessly. He caused many Jews to be sent to the gas chambers. He was so bad and so sadistic that … the other *kapos* got together and jumped him … he was beaten to death." "There was a one-eyed *kapo* from Warsaw—Porzycki … He was a brutal kapo with murderous instincts. … I remember Bunyem, a short, stocky *kapo*. He used to beat people terribly.[1039]

Other survivors of Sobibór write:

> We were informed of this by the Jewish *"Kommandant"* who … was worse than a German. He was later killed too.
>
> Another time again, a tunnel leading out beyond the wires was discovered. … Right at the last minute, the Jewish *"Kommandant," yimakh shemoy,* found out about it and gave the all away. As soon as the Germans were informed, they massacred another 200 people in the third camp, so that everything we tried was betrayed, every attempt failed. …

[1038] Kwiatkowski, *485 Days at Majdanek,* 231.

[1039] Wewryk, *To Sobibor and Back,* 27, 32, 40, 41, 43–44, 48–49, 53.

Our most active member was Yosif Pelts … he succeeded in escaping … The next day, Moyshe *"Kommandant"* ran to tell the Germans that two were missing from the first barrack. We were fortunate, because the *Oberschaarführer* wasn't there, only the *Unterschaarführer,* who was less sadistic and selected ted men, instead of hundreds, to be shot. …

Now this Moyshe *"Kommandant"* … decided then to escape with us—about twenty people. … He saw that this group was now too large, so he put it off for another day. A German Jew learned of all this and informed the *Unterschaarführer* that Moyshe *"Kommandant"* was behind it. The German immediately summoned Moyshe *"Kommandant"* along with three others … and shot them all.[1040]

… a group of six Jewish capos from Poland agreed to organize an escape. … They were already supposed to carry it out one night, but that time it did not work out, either, because there was a provocateur, a Jew from Germany, Berliner, who said that the Germans had promised they would kill off everyone, but would leave him. He went to the Germans, told them about the plan and the next day the Germans hanged all six of them on the second square in front of everyone.[1041]

In the middle of spring, in the first days of May [1943], a rebellion which was promptly put out burst on the camp. The intended escape never did take place and I had not known anything about it, just like it had happened with the first one.

Everything was done very fast. I never knew what had actually happened and how the plan had been found out. My companions did not know anything either. On the following day, the henchmen appointed a new Commander to replace Moses. He was a German Jew from Berlin, which was soon to be called Kapo Berliner by us. To the position formerly held by Krajcewicer, they appointed another Jew, also German. It soon became obvious that the Nazis intended to place German Jews in the main trustworthy positions.

They did that on purpose, since the Jews who had come from Germany were not only more obedient but also more subservient. Even suffering the horrors of Nazism, they still believed in the Fuhrer and his gang. Their faith was such that they even thought they would be spared. My companions and I did not trust them any longer. They were already known as inveterate stool pigeons, such terror did the Germans instil in them. Any insurrection would never be able to count on their participation.

Soon after the aborted escape and considering the circumstances under which it had been stifled, we came to the clear undisputable conclusion that the denouncer had been Kapo Berliner. From that day on we never believed anything the German Jews ever told us and we lost the least bit of trust we still had in them.

Oberkapo Berliner came to be considered a dangerous, infamous individual, absolutely deprived of any scruples. As a matter of fact, it was his habit to abuse his subordinates only to please his masters, the Nazi scoundrels. It has already been said that this story is intended to be the faithful report of the whole truth, which took place at those sadly remembered times.

Unfortunately, the immense majority of Jews who had come from other regions of Europe did not inspire confidence in the Polish Jews. Our distrust was notably worse when we dealt with the German Jews. Numberless times we had heard them say that they did not believe Hitler would destroy them and that the Germans were not as bad as they seemed. They thought we magnified the facts and that

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[1040] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 279–81.

[1041] Testimony of Icek Lichtman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1204.

we would all survive in the end, meaning specially the Germans in Sobibor [Sobibór]. So they tried as the best they could to collaborate with the monsters. …

A few days later, something strange happened. it came about in the afternoon, at the time of the evening roll call, after work. Since he had taken over the command of Camp 1, the Nazi Frenzel had become the man in charge of receiving the results of the counting.

Once this had been done, he told Mundek, the chief tailor, to step out of the group and gave him twenty-five whiplashes. Next, he told me to do the same and the same punishment was applied on me. Everyone was surprised and no one could understand the reasons which had led the hangman to do that. Even now I cannot guess the reasons for that unexpected punishment, since I had not done anything to deserve it. However, our suspicions pointed to the Oberkapo Berliner, who would be the only person who would denounce us at the least transgression. Maybe he had learned that Mundek and I had both given some pieces of bread to half-dead Jews in the transport from Majdanek and he had decided to denounce us to Karl Frenzel.

Our hate for Berliner grew everyday, because he was just like the Germans. As he was a Jew, we craved for killing him even more than we wanted to kill the Nazi scoundrels. The autumn of 1943 was nearing and the days were becoming shorter. As evening fell earlier than before, the schedules were changed and the roll call was taken sooner. Although we were sent inside the sheds earlier, our work went on as usual. We were already used to life in the camp and we were in control of our emotions. We could even think of ourselves as cold, unfeeling men, deprived of fear or feeling. We really tried to reason out, with no fantasy, any possible way of escaping from that hell. …

From the very beginning one suggestion was accepted by all, with no exception, as being essential to the success of our venture—to eliminate the "Oberkapo" Berliner. Besides, being a habitual stool pigeon, Berliner was very sharp and suspicious. If he only imagined anything was being plotted, we would be irretrievably lost.

Unfortunately it had to be so, and we were sorry for that, because he was also a Jew. However, he had let himself be led by the Nazi technique, and had finally become one of its apologists. He thought he would save himself by acting like that and, to reach his egotistical aim, he did not measure consequences and he was always flattering the henchmen. He had been responsible for the death of many innocent people and, had he survived, he would have been one of the most prominent figures among the criminals who were judged in Nuremburg.

As we considered him our number one enemy it would be better to erase him from the list of the living than risk total failure in our venture. With his death, many Jews would be still saved from that infernal maze.

Everyone of us became conscious of his participation in this first and daring coup in the general fight plan. However, there still was the urgent need for total control over our emotions so that nothing would hinder the next steps in the operation. All was coldly planned and we only waited for the proper occasion to carry it out.

The first days of October were already passing very quickly when luck smiled on us. Wagner as well as the Commander-in-Chief "Trottel" had gone to Germany on a visit. With "Trottel"'s absence, another bandit Deputy Commander Niemann, had taken over the general command of Sobibor. However, Karl Frenzel and the other SS officers were still in their posts.

We agreed that, on a certain night, after we had come back from work and the general call had been done, we would be free to carry out the plan. We would then go to the Kapo's lodgings and we would try to catch Berliner by surprise, in case there were any need for that.

And thus it was done. When the day came and the hour got closer, we started to move towards his shed. This movement was very careful although seemingly careless. Four of us were in charge of doing it, while some other companions would stand nearby to deceive the other "Kapos" and prevent their entering the lodgings. In the attack group there were Mundek, Bunio, Pozycki and myself.

As we entered, we saw Berliner all alone. We went in and without the waste of a single minute, got hold of him, immediately covering his mouth to prevent his shouting. Totally unable to move, the traitor could not even thrash about or cry for help.

Our plan consisted of beating him in such a way as not to leave any haematomas on his face, arms or any other visible parts of his body. Based on that, we only hit him below the belt so as to reach his entrails and produce severe internal ruptures. Our intention was to destroy him only on the inside, and we were very careful not to hit him externally.

When the man was in a state when it would be impossible for him to survive or even babble a few words, we stopped the operation and calmly left for our lodgings, although our wish was to finish the killing. We slept peacefully that night as if nothing had happened. On the next day, we reported to duty at the usual time. The first call was done and, as it was only natural, Berliner was not there. Then Pozycki informed the Nazi Frenzel that the "Kapo" Commander was sick. No one ever doubted that, not even the other "kapos" who lived in Berliner's lodgings.

At noon, straight after lunch the Commander of Camp 1 came again for the usual counting, at the time we came back from work. As Berliner was still absent, again Pozycki took a step forward and said the Chief-Kapo was still sick in bed. Again all of us kept quiet, since those who did not know what had happened could not suspect anything.

The beating we had given Berliner had been so violent that no one could really be able to perceive that something strange had happened. Certainly his companions who slept in the same shed, must have thought he was sick and asleep, since, after the severe beating, we had put him in his bunk, and covered him up to his head with a blanket.

We had not killed him immediately because we did not want to raise the German's suspicions. However, we did not fear anything since Berliner would never be able to recover enough to talk and denounce what had happened to him. He had been left totally inert. He could not move or say anything. There was no doubt that our act had been vile and our aggression cowardly.

But there was a vital need for this prophylactic measure. However, the first stage of our operations was not complete yet. We still had to give Berliner the "coup de grace" and for that we drew a Machiavellian plan. It consisted of using the old aversion that Karl Frenzel felt against him and of which the Nazi made no secret. We settled everything and started to carry out the second stage of our manoeuvre.

It was already late in the afternoon when the presumptuous Nazi officer came to the tailor shop, with his peculiar elegance, to try on his new clothes. Mundek used the opportunity to hurt his vanity.

The tailor told Frenzel that Berliner usually said in front of everybody, that he enjoyed complete autonomy in Sobibor. He even used to say that he only respected Wagner, since he did not attribute any importance to the other SS officers.

As he was not yet satisfied with his story, Mundek added that I too knew everything and that I had heard Berliner say that many times. Finally, to impress the truth of his words, Mundek called me to the shop so that I, in person and in the presence of the Germans, could testify to what he said.

I went there and my accomplice immediately asked me if was not true that "Kapo" – Oberkapo Berliner was always saying that, inside Sobibor, he would only obey Wagner's orders. I did not even

wait for Mundek to finish his question and promptly answered that it was true, that what he was saying was the whole truth. However, in order to make that well-rehearsed plot act as a bomb, I decided to add that Berliner affirmed he was a German Jew, much superior to us, and that he thought he was as important as a Scharfuhrer. Besides, all that, he still said that Karl Frenzel was a real fool.

On hearing these last words, the Nazi had his natural colour changed. Astonished at the pseudo-revelation he became purple with anger and, seeing his pride deadly hurt, he told us—" All right—You will see how this piece of shit will end". The rest of the afternoon was uneventful. When our work was done, the usual roll call was performed and all of us went back to our sheds. The next task was up to the nurse, the Czech Jew Kurt. At this time of day he used to make his rounds. After he had gone through all the sheds, he headed towards the one where Berliner was. While he pretended to be examining him, he gave him some drug which would make him sleep to eternity.

As Kurt had some knowledge of his profession and knew how to put an end to Berliner—he had administered to the patient something which was really lethal. As a matter of fact he had just performed euthanasia, since the "Kapo" would actually never recover. Our plan had been carried out to perfection and we had gotten rid of the dangerous Jew. May God be merciful to him.

On the following morning, the roll call was taken once more and as it had to be, Berliner did not answer it. For the last time Pozycki went to Frenzel and told him the "Kapo" – Commander was still in bed. With a hard face, the German officer replied—"Is that so? All right. Get this piece of shit and take him to Camp 3" Not wasting a second, two of our men left the shed and went straight to the place where the corpse was. They wrapped him in a blanket and carried him away. A new "Kapo" – Commander (Oberkapo) was immediately appointed. He was a Dutch Jew.[1042]

The mass murder of Jews in Birkenau could not have been accomplished without the help of Jewish prisoners from the Sonderkommando (special squad). Sonderkommandos were work units of camp prisoners, composed almost entirely of Jews. About 120 SS personnel were assigned to the gas chambers and lived on site at the crematoria. Several SS personnel oversaw the killings at each gas chamber, while the bulk of the work was done by the Sonderkommando. Their responsibilities included guiding victims to the gas chambers and removing, looting, and cremating the corpses. On average four SS-men and 100 Jews from the Sonderkommando were needed to operate a crematorium.[1043] The Sonderkommando numbered around 860 prisoners at any given time, peaking at 1,000 men when the Hungarian Jews were killed in 1944. In total, almost 2,000 Jews were placed in these units and almost none survived. The Sonderkomandos lived in better conditions than most of the other prisoners and ate very well, consuming the food newly arrived prisoners brought with them. They also took the valuables of the Jews who were killed, in particular jewelry, and exchanged them for other goods they wanted.[1044] Jews from the Sonderkommando trafficked in, and made money off, the sales of the belongings of the murdered Jews. Sonderkommando Ya'akov Silberberg provides one such example in a question-and-answer format, where he comments:

[1042] Szmajzner, *Inferno em Sobibor,* English translation "Extracts from the Tragedy of a Jewish Teenager" posted online at: <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ar/sobibor/smajzner.html>.

[1043] Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: The Nazis & "The Final Solution",* BBC documentary (2005).

[1044] Rees, *The Holocaust,* 326.

> Do you remember people in the Sonderkommando trading the various items that they'd found in the undressing hall? *They did business; they bartered with people on the outside.* Whom do you mean? *With Germans and prisoners outside of the Sonderkommando. The Jews brought the belongings and those who went to work outside the camp sold them to Poles who lived in the area*. What was the most sought-after commodity in this barter trade? *Schnapps.*[1045]

Since it was common for the Sonderkommandos to be kept alive for many months, "a kind of intimacy developed" with the SS overseers, who often treated them much better than other prisoners. On occasion, they even played footlball together.[1046] On one occasion, the Jewish Sonderkommando in Auschwitz was told to appoint two men to carry out the hanging of some Polish prisoners who had muntinied against them. According to Eliezer Eisenschmidt, "none of them volunteered—except for Maurice and a Jew from Slovakia. They went because they knew they'd get good food and better conditions for doing so."[1047]

There are numerous testimonies regarding brutality of Jewish *Kapos* at the Auschwitz concentration camp and its subcamp, Birkenau, the death camp where most of the Jews were murdered. One prisoner in each work detail or prisoner block or barrack was appointed as a *Kapo*. Konrad Charmatz describes the dreaded Jewish *Kapos* he encountered from the moment he arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau:

> We were shoved into a large paddock area, where we were made to throw our belongings into a pile. … Around us we saw people with striped clothing. There were also a few civilians who spoke Yiddish …
>
> "Hand over your money and gold," they told us, "because you're going to the ovens anyway." Soon after that the head *Kapo*, the notorious "Pinkus," delivered a speech to us, each word striking us like a hammer blow. Pinkus was a Polish Jew who had lived in France. When he spotted Dr. [Avraham] Suchodolsky, he recognized him from the transfer camp for French Jews in Drancy … he scorned and insulted him, telling him that not only was he going up the chimney, but he was going to torture him slowly first. …
>
> Then we were assigned to blocks at Birkenau … He [another house elder] made sure the "animals are properly settled in their stalls." Those who did not please him or who complained about their crowded bunks, he pulled down on a long bench. There he beat and kicked them to death. Later his victims were tossed out of the barracks like old rags. In the morning a cart collected all the dead and took them to be incinerated. …
>
> I could not forget the crooked, ugly face of Pinkus, the elder of the "Zonder Block," who led the gang that received and sorted out the new arrivals. To this task brutes were assigned, men without feelings. Pinkus (if I am not mistaken, his last name was Chmelnitsky) was the most notorious of all the block elders. He had come to the camp with a French transport and was a true sadist who enjoyed

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[1045] Gideon Greif, ed., *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 379.

[1046] Rees, *The Holocaust,* 328.

[1047] Greif, *We Wept Without Tears,* 244.

brutalizing his victims and drawing their blood. … His helper, a certain Ziduna, a Jew from Lodz [Łódź], also excelled in cruelty. …

The camp commander, an SS storm trooper named Schilinger, stood and watched how hard his Jewish servants were working. Pinkus strutted through the crowds of new arrivals, always looking for another victim to beat with his truncheon, all the while looking up at his patron to see if he was pleased.[1048]

[1048] Konrad Charmatz, *Nightmares: Memoirs of the Years of Horror under Nazi Rule in Europe, 1939–1945* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 84–88. This probably refers to the notorious *Kapo* Pinkus Chmielnicki, who was arrested in France in 1945 and convicted of theft, assault, and the murder of prisoners under his authority in Auschwitz-Birkenau by a French military court in April 1950, and sentenced to death. See Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 142. Charmatz also describes the "sadistic" and corrupt *Kapos* he later encountered at a labour camp for Jews on Gęsia Street in Warsaw, where he was transferred: "One of the most sadistic of all the *Kapos* was a little fat man, power-drunk, with bloodshot eyes. Once, while running through a labyrinthine cellar, I ran into him just as he was raping one of us slaves, a young Belgian boy with blond hair." See Charmatz, *Nightmares,* 117–19. The block elders are described as "mostly criminals, sadists, homosexuals and underworld scum." Ibid., 127. Many of the *Kapos* the author met were homosexuals or became such in the camps. They preyed mercilessly on young men who became their servile "pipls" (or servants), and also on their enforcers who spied on the prisoners. Ibid., 117. When Charmatz arrived at a labour camp in Mühldorf, about 80 kilometres from Munich, he found that "Many of the Greek *Kapos* [Jews] were especially false and brutal." Ibid., 184. Other testimonies also confirm that unwanted homosexual advances and rapes of male prisoners by *Kapos*, Gestapo men and fellow prisoners were frequent. See, for example, Rudolf Vrba with Alan Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 179; Donald Grey Brownlow and John Eleuthere du Pont, *Hell Was My Home: Arnold Shay, Survivor of the Holocaust* (West Hanover, Massachusetts: Christopher Publishing House, 1983), 119–20; Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 4, 394; Tony Lech Purcell [Przyłuski], *Victory Over Death* (California: Stanford Press, 1995); Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 90–91. Young and adolescent boys, known as *pipels* (*piepels*) or bumboys, were especially vulnerable to abuse by homosexual *Kapos*. These boys would then disappear, sometimes killed, after their *Kapo* tired of them. See Stanisław Grzesiuk, *Pięć lat kacetu* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1958); Eugène Aroneanu, ed., *Inside the Concentration Camps: Eyewitness Accounts of Life in Hitler's Death Camps* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1996), 31; Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 240–43; David Gilbert, as told to Tim Shortbridge and Michael D. Frounfelter, *No Place to Run: A True Story* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002), 76; Michael Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007), 83, 86; Sam Pivnik, *Survivor: Auschwitz, the Death March and My Fight for Freedom* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2012), 130; Nate Leipciger, *The Weight of Freedom* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2015), 91–92, 100. Pinchas Gutter's *Memories in Focus* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017) describes how German *Kapos* and block elders in Majdanek searched out young, good-looking boys, sodomized them, choked them to death and then hanged them. A 14-year-old boy who rejected a German *Kapo's* sexual advances in Buna-Monowitz, an Auschwitz subcamp, was savagely beaten and left for dead (he was struck repeatedly on the head with a rock until he became unconscious). See Ewa K. Bacon, *Saving Lives in Auschwitz: The Prisoners' Hospital in Buna-Monowitz* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2017), 118, based on Czesław Wincenty Jaworski and Viktor E. Frankl, *Apel skazanych; Wspomnienia z Oświęcimia* (Warsaw: Pax, 1962). The German *Kapo* Hans Bock, who oversaw admissions to the camp hospital in Auschwitz, offered young prisoners hospital jobs in return for sexual favours. The German *Kapo* Leo Wietschorek was notorious for raping teenage boys in Auschwitz and murdering them. See Jack Fairweather, *The Volunteer: One Man, An Underground Army, and the Secret Mission to Destroy Auschwitz* (New York: HarperCollins, 2019), 69, 408. Numerous other examples are mentioned in Laura Jule Landwehrkamp, "Male Rape in Auschwitz? An Exploration of the Dynamics of Kapo-Piepel Sexual Violence in KL Auschwitz during the Holocaust," University of Uppsala, 2019. *Pipels,* among them Jewish boys, could also become violent towards other prisoners, especially when in the company of their *Kapos*. See Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 196, 198, 199. Female concentration camp prisoners also recalled being tormented by lesbian prisoners, for example in Ravensbrück. See Wanda Półtawska, *And I Am Afraid of My Dreams* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1989), 58.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum estimates that 100,000 homosexuals were arrested and between 5,000 and 15,000 were placed in concentration camps, where they had to wear a large pink triangle. See "Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals," Internet: <https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/nazi-persecution-of-homosexuals>. On the other hand, lesbians were hardly targeted as sexual acts between women were not banned by law. While lesbianism was not condoned, very few lesbians were arrested or punished. See "Gay and Lesbians," <https://www.ushmm.org/collections/bibliography/gays-and-lesbians>. On the homosexual-Nazi connection see Scott Lively and Kevin Abrams, *The Pink Swastika: Homosexuality in the Nazi Party,* 5th ed. (Springfield, Massachusetts: Veritas Aeterna Press, 2017); Andrew Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families: Homosexuality and Community in the Early Nazi Movement* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2015).

David Faber recalls another Jewish *Kapo* he met in Birkenau:

> A barrack leader, a *Kapo,* stamped in and stood just inside the door.
>
> "Listen!" he shouted. "My name is Potok, and I'll make you wish you'd never come here. You'll wish you'd never met me." …
>
> He walked along the bunks, grabbed the foot of a man on the middle row right under me, and yanked him onto the floor. No one spoke as the man lay sprawled on his stomach.
>
> The *Kapo* bent over, his face close to the prisoner's.
>
> "You look like you hid something," he said. "I'll bet you've got a fortune in your body. Give it to me!"
>
> The man rolled onto his back, his hands held out palms up.
>
> "No, sir." I could scarcely hear him. "I don't have anything, sir."
>
> "You don't?"
>
> The man spoke louder. "No. Nothing, sir! Nothing!"
>
> Potok smiled. "I'll find out."
>
> He took a long, thin knife from a scabbard on his belt. "Give it to me, or I'll cut you open."
>
> "Please don't!" The man tried to get up, but Potok pushed him down with his foot.
>
> "Turn over!" he yelled and kicked the man in the head.
>
> Crying, the prisoner turned to lie face down on the floor. Potok cut open the man's pants, the jabbed the knife into his anus and cut away pieces of flesh.
>
> Screams rang through my head, and I covered my ears.
>
> The screams stopped, and the *Kapo* laughed. "You know," he said, "he didn't have anything."
>
> He pulled other people from the bunks, made them lie on their backs, and crushed their windpipes with his heavy boot. Then he'd turn them over and butcher them the way he had the first man.
>
> The rest of us lay in our bunks, some watching, some with eyes closed.[1049]

Joe Rosenblum recalls a cruel German Jewish *Kapo*:

> We spotted Hans Eisenstein. Hans was a golden angel, a Jewish *Kapo*. …
>
> Aside from Mengele, the biggest threat to my personal safety was Hans, a German Jew. Hans was in charge of the 140 ramp workers on the night shift. … He liked beating us with the standard-issue cane, about an inch in diameter and three feet long. Hans enjoyed making people suffer and wanted to prove his loyalty to the Third Reich. By this time, Germany was so obviously losing the war most other *Kapos* had stopped beating us. Not Hans. … Sometimes, when we would return from work, Hans would make us run double-time. … But if Hans caught anybody, he would pound him repeatedly with his cane. He didn't need any excuses to beat us. He also ran through groups, assaulting whoever was in his way.

[1049] David Faber, *Because of Romek: A Holocaust Survivor's Memoir* (El Cajon, California: Granite Hill Press, 1997), 130–31. When one of Potok's brothers was transferred to a satellite camp in Jawiszowice, he was quietly killed by the Jewish inmates who remembered him from Birkenau. Ibid., 149–50.

> What Hans and many of the other *Kapos* did to us was beneath human behavior, especially what they did to their own people. … They treated us all as if we were animals, they tried to turn us into animals, and they acted as if they were animals themselves.[1050]

Three former prisoners of Auschwitz-Birkenau—Herman Przewoznik, Shlomo Fuchs and Chaim Schwarzwald—recalled the following *Kapos*:

> We worked in the Sauna—Birkenau disinfection chamber—from January 1943 to January 1945, i.e. until the evacuation …
>
> Until March 1943, the Blockälteste of block 15 was the Polish priest Vladyk. He was followed by the French Jew Leon Cimbler, nicknamed the boxer, who killed up to 50 Jews a day.
>
> The Blockälteste of block 5 was a German named Albert Hammerle, who tortured and killed many Jews every day. French Jew Schaffmann carried out acts of equal cruelty in block 27. The French Jew Pinkus was in block 22, striking them with a cane, hammer, and an iron strap. He tried to kill as many as he could and also took from them what money, gold, and valuables they had left. He greeted them with the words: "I'll make sure you'll live for only 1 or 2 hours, you Hurensöhne." The head of the sauna until March 43 was a Pole named Stefan, who was a dangerous sadist, especially towards the Jews. Other dangerous sadists were the Germans Alois and Martin, a certain Stefan – a Volksdeutscher from Poland – Schilfsmeer, the camp kapo Thin, the kapo Kleinmann from Plonsk [Płońsk], and head kapo Rudi (a German who was also an executioner) from the More commando.[1051]

Peter Kleinmann, from Transcarpathia, recalls one of the many Jewish *Kapos* he encountered in Auschwitz:

> When we entered the barrack a *Kapo*, an SS, and a *Wehrmacht* man stood at the entrance and counted us as we filed past. Neither the *Wehrmacht* not the SS entered the barracks but stood directly outside. We did not speak—we still believed that we would be going to work. The screeches of the *Kapos* penetrated every corner of the barrack. In my barrack there were mainly Hungarian Jews. Everybody understood the *Kapo*'s instructions, which were given in Yiddish.[1052]

Konstanty Piekarski, a Polish prisoner of Auschwitz, recalls a Jewish prisoner, a strongman by the name of Schmelling,

> who succeeded in impressing the Germans with his tremendous physical strength. Some kapos had tried to match their strength with his, but were no competition for the big man. Consequently, Schmelling became a privileged prisoner within the penal block. As a Jew he could not leave the block, but he received as much food as he could eat. In return the SS men required demonstrations of

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[1050] Rosenblum with Kohn, *Defy the Darkness,* 148, 224–25.

[1051] Testimony recorded in November 1945, Internet: <ttps://early-testimony.ehri-project.eu/document/EHRI-ET-JMP010>.

[1052] Memoir of Peter (Dzeider) Kleinmann, Internet: <http://www.museumoffamilyhistory.com/wims-kleinmann-05.htm>, chapter 5.

his muscular power—in particular, to prove that he could kill a man with one blow. Other Jewish prisoners were supplied as the subjects, and the SS men eagerly bet on either Schmelling or his victims.[1053]

Avraham-Berl Sokol of Wysokie Mazowieckie, who arrived at Auschwitz on January 17, 1943, recalled:

> They brought us to Block 20, beating us continually. After some time they took our clothes and we were ordered to stay outside in the biting frost (January 18th, 1943) for several hours. Many froze to death in the deep cold. Then they brought us to the bathroom and tattooed a number on the left hand. My number was 88966. For them I was not a human being but a number. When they yelled at me to get beaten, they were not calling my name but my number. The Jewish "Capo"—Merva of Makov (?) – trying to please the Germans, ordered me to "bend down" and with a thick stick he beat me very hard. This is the way we lived—hunger, fear, cold and beatings were our daily treats. Many signed up to Block 7 at their will, the block of death. This was the block they used to take people to the gas chambers, this is how we were shaking (?) in the claws of death and we were hoping.[1054]

Frank Stiffel, who was assigned to the prisoners' infirmary in Auschwitz, recalled

> The formal punishment could be for a minor transgression such as smoking during the working hours. In such cases, the transgressor himself carried from the Bunker (this was the official name given to Block 11, the jailhouse of Auschwitz One) a slanted, narrow table called the *goat,* put it in the middle of the Raportplatz, bent over it, and received his twenty or thirty whips on the buttocks. This whipping was called the *payoff* and it usually took place on a Saturday evening. The man who administered it was Jacob, the gigantic Jew, the Kapo of the bunker. … in addition to the payoff whippings, Jacob was the one who prepared the gallows and the rope for public hangings and who executed the hangings in the presence of the Auschwitz administration and in front of the Haftlinge [Häftlinge, i.e. prisoners] population. Just by looking at him there was no doubt that Jacob was able to kill. He was a primitive man, some three hundred and fifty pounds of muscle and no brain. The language he spoke was a strange combination of Yiddish and some animal-like sounds.[1055]
>
> Kapo Schultz was a bloodthirsty Jewish Kapo from the Unionwerke ammunitions factory. He was known for beating the male Jewish Haftlinge working for him and for sexually abusing the Jewish females. He was hated by everybody, and during the previous New Year's Eve, he had been beaten up severely by unknown persons and thrown on a heap of garbage in the middle of Auschwitz, to freeze to death. He had survived, but in spite of a broken arm and broken ribs, he had refused to go to the

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[1053] Kon (Konstanty R.) Piekarski, *Escaping Hell: The Story of a Polish Underground Officer in Auschwitz and Buchenwald* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989), 35–36. Schmelling reportedly survived for about a year in Auschwitz. For another Polish prisoner who recalls Jewish *Kapos* in Auschwitz, see the testimony of Jan Dudzinski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43153.

[1054] Avraham-Berl Sokol, "What I Experienced at the Zambrow Concentration Camp and Other Concentration Camps," in I. Rubin, ed., *Wysokie Mazowieckie Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Wysokie-Mazowieckie Society, 1975), 174–83, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Wysokie/wys164.html>.

[1055] Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 251.

> Krankenbau [infirmary], and now he was escaping the wrath of Auschwitz by going away with the Germans.[1056]

Stiffel also recalled:

> But the most serious tests were being performed in Block 10, the mystery block, where the only women in Auschwitz One were staying … an indefinite number of women on whom unknown tests were being performed by a group of German doctors helped by a Jewish Haftling, Dr. [Maximilian] Samuel, supposedly a specialist in genetics.[1057]

> The Hungarian Jews … saw around them Polish Jews, some of whom were functionaries, and most of whom had by now developed ways to outsmart the three-month survival theory and were doing comparatively well. The Hungarians compared their own lot with that of the Polish Jews, and they decided that it was not the SS but the Polish Jews who were responsible for their tragedy. They developed a hatred against the Polish Jews—a hatred that was to last long after the war was over, and that even today can still be detected lingering in the old survivors.[1058]

Rosa Katz describes her confrontation with Jewish *Kapos* on her arrival at Auschwitz:

> Then we had to leave all our clothes in a big pile, and they gave us those horrible Auschwitz uniforms with the stripes. … We were pushed around again, marched off again to the barracks. … In the morning we were rushed out, the *Kapos* you know, they make horrible shriek voices, and those were Jewish people … And if somebody cried, they were hit, you know, the *Kapos* was hitting them, and not only the people who cried but the people next to them …[1059]

Judith Strick Dribben describes the conduct of Jewish women *Kapos* when she was taken to a shower room in Auschwitz along with a group of Polish women:

> A plump girl entered. She wore good clothes, a sweater with a red yellow Star of David, and an armband embroidered "*Sauna Kapo*."
>
> She demanded in German, "Who is ready for the next room?"
>
> The women started crowding around the door. Suddenly the girl produced a big belt. She began beating the naked bodies and heads, leaving red welts.
>
> "Keep in line," the girl yelled. …

[1056] Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 293.

[1057] Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 264. In his seminal work *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), Robert Jay Lifton labeled Dr. Maximilian Samuel a "Jewish medical collaborator."

[1058] Stiffel, *The Tale of the Ring,* 274.

[1059] Rosa Katz, Oral History Transcript, October 28–29, 1980, Internet: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/holocaustsurvivors/pdfs/Katz.pdf>, 63–64.

Not far from us stood a tall, white-haired Italian woman. For some reason, she had attracted the attention of the *Sauna Kapo,* who hit her with the belt on the face, neck, and breasts. The woman became furious.

"*Disgraziata putana* ('disgraceful whore')," she shouted.

Before we could grasp what had happened, the *kapo*, helped by two other well-dressed girls, dragged her down and kicked her until she lay bloody and silent on the floor.[1060]

Irene Shapiro recollects her experiences with Jewish overseers at Auschwitz-Birkenau:

We promptly line up in front of two barracks overlooking the railway ramp where we left our train just a while ago. We are about to get the first taste of crazy Sally, our *Block Aelteste* (barrack elder), and her adjutant, the *Stubendienst* (barrack orderly) Mela.

Sally is a toothless Polish-Jewish blonde who screams at us in garbled German and who kicks and hits us more often than she screams. With each reprimand, she points to the distant smokestacks and foretells that we will all go there if we don't change the nonchalant way in which we obey the rules of the camp. …

Cruelty of punishment is in evidence everywhere and at all times. … Every *Capo* (Camp Policewoman) feels free to kick and punch her subservients, and so does every *block*-Elder or other camp official in a striped uniform. Since many of these officials in the women's camp happen to be Hungarian [Jews], we soon learn some of the Hungarian orders that are barked at us, such as "*Nem lekhet* (it isn't allowed),' "*Kifele* (get out)" and "*Diorshan* (hurry up)." All these Hungarian phrases will remain with us for a long time.[1061]

Sara Plager Zyskind attests to the cruelty of the Jewish *Kapos* in Auschwitz, especially one from Slovakia:

After a large group of girls had been gathered together, our *Kapo* began arranging us into rows of five abreast. She was now joined by several other guards, stout like herself, their hair short and stubbed as if it, too, had been cropped not long ago. These women's dresses were so short that they barely covered their hefty thighs. …

… All three *Kapos* ran wildly about, wielding their truncheons and striking blows on the heads of anyone near them. The red-head flailed her victims with almost ecstatic fury. …

During the day, I had heard it whispered that these women were Jews … This made their cruelty all the worse. …

"If you're Jewish, why do you help the Germans torture us? Why do you beat your own sisters? Haven't you any feeling of pity? …"

The *Kapo* didn't move. Leaning on her truncheon, she seemed to be listening patiently to every word I said. When I stopped talking, she said in heavily accented Polish, "Finished?"

[1060] Judith Strick Dribben, *A Girl Called Judith Strick* (New York: Cowles, 1970), 181.

[1061] Irene Shapiro, *Revisiting the Shadows: Memoirs from War-torn Poland to the Statue of Liberty* (Elk River, Minnesota: DeForest Press, 2004), 231–32, 236. Margaretta Czuckermann, another Hungarian Jew, also reported that prisoners were punched and tortured by the female SS guards and female Hungarian inmates, who worked for the SS. See the testimony of Margaretta Czuckermann, May 25, 1989, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=506>.

> "Yes, I replied.
>
> "Turn around," she commanded. I did and immediately found myself in a pitch black world with stars twirling about my head. … Suddenly I felt water on my face. I opened my eye and realized that I was lying on the floor, with the enormous *Kapo* standing over me and dousing me with a strong jet of water from a hose. …
>
> "Get up!" she commanded. I got to my feet wearily. … "Climb onto the oven and get down on your knees!"
>
> The *Kapo* took four large bricks, placed two in each of my hands, and ordered me to raise the bricks above my head. I couldn't do it—they were too heavy. Blows fell on my back until, with a stupendous effort, I managed to raise my arms. I felt as if every bone in my body was broken. I don't know how long I was kept there holding the bricks above my head. …
>
> I dragged myself back and either passed out or fell into a deep sleep. …
>
> Like a pack of hounds after their game, a large number of *Kapos* stormed into our midst, stepped all over us, and brought down their cubs with full force upon our heads. …
>
> It was a horrible spectacle watched with demonic glee by the German officers, while the *Kapos,* who seemed to have been waiting for this opportunity, assaulted us again furiously under the pretext of restoring order.[1062]

Ester Löwi described the cruel treatment meted out to Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz by Jewish *Kapos* from Slovakia: "From 2 o'clock in the morning there was a roll call. It lasted until 7 o'clock. They would have to stand for 5 hours. Jewish women from Slovakia, block elders, oversaw this, and would beat people."[1063] A Polish Jew also speaks scathingly of block elders from Slovakia:

> The most terrible and most eager executioners of German orders, often in most extreme form, were block-/dormitory leaders from Slovakia. Forgetting that they could share the lot of humiliated comrades, they motivated Lagerälteste to punishments. They were merciless at the line-ups where weak women fainted from the exhaustion in the hot sunshine. It happened to me several times. I fell down at the line-up—block leader revived me by beating and forced me then to stand up.[1064]

Orna Birnbach (Blauner), from Slovakia, recalls: "We walked to (what I now know was) block 4 in Birkenau. A Jewish Polish capo girl came over. These girls were queens. They hated the Hungarians, they told us we were still dancing while they had already built the camp."[1065] Mala Liss Brandsdorfer describes her experiences with Jewish *Kapo* helpers in Birkenau:

> My first work group was called the 105th Kommando. We were about 150 women divided into three groups of 50. Each group had a Vorarbeiter, or Kapo. They were our work leaders. Many of the Kapos

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[1062] Sara Zyskind, *Stolen Years* (Minneapolis: Lerner, 1981; reprinted by Signet, New York, 1983), 153, 156–59, 161.

[1063] Testimony of Ester Löwi, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 113.

[1064] Record of Witness Testimony No. 277, April 25, 1946, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview277.pdf>.

[1065] Interview with Orna Birnbach (Blauner), Internet: <http://leschroniquespurple.com/post/44656510490>.

were criminals. They were known by the black triangles on their clothing. Ours was a German prostitute. She was in charge of our work details. A lot of the Kapos were street women from Germany.

Each Kapo had one or two Jewish helpers, and over each Kapo was an SS man. When we were working the SS man usually stayed in a hut nearby. We were watched over by the Kapos and their helpers. …

The Kapos would often leave us in the care of their helpers. A few of the helpers were no better than the Kapos, but most of them would help us if they could. Most of the Kapo's helpers were Jewish girls, and they would help by watching for the Kapos and the SS.

We stayed in Ravensbruck [Ravensbrück] for about 2 weeks. … I ran into a girl named Hadasa. Even though she was Jewish she had had a privileged position in Auschwitz. She was an assistant to a Kapo from the 103rd Kommando. But here in Ravensbruck she was in the same position as the rest of us.

In Auschwitz I had received many beatings from Hadasa. Not just me but all of us in the kommando. Once she caught me in the toilet. She beat me until I was black and blue. It was because she had seen me switch groups during work so I could do some trading.[1066]

Many other Jewish prisoners recall brutal Jewish *Kapos* and block elders in Auschwitz-Birkenau:

The commander of our barracks was a Jewish woman from Czechoslovakia; she wasn't much older than I—in her early twenties, I would guess—but she was hardened and cruel, and it pleased her to demean us. *Radomske [radomska] kurwa*—Radomer whore—she called each of us. That's the greeting she used the very first time she came into our barracks, and she called us whores routinely afterward. … When winter came and the cold tore at us, digging its fingers deep into our chests, when we were maybe just a little slow to get outside to stand for our endless appels, she would come into our barracks and beat us with her stick, curse us as whores, and make us move faster.

Such gratuitous cruelty. And from a Jew. … She was cruel in an almost casual way, as if her malice were a habit and not something that arose only in outbursts, in sudden response to some infraction, real or perceived. Her viciousness was her essence. …

One might think that women guards would be kinder than men, gentler in their treatment of other human beings. But in my experience, this wasn't true. The women guards, Jews as well as the SS. Were no less sadistic.[1067]

The saddest part of all this, and something I can never forget, is the way the *Blockälteste* [block elder] and her helpers treated us. Though they were Jewish women, they acted more like wild beasts from the forests, beating us and kicking us all the time, and showing us no pity at all. They, themselves, lacked nothing, though. They were mostly veteran inmates …[1068]

[1066] Louis Brandsdorfer, *The Bleeding Sky: My Mother's Journey Through the Fire* (CreateSpace, 2012), chapters 8 and 9.

[1067] Millie Werber and Eve Keller, *Two Rings: A Story of Love and War* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2012), 165–66.

[1068] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 109.

> I was brought with the group into Birkenau … This is how we were processed: I was pushed in front of a table. I had to stretch my arm out and have a camp number tattoed on it. A *Kapo,* a French Jew, stood on the table and made sure everyone kept order. When the needle was stuck in, I jumped from pain, and the *Kapo* kicked me right in the mouth so hard, a tooth flew out and blood ran all over my chin. And the *Kapo* screamed with laughter like an animal at the way I doubled over.
>
> Birkenau was like hell. … Every *Älteste* [elder] beat us. We were whipped for the smallest "sin." They beat me day and night. Our lives became cheap—which was what the killers wanted.[1069]

One of Udel S.'s most vivid memories of Birkenau was the cruelty of the Jewish *Kapos*:

> They were worse, these French Jews, than the Germans … Because he [the capo] was getting an additional ration of bread and an additional dinner, so he was ready to beat the life out of a person …[1070]

On arrival at the camp, the Canada squad—composed of seasoned Jewish prisoners from France, Belgium and Poland—emptied the railroad cars and took food for themselves, "so they had food without limit."[1071]

A Jewish survivor who lived through Birkenau recalled her first block elder, a 15-year-old Jewish girl named Cilli, but known as the "Little Devil". Cilli was too weak to beat the prisoners, but at least she slapped their faces left and right.[1072] Historian N. Glicksman writes: "In Auschwitz the kapo of the night shift in the 'Union' factory, the Czech Jew Weiss, treated his group very brutally. … The kapo B.A., on his way to the United States, confessed his sinister deeds in Birkenau. A Hungarian woman, the daughter of a rabbi, was notorious for her disgraceful attitude towards the Jewish women under her command."[1073]

In April 1948, Regina Szenberg (Kupiec), a block elder in Birkenau between the years 1943–1944, was declared guilty by a Jewish honour court in Munich of sadistic treatment of Jewish women and children, and selling food which she stole from their rations. She immigrated to the United States in December 1948.[1074] Another female Jewish *Kapo* at Auschwitz would beat women prisoners mercilessly with a whip until a German doctor ordered her to stop this cruel form of punishment. This *Kapo*, however, continued to wake all of the prisoners in the barracks in the middle of the night and forced them to stand for hours.[1075]

Thomas Buergenthal, who survived Auschwitz-Birkenau as a child, vividly recalled the Jewish *Kapos* he encountered there:

[1069] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 189.

[1070] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 53.

[1071] Ibid., 52.

[1072] Stanisława Gogołowska, *W Brzezince nie umierało się samotnie* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1973), 22–23.

[1073] N. Glicksman, "Social Stratification in the German Concentration Camps," in Michael Robert Marrus (ed.), *The Nazi Holocaust, Part 6: The Victims of the Holocaust,* vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1989), 947.

[1074] Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 72–73.

[1075] Testimony of Renia Lipska-Micznik, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 13697.

After we had been tattooed, we were assigned to our barracks. Ours was a wooden structure like all the others in the Gypsy camp, with a mud floor that divided two long rows of wide, three-level wooden bunks. Once in the barrack, we were greeted by a burly prisoner with a cane. This, I was to learn right away, was the *Blockältester,* or barrack boss. He kept pointing to the bunks and yelling in Polish and Yiddish, "Ten men to each level!" Whoever did not move fast enough for him was hit or kicked. My father and I found a bunk, picked the middle level and were soon joined by eight other inmates. Then we were ordered to lie on our stomachs with our heads pointing towards the middle of the barrack. I can't tell whether we were given blankets, but I am sure that we had no mattresses.

Although we were not given anything to eat that evening, the very thought of food was forced out of my mind by what happened that night. Into the barrack strutted two or three well-fed inmates with canes and clubs. They wore armbands that identified them as *Kapo*. Kapos were inmates who, together with the barrack bosses, ran the camp for the SS and terrorized their fellow inmates, day in and day out. Right after the Kapos had greeted our barrack boss, one of them yelled in German, "Spiegel, you son of a bitch. Get down. We want to talk to you!" As soon as Spiegel stood before them, the men surrounded him and started to hit him with their fists and clubs: on his face, his head, his legs, his arms. The more Spiegel begged for mercy and screamed, the more the Kapos beat him. From what I could make out as the Kapos yelled while beating him, Spiegel had apparently denounced one of them to the Gestapo in Kielce, with the result that the denounced man had been sent to Auschwitz some two years earlier.

Spiegel was soon on his knees and then flat on the ground, begging to be allowed to die. He was covered with blood and no longer really trying to protect himself against the blows that continued to rain down on him. The Kapos then picked up Spiegel and began to push and pull him out of the barrack. We did not see what happened next. Later we heard that the Kapos had dragged Spiegel to the fence and that he died on the fence. Our camp, like the others in Birkenau, was enclosed by a highly electrified fence that emitted a perennial buzz. … Spiegel must have died by being thrown against the fence or by crawling into it. Gradually, I came to realize that it was not uncommon for inmates to commit suicide by what was known as "walking into the fence."

It is difficult not to wonder whether it ever occurred to these Kapos that they were no different from Spiegel. He denounced fellow Jews to the Gestapo because he believed that he was thereby prolonging his own life, whereas the Kapos allowed themselves to become the surrogates of the SS by beating their fellow inmates, forcing them to work to total exhaustion, and depriving them of their rations, knowing full well that by these actions they hastened the deaths of the prisoners. And all that in order to improve the Kapos' own chances of survival. Thus, besides testing the morality of those who became neither informers nor Kapos, the concentration camps were laboratories for the survival of the brutish. Both Spiegel and the Kapo he had denounced had been friends of my parents. Both had been with us in Katowice. At that time they had been my "uncles." I seem to recall that the Kapo whom Spiegel had denounced had been a dental technician or a dentist in his prior life; I never knew what Spiegel's profession had been. Had they not ended up in the camps, they probably would have remained decent human beings. What is it in the human character that gives some individuals the moral strength not to sacrifice their decency and dignity, regardless of the costs to themselves, whereas others become murderously ruthless in the hope of ensuring their own survival?

… In those early days, I was also introduced to the Auschwitz feeding system. We would be awakened early in the morning and made to line up in front of a big kettle from which an inmate with a ladle would pour out a liquid that looked like black coffee. Next to him stood the barrack boss,

> cutting slices of black bread. The bread was frequently moldy and the slices rather small. I soon noticed that not everyone got the same amount of bread. Those the barrack boss did not like would get a smaller piece or no bread at all, while his friends and he himself would keep whole loaves. Complaints would invite a beating. In the evening, we would be served the day's only other meal. It consisted, as a rule, of some tasteless, watery turnip soup. Since we got no bread in the evening, I would try to save a little piece of my morning bread for later in the day, hiding it very carefully so that it would not be stolen.[1076]

Leon Głogowski, a doctor who worked in the hospital barrack in Birkenau, recalled the sadistic exploits of a *Kapo* named Izaak (with an exaggerated count of his victims):

> That was the athlete Izaak. Already in the *"Stammlager,"* in the punitive company he was ill-famed for his powerful blow. Here in Birkenau he carried neither a stick nor a mace. He arranged the prisoners as he wanted them to stand and then hit them with the edge of his hand in the neck. One blow sufficed and the prisoner had to be delivered to the morgue. Izaak would have been ashamed if he had to hit twice. He made no differentiation as regards nationalities. He boasted that he had already finished off close to two thousand Jews.[1077]

Sometimes the victims of choice of Jewish *Kapos* and block elders were Christian Poles. Avraham Harshalom (Friedberg) recalls:

> The head of the interrogation block [Block 11] was the Jewish prisoner Jakob Kozolczik [Jakub Kozalczyk]—a mountain of a man, all muscle. Before the war, Kozolczik had made a name for himself as 'Schimschon Eisen' ('Samson the Mighty'), displaying his feats of strength the length and breadth of Poland. … he endeavored to be lenient towards Jews, while tightening the screw principally upon the Poles, whom he heartily detested …[1078]

Shavti Perelmuter contrasts a Polish block commander favourably with the Jewish *Kapos* he encountered as a prisoner at Auschwitz:

> I became sick with typhus and I lay in a terrible condition … it is only thanks to my block commander, the Pole, Ludwig [Ludwik], that I was able to stay alive. … he had been thrown into Auschwitz as a political prisoner. I have no idea what it was that I did, or for what reason he showed me so much sympathy …

[1076] Buergenthal, *A Lucky Child,* 68–70.

[1077] Leon Glogowski, "From 'Guinea Pig' in Auschwitz to the Post of Head of the Hospital in Birkenau," in International Auschwitz Committee, ed., *Nazi Medicine: Doctors, Victims, and Medicine in Auschwitz,* Part II (New York: Howard Fertig, 1986), 187. A Jewish academic alleges, falsely, that Izaak (Isaak) was a "non-Jewish Pole." See Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence,* 83–84.

[1078] Avraham Harshalom (Friedberg), "Jakob the Kapo," *Alive from the Ashes* (Tel Aviv: Milo, 1990), Internet: <http://www.purs.org/yzkor_pruzhany/alive_jacob.htm>. See also "Krynki—Jakub Kozalczyk (Kozelczuk)," Społeczne Muzeum Żydów Białegostoku i regionu, Internet: <https://www.jewishbialystok.pl/Krynki--Jakub-Kozalczyk-(Kozelczuk),5437,1310>.

My medical crisis lasted for 12 days, there was one occasion when Ludwig didn't allow me to go to work, but he hid me under some straw in the barracks so that I wouldn't be discovered in an inspection. …

In Auschwitz camp I had the opportunity to be exposed to see and to really hear and know the behavior of the block commanders and their helpers. The commander of Block 27 was a certain

> Greenboim, and he was from Warsaw. He distinguished himself with his brutality towards Jews. There was another one from Warsaw, Yosela and Laibeshel from Radom.[1079]

Polish inmates of Auschwitz also recall the cruelty and corruption of many of the Jewish functionaries and ordinary prisoners:

[1079] Shavti Perelmuter, "Jewish Resistance in the Ghetto and the Camp," in *Deblin-Modzjitz Book,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Deblin.html>, translation of D. Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Deblin-Modjitz [Dęblin-Modrzyc]* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Demblin-Modzjitz, 1969), 501ff. The *Kapo* from Warsaw identified as Greenboim may be the same as Eliezer Grinbaum or Nonek Greenbaum or Grynbaum mentioned by other Jews. He was known to call Jewish prisoners "*parszywy Żyd"* ("filthy Jew"). Although he was turned over to the French police in Paris, where he was spotted by some survivors after the war, he was released and fled to Palestine. See Moshe and Elie Garbarz, *A* Survivor (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 83; Stefan Grajek, *Po wojnie i co dalej: Żydzi w Polsce w latach 1945–1949* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2003), 65–66; Moshe Prywes as told to Haim Chertok, *Prisoners of Hope* (Hanover and London: Brandeis University Press, 1996), 60. A Jewish prisoner remembers with gratitude how her Polish "block trusty" tried to protect Jewish prisoners from being sent to the ovens. See the account of Anna (Chana) Kovitzka, posted online at: <http://voices.iit.edu/frames.asp?path=Interviews/&page=kovit&ext_t.html>. Another inmate mentions a Polish *Kapo* in Auschwitz who allowed Jewish inmates to hold a religious service and guarded the entrance to the barracks to watch out for the SS. See Judy Weissenberg Cohen, "'The Kol Nidre I always remember,'" *The Canadian Jewish News,* September 24, 1998. Other accounts that mention kind deeds by Polish *Kapos* and block elders in Auschwitz can be found in Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 15, 205, 210; and Charmatz, *Nightmares,* 101–102. Walter Plywaski, formerly Władysław Pływacki, wrote the following about Polish *Kapos* he and his brother, teenagers at the time, encountered in Auschwitz and Dachau ("I Remember," *Jewish Magazine,* September-October 2007):

> I am now 77 years old and those awful times of Shoah, the Holocaust, still live in my mind flickering like the dark red and black columns of flame and smoke I saw on my arrival at night on the selection platform of Auschwitz-Birkenau. I remember not running to say goodbye to my mother after the command was given by the SS and their hunting dogs, the Kapos, "Men right! Women left!"
>
> I had been told about half a year earlier by my father that in Auschwitz any woman with a child was as good as dead. My father had information, both from his prewar Gentile Polish friends and by listening to a secret underground radio used in the Lodz [Łódź] ghetto by a small group of men to hear from BBC true war news. I also remember that I did not have my left arm tattooed with a number because by the summer of 1944 the holding yard for the slaughterhouse of Birkenau stopped tattooing those within it. I suspect that was since the average life expectancy there was but two weeks, the logic of it was "why waste government money on ink?" on those who will not last much longer. …
>
> I remember being overly clever with my brother in going to a barracks where we heard that there were double or triple food rations to all underage twins. We lied that we were fraternal twins. The barracks was, of course, a holding pen for Dr. Mengele's so-called medical experiments. One of the Polish Gentile Kapos in that barracks took me aside and told me what my brother and I were facing there. He told me that he would try to get us out as soon as he can manage, and he did just that probably on the third day there. He was a total stranger to me. He smuggled us out and we rejoined our father and the men's camp barracks.
>
> I remember lying awake at night in the barracks and listening through the night to the high-pitched screams from the outside. I was told by someone, probably the barracks leader Kapo, that we were hearing children under the age of eight being burned alive to save the German government's money on Zyklon-B. …
>
> My brother and I arrived in the main Dachau camp somewhere in January 1945. There I was separated from my brother and sent to the so-called infirmary, because I had malnutrition holes in both my lower legs. Two Polish Gentile Kapos at the infirmary told me that I was being held to become a guinea pig for malaria experiments there. They said that they will try to get me out of there, if at all possible. They began to show up at my bedside several times per day, bringing me pieces of bread, a slice of sausage or even a hard-boiled egg, such as these I hadn't seen for years. After a few days the holes in my legs began to heal and probably only within one week these two Poles put a corpse into my bed and smuggled me out into the general camp where I rejoined my brother in the quarantine barracks.
>
> And so I remember many things which are horrifying, but I also remember many things which tell me that among groups of people, even in the most extreme situations, there are also those few "weird" individuals who for one reason or another find it possible to be humane rather than being merely human. My brother and I were helped by several other Polish Gentile prisoners in the Dachau camps. Such men truly deserve the Latin phrase "Ecce Homo".

There are a number of Jewish testimonies describing Polish prisoners of Auschwitz very favourably. Halina Nelken, a Jewish woman from Kraków, writes of the solidarity of Polish and Jewish prisoners in the Płaszów concentration camps, and the assistance shown by Polish inmates of Auschwitz, the camp's first inmates, to later transports of

After two days journey, late evening we arrived to Auschwitz. We stopped at the side track, seeing surrounding us wires (*fences.*) Approached directly by Jews (*probably members of "Sonderkommando"*), ordering men to line-up separately from women. They warned us, to get rid of money—gold and foreign exchange. The latter to be punished by death. We were then led by Jews and SS-men to the camp. On the way there I saw a huge ditch on fire, and Jews started shouting that Germans prepared it for us. I could see on a distance group of people surrounding the fire, I heard terrible screams and I think I have seen a SS-man pushing people into that fire. Behind the wires stand our men, seasoned Häftlings (*prisoners*) who reassured us, that the fire was not for us—they were burning Jews.

We were led to a barn at the Brzezinka [Birkenau]. … Morning time, we were ordered into a column of rows of 5, and to the bath. … We were led to bath, started registration, and we had to leave our jewellery, cash, and our belongings. We could keep part of our food supplies, groats, sugar, butter. We, my 11-years old sister me and our mother, hold together. Jews at the bath were worst in tormenting us; they pushed us, grasped our belongings taking just anything they liked. From me, for example, they took a pretty painted wrap (*handkerchief*) and just on my eyes one Jewish (*woman*) wrapped it into her pocket. We got other, civilian cloths with a "Streifen" (Vertical, red strap, painted on with oil paint over shoulders of a dress), dirty and with lice. We got no shoes. Later on, gathered behind the bath in column of rows in 5 and then our Aufseher approached. When she left us soon after, just to fetch list of our names, the seasoned Polish prisoners neared us. Men gave us their bread, coffee, especially for mothers with children and for small children. Women enquired on their relatives, friends, sometime recognising between us their sisters or some more removed relatives. Crying was heard all over, tears and welcome. The Aufseher returned shouting on us as we were scattered all over—some women were slapped in faces, which gave me a shocking impression. We were led then by Aufsehers and SS-man to camp "B". There we were spread to different blocks, me with my mother and sister to block 26.[1080]

During arrival of the Jewish transports "Lagersperr" (camp barrier) was established. Huge ditches covered with spruce padding were already prepared. Young Jewish were separated for labour, older send to gas chambers while children thrown directly into fire. It took place just 2–3 km from the camp. Children were just thrown into those ditches and burned. Once a Polish transport arrived—80 persons—Jewish guard (capo) wanted to send all those to the gas chamber as well, but SS-man showed up and took the whole group to the camp, and threw the Jew into fire.[1081]

In our station (*Revir of the sick-bay*), we were constantly submitted selections. I was selected (*to extermination?*) three times, but bribed myself through block guard, Jewish-Slovak, with my rations.

[1080] Record of Witness Testimony No. 421, July 26, 1946, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview421.pdf>.

[1081] Record of Witness Testimony No. 47, December 12, 1945, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview47.pdf>.

> She wrote in other numbers on the list of selected From our block of 300 persons, half of us were sorted out (*for extermination*). Selections were carried on 2 to 3 times a week.[1082]

A group of Jews from Płońsk was charged with the job of bringing the clothes of prisoners put to death in Birkenau for disinfection at the sauna. This allowed them to obtain money and valuables, which they then used to buy food in the camp as well as to help other members of the block. In 1943, the group decided to fight the Germans and take revenge on the *Kapo* who abused the Jews. Moshe Aharon Pszewoznik deposed:

> At the end of 1943, a Jew from Lodz [Łódź] (known as Moshele Hassid) ordered me, my brother, Elazar Miller, Mendel Frankenstein and Shimon Pas (the latter being the one whose wife and five children were cremated, and whose valuables he recognized among the objects the victims left behind) to go and kill the murderous "Romanian" Unterscharfuehrer. We were about to carry out the order when a Jewish kapo … told the Germans that a revolt had been planned. As a result, 900 Jews were killed. About six months later, the revolt took place.[1083]

Some of the *Kapos* had already acquired a history of abusing their fellow Jews before arriving at Auschwitz, and they continued in this path after being transferred to other camps afterwards. Henoch (Henryk, Chaim) Klajman (Klajnman) was one of more than 40 Jews who served in the Jewish police force in the Płońsk ghetto. Believed to be a confidant of the German authorities, Klajman not only mistreated Jews, but also divulged their hiding places and appropriated his victims' goods and money. The Płońsk ghetto police were notorious for their abuse of power and brutality, even killing fellow Jews. When the Płońsk Jews discovered that Mejłoch Hopenblum (Majloch Hoppenblum), the commander of the Jewish police in the Pomiechówek camp, was stealing packages addressed to Jews from Płońsk, as were his subordinates, they reportedly "popped out his eyes" and "spat in his face" before killing him. The Płońsk Jewish council was equally corrupt. Its members took bribes from exemptions from the lists of workers for labour assignments and assigned their friends to easy jobs. They often feasted well at the expense of others. From 1942 to 1945, Klajman was a *Kapo* in Auschwitz and then Stutthof, where he mistreated his fellow prisoners by beating them. He had been so brutal to his fellow inmates in Auschwitz that he had earned the

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[1082] Record of Witness Testimony No. 8, November 28, 1945, Voices from Ravensbrück, Polish Institute of Source Research, Lund, Sweden, Internet: <http://www3.ub.lu.se/ravensbruck/interview8.pdf>.

[1083] Testimony of Moshe Aharon Pszewoznik, dated January 25, 1948, Yad Vashem Archives, file M1-M1E/1744 (historical questionnaire, the Central Historical Committee, Munich).

nickname "Chamek kapo."[1084] Ludwika Lady also reported being brutalized in Stutthof by Czech Jewish women who served as block elders and leaders.[1085]

Stanisław Taubenschlag (later Stanley Townsend) faced the unwanted sexual attention of a Jewish *Kapo* in Auschwitz who was a homosexual. Later, towards the end of the war, when Taubenschlag was in the process of being transported to Nordhausen, he had to deal with Siegfried, a vile Jewish *Kapo* who had deduced Taubenschlag's Jewishness and persecuted him.[1086] Roman Frister tells of having been raped by a Jewish prisoner in Auschwitz who "liked young boys." He tells of losing his forage cap, a capital crime, and stealing another prisoner's cap. He witnesses the innocent victim of his misdeed being shot.[1087] Jewish women in Auschwitz were exploited by privileged Jews from the *Sonderdienst* (i.e., Special Services), who offered them a scrap of food for sexual favours.[1088] Jewish women prisoners who pretended to be skilled labourers to survive in Auschwitz had to guard their secret from fellow Jews: "One lies more convincingly than another; they are afraid to tell the truth because there are many spies around. The worst are the German Jewish girls."[1089]

The Germans brought a group of 60 young Jews from Stoczek, near Węgrów, to Treblinka, where they served as auxiliaries in policing the camp. Armed with sticks, they shoved, jostled and struck the prisoners. They also seized money and other valuables from new arrivals.[1090] Jews taken to the death camp in Treblinka (Treblinka II) recalled their mistreatment at the hands of fellow Jews, among them *Kapos.*

> Everyone was ordered to undress. Next to those undressing themselves stood so-called kapos with sticks. (They had yellow armbands on their forearms with "Kapo" written in black letters.) In exchange for gold and cigarettes they helped individual persons get through to those set aside for

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[1084] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 25–26; Wiatr, Engelking, and Skibińska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* vol. 13, 22–23. After the war, the Jewish Social Court referred the Klajman's case to the Polish Regional Court in Płock, which found him guilty of brutally murdering Jews in the Płońsk ghetto, as well as in the Auschwitz and Stutthof concentration camps, where he was a *Kapo*. Klajman as sentenced to death in 1949, but the penalty was later commuted to life imprisonment. See Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 139–41. On the explots of Majloch Hoppenblum see also Wiatr, Engelking, and Skibińska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* vol. 13, 31–32, 35, 62.

[1085] Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 178. Ludwika Lady also reported that Poles and Jews from the men's blocks threw packages of food to the women prisoners.

[1086] Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 90–91, 113–15.

[1087] Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 240–43.

[1088] Testimony of Józefina Schepper-Modzowiecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1254.

[1089] Sheldon Schwartz, ed., *Never Far Away: The Auschwitz Chronicles of Anna Heilman* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001), 94.

[1090] Blatman, *En direct du ghetto,* 477, 479–80.

> work detail. The kapos hit us when the SS were there or when someone did not undress himself fast enough.[1091]

> Another amazing characteristic of the Germans is their ability to discover, among other peoples, hundreds of depraved types like themselves, and to use them for their own ends. In camps for Jews, there is a need for Jewish executioners, spies, stool pigeons. The Germans managed to find them, to find such vile creatures as Moshko from the vicinity of Slonim [Słonim], Itzig Kobyla from Warsaw, Chaskel the thief, and Kuba, a thief and a pimp, both Warsaw born and bred.[1092]

> One of the workers was a young Warsaw Jew whose nickname was 'the Gypsy.' … His job was to ransack the victims' suitcases and collect delicacies … Once, when the Gypsy spotted a worker secreting a piece of candy in his clothes, he jumped down from the cart and demanded that he put it back. The worker, a newcomer in Treblinka, saw no reason to obey the orders of another Jew, even one who held an official position. The Gypsy began hitting him with his riding whip but the worker, undeterred, pushed the Gypsy … At this, the Gypsy, the murderers' lackey, struck and killed the helpless Jew.[1093]

One of the many Jewish informers denounced the "very humane" camp elder Rakowski, who was planning to stage a revolt of the Jewish prisoners. Blau was a particularly dangerous *Kapo* who

> had many people on his conscience. He and his wife had reached Treblinka from their place of residence, Kielce, where he had collaborated with the Gestapo. … Blau enjoyed certain privileges: he was first appointed *Oberkapo* and then kitchen commandant. He surrounded himself with a gang of criminals of the worst kind, who kept him informed of everything in the huts—prisoners' discussions, plans, and so on. Blau handed out double portions of the best kinds of food to his cronies, at the expense of the rest of us …[1094]

Other prisoners provide equally damning testimony about Jewish camp functionaries who behaved cruelly toward their fellow Jewish prisoners, both in the hard labour camp (Treblinka I), which also held Polish prisoners, and in the death camp for Jews (Treblinka II). A Jewish inmate of Treblinka I recalled the brutality of a Jewish *Kapo* named Kruszewski, who would mercilessly beat fellow prisoners.[1095]

[1091] Testimony of an anonymous escapee from Treblinka in Markowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* 189. For more on the activities of Treblinka *Kapos* see Wiatr, Engelking, and Skibińska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* vol. 13, 130–31, 136, 158, 168, 188–89.

[1092] Jankiel Wiernik, *A Year in Treblinka: An Inmate Who Escaped Tells the Day-to-Day Facts of One Year of His Torturous Expeience* (New York: American Representation of the General Jewish Workers' Union of Poland, 1944), 17–18.

[1093] Weinstein, *Quenched Steel,* 59–60.

[1094] Willenberg, *Surviving Treblinka*, 120–21.

[1095] Testimony of Zygmunt Brothaendel, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/563.

But the conduct of the Jewish block or barrack heads was truly beneath contempt. They were worse than the guards, and infinitely worse than the Polish heads.[1096]

The place [Transport Square] is packed with people. On one side are women with small children; on the opposite side, men, forced to kneel. In the middle there are SS men, Ukrainians with weapons in their hands, as well as a group of about 40 men with red armbands. These are Jews, the detachment of "Reds." In Treblinka slang, they are called the "*Hevra Kadisha*" [Burial Society].

Kapo Jurek, the leader of the "Reds," had been a Warsaw rickshaw driver so corrupt and debauched, no deed was too foul for him. This brute would not hesitate to take aside a girl, already naked, on her march to the "bath." Promising to save her life, he would do the worst, and then push her back into the line. He is dressed elegantly, as that sort of person could easily afford to be in Treblinka. He works his whip on Jewish heads frequently and with gusto. As foul and corrupt as he was, his language was even worse. … Most of the "Reds" were recruited from the Warsaw underworld and did not fall short of their Kapo.[1097]

The slightest suspicion was enough to put away prisoners singly and in groups. It became a field day for the worst elements—the informers, the administrative helper Chaskiel, and block elder Kuba were at the fore. Not only the prisoners, but even the Kapos and some Germans were afraid of Chaskiel, a sleazy, vile creature from the Warsaw underworld, a stupid and conceited youth. All day he would run around in the square and in the workshops like a wild animal in search of prey, peering into every corner. He even searched bread-bags and pockets. Woe to anyone who he caught with something not "kosher,' or cooking or napping on the job! (We dreaded him more than we did the Germans.) Nothing would help—neither tears, nor the intervention of his own "comrades." … The matter was sure to be brought to the attention of the administration. … Chaskiel enjoyed the complete confidence of the administration. He was the custodian of the keys to the storehouses and gorged himself on the best of everything. He claimed that the Germans had even promised to take him along to Berlin after the war. …

The other extremely active informer was block elder Kuba, an "intellectual" from Lodz [Łódź]. He would constantly run around in an attempt to please and serve the Germans at the expense of single prisoners as well as groups; he was never satisfied that he had done enough. Here's an example: When there were no more transports, and the goods had all been sorted and sent off, the groups of "Reds," "Blues" and others were transferred to work inside the ghetto. A group of "Reds" was assigned to do the resurfacing of our square yard. As the first shovelfuls of earth were lifted, the usual Treblinka garbage pit was uncovered. Among the garbage and shit are piles of photographs and documents, treasures in gold and jewelry, as well as human corpses. We beg the workers: "cover it up and keep quiet, let's try to preserve at least these remains of the slaughtered Jewish people." Kapo Jurek, another "fine" man, finally relents, but Kuba would not stand for it. He runs around searching until he

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[1096] Israel Cymlich and Oscar Strawczynski, *Escaping Hell in Treblinka* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2007), 38.

[1097] Testimony of Oskar Strawczynski, in ibid., 131–32. See also the testimony of Szymon Goldberg in Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today,* volume II: *District Lublin,* 380–81, which mentions Jewish *Kapos* like Jurek, Chaskiel and Kuba, who beat and denounced Jewish inmates; and Mark S. Smith, *Treblinka Survivor: The Life and Death of Hershl Sperling* (Gloucestershire, United Kingdom: The History Press, 2010), 130, 133, which mentions the *Kapos* Kuba and Paulinka (or Perla) as informers.

finds the *Oberscharführer*. A detachment of garbage-sorters is set up. Each photo and document is carefully exhumed and burned. Money, gold and valuables are cleaned and set aside in strongboxes. …

Kuba also excelled in the fight against "speculation." It became virtually impossible to get money out and to bring food in. Workers were searched upon leaving the camp and returning. …

Kuba, Chaskiel and their agents had everyone under surveillance. They would constantly search around and under the bunks and in the bread-bags, and were often successful. The traitor Kuba also organized a special guard around our wire fence, through which some guards used to trade and hand over parcels to their Jews. Nevertheless, despite all these difficulties, the trade did not stop.

In time, three levels of society were established—similar to life outside. The upper class, the aristocracy, was composed of the commandants, the Kapos, the warehouse supervisors and the doctors. They lived in luxury, indulged in wild parties, got drunk, and sank ever deeper into debauchery. There were about 30 women in Treblinka. Most of them were employed in the German, Ukrainian and Jewish laundries. Some sewed underwear; one was a dentist; another was a doctor; and yet another was a nurse in the Ukrainian infirmary. A few of the women were employed at various handicrafts such as knitting of crocheting. The women did not work hard; they dressed luxuriously and behaved disgracefully.

Five of the women had husbands in the camp and their behavior was irreproachable. The rest, without exception, the young ones as well as the old ones, had "admirers" selected from the Treblinka aristocracy. These rich admirers supplied them with the best of everything. The women went to the parties, got drunk, and enjoyed themselves to the utmost. Not only did they behave in a despicable manner, but they also used the most lewd and obscene language. They, our Treblinka women, were not squeamish even about Germans or Ukrainians! They were not subject to any physical punishment. Generally, they were punished with housework; they were forced to remain in their barracks during their free time. They were not allowed to meet with their lovers or to attend the wild parties. Indeed, this punishment was very hard to bear! …

The middle class in Treblinka consisted of tradesmen in the workshops as well as some of the more ingenious "speculators." … Because the tradesmen would do all kinds of jobs for the guards, they often received bread, meat, cigarettes, and occasionally even whiskey. As so, in the workshops, even at the worst times, we did not suffer too severely.[1098]

Betrayal foiled escape plans and led to numerous executions of inmates in Treblinka:

Our first earlier attempt [to escape] was unsuccessful and twelve—who had been betrayed by a prisoner, a man from Częstochowa who used to make wire mesh for a living—paid for it with their lives.[1099]

[1098] Testimony of Oskar Strawczynski, in Cymlich and Strawczynski, *Escaping Hell in Treblinka,* 152–54.

[1099] Testimony of Izrael Bramson, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 106.

> It was found out later that two Jews, one of them a blacksmith, Szymon from Kosów and someone from Ryki, whose name I cannot remember, were the ones who betrayed us. The SS men selected 30 workers and killed them.[1100]

The Jewish order police from Treblinka were also utilized in manhunts carried out by the Germans to capture Jewish escapees and punish Poles who assisted them.[1101] Escapees from Treblinka also had to contend with being stripped of their money by unscrupulous fellow Jews.[1102] The Germans were also known to stage the escape of Jewish *Kapos* turned Gestapo agents, as was the case with Stanisław Dorosiewicz, who subsequently infiltrated a Peasant Battalions unit near Staszów and was responsible for the death of a number of Jews.[1103]

One did not have to be a *Kapo* or informer to turn on fellow prisoners. An inmate of Buchenwald provided the following riveting testimony:

> In spring of 1944, our column—Poles and Jews—were employed in earth moving … The SS construction officer supervised us personally. Even for strong men the work was very difficult … One wanted so badly to rest for a moment, but the constant blows and kicks, the unceasing shouts forced our tiredarms to keep shoveling on and on.
>
> Then the gaze of the construction officer fell upon two Jews whose strength had given out. He ordered a Pole named Strzaska to bury the two men, who could hardly stand on their feet. Strzaska froze with horror and refused. The construction officer took the shovel and beat him with it. He ordered him, "Lie down in the trench immediately!" Thereupon he forced the two Jews to cover with dirt the prisoner lying in the trench. These two men then did it out of fear for their lives, hoping to escape the same gruesome fate themselves. When only Strzaska's head still peered out, the construction officer called "Halt!" and had him pulled out again.
>
> Now the two Jews had to lie in the trench, and the construction officer again gave Strzaska the order to cover the two with dirt. Slowly the trench filled with dirt; one shovelful after another was dumped in. The face of the Polish comrade was contorted with terror; drops of sweat fell from his forehead. But the construction officer stood next to him with the look of a wild animal that hypnotizes its victims. The trench was now completely covered. The inhuman SS executioner stamped the dirt smooth himself and laughed while doing it.[1104]

A Jew who was imprisoned in the SS camp in Oleine, Latvia, recalled:

[1100] Testimony of Szymon Grynszpan, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1185. On betrayals of plans for a revolt see also Wiatr, Engelking, and Skibińska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma,* vol. 13, 181, 183.

[1101] Mariusz Bechta, *Między Bolszewią a Niemcami: Konspiracja polityczna i wojskowa Polskiego Obozu Narodowego na Podlasiu w latach 1939–1952* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej and Rytm, 2008), 414.

[1102] Donat, *The Death Camp Treblinka,* 141–42.

[1103] Mieczysław Korczak, *Życie na włosku—bis* (Staszów: Staszowskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, 1997).

[1104] David A. Hackett, ed., *The Buchenwald Report* (Boulder, Colorado, San Francisco, and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), 194–95.

> And then there were the Jewish kapos, among whom Danziger 'distinguished' himself with his brutality. Any Jew who happened to cross his path he beat up mercilessly. One day my mother Rachel-Leah was his luckless victim. He kept beating her until she fell down in a faint. She died the next day.[1105]

According to a scholarly study, the Jewish *Kapos* in Gross-Rosen were noted for their unusual cruelty.[1106] Henry Freier, who worked in the kitchen in Gross-Rosen under a Jewish *Kapo*, recalled: "I was beaten up by this man every day."[1107] Peter Kleinmann recalled: "My Kapo was a Polish Jew and was merciless."[1108] Harry Jubas remembers how prisoners, who froze for hours on endless *Appels*, were hit by Jewish *Kapos*.[1109] Dr. Mojżesz Zabramny, a Jew, was prosecuted in 1946 for mistreating prisoners in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp.[1110] Former Jewish prisoners of the labour camp at Görlitz, a filial of Gross-Rosen, accused several Jewish functionaries—Abram Kon, Zygmunt Widawski, Mieczysław Jakobson, and Marian Borenstein—of mistreating fellow prisoners, by beating them, sometimes savagely, and stealing their food rations. Kon was also charged with mistreating Jewish labourers as head of a garment facility in the Łódź ghetto.[1111] Regarding the labour camp of Markstadt, another affiliate of Gross-Rosen, a Jewish prisoner recalled:

> Daily we were sent to hard work, [such as] erecting ammunition factories, where a few deaths [would] occur every day. In this camp, Jews were made as overseers for other Jews. The "Judenälster" ["Jewish Ältester"] was Brukmajster; his perfunctory servants were Herzel, Mojszel, and Basok. They were the beaters, and would daily beat their own brethren with deadly blows, murdering hundreds of Jews.[1112]

[1105] Machnes and Klinov, *Darkness and Desolation,* 591.

1106 Bella Gutterman, *A Narrow Bridge to Life: Jewish Slave Labor and Survival in the Gross-Rosen Camp System, 1940–1945* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 60–61, 138.

[1107] Lewin, *Witnesses to the Holocaust,* 30. Henry Freier, who was liberated as a prisoner of Regensburg, recalled: "We took some revenge. One of the biggest killers from the S.S. guard, we were tearing pieces from him and buried him right there in Regensburg. Later, in Laufen, I was president of the Jewish committee, taking food from the Germans and giving to the Jews." Ibid., 31.

[1108] Memoir of Peter (Dzeider) Kleinmann, Internet: <http://www.museumoffamilyhistory.com/wims-kleinmann-06.htm>, chapter 5.

[1109] Testimony of Harry Jubas, September 4, 2008, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=595>.

[1110] Roma Ligocka, *Tylko ja sama* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004), 324.

[1111] Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 142–44.

[1112] Mendel Dombrowicz, "My Survival under the Nazi Regime," in *Sefer Kehilat Yehudei Dabrowa Gornicza* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Dabrowa Gornicza Emigres in Israel, 1971), 340, translated as *Book of the Jewish Community of Dabrowa Gornicza and Its Destruction,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/dabrowa/Dabrowa.html>.

Icek Kuperberg describes his experiences in labour camps at Faulbrück and Niederorschel (a branch of Buchenwald), respectively:

> The Jewish captain in charge in the [Faulbrick] camp was named Sandgood. He dressed as a German and collaborated with them. For example, when a soldier complained about someone, it was his pleasure to put the man, completely nude, on a special chair so that he could not move. The soldier whipped him with 25 lashes. Two people had to take the victim off of the chair and bring him to his room.
>
> Around New Year's 1945, a transport of people arrived from Czestochowa [Częstochowa], Poland. They worked in an ammunition factory. Among them were two particularly infamous men. One was a fellow named Kolsky whom the Germans appointed as the executioner of the 25 lashes. Whenever he punished someone, though, instead of administering the 25 lashes, he flogged the person 50 times until the person died. The other man's name was Gewirtz. He was the Judeneldester (Jewish camp captain) in camp Brande in charge of the sick people. In 1943 the camp leader, Ludwig, asked him to deal with the very sick. Instead, Gewirtz killed about 1,000 people on his own. They were bound and laid down on the floor in wash barracks. Water was then poured on their foreheads until they died. My brother, Eliyakum, was among them. Somehow the new German camp leader found out about these two men and their histories. They were terribly beaten and locked up for five days without food. In time, they simply disappeared.[1113]

In the labour camp of Budzyń, near Kraśnik, German personnel were characteristically scarce and the authorities relied on Jewish inmates to basically run day-to-day operations

> Only a few Germans ran the camp. All the administrative jobs were performed by Jewish functionaries (there were about two hundred of them), and they constituted the most privileged group of prisoners. They had a better barrack, a better kitchenette, and they received a lot of food.[1114]

The *Kapos* at Budzyń were also Jews, as were the police.[1115] Informers were also to be found. Jewish inmates of that camp wrote:

> These were Jewish POWs who were put to work to prepare the camps and were responsible for camp discipline. … The Kapos laid open valises in front of us and started yelling: 'Hand it over. He means it. This is no game.' This was said in Yiddish, which Felix [SS-Oberscharführer Reinhold Feix, the camp commander from December 1942 until August 1943] understood and enjoyed. … The kitchen was under the supervision of former Jewish military prisoners …[1116]

[1113] Icek Kuperberg, *Memoirs of a Holocaust* Survivor (Parkland, Florida: Universal Publisher, 2000), 35, 61.

[1114] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 81.

[1115] Daniel Freiberg, "Budzyń," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Krasnik,* translated as *Book of Krasnik,* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/krasnik/krasnik.html>.

[1116] Morris Wyszogrod, *A Brush with Death: An Artist in the Death Camps* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 127–29.

> Smoliar [Symcha Binem Smolarz], who was responsible for the Jewish workers in the factory … was a ruddy lad from Lodz [Łódź] … He would scream, curse, beat people with his fist or the whip in his hand … He was despised by everyone including the camp leaders. He received his punishment after the war when he was brought to justice in a Polish court and sentenced to imprisonment. The assistant camp commandant Sczepiaski … beat the prisoners to a lesser degree. … Similar to him was the Camp-Fuehrer Widunos, who treated his group as one would treat flocks of cattle who were being driven from place to place.[1117]
>
> There were informers and perhaps collaborators also of various forms. Of course, not all of them were known, but there was one who was known and recognized by everybody. He was a middle aged man of about fifty, a refugee from Danzig who arrived in Budzyn with the Warsaw group and became a member of the ordnungsdienst [police] by virtue of a request by Feiks rather than an appointment from the camp directorship, as was usual. His name was Samos.[1118]
>
> With the help of agents from among the prisoners themselves, the Gestapo learned about preparations for escape. Eight Jews were arrested in the camp on the 13th of February 1944 according to the instructions of the agents. During the investigation at the Krasnik [Kraśnik] Gestapo, the information from the agents was confirmed. Information about false identification cards found in the camp was also received. During the search of the premises of the prisoners, 12 identity cards and more than 20,000 *zlotes* [złotys] in cash was found. … The investigation, carried out by the Gestapo, did not give a definite explanation of how the Jewish prisoners had received these identity cards. Everyone said that after the liquidation of the labor camp in Poniatowa, an unknown Jew had come from Warsaw to Krasnik who sold the identity cards for 5,000 *zlotes* a piece.
>
> On the 19th of February 1944, the chief of the Gestapo in Krasnik sent over a report about the results of the investigation, enclosing the 12 false identity cards for the commandant of *WIFO** and *S.S.* Streichel in Lublin. …
>
> In the matter of the identity cards and the preparations to escape, the Gestapo implicated 40 prisoners from the *S.S.* camp in Krasnik and Camp *WIFO*. All were shot between the 14th and 18th of February 1944.[1119]

Jewish prisoners were known to harass Jews who spoke Polish, as one inmate recalls: "the simple people around me … so often scolded me—'Red Yiddish! Speak Yiddish! Don't speak Polish! That's not our language!'"[1120]

[1117] Daniel Freiberg, "Budzyń," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Krasnik,* 242. Freiberg writes that the Jews in the camp from nearby towns were better off than other prisoners since they were helped by the Poles with whom they had left their property for safekeeping and most of the met Polish acquaintances in their workplaces who would helped them out. Ibid., 241.

[1118] Daniel Freiberg, "Budzyń," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Krasnik,* 249.

[1119] T. Brustin-Bernsztein, "Jews in Krasnik During the Years of the Hitlerist Occupation," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Krasnik,* 310–11.

[1120] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 85.

Jewish inmates also facilitated the smooth operation of the camp at Starachowice. A group of privileged Jews, the so-called *Prominenten* or camp elite, consisting of the Wilczek clique—named after the head of the camp police, Jeremiah Wilczek— enjoyed markedly better food, clothing and housing than other Jews, were free to travel to nearby towns, sold borrowed Jewish goods to Poles on the black market, and perhaps helped the Germans choose who was to die. In the opinion of some inmates, the camp police was "worse than the Germans." Jeremiah Wilczek and his son Abraham had been agents of the Jewish police in the ghetto in Wierzbnik (Starachowice) before the deportation, "who even advised his masters concerning whom to beat to get the information they wanted."[1121] According to one of the prisoners,

> From now on, it was announced, several prisoners would be executed for each escapee. The idea came from Wilczek, the chief kapo whose title was 'The Jewish Elder'. …
>
> Among these privileges was being allowed to live with his wife and sons in a separate, well-furnished, well-equipped shack and to move freely about the camp at all hours. Sometimes, under the pretext of visiting the steelworks, Wilczek even left the camp without an escort. He was in charge of distributing the food, of which his lackeys had plenty while the other prisoners went hungry, and he was responsible for the work shifts, deciding whom to send to hard labour and whom to assign to easier jobs in camp/ This power was reinforced by a network of informers who strengthened his position among the Germans, too. The dozen or so hand-picked prisoners who worked for him as kapos while taking advantage of the rest of us were completely loyal. They knew that on a whim they could be sent to work at the blast ovens. Hated and feared, these Jewish policemen obeyed all German orders. It would have been impossible to enforce discipline at Starachowice without them. Wilczek's son was their direct boss. …
>
> It was Wilczek Junior who approached the Germans with his father's idea of dividing us into pairs to patrol the inner fences in shifts, each pair equipped with a whistle and white smocks that would enable the tower guards to identify us in the glare of the searchlights. Any attempt to approach the fences would be instantly punished. Each thwarted escape would earn the patrol a loaf of bread. Each successful one would cost it its lives.[1122]

After the liquidation of the camp, when the prisoners were being transported by train to Auschwitz, eighteen members of the Wilczek clique were killed by other Jews in revenge for their misconduct.[1123] (The Jews on this transport were not gassed, and most of them survived the war.)

Like many labour camps, Skarżysko-Kamienna was virtually run by Jews on a day-to-day basis and had its privileged—the camp "aristocracy": the Jewish commandant of the camp, the Jewish police commander, and the so-called skilled workers: tailors, shoemakers, and other craftsmen. They lived in separate barracks and received better food rations which they exchanged for various services, including sexual favours.[1124]

[1121] Christopher R. Browning, *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 56–57; Browning, *Remembering Survival,* 117–20.

[1122] Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 260–61.

[1123] Browning, *Collected Memories,* 78–81; Browning, *Remembering Survival,* 228–33.

[1124] Adam Neuman-Nowicki, *Struggle for Life During the Nazi Occupation of Poland* (Lewiston, New York; Queenston, Ontario; Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 48–49.

Even the Jewish camp doctor, Sachs, demanded bribes from sick Jewish prisoners.[1125] Childhood friendship was no shield from abuse, as Adam Neuman recalled:

> This time, my persecutor was a Jew from my hometown! He belonged to the camp "aristocracy" and had a permanent job in the German cooperative of the Camp. … He noticed that a kidney was gone and he ordered us to confess which one of us had stolen it … He had known me from childhood and he was my senior colleague on the Maccabee Sports Club team, so, of course, I expected that he would act compassionately and overlook the incident. How wrong I was! When my turn came to be searched, he pulled out the kidney from under my shirt and, in front of everyone, he slapped me across the face. … I was totally humiliated—but this time by one of my own people![1126]

Another Jew who was sent to the Hasag (i.e., Hugo Schneider Aktiengesellschaft, a privately owned German armaments company that used camp inmates as forced labour) labour camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna recalled, "We also had a Jewish foreman named Nathan who fit right in with the gang of murderers—a Jewish sadist."[1127] Josef Morgenstern recalled the Jewish *Kapos* as "refined in cruelty and more feared than their masters." According to Morgenstern, "fawning and informing to the authorities were the order of the day."[1128] Louis Kaye remembered Jewish *Kapos* as being crueler than the German guards.[1129] Elsa Thon (Balbina Synalewicz) recalled her encounters with the Jewish police during her stay in Skarżysko-Kamienna:

> The police counted us, then ordered us to enter the barracks, yelling and swearing at us to make us hurry up. …
>
> Suddenly, a policeman turned to me, and ordered me to make a list of the people in the barracks. He was short and bad-tempered. …
>
> The next morning, as the bad-tempered policeman entered the barracks, he shouted, as if to remind us of who was in charge. Wanting us to fear him, he treated us to a display of what could happen if we didn't obey.
>
> A woman, tall, maybe fifty, approached him to ask for a blanket, because she was cold. He kicked her viciously in the belly. As she doubled over from pain and burst into tears, I thrust myself between them to protect her from a further blow, pleading, "Do you have a mother? Why are you doing this?"
>
> His brutality was entirely unnecessary, as far as I could see—there wasn't a single German around. …
>
> Each morning we were awakened by a policeman with this song:
>
> Wake up! Your mothers are whores!
>
> I've been calling for half an hour!

[1125] Testimony of Halina Schütz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 329.

[1126] Neuman-Nowicki, *Struggle for Life During the Nazi Occupation of Poland,* 50.

[1127] Kagan, ed., *Szydlowiec Memorial Book,* 279.

[1128] Abram, *The Light After Dark II,* 100.

[1129] Testimony of Louis Kaye, May 9, 1983, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/kaye/>.

You are still sleeping!

You are sons of bitches!

Remembering this still brings tears to my eyes. We had been oppressed and humiliated by the Nazis. Was it necessary for these policemen to add pain to our degraded existence? Or was it supposed to be a kind of entertaining diversion for us? …

One day, the bread was delivered at the same time as the soup was being distributed outside the barracks. The man pouring the soup into the dishes was also an orderly in the infirmary. I asked him to serve me first so I could get back and divide the bread before it was stolen.

"Stay in line!" he yelled at me.

"If the bread is stolen, the others will kill me!" I pleaded. He got furious with me. "You whore!" he shouted, slapping my face so hard that I couldn't speak for days. I threw away my dish, went into the barracks and divided the bread, then threw myself down on my bunk. I lay there unable even to cry. My face twisted. I felt hatred, for him, for the rest of the police, for all the oppressors who imagined themselves the lords of our lives. Who could imagine that such low instincts could emerge in other human beings?

Especially, I felt rage against the orderly who had hit me. … He could have poured the soup into my dish with no problem; everyone standing in the line agreed. He had plenty of time. It was well known that no one left the infirmary alive. …

Not all the policemen were as bad as this one. Some were even worse. Remembering the bad ones still brings back the anger. …

But that sort of thing [i.e., taking advantage of women prisoners] was routine there. Even the chief of police was a philanderer. He had a wife and a lover; what's more his wife had her own lover, and that lover was having other casual affairs, and so on …

The chief used to invent ways to amuse himself by humiliating us. He would order the girls to stand naked outside the barracks at night. Some of the staff would then take them away, supposedly to protect them from further shame, and would rape them. There was no such thing as consent. These women were trapped. What made it worse was that so many of these atrocities were committed by our own people. …

I was sent one day with a small group to gather spent bullets at a place where the Nazis practised target shooting, very near the forest. Near the range was a small mechanic's shop where two Poles worked. … We worked near them. The older man talked to me when the policeman and the SS weren't around.

After a few days, the older man started bringing me sandwiches from home, cigarettes, or a few zloty [złoty]. He told me he had a daughter my age and was sad about what happened to us. …

Every day, the older man tried to convince me to keep looking for a chance to break away from the group. He told me how to find his house. … He also made me a beautiful aluminum soup-dish with a handle. … But one day the policeman who took us to and from work saw me talking to the old man. On the way back, he grabbed my cigarettes and money, and walked very close to me. I couldn't even think of escaping. …

The next day, I told the Polish man that I was afraid to accept anything further from him. But he still brought me hairpins and wooden clogs, with leather straps for shoes. He did what he could to help me. I remember him with affection.

> I was sent back to the munitions factory, and then came winter. My shoes were worn out … The soles of my feet touched the ice and snow on the ground with every step. I had asked for shoes at the warehouse, but had been refused. …
>
> So one morning when we were marshalled for work, the head count was one short. One of the policemen came into the barracks, where I was sitting on my bunk. "Come out, they will kill you," he yelled.
>
> "I've had enough," I said, staying put.
>
> "Get down, you can't stay here."
>
> "I'm not going anywhere until I get shoes."
>
> They went off to the factory without me. An hour later, a German foreman came in, asking me why I refused to get to work. Without a word, I showed him my broken shoes. He smiled. "Come with me, you will get shoes."
>
> I walked with him to the factory. … As we passed by the office window, he stopped to ask for a piece of paper, then he wrote out an order that I should be given shoes. … After work, I went to the warehouse and got a pair of clogs.[1130]

Lejzor Rochman identified the following Jewish enforcers from Werk B: the policemen Flakowicz and Srebrnik, and Icek Reizman, who was in charge of the food supply. Reizman would not only steal food but also beat the prisoners. Rochman identified the following Jewish henchmen from Werk A: Josef Krzepicki, the commander, Eisenberg, a policeman named Jozef, and Dr. Lachs (Zaks), who euthanized even mildly sick inmates. Reichman states that some of these Jews were killed in Buchenwald by Jewish prisoners using their wooden clogs.[1131] One of the few Jews who was prosecuted after the war for collaborating with the Germans was Henryk Gnat, a block elder at the Skarżysko-Kamienna camp accused of mistreating fellow prisoners, by beating them, physically abusing them, and stealing their rations. Former camp inmate Regina Finger testified:

> We work sixteen hours a day … From the hell in the factory we come back to the jaws of the camp. I have no hope that German hirelings and bandits such as Teperman, Krzepicki, Gnat, and the others would treat us better than the Germans.[1132]

Israel Mittelberg described conditions at Skarżysko-Kamienna, after his transfer there from Majdanek, and his subsequent peregrinations.

> At night, when we walked into the barrack, we found a group of Jews with a Jewish camp commandant, Jewish police, some Jewish supervisors, and Jewish quartermasters. … In exchange for a piece of bread we gave away our clothing. …

[1130] Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction,* 103–9.

[1131] Testimony of Lejzor Rochman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4605. See also Awrum Zylbersztajn, "Tak było," in Isroel Szwajcer, ed. *Księga Pamięci Szczekocin: Życie i zagłada żydowskiego miasteczka* (Szczekociny: ReBorn Roots, 2010), 258.

[1132] Gebriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 141–42.

A great deal of difference existed between those of us who had just arrived from Warsaw and those who had come from the nearby small towns. … the others had come directly from their homes, still in possession of valuable items they were hiding. … Also, the Gentiles with whom they had left their belongings used to help them from time to time. It was, therefore, much more difficult for us. The inmates resorted to stealing hunks of bread from each other, or an additional bowl of soup in the kitchen …

The Jews who had arrived from the provinces ahead of us held all the service posts. Therefore a kind of antagonism grew up between them and those from Warsaw; among us, many refugees from Lodz [Łódź]. … The commandant Mordechai, a butcher by trade, had bought off the chief, thus achieving complete jurisdiction over us, which he knew exactly how to exercise. He released whoever had money from the drudgery of work. When I asked him for an exemption, he simply laughed. He disliked us intensely. He did not care whether someone was really ill. For money, he let his good friends go home and we had to work on their behalf. Wagons of shoes would arrive from Treblinka for distribution. Mordechai would then order the shoemakers to take the shoes apart looking for hidden wealth. They would keep the shoes that were in better condition, and pass the rubbish on to us.

The doctor also would issue an exemption for money; without money, one was obliged to go to work, regardless of the state of his health. After fifteen months of loading shells, I fell ill. On my way from work to camp, I had a very painful attack and could not walk. My friends supported me. Lenczner, a Jewish policeman from Volbram [Wolbrom], noticed it and admonished me for not walking in the ranks. My complaints simply went unheard. He continued to kick me in the spine with his heavy boot in the very spot which was causing me the most pain. He tortured me the whole way. He survived the war. …

After much haggling Dr. Rotbalsam came and, for money of course, gave me some ointment. All he wanted was money. He also survived. Mordechai had an assistant in our barrack by the name of Bakalasz. He refused to help anyone with anything. When I made a request of him, he would reply, "Ah, you'll die soon, so many people are dying, you'll also be among them." Mordechai had several other assistants, among them the brothers Avram and Hershel Band of the same town, Volbram … There were also the brothers Moishe and Kalman Gastfreund, tailors by trade. They were bad people. …

There were other thugs such as Dafner and Heinak. For spilling a little coffee they beat me so, that I was swollen for two weeks. They could have taught the SS officers a thing or two about how to perform beatings. There was a man from Crakow [Kraków], Gershon Lesman; he and his two brothers had a lot of money, so they lived well. For five hundred zlotys [złotys] he became a policeman.

When I worked at passing turf over the wire fence, I once opened the gate for the people of my group to come into the camp. Lesman punished me for that by kicking me with the tip of his boot, inflicting excruciating pain in my back. I suffered another attack. Lesman is still alive and became very rich after the war. …

So strong was the antagonism that the "veteran" inmates informed on the newcomers, refused to work with us, and so on. They used to talk of seven people and twenty newcomers having died on any given day. However, there was such a discrepancy between the death rate of the old timers and the later arrivals that soon the antagonism petered out. Every day forty people died. Of our group, which had numbered eighty, only seven remained at the end.

When the Germans realized that the mortality rate was threatening the numbers for work, they doubled our bread ration. …

> Dr. Zaks, a native of Crakow [Kraków] whom we had the misfortune of knowing in the Skarzisker Workshop A, followed us to this new camp [in Sulejów, near Piotrków, where the Jews obtained food from the Polish inmates until the Germans put a stop to it] and also here he applied the same methods as he had in the workshop. He declared all the sick, the elderly and the weak as being fit for work, thereby contributing to their death, for, as they could not carry out the work satisfactorily, the Ukrainians and Germans wore them out and beat them to death. …
>
> [Later, when he was transported to Buchenwald:] There was a policeman in our wagon by the name of Korn, who had already harassed us in Silev [Sulejów] and continued to beat us with his spurs here in the train. I resented his behavior deeply and interfered in the fight for which, of course, I got my share of blows. That fellow, who had tormented us so, received his due in Buchenwald.[1133]

Morris Kirsch stated that the Jewish *Kapos* in Skarżysko-Kamienna were often cruel, administering beatings and taking away the prisoners' daily rations of food as punishment, sometimes for doing nothing at all. When the inmates were transferred to another labour camp in Częstochowa, the *Kapos* became even worse as they stole more and more food from the prisoners.[1134] For this reason, many of the prisoners starved to death. Harry Haft was taken to Jaworzno where there was a working coal mine that served as a slave labour camp. German soldiers and Jewish *Kapos* would march the workers to the job site and back.

> On his first day of work, as Harry was being shackled, he looked into the face of the Jewish cop locking him to the chain, and he knew the man's face. It was Mischa, a hoodlum from Belchatow [Bełchatów]. He was the type of guy who would profess to be your friend and then steal from you. Their eyes locked. …
>
> Mischa spotted the disruption and ran toward Harry. With the guards watching, he planted himself directly next to Harry's face and screamed: "Left, right …" in his ears. He kicked Harry and hit him hard in the back with a baton. …
>
> From that day on, Mischa took a personal interest in Harry. With the guards' permission, he would beat Harry daily on the way to the mineshaft. Those first days of work in the Jaworzno coal mine began with a beating from his Jewish neighbor.
>
> There were days when Harry would beg Mischa to leave him alone. Mischa seemed to enjoy showing the guards how he kicked and struck Harry with his stick.[1135]

Conditions in other labour camps were equally as bad, as the following testimony from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, near Warsaw, illustrates.

> As a result of the humiliating and degrading conditions, the demoralization planned by the Germans set in among certain elements of the Jewish community, and the Germans knew well how to use local

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[1133] Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds,* 60–68.

[1134] Testimony of Morris Kirsch, November 6, 1994, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=614>. One of the notorious Jewish *Kapos* in the Częstochowa camp was a man named Spalter, who survived and got a position with the Jewish Committee in Kraków after the war. See the testimony of Pinkas Metzger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1400.

[1135] Haft, *Harry Haft,* 52–53.

Jewish trash for their devilish schemes. The lowest characters and scum of the Jewish underworld could hardly resist the nomination conferred upon them by the Gestapo henchmen. They became the leaders and policemen. Thus, in the camp Pomyekhov [Pomiechówek], a Jewish degenerate named Maylekhel [Majloch Hoppenblum] played the role of the leading oppressor. He helped put an end to the harrowed Jewish inmates. But Meylekhel's sway did not last. Jews of Plonsk [Płońsk], who together with the Jews of Novy-Dvor experienced his brutal rule, did away with him.[1136]

Survivors from Strzyżów, near Rzeszów, recall the cruelty of the Jewish foremen ("kapos"):

After the great expulsion from the ghetto in Rzeszow [Rzeszów], which took place on November 15, 1942 only four thousand people remained in the ghetto. One day upon returning from work outside the ghetto, we noticed an excited crow that was milling around one area of the ghetto. This part of the ghetto was called "Drukerruvka" [Drukerówka]. The Kapos were extorting contributions from everyone. When I came closer I was hit in the face by a Kapo's whip. The Kapo was a local Jew from Rzeszow—Mr. Kleinmintz. There were not many local Jewish Kapos anymore. Most Kapos were from Lodz [Łódź] and Kalisz. Not realizing what I was doing, I hit him back and he fell. I quickly ran home but mistakenly entered another house where I encountered a few more Jewish policemen, including the sadly infamous "Itchele" from Kolbuszowa. I hit him too and he fell down the stairs.

I was finally overpowered by a few policemen and taken to the German command post which was located in the same building as the Judenrat.

The entire ghetto was in uproar. It seemed like a revolt. Luckily there were no Germans in the ghetto when I was brought there. While I was led by the policemen, we encountered Mr. Lubasz, a well-known and beloved Jew in the Rzeszow ghetto. The man knew me from before the war. He calmed down the placement and he followed us until we reached the Judenrat. Meanwhile, as I found out later, other policemen caught my younger brother Samuel who was only fifteen years old and they took revenge on him by beating him savagely. When we came into the Judenrat, Abraham Brav and Sheingal, the two remaining members of the Judenrat in Strzyzow [Strzyżów] and also members of the Rzeszow Judenrat, happened to be there. They saved my life by taking me out of the hands of the placement because by then, German policemen had arrived in the ghetto. Brav and Sheingal locked me up in the office of Dr. Kleinman, the chairman of the Judenrat, and kept me there for an hour until the arrival of Dr. Kleinman. Faking anger, Dr. Kleinman scolded me. I denied and showed a receipt proving that my contribution had been paid. And that is how the matter ended. My brother and I realized that our lives had been saved by a miracle.

My second encounter with a Kapo occurred in Huta Komarowska [Komorowska] camp. This camp was under the command of the German commander—Shubke—who was not a bad man. … However, there was one commandant in the Huta Komarowska camp—the infamous Schmidt (whose trial is taking place right now in a German court). He was helped in his cruelty by the Jewish Kapos—the brothers Rybner, Mr. Straucher, Elimelech Kirschenbaum and others. We worked very hard cutting timber and during the work we were brutally tortured by this commandant and his helpers, the Kapos.

[1136] Aryeh Shamri and Dov First, eds., *Pinkas Novi-Devor (Pinkas Novy-Dvor)* (Tel Aviv: The Organizations of Former Novy-Dvor Jews in Israel, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Uruguay and France, 1965), xvii. This source points out that it was the town's ethnic Germans who were in charge of the local German extermination program: "Two underworld gangsters of the Novy-Dvor Folksdeutschen [*Volksdeuteschen*], the brothers Wendt, assumed leading positions in town in order to annihilate the Jewish population."

> Once we complained to commandant Shubke and he called in the Kapos and reprimanded them for their bad treatment. The next day the Kapos were mad at us and took revenge. They ordered that every second day would be penalty day, which meant working without food and without our shirts at a time when the mosquitoes were sucking our last drop of blood. If someone attempted to straighten his back or stopped working for one second, he was beaten with a truncheon over his back. The worst of them all was Elimelech Kirschenbaum. He was later shot by the Russians. Once, when he came near my brother Samuel and raised his truncheon, I jumped close to him with the axe in my hand and said to him: "Elimelech—if you touch my brother your end will be right here". My anger affected him. He let go of my brother but he threatened that he would settle with me when we returned to the camp.[1137]

Even children were enlisted as tormentors of fellow Jewish prisoners:

> I learned that this place was Huta Komorowska, a hard-labor work camp from which few were known to come out alive. … It was not long after I was let out of the truck that two Jewish policemen took me away and searched me from top to bottom. …
>
> The foreman of our group, Cheskel Rybner, was a Jew and a sadist. He called us criminals, accused us of not wanting to work and beat us with a wooden stick. …
>
> Three of the trucks from Huta Komorowska, including the one I was on, had traveled to Mielec. … It was about ten o'clock at night when we arrived in Mielec. We were unloaded from the trucks by Jewish police. …
>
> Brutal punishments were a way of life in Mielec.
>
> One of the members of the Jewish police, David Rosenwasser, had a habit of repeating, "Do you know who I am? I am David Rosenwasser, O.D. (Officer in Charge). He would then look at everyone meanly.
>
> David Rosenwasser got a devilish pleasure out of tormemting people. One day he walked quietly into my barracks and started yelling, "Get up, Get up."
>
> Then he closed the door and left. Five minutes later, he was back in the barracks swinging a rubber truncheon and shouting. Anyone who was still in bed—whether ill or injured—was beaten until he was unconscious. Rosenwasser had a habit of walking by the barracks at night to listen to anything we were saying. Unlucky was the person who said anything, for he was pulled out of bed and beaten unmercifully. …
>
> At the camp in Wielicka [Wieliczka, near Kraków] was a small nine-year-old Jewish boy. The Germans had dressed him in an SS uniform and instructed him in the beating of Jews. Each day he appeared in the yard and hit every Jew who came his way with a stick. When someone told him that he himself was a Jew, he would say there was nothing he could do about it.[1138]

A Jewish female inmate of the labour camp in Gliwice-Steigern recalled the brutality of Sonia Baumgarten, a block elder from Będzin, her equally brutal assistant, Mala Winer from Sosnowiec, and Bela

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[1137] Itzhok Leib Rosen, "The Struggle with the Jewish 'Kapos'," in Itzhok Berglass and Shlomo Yahalomi-Diamond, eds., *Sefer Strizhuv ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Strzyzow in Israel and Diaspora, 1969), 381–83; translated as *The Book of Strzyzow and Vicinity*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Strzyzow/Strzyzow.html>.

[1138] Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life,* 61–62, 70, 73, 76.

Grylak, a denouncer from Łódź.[1139] One of the most shocking testimonies concerns a camp in Skałat, near Tarnopol, in southeastern Poland.

> The Skalat [Skałat] Camp was opened on 11 November 1942. Within a month it held over three hundred inmates, including about fifty lonely women, most of whom were from outside Skalat …
>
> Several workshops were set up, all laboring exclusively for the Germans. The *Obersturmbannfuhrer* [*Obersturmbannführer*] had assigned a certain Jew, Heniek Zukerman, formerly the *Kommandant* of the Kamionka Camp, to organize the Skalat installation. …
>
> The actual work during the twelve-hour day was not as awful and unbearable as the "camp discipline" and the attitudes of the officials. … Although the camp was directed by Jews themselves, all went in a similar fashion as in other concentration camps: conducted with the precision and savagery prevalent in concentration camps.
>
> One specific case at a typical roll-call will serve to show the cruelty with which the camp leaders treated their own brothers. One day the camp leader, Zukerman, chose some of the stronger inmates for the heavy labor at the quarry. Among them was Saul Friedman, the shoemaker, a man of about 56. He asked to be excused because of his age and weakness, begging to be assigned, instead, to the 'Shit Brigade.' "What audacity!" Zukerman shouted in Polish, the official language of the camp, and began to hit the man mercilessly until he fell to the ground in a pool of blood. After the beating, Shol-the-cobbler was truly incapable of heavy labor and was detailed, as a cripple, to peeling potatoes in the kitchen.
>
> Zukerman soon chose as his assistant Bumek Rus, a former law student, and previously a member of the Grzimalow [Grzymałów] *Judenrat*, whose behavior filled with terror all the Jews who came into contact with him. A month after Zukerman had successfully established the camp, he was ordered by the central camp authorities in Kamionka to organize a similar labor camp in Podwoloczyska [Podwołoczyska], and Rus took over command of the Skalat Camp. *Obersturmbannfuhrer* Rebel, or his aide, Sharfuhrer Maler, would come by every few days to make sure that all was in order. … The Germans would shout insults and curse wildly, while issuing commands which the Jewish *Kommandants* would accept servilely, intoning the obedient compliance: "*Befehl Herr Obersturmbannfuhrer!*"
>
> Camp visits by Germans were usually the occasion for a lavish reception where pastries and beverages were served and where eggnog and wine flowed like water. The Skalat *Schupo* rarely ever missed these celebrations. Often they would go on until late at night, ending with female entertainment provided by the camp management. The Germans would leave, carrying expensive gifts, cheered in spirit and with favorable opinions of their loyal servants. …
>
> Life in the Skalat Camp was moving towards extermination. As in all concentration camps, after several weeks people were hardly recognizable: spiritually broken and physically exhausted, with no will or reason to live. The fetid camp atmosphere eroded one's humanity and people's behavior at times was wild, almost beastly. … To avoid a beating was to experience a miracle. …
>
> In the camps, the population was separated into two groups: the oppressors and the oppressed. The first included the camp leaders, the brigade leaders and other oppressors. In other camps, membership in that 'upper stratum' was the privilege of the Gentiles: either of the SS-men or of Gentile inmates. In the case of the Skalat Camp, the conditions were different. All of the authorities here were Jewish.

[1139] Testimony of Hela Honigman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 454.

The SS-men, as indicated, only came to check up every few days. That was sufficient, however, to last until the next visit.

The authorities of the Skalat Camp earned their infamy by the brutality toward their own brothers. Here, most of the people in the upper stratum came from the corrupt *Judenrat*, which the German machine had converted into an institution of demoralization and betrayal. Within the framework of a locked labor camp, they had a fruitful ground for their vile and beastly acts. They became appropriate tools in the hands of the Germans for the execution of their plans and wishes. Robbery, extortion and womanizing made up their days. Usually drunk, or exhausted by their carousing, as well as tense, unruly and violent, they brandished whips over the heads and backs of fellow Jews, while berating and cursing them. The clothing of the camp official gave him the appearance of an underworld dandy or pimp: grey-green riding breeches, shiny black new-looking boots, a brown leather jacket with a stiff collar, like that of a *boulevardier*, smelling of *eau de cologne*, with a cigarette between his lips. The camp people trembled in fear before such 'big shots.' In their after-hours, they ate and drank the best available. They would stay up to all hours, often until dawn, playing cards and drinking. Money had lost all value to them. They used bank notes to light their cigarettes and the amounts they wagered were staggering. They obtained sexual favors from the women and girls in the camp, who were terrorized into acceding to the slightest whim of these rulers. All the authorities lived in the camp building, together with the inmates, and it was under the same roof that the orgies and festivities took place.

The administrators and oppressors of the camp were a specific type of person. If everything was lost, then one should savor that which life yet had to offer. Trapped in a diabolic snare, one could live befitting the devil; beyond the corpses, beyond the abyss of sin and crime, beyond filth and self-loathing. They eked out the last bit of life, even at the cost of other lives. "A few Jews will have the right to remain alive under Hitler and I intend to be one of them," *Kommandant* Rus would say – and he did survive.

After the "Sobbing Graves" 'action,' the entire *Judenrat* fell apart. The main leaders, Nirler, Zimmer, Lempert and Schoenberg, had managed to escape along with their families. All of them were now in the camp, from which they continued to direct the lives of the last remnants of the hopeless Jews who still wandered among the ruins of the ghetto. This handful of Jews knew quite well that the end was near and inevitable. It seemed to them that now the danger of death would be less in the camp, therefore everyone strived to get into the camp. This privilege came at a high price. The camp management explained that the money was needed to bribe the Gestapo. Actually, most of the money disappeared into the deep pockets of the camp officials. The corrupt life of the camp gentry grew ever more expensive. Those Jews who had no money were not accepted into the camp. It was ironic that while previously people had to pay to be saved from the camp, now they had to pay to be admitted.

In this way, the camp population grew by a few dozen, including women and children. These dealings for places in the 'Life Saving Skalat Camp' went on until the final liquidation of the ghetto. With the liquidation of the ghetto, there was no longer a *Judenrat.*

Nirler, having lost his kingdom now became the 'prime minister' to the camp-leader, Rus. Now it was Nirler who, every morning at 5:00, would call the roll of the inmates. He too, like his superior, was dressed in pajamas and carried a riding crop. In so brief a time, he managed to create around himself an aura of fear and 'respect.' All who entered the camp office had to stand and take off their caps. If some newcomer failed to follow this custom, even if out of ignorance, he was brutally beaten and confined for several days. Other former leaders of the ghetto (Zimmer, Lempert, Schoenberg, Dr.

> Brif, etc.) gained infamy by their evil acts. They took charge of the work details and, following the German example, lorded over everyone. Decency and justice simply did not exist for them, even with reference to former friends and acquaintances. The Jewish ghetto police, which had been transferred to the service of the camp authorities, also wrote a bloody page in the painful history of the Skalat Camp.[1140]

An inmate of a camp for Jewish prisoners of war located at 7 Lipowa Street in Lublin recalls:

> Here was the camp of Polish army prisoners—all Jews. At the time there were 7,000 of them, headed by a man named Fisher. (Today he resides with his wife Tsesha in Tel-Aviv). The prisoners hated the Jews of Lublin …
>
> The 7,000 inmates of the prison camp worked as a detail of the sanitation unit. They cleaned the houses vacated by the Jewish deportees, street by street. The pounded on the walls, tore up floor tiles, looking for—and finding—treasures which the luckless Jews his before leaving, in the hope of returning. These prisoners garnered millions. They dressed like princes. Their stores, shops and markets carried every kind of delicacy: ham and bacon, honey cookies, pastries, fine sausages, whiskey, beer, oranges. The penniless prisoners hung about the wealthy ones, hoping to find bones in the garbage. The wealthy ones ate better than the Poles.[1141]

Jewish inmates from the Lipowa Street camp were utilized for a raid on the Lublin ghetto ordered by Odilo Globocnik the night of December 11–12, 1941: 320 Jews were rounded up, and 150 were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp. The inmates also seized clothes from the homes of Jews in the ghetto.[1142] Two German Jews who acted as *Kapos* in Majdanek were particularly known for their cruelty.[1143]

Jewish policemen (OD, order police) and *Kapos* in the Płaszów concentration camp on the outskirts of Kraków, who numbered around 160, were known for treating the inmates, both Jews and Poles, with cruelty, dutifully enforcing harsh punitive measures, extorting money and valuables, betraying planned escapes, raping female prisoners, exchanging food for sexual services from young girls, and even

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[1140] Abraham Weissbrod, "Death of a Shtetl," Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/skalat1/skalat.html>, translation of Abraham Weissbrod, *Es shtarbt a shtetl: Megiles Skalat* (Munich: Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, 1948), 48–51.

[1141] Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 123–24.

[1142] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 477; Tadeusz Epsztein, Justyna Majewska, and Aleksandra Bańkowska, eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego,* vol. 15: *Wrzesień 1939. Listy kaliskie. Listy płockie* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 168–69.

[1143] Gruber, *I Chose Life,* 26.

participating in executions of prisoners.[1144] Memoirs recorded shortly after the war were, it seems, more open about such incidents. Donald Niewyk's anthology, *Fresh Wounds*,[1145] contains frequent references to betrayals by fellow Jews and mistreatment, sometimes quite savage, at the hands of Jewish *Kapos* and block seniors in Nazi camps. Indeed, as one Jewish scholar points out, "the cruelty of many Jewish *kapos* in the concentration camps is well attested by countless survivors."[1146] Many additional examples are mentioned later. One can also find examples of Christian Poles suffering mistreatment and betrayal at the hands of Jewish *Kapos* and inmates in Nazi camps.[1147]

As among other nationalities, Jewish collaborators ran the entire gamut and included men and women who maintained friendly, sometimes intimate, relations with the SS and Gestapo, with whom they even partied. Partying was not uncommon in the ghettos among those well-placed. A rest home for wealthy Jews was set up by the director of the Jewish hospital in Otwock, where lavish parties took place attended by Jewish Gestapo agents from Warsaw.[1148] In the town of Skalbmierz, in the home of Lejzor Kac,

> The entire *Judenrat,* along with the *Ordnunsdienst* [Jewish police], were eating, drinking, carrying on, men and women together, like a wedding celebration.[1149]

[1144] Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse,* 101; Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 254, 260; Testimony of Giza Landau, *Yalkut Moreshet: Holocaust Documentation and Research* [Tel Aviv], vol. 2 (Winter 2004): 182–83; David M. Crowe, *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities and the Story Behind the List* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Westview Press, 2004), 320–22, 337–48; Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, "*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst* in Occupied Kraków During the Years 1940–1945," *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia,* vol. 11 (2013): 147–60, especially at 155; Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?: Wokół przypadków kolaboracji Żydów w okupowanym Krakowie* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018), 182–83, 185–87; Erna F. Rubinstein, *The Survivor in Us All: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1983), 102 (policemen obtain sexual services from girls); Testimony of Halina Schütz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 329. The names most often mentioned are: Wilhelm or Wilek Chilowicz, the head Jewish administrator, his wife Maria, Maurycy Finkelstein, Marcel Goldberg, Maier Kerner, Leon Gross, Wilhelm or Wilek Schnitzer, Romek Faeber, Schoenfeld, and Mieczysław Garde. Giza Beller Landau recalled: "One day they packed us into a car and drove us to the camp in Płaszów, near Kraków, it was in October of 1943. We were very badly received in the camp. I don't know why everybody was so unfriendly toward the people from Tarnów. There was Jewish commandant Chilowicz with his wife; Finkelstein and some other people. They called us the worst names and during the roll call they went like—hit the dirt! on your feet! in the mud and water. … And there were two Jewish policemen —Kerner and Marcel Goldberg—the worst ones in the camp. … The next day Mrs. Chilowicz walked around during the roll call to see if any of the children had remained, she was very angry about it." See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 225–26. Another cruel *Kapo* was Dawid Fakler. See Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 247–48. The sadistic exploits of a *Kapo* named Hesiek directed against Polish prisoners are described in testimony of Stanisław Nowak, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3276, and in the testimony of Aleksander Dacków, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3373.

[1145] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 15, 33–41, 45, 47, 52, 53, 113, 118, 119, 126, 127, 129, 176, 251–52.

[1146] Jonathan Webber, "Jewish Identities in the Holocaust: Martyrdom as a Representative Category," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 13: *Focusing on the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (London and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000), 141. An example is given on p. 140.

[1147] Szereszewska, *Memoirs from Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945,* 460 (Auschwitz); Richard C. Lukas, comp. and ed., *Forgotten Survivors: Polish Christians Remember the Nazi Occupation* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 26 (Neuengamme), 181 (Auschwitz).

[1148] Testimony of Stanisław Nissenszal, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4064.

[1149] Busgang, *Działoszyce Memorial Book,* 256.

Some Jewish women worked as prostitutes and strippers for the Germans,[1150] and a number of them became lovers or mistresses to German officers and soldiers.[1151] In many cases, Jewish women were simply seized to work as prostitutes for German soldiers,[1152] or "volunteered" to do so under extreme circumstances.[1153] (This phenomenon was by no means unique to Jews. Such behaviour was far more widespread among the French, Norwegians, and others.[1154]) Sexual exploitation of young Jewish girls by mostly much older Jewish male predators has also been reported.[1155] Jewish community leaders in Brześć

[1150] See, for example: Hersch Gotthelf, "A Few Words," in *Memorial Book of Sochaczew,* translation of A. Sh. Stein and G. Weissman, eds., *Pinkas Sochaczew* (Jerusalem: Former Residents of Sochaczew in Israel, 1962); Howard Roiter, comp. and ed., *Voices from the Holocaust,* vol. 1 (New York: William-Frederick Press, 1975), 108 (Warsaw); Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 44–45 (Radzyń Podlaski); Peter Silverman, David Smuschkowitz, and Peter Smuszkowicz, *From Victims to Victors* (Concord, Ontario: The Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, 1992), 246 (Głębokie); Joanna Wiszniewicz, *A jednak czasem miewam sny* (Warsaw: Tu, 1996), 77–78 (Warsaw), translated as *And I Still Have My Dreams: A Story of Certain Loneliness* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2004); Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych,* 106, 195–96 (Warsaw); Ernest, *O wojnie wielkich Niemiec z Żydami Warszawy 1939–1943,* 82 (Warsaw); Friedmann, *Reluctant Soldier,* 23 (a number of attractive girls in Chełm); Alfred Zajdorf, *Nie święci ...* (Poznań: Zysk, 2011), 381/1029 (bothels on Wilcza and Elektoralna Streets in Warsaw each employed several Jewish prostitutes servicing mainly German military men and police). It appears that the ban on sexual relations with Jews, an issue that raised considerable concern with state security when German gendarmes came across more than a dozen high ranking German officers spending the night with Jewish women in Warsaw's Bristol Hotel in October 1939, continued to be transgressed rather frequently. The Bristol Hotel incident was mentioned in the 2004 documentary film *Frauen als Beute: Wehrmacht und Prostitution* by Thomas Gaevert and Martin Hilbert.

[1151] A Jewish woman from Łódź became the mistress of a senior Gestapo officer and divulged to the Germans the hiding place of her Jewish lover. See Checinski, *Running the Gauntlet of Anti-Semitism,* 33. The following examples are from Drohobycz: Maria Steczkowska was SS Sergeant Karl Günther's lover, Irka Jakubowicz was SS Second Lieutenant Lukas Heckel's, and Feld was Gestapo chief Walter Kutschmann's. See Wiesław Budzyński, *Miasto Schulza* (Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 2005), 192, 194, 200. See also Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 22 (Irka Jankiewlewicz). For examples from Radzyń see Yitzhak Zigelman (I. Siegelman), ed., *Sefer Radzin* (Tel Aviv: Council of Former Residents of Radzyń (Podlaski) in Israel, 1957), 227ff. The Warsaw actress Johanna Epstein became the lover of Untersturmführer SS Werner. See Stephen Lehnstaedt, "Codzienność okupanta W Warszawie w latach 1939–1944, in Tomasz Chinciński, ed., *Przemoc i dzień powszedni w okupowanej Polsce* (Gdańsk: Muzeum II Wojny Światowej and Oskar, 2011), 493. For examples from Łódź and Warsaw, see Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem,* 242. For three examples from Słonim see Waitman Wade Beorn, *Marching Into Darkness: The Wehrmacht and the Holocaust in Belarus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 167–69. For an example from Stanisławów see Tannenzapf and Krakauer, *Memories From the Abyss/But I Had a Happy Childhood,* 28. Many high-ranking Nazis also had Jewish mistresses: SS brigade commander Oskar Dirlewanger, Rudolf Höss while commander at Auschwitz, and Amon Goeth while commander at the Płaszów concentration camp. See Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 464–65.

[1152] For example, in August 1942, the German police selected ten attractive young Jewish women in the town of Pilzno and sent them to work in a brothel for German soldiers in Rzeszów. After their exploitation, the Jewish women disappeared without a trace. Jewish women from Pilzno were also taken to brothels in Lwów and Jarosław. See Józef Szczeklik, "Żydzi w Pilźnie i ich zagłada," in *Rocznik Tarnowski,* 1995/1996, 223–40, here at 232–33; based on Testimony of Stefan Janusz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 202. See also Sonja M. Hedgepeth and Rochelle G. Saidel, eds., *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2010).

[1153] An inmate of Treblinka recalled: "Only once did Jews leave the camp alive. The Front had demanded women. So one hundred and ten of the most beautiful Jewish girls, accompanied by a Jewish doctor, were sent off." See Mark S. Smith, *Treblinka Survivor: The Life and Death of Hershl Sperling* (Stroud, United Kingdom: The History Press, 2010), 249.

[1154] On France see, for example, Patrick Buisson, *1940–1945: Années érotiques: Vichy ou les infortunes de la vertu* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008).

[1155] Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 128; Testimony of Jerzy Himelblau (Himmelblau), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3073. See also Katarzyna Person, "Sexual Violence during the Holocaust: The Case of Forced Prostitution in the Warsaw Ghetto," *Shofar,* vol. 33, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 103–21.

on the River Bug "decided to send some expensive 'gifts' to Major Rade. Four beautiful girls who had some idea of the importance of their mission delivered these gifts. They spent the whole night with the Germans and when they appeared on the streets the next day, every Jew looked upon them as Biblical heroines, who sacrificed themselves for the greater good of the community of Israel."[1156] Sometimes Jews succeeded in joining the local German "high life," as was the case in Złoczów, where Lonek Zwerdling became a confidant and the right-hand man of Obersturmführer (later Hauptsturmführer) Friedrich Warzok.

> The liaison between the Judenrat in Zloczow [Złoczów] and Warzok was an individual named [Lonek] Zwerdling. … Every few days he presented the Judenrat with new demands, allegedly from Warzok. Nobody in the Judenrat dared to question these demands. Aside from the devastating draft of new workers, he insisted on and received expensive gifts which were supposed to lower the quota of humans. A lavishly furnished apartment was set up for Herr Hauptsturmführer where he entertained his women drawn mostly from the secretarial pool in the Kreishauptmannschaft and also partly supplied by the Judenrat. The finest wines and liquors, as well as the best food, was provided, as the price for leaving us alone. Diamonds and precious jewelry were delivered, much of it remaining in Zwerdling's pockets. He soon started to behave like a German. His wife and daughters strutted around in new outfits and high boots, aping the style of the German women. Zwerdling became the most feared Jew in Zloczow, feared almost as much as Warzok himself.[1157]

Cooperation sometimes simply entailed performing tasks for the German overlords with model diligence and reporting back to them in a servile manner. According to Emanuel Ringelblum, Jewish prisoners-of-war earned the respect of the Germans precisely for their servility.[1158] Another contoversial passtime was the holding of gala concerts in the ghettos, attended by large audiences dressed in their best attire including tuxedos and ball dresses.[1159] Moreover, in spite of the apparent incongruity, in the early years of the German occupation Jews often had better contacts and interaction with local German authorities than the Poles did. Fraternization was not unusual, especially in the early years of the occupation, when the opportunity arose. As Jews from Krosno recall:

> My brother had connections with the German infantry, and for a sum of money he arranged with a sergeant to bring a covered truck to Lwow [Lwów]. In this manner, the rabbi [Cwerski] and his family returned to Krosno.[1160]

> I remember occasions when we even socialized with a German police officer. At the time there were Jewish refugees from Łódź who had been resettled to Krosno. … There was one family that consisted of a father, mother, and two beautiful daughters. A German officer liked these girls and protected

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[1156] L. Gluzman, "Memories of an Escapee from Brest," in Steinman, *Brisk de-Lita,* vol. 2, 549ff.

[1157] Tennenbaum, *Zloczow Memoir,* 198.

[1158] Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego,* 116.

[1159] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim* 111 (Kielce, Radomsko).

[1160] Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life,* 23.

> them. We used to go to their home and have parties when this German officer, who allowed us to have a good time, was present. We would sing, tell jokes and stories, and read books together. There was also another very pretty girl from Łódź who had a number of German admirers. She spent many nights in the homes of German officers, who lavished her with gifts, even though it was a capital offense for Jews and Germans to have sexual relations with each other. Yet the Germans disobeyed their own laws. It always amazed me how they could be fond of some of our Jewish girls and yet want to abuse or kill the rest of us.[1161]

In Radom, the Jewish Council maintained extensive connections with the Gestapo and there was no shortage of confidants among the Jewish police.[1162] At the request of the Gestapo, members of the Jewish Council prepared lists of Poles to be arrested or transported to the Reich as forced labour. The members of the Jewish Council, the Jewish police, and their families had a reputation for corruption, as they were known to enjoy a better standard of living than most other Jews.[1163] While poor Jews were ragged and hungry, rich Jews had no problem securing lodging and food, and turned away orphaned children k nocking on their doors.[1164] Despite the increasing poverty in the ghetto, the Judenrat and Jewish police partied, drank and kept a harem of prostitutes.[1165] As one resident recalls, the ghetto policemen were

> generally well respected in the community, or at least they had been before the war began. They were men in their prime, able-bodied and agile, and most of them had achieved their *matura* [i.e., secondary school] diploma at least. The Germans used them to carry out their policies in the ghetto and the factory. The policemen would designate people for forced-work details, guard the perimeter of the ghetto, and oversee the distribution of our meager food rations. Though they didn't carry guns, they were given certain privileges for their services to the Germans. They could go into and out of the ghetto, for example, without explicit permission, and in the factory, some had separate rooms of their own—they didn't live as the rest of us did, in crowded barracks. Not all of them, certainly, but most of the Jewish police felt that they had special protection as well as privileges with the Germans, and given the circumstances, the police tended to look upon themselves as better than everyone else.
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> Nojich Tannenbaum, for example, was this way. He was an informer as well as a policeman, and he would boast to us that his family—his wife, their young twin girls, their Jewish maid, all of them—would survive on an island of safety while everything else around them burned. He patrolled the factory grounds, supervising—spying, really—looking for anything he could report to the Germans. Maybe someone was hiding extra food; maybe someone was not where he or she was supposed to be.

[1161] Testimony of Michael Berger in Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust,* 40–41.

[1162] Theodor Frank, *By His Magnificent Guidance* (Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake Books, 1985), 36–39; Alfred Lipson, ed., *The Book of Radom: The Story of a Jewish Community in Poland Destroyed by the* Nazis (New York: The United Radomer Relief of the United States and Canada, 1963), 43.

[1163] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 291.

[1164] Testimony of Maria Widawska (assumed name), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1698.

[1165] Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 73.

No one ever wanted to see Tannenbaum or be seen by him; certainly no one trusted him. He was a Jew, but he was working for the Germans, seemingly with the wholeness of his heart. …

Tannenbaum didn't know it then—when we were in the factory, none of us did—but the Germans would save no special treatment for their informers and police. … Tannenbaum was killed by Jews at Auschwitz, exacting their own kind of justice against someone who had caused so much death.

There was Chiel Friedman, too … [Before the war, he was a member of a socialist Zionist youth organization—*M.P.*] During the war, though, Friedman became a member of the Jewish police, and he became proud, arrogant, cruel. …

"Chiel," he said, "I need your help." My uncle was calling on a man who had been a friend …

Friedman came over to my uncle, looked him in the eye, and slapped him hard across the face.

"I am not Chiel Friedman anymore," he said. "I am Comrade Friedman. That is what you must call me." And he turned on his boot and walked away. …

… Another Jewish policeman, Duvid Norembursky, was one of those who escaped; he was responsible for my Heniek's death.

It was Chiel Friedman, the Jewish policeman in charge of the KL [*Kozentrationslager*, or concentration camp in Radom]. … He had come to the barracks knowing I must be there …

"Come out from your hiding! You know I will find you!" …

He was marching now, up and down the aisles of the barracks. He started to scream, furious that he hadn't found me. "You whore! I know you are in this barracks! I'm going to find you, Heniek's little whore!" …

Friedman looked for me everywhere, but somehow he didn't think to look where I was. Somehow he didn't look under the floorboards, where a young girl lay trembling in fear and fury under a coat of rats.

… It seemed not to matter to the Germans that I had escaped the oblava [round-up]. After that one day, they didn't send anyone to come looking for me.

But it mattered to Chiel Friedman. He resented it, resented that I had managed to elude him. I think he wanted to show the Germans how good he was at his policing job, to show them that he could ferret out the young girl who tried to avoid capture.[1166]

The Jewish police played a crucial role in the deportations of Jews to the death camps:

On the evening of August 17, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the large ghetto in Radom, in which about 25,000 Jews were then residing. … The ghetto liquidation Aktion was carried out as on the first occasion: exactly at midnight, after the floodlights were switched on, the German police, Ukrainian collaborators, and members of the Jewish Police began to chase the Jews out of their houses. The Jews were gathered at preselected locations. The roundup lasted until early the next morning, and approximately 10,000 people were herded to a train waiting on a siding. During the Aktion, many Jews were killed …

[1166] Werber and Keller, *Two Rings,* 41–42, 76, 120–22. Later, when he was sent to Dachau, Chiel Friedman "would force the men to stand longer than necessary in their twice-daily *appels*, or roll calls. … Chiel Friedman made them stand for a half hour, sometimes an hour longer than the Germans required. Friedman seemed to want to prove himself; he wanted to show the Germans, and maybe the Jews, too, that he knew how to be cruel and indiscriminate in his cruelty. Friedman settled in Toronto, spurned by the survivors from Radom. Ibid., 43–44. Duvid Norembursky, who was responsible for a number of Jewish deaths, and his wife managed to escape, survived the war in hiding, and immigrated to the United States under changed names. Ibid., 105–6.

> On August 18, 1942, the ghetto was quiet. Its remaining residents were waiting for the second phase of the Aktion. In the afternoon, the Jewish Police announced the second phase would start at midnight. … It was known that the Jewish Police ordered their family members to go to the collection point voluntarily, to increase their chances or remaining in Radom. As a result of these efforts, most of the Jews gathered at the Stare Miasto Square by 11:00 p.m.[1167]

Jewish black-marketeers and "entrepreneurs who entered into all kinds of shady deals to earn money" thrived and formed a very visible *nouveau riche* class.[1168] A resident of Radom, who was taken to a labour camp near Cieszanów, recalled:

> Some of our fellow prisoners were enterprising, too. They succeeded in digging tunnels out of the camp and, under cover of night, proceeded to the closest village, where they bought provisions. They would then return to camp and sell the food—at very fancy prices—to other inmates.[1169]

In Bełchatów, local trade remained entrenched in the hands of the Jews, among them smugglers of foreign currency, gold and jewels, who worked closely with the German police, and even partied with them, and denounced Poles.[1170] (Polish accounts are thus consistent with Jewish accounts cited earlier.) Elsewhere,

> A commandant came to Kielce who began drawing the Jews to him and giving them economic positions. Thus he gave Jechezkel Lemberg the export of eggs. He and his assistants were given the task of buying eggs in the Kielce region and turning them over to the economic committee for export to Germany. Jakob Kohen of Checiny [Chęciny] was given such a role for the export of leather, and others were given similar positions with regard to grain, feathers etc. For a while these Jews were busy with their tasks, and they didn't just profit themselves, but found jobs for other Jews. The word went out that the Jews of Kielce had found relief and reached even the Jews who had fled eastwards and many of those began to return to their place of origin.[1171]

In Chrzanów, where there were no Polish police during the war,

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[1167] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part A, 291–92.

[1168] Friedman, *Nazi Hunter,* 27, 37.

[1169] Ibid., 35.

[1170] See the Home Army report in Maria Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943 (Dokumenty Biura Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej ze zbiorów oddziału rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego)," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego,* nos. 162–163 (1992): 45. For accounts from Bełchatów, see ibid., 41–42; and Roman Peska, *Skazani na zagładę: Żydzi w Pabianicach 1794–1998* (Pabianice: Pamięć, 1999), 66–68. Similar charges were also made in relation to Jews in Pabianice, where Jews were still able to purchase luxury goods in the ghetto towards the end of 1941. Ibid., 69–72.

[1171] Cytron (Zitron), *Sefer Kielce,* 238; translated as *Book of Kielce: History of the Community of Kielce. From Its Founding Until Its Destruction*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kielce/kielce.html>. When that particular commandant was transferred out, his replacement reportedly took revenge on the Jews who enjoyed his predecessor's protection by arresting those involved in exporting goods to Germany and charging them with embezzlement.

> Contacts between the Judenrat and the local German officials were carried out on more than the official level. The Judenrat had close relations with some of the German officials, thanks to various gifts and bribes. However, the Judenrat's closest contacts were with the police, headed by Oberleutenant [Oberleutnant] Schindler. …
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> The liaison between the police and the Judenrat during the entire [early] period was Fasek Weber. After Weber was sent to Auschwitz, the job was taken over by Zelig Grajower. Fasek Weber exploited his situation in base and brutal ways, growing rich on Jewish trouble and pain.

It is not surprising, therefore, that local Jews reputedly played a sinister role in the arrest 41 Poles in Chrzanów in the early morning hours of April 23, 1940, in the so-called *Aktion AB* directed at the Polish intelligentsia. When family members converged on the headquarters of the German police that morning to inquire into the fate of their loved ones, they found the premises full of Jewish policemen dressed in black uniforms. One of the Jewish policemen, a man in his early twenties, came out and ordered the Poles to disperse. It is believed that the Jewish authorities helped the Germans draw up the list of Poles who were arrested for deportation to concentration camps.[1172] Tellingly, according to Szapse (Shepsl) Rotholc, a member of the ghetto police in Warsaw, "Quite a few [German] gendarmes said that the battle with the Jews is only politics but they hate the Poles from the heart."[1173]

Jewish Gestapo agents and informers, whose activities have been mentioned in passing, were a significant source of danger. Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer has acknowledged that they caused "tremendous damage."[1174] What he does not mention is that these Jewish collaborators, who were active throughout German-occupied Poland, both inside and outside the ghettos, *endangered Poles* as well as Jews. Emanuel Ringelblum noted the case of Joske Erlich (Josek Ehrlich, code name "Josele Kapota"), a Jewish Gestapo agent who denounced Witold Benedyktowicz, a tireless benefactor of the Jews. Benedyktowicz endured nine months in Warsaw's Pawiak prison.[1175] Another Jewish Gestapo informer in Warsaw who actively denounced members of the Communist and Polish underground was Józef (Josek) Mitzenmacher (Mützenmacher). Formerly a Communist who turned government informer in the interwar period, he went by many names and was already on the German payroll before the war. After the Polish underground passed a death sentence against Mitzenmacher in Warsaw, he resurfaced in Białystok where he became the editor a Nazi gutter newspaper and wrote anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic articles. After the war he was able to

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[1172] Leszek A. Lechowicz, "Ironia losu," *Dziennik Związkowy* (Chicago), September 5–7, 2003, based on the testimony of Roman Wawrzonek. Roman Wawrzonek's father, Tadeusz Wawrzonek, was one of the Poles arrested that day. He was imprisoned in Dachau and later transferred to Mauthausen-Gusen where he perished in August 1941.

[1173] Paulsson, *Secret City,* 65. This phenomenon is confirmed by the testimony of a young German woman, a member of the Hitler Youth who volunteered to work in Nazi-occupied Poland (that part incorporated into the Reich): "We had political lectures every night, but they were never anti-Jewish, just anti-Polish. We were not allowed to associate with the Poles—that was made quite clear. They were 'inferior'—that was also made quite clear." See Pearl M. Oliner, *Saving the Forsaken: Religious Culture and the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 110.

[1174] Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust,* 148.

[1175] Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1974; Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 241.

resume his Communist allegiance under an assumed identity (Jan Roszkowski).[1176] Fritz Seifter, a Jewish journalist from Bielsko, started collaborating with the Nazi authorities in the 1930s and continued to do so when Poland was occupied by Germany.[1177] Zygmunt Messing-Neumann was a longstanding collaborator of the German secret services. One of the best Gestapo agents in the Łódź ghetto, he organized his own network of agents who mostly counteracted smuggling (Messing-Neumann became wealthy by uncovering property hidden by Jews as well as Poles), but who were also quite successful at carrying out surveillance of the resistance movement (Messing also gathered information about the Polish underground for the German authorities). After the war he fled to West Germany where, despite interventions by the Polish authorities, he was successfully able to avoid prosecution with the protection of some Jews.[1178] Józef Staszauer, a Jewish Gestapo agent, managed to infiltrate an important office in the Chief Command of the Home Army and betrayed many of its members until his execution in Warsaw in October 1943.[1179] Another Jewish Gestapo agent who penetrated Home Army intelligence operations, where he caused considerable damage, was Józef Hammer (Nathen Hersch Hamer), aka Baczewski. He too was executed by the Home Army in November 1942.[1180] The Polish underground eliminated other Gestapo agents of Jewish origin in Warsaw such as Haman[1181] and Wanda Kronenberg, the scion of a prominent assimilated family.[1182] A Jew by the name of Mazur living in the Mokotów district who betrayed many Jews to the Gestapo escaped execution by the Home Army because the Warsaw Uprising broke out.[1183] Diana Topiel, who was sheltered in Warsaw by a Polish family, whose son she married during the war, was denounced by a Jewish Gestapo confidant from Łódź. After her arrest she was sent to several prisons, where she was tortured, and then to

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[1176] Borodziej, *Terror i Polityka,* 90–92; Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza*, 28–34, 40; Jacek Wilamowski and Andrzej Zasieczny, *Afera Joska Mitzenmachera: Tajemnice policji politycznej* (Warszawa: CB Andrzej Zasieczny, 2006); Bogdan Gadomski, *Biografia agenta: Józef-Josek Mützenmacher (1903–1947)* (Warszawa: Tedson, 2009); Marek Klecel, "Pięć żywotów Józefa-Joska Mützenmachera, czyli jak rozbito Komunistyczną Partię Polską," *Nasz Dziennik,* January 28, 2011.

[1177] Lars Jockheck, "Od agenta do kolaboranta? Współpraca żydowskiego publicysty Fritza Seiftera z Bielska z władami niemieckimi w latach trzydziestych i czterdziestych," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 2 (2006): 163–76.

[1178] Jacek Walicki, "Zygmunt Messing—dzieje Żyda o życiorysie niezgodnym z regułą," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 8 (2012): 362–82.

[1179] Wacław Zagórski, *Wolność w niewoli* (London: n.p., 1971), 195–99, 376, 398–402, 433–48; Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 117–20; Andrzej Wróblewski, *Być Żydem…: Rozmowa z Dagiem Halvorsenem o Żydach i antysemityzmie Polaków* (Warsaw: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1992), 121. On the activities of Józef Staszauer, see also Wojciech Königsberg and Bartłomiej Szyprowski, *Zlikwidować! Agenci Gestapo i NKWD w szeregach polskiego podziemia* (Kraków: Znak Horyzont, 2022).

[1180] Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 37–38. On the activities of Nathen Hersch Hamer, see also Königsberg and Szyprowski, *Zlikwidować!*.

[1181] Janusz Marszalec, *Ochrona porządku i bezpieczeństwa publicznego w Powstaniu Warszawskim* (Warsaw: Rytm, 1999), 369.

[1182] Agnieszka Rybak, "Trzeźwy bankier, pijany rechot historii," *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), February 27, 2010.

[1183] Interview with Stanisław Milczyński (Home Army Lieutenant "Gryf") by Andrzej Kumor and Jerzy Rosa, "Skąd wiesz, który Bóg ją ocalił…," *Goniec* (Mississauga), May 5–11, 2006.

Majdanek concentration camp.[1184] Zila Rennert identified a Jewish Gestapo agent by the name of Ludwik, who was active in Warsaw, but did not describe his misdeeds.[1185] Haim Grzybower also encountered a Jew who worked as an interpreter for the Gestapo when he was passing as a Pole in Warsaw. This Jew demanded a bribe of 1,000 złoty in order not to betray Grzybower.[1186]

On February 19, 1944, a Home Army cell consisting of more than a dozen people was discovered by the Gestapo on Bracka Street in Warsaw after being betrayed by two Jewish women who had infiltrated the unit posing as escapees from the Warsaw ghetto. In actual fact, the women were Gestapo agents working with a 40-member group of Jewish agents headed by Leon (Lolek) Skosowski[1187] of the notorious "Thirteen" (about which there is more later on). Some of the Poles who were apprehended, among them Zdzisław Chrzanowski from the All-Poland Youth (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*) organization, were executed in the Pawiak prison. These two Jewish agents were tracked down and liquidated by Polish counterintelligence.[1188] Reports prepared by the Polish Government Delegate's office and the Communist underground mention the following Jewish agents operating in Warsaw: Stekier (pseudonym "Wilson"), who was active in the Żoliborz district; Stanisława Lepianka, a 19-year-old woman who believed to have contacts with the Communist underground; Władysław Fijałkowski, a fictitious name, employed in Gestapo headquarters, room no. 386; Rajchman, originally from Łódź, who was transferred from the Gestapo headquarters to become a streetcar controller, where he used the name Romanowski.[1189] Józef Garliński, a prominent member of the underground (he was head of the security department of the Home Army headquarters in Warsaw), was arrested by Gestapo agents after being betrayed by his former schoolmate, a Jew in their service.[1190]

A Jewish confidant of the German gendarmes established himself in Skierniewice before the ghetto was built.[1191] Szaje Fastak, a Jewish Gestapo agent in Chmielnik, became notorious for betraying Poles who helped Jews as well as Jews in hiding. He shot a Polish woman named Domagała. Fastak was eventually

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[1184] Testimony of Diana Topiel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1482.

[1185] Zila Rennert, *Trois wagons à bestiaux: D'une guerre à l'autre à travers l'Europe centrale, 1914–1946* (Paris: Phébus, 2007), 209–10. Ludwik was known to help Jews for payment and, apparently, survived the war.

[1186] Henry G. Gribou, *Hunted in Warsaw: A Memoir of Resistance and Survival in the Holocaust* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2012), 186–87.

[1187] On Skosowski see Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, "Lonek Skosowski: Koniec żydowskich kolaborantów Gestapo," *Glaukopis: Pismo społeczno-historyczne,* no. 9–10 (2007–2008): 325–33.

[1188] [Wiesław Chrzanowski], *Pół wieku polityki, czyli rzecz o obronie czynnej: Z Wiesławem Chrzanowski rozmawiali Piotr Mierecki i Bogusław Kiernicki* (Warsaw: ad Astra, 1997), 140.

[1189] Report dated July 26, 1942, Archiwum Akt Nowych, AK, 203/III–138, k. 53–55; Archiwum Akt Nowych, AL, 192/XII/2, k. 143, cited in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, "Lonek Skosowski: Koniec żydowskich kolaborantów Gestapo," *Glaukopis: Pismo społeczno-historyczne,* no. 9–10 (2007–2008): 325–33.

[1190] Józef Garliński, *Niezapomniane lata: Dzieje Wywiadu Więziennego i Wywiadu Bezpieczeństwa Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej* (London: Odnowa, 1987), 109. The abridged English version of this book, *The Survival of Love: Memoir of a Resistance Officer* (New York: Blackwell, 1991), conceals the nationality of the betrayer and the fact that there were many Jewish Gestapo agents in Warsaw. Ibid., 3, 93.

[1191] Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 254.

executed by the Polish underground.[1192] Another Jewish confidant lurking in the vicinity of Chmielnik who met a similar fate was Dawid Dołz.[1193] At least two Jews were employed as confidants by the SS or Gestapo in Rabka: a Jew by the name of Borger and Józef Beck; the latter was sent to smaller ghettos to oversee the deportation of Jews.[1194] Jerzy Ripper, who served as chief of the *Sicherheitsdienst* intelligence service in Lida, was responsible for the arrest of many members of the Home Army.[1195] A Jew from Łódź by the name of Jan Rogacki, a Gestapo agent who posed as a doctor, organized an underground group in Jarosław composed primarily of Polish students; they were soon apprehended by the Gestapo and shipped to Auschwitz.[1196] In Gorlice, a Jewish Gestapo agent by the name of Keller, who was also the commander of the Jewish police, was employed to spy on the Polish underground and created a cell composed of Jews for this purpose. This led to the arrest of Paweł Bielakiewicz (*nom de guerre* "Ernest"), the leader of the Home Army outpost in Łużna, who was deported to Auschwitz.[1197] Jan Woźniak, a military man who joined the Polish underground, was shot by a Jewish Gestapo agent in Przysucha, near Radom, in 1942.[1198] A Jewish doctor named Spiegel, a Gestapo confidant in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, was responsible for nearly all the arrests of Poles for more than a year prior to his detection and execution by the Home Army in the spring of 1941.[1199] A Jewish woman from Czechoslovakia, a Gestapo agent, was sent to infiltrate an autonomous partisan group composed of Poles, Jews and Ukrainians under the command of Stanisław Babij operating near Dolina, in Stanisławów voivodship (southeastern Poland); her treachery resulted in the execution of 48 local Poles and Ukrainians who assisted the group and the murder of more than 20 Jewish partisans.[1200] In July 1943, the Gestapo and German gendarmes in Kraśnik released a group of Jews to gather information about the Polish underground organizations operating in the area. Another Jew sheltered

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[1192] Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* 136 (entry 98); Maciągowski and Krawczyk, *The Story of Jewish Chmielnik,* 168–70, 182–83.

[1193] Maciągowski and Krawczyk, *The Story of Jewish Chmielnik,* 168–71, 182–83; Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 520.

[1194] Testimony of Stefan Blassberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 221; Testimony of Ozjasz Szachner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3453.

[1195] Cezary Chlebowski, *Cztery z tysiąca* (Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1983), 186–92; Cezary Chlebowski, *Gdy las był domem* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1972), 173–79; Kazimierz Krajewski, *Na Ziemi Nowogródzkiej: "Nów"–Nowogródzki Okręg Armii Krajowej* (Warsaw: Pax, 1997), 89, 239. According to another source, Ripper's father was Austrian. Ripper fortuitously escaped death at the hands of a Home Army execution squad but was seriously wounded; he resurfaced after the war as an employee of the security office in Ełk before fleeing to West Germany. See Władysław Naruszewicz, *Wspomnienia lidzianina* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2001), 63.

[1196] Maria Szczepańska, "Wspomnienie z Jarosławia," *Gazeta Polska* (Warsaw), February 10, 1994; Maria Szczepańska, "Nieco o doktorze Janie Rogackim," *Kwartalnik Armii Krajowej,* no. 2 (1994); Wiesław Kielar, *I nasze młode lata* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1987), 303–09.

[1197] Władysław Boczoń, *Żydzi gorliccy* (Gorlice: n.p., 1998), 145.

[1198] Marek Garbacz, "Po prostu major Hubal, *Nasz Dziennik,* April 30–May 1, 2005.

[1199] Witold Sagajllo [Sągajłło], *Man In the Middle: A Story of the Polish Resistance, 1940–45* (London: Leo Cooper in Association with Secker & Warburg, 1984), 10, 12, 38–39; Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w Dystrykcie Radomskim,* 101.

[1200] Grzegorz Mazur, *Pokucie w latach Drugiej wojny światowej: Położenie ludności, polityka okupantów, działalność podziemia* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1994), 132–33.

by Poles in the nearby village of Borów was also suspected of spying for the Germans.[1201] Stanisław Strzałkowski, a member of the Home Army who was imprisoned in Auschwitz, recalls that a Jew he met in the main camp (this Jew had served under his command in the prewar Polish army) warned him, shortly after his arrival there in September 1943, about a Jewish inmate who was a spy for the Gestapo.[1202] There are other such cases on record.[1203]

Poles were also at risk from Jewish Gestapo agents operating outside Poland. A Polish underground organization in Bulgaria was infiltrated by Jan Złotkowski, representative of LOT Polish airlines in Sofia. Złotkowski, of Jewish origin, turned out to be a Gestapo agent who received sums of money for every Pole he betrayed. Most of the members of the organization were arrested and many of them were sent to Auschwitz where they perished. The Bulgarians tried and convicted Złotkowski after the war, but when he was released shortly after his return to Poland in 1948.[1204] But far more often, it was Jews who felt the detrimental activities of fellow Jews who had ties with the Gestapo and other German agencies. Sometimes connections backfired or were designed to lure unsuspecting Jews into traps, as was the case in Krosno:

> Simon Fres was a Jew who had connections with the Krosno Gestapo. He had made arrangements with the Gestapo to get trucks to transport some of the wealthiest Jews of the town to safety. He was well paid by them in advance when these trucks were loaded and driven away. The people in them were taken to a woods nearby the town of Dukla, where a huge trench had been dug. They were lined up beside it and machinegunned, realizing only at the last moment that the arrangement had been a trap.[1205]

Another Jew from Krosno, Shlomo Berger, recalled a misadventure that nearly cost him his life:

> I went to the city of Tarnów to buy American dollars from a dollar dealer. There on the street I met a friend whom I knew from an Irgun training camp. He asked me what I was doing in Tarnów, and I told him I was buying dollars. He asked when I was leaving to go home and said he would like to see me off at the railway station. I told him that I was going back on the afternoon train. When I arrived at the station, he was there to greet me. After we said good-bye to each other, he left, and a plainclothes Gestapo officer walked over and arrested me. I suspected that this so-called friend was an informer and that he had pointed me out to the Gestapo, for there was no other reason for them to stop me.
>
> I was searched for American dollars, but I had been careful not to carry any with me. The dealer had sent his twelve-year-old daughter with me, and she was carrying the money.[1206]

[1201] Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne: "Ząb" przeciw dwu wrogom,* Revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Fronda, 1999), 113–15. The Polish underground had to take steps to eliminate these spies.

[1202] "Krzyż powinien pozostać tam, gdzie jest," *Gazeta* (Ontario edition), August 21–27, 1998.

[1203] Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 232–34, 238.

[1204] Adam Cyra, "Z Bułgarii do KL Auschwitz," polskiejutro.com, no. 290 (November 26, 2007), Internet: <http://www.polskiejutro.com/art.php?p=13095>.

[1205] Breitowicz, *Through Hell to Life,* 26–27.

[1206] Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust,* 43–44.

Jewish informers and Gestapo agents were particularly effective in eliminating fledgling Jewish underground organizations inside the ghettos. Often this was spearheaded by the Jewish Council. Contrary to what is often claimed in Holocaust literature, there is no evidence that a planned revolt failed to materialize in any ghetto because of a lack of Polish aid. In fact, many ghettos that did acquire arms nonetheless did not stage a revolt. Chava Kwinta describes the situation in Sosnowiec:

> Under the leadership of Zvi Dunsky, Lippa Mintz, Heller Schnitzer, and Joseph Kosak, the Sosnowiec [underground] group aimed at a genuine resistance, maintaining communications with Warsaw. They printed circulars … and posted on walls, manifestos against the regime and the Judenrat. They even plotted to kill [its president] Moshe Merin. Merin was busy too. He set up a network of spies, who infiltrated the organization and reported back to him. As soon as he had enough names, he made his move. He rounded up all the resistance people and had them transferred to camps in Germany. Thus our first attempt to organize an uprising locally was shattered in its inception. Now the Jews were too numb to care.[1207]

According to another Jewish source,

> At the end of 1942 a sharp dispute broke out between the "*Judenrat*" and 10 underground activists of "*Hashomer Hatzair*" and their 21 year old leader Cwi Dunski. People in the underground were subject to shadowing by the Jewish police and one of them, Romek Szlezinger, even passed on information to the police about the underground organization. … In January 1943 the Jewish police arrested Dunski and Lipek Minc, who was also from "*Hashomer Hatzair*". They were released after an interrogation of several weeks.
>
> Meryn [Moshe Merin], who saw the existence of the underground as a danger to all the Jews, wanted to return and arrests its members, but they hid out and hence he placed pressure on family members so that they would turn themselves in. … Members of "*Hashomer Hatzair*" decided to smuggle Dunski out of the city and hide him in a nearby village, but a night before he was to leave the Jewish police arrested all the members of "*Hashomer Hatzair*" including Lipek Minc, Ina Gelbard and Fela Katz. Chaim Meryn [Moshe's brother] and Police Commander Goldminc himself, interrogated Chana Wirnik but she did not reveal the hideout. However, the police managed to track down Dunski and brought him to the police headquarters dripping blood and chained up as a criminal. Dunski and Minc were interned in the detention center in the orphanage in Bedzin [Będzin]. Later they were turned over to the Germans, interned in a jail in Myslowice [Mysłowice] and in the spring of 1943 they were sent to Auschwitz and murdered there by hanging. Meryn turned in a further underground group to the Germans that was suspected of communist activities, and 8 of its members were executed in April 1943.[1208]

[1207] Chava Kwinta, *I'm Still Living* (Toronto: Simon & Pierre Publishing Company, 1974), 136.

[1208] "Sosnowiec," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 7, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00327.html>, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 7, 327–38.

As Jewish accounts show, the various phases of the liquidation of the large ghetto in Sosnowiec, which held up to 40,000 Jews, were carried out by the Jewish council and the Jewish police, without any Polish participation. There was no Polish police force in this area (Zagłębie Dąbrowskie), which was incorporated directly into the Reich. According to Konrad Charmatz,

> The Nazis could not have succeeded without the cooperation of some Jews, and some Jews did indeed allow themselves to get drawn into the net. The Nazis established the Judenrat and a Jewish militia, both of which would help them carry out their plans for the liquidation.
>
> First, they demanded that contingents of young people be turned over to them for the slave labor camps. … Later the Nazis ordered the older people to give themselves up, and to bring with them the children and the sick. … Still later, the Nazis liquidated everyone else. Throughout all this, they were aided by the Judenrat and the Jewish militia. …
>
> For the Judenrat Merin [Moishe Merin was the head of the Judenrat in the Zagłębie district in Polish Silesia] chose people who were ready to do whatever he directed. He preferred intelligent people with a good reputation in the community. He also enlisted a number of informers who knew the city well—that is, who knew which people had hidden away money and other valuables. Other informers had connections with various streets and provided him with intelligence about underground movements and various other events. A young man from Bedzin [Będzin], a handsome and popular fellow, had found a good position with Merin: "officer of the women." For the "king of the Jews" he recruited the most beautiful women. … If a husband was in the way, he could be quickly dispatched with the next group to forced labor.
>
> Strange as it sounds, there was a Jewish café in the Sosnowiec ghetto, on Mandzever [Modrzejowska] Street. It belonged to two partners, Yechiel Landau and the wife of the *kommandant* of the Jewish police, Kleiner, who were good friends of Merin. People outside were starving for a crust of bread, yet in the café one could get coffee, tea, and freshly baked bread. This was the meeting place for the ghetto's informers, for its smugglers, for the high functionaries of the Judenrat, for anyone with influence. All kinds of shady deals took place there. Valuables were bought and sold, foreign currencies were exchanged, work cards were traded. The German police rarely appeared there, nor did the SS troops. It was a thieves' den, and anyone who habituated it had to be up to no good. Simply to be sitting there during work hours eating unrationed food was *treif* (nonkosher). Obviously the Judenrat was protecting this café, and this had to with the Gestapo's permission. The system required a meeting place where illegal transactions could be carried out.
>
> By doing everything they demanded, Merin had forged links with the Gestapo, with the leaders of the slave labor camps, and with SS men … From time to time he saved a few Jews by delaying their deportation. For allowing this the SS received large bribes in the form of money and valuables. … The Germans had made a good deal with Merin. Why should they have to do all the work when there were Jews willing to do it for them?
>
> … With the help of the Judenrat and the Jewish militia, the Nazis stole from us everything we possessed. Had the Germans themselves done the thieving, they would not have gotten even half, because Jews would have burnt, buried, or destroyed what they owned to avoid handing it over to the bloody enemy. Merin persuaded the Jews that if they handed over their possessions voluntarily they would not be harmed but would be allowed to live in peace. …

The Judenrat had as many as fifteen hundred people on its payroll. This included a great many guards, as well as spies whose job it was to ensure that no underground revolt broke out. There were also women on the payroll who were simply concubines of Judenrat officials.

… The Judenrat was constantly perfecting its apparatus, always giving the Germans exact information about the Jewish population. In return for this, it received a food ration from the German authorities. … The Jewish militia was well organized and was fully backed by the KRIPO (Kriminal Polizei Amt) and the Gestapo as it carried out their orders conscientiously, so the Judenrat could do with the Jews whatever it wanted. …

There were actually Jewish boys and girls working in the *Dienststelle* [placement office for the selection for forced labour camps]; the Judenrat had supplied them! When the *Dienststelle* gave an order to the Judenrat to supply a few thousand slave laborers, it immediately prepared a list of names and ordered those listed to join the slave labor force. Those who did not present themselves, the Jewish militia sought out and forcefully brought to the transport. No resistance was allowed to take root, no underground organizations were ever allowed to stir people to revolt. The Judenrat left little for the Germans to do. …

The Hebrew high school at Skladowa [Składowa] Street 5 was used as the Dulag (transport assembly point). … For a huge bribe, some were able to rescue themselves. … Here at the high school were also kept all those suspected of underground activities. From there they were sent away with the next transport. …

In March 1942, exactly at Purim, Jews were forced to witness the hanging of Marek Lieberman and Mangel in a garden on Mandzever 32. They had been accused of falsifying documents. On the same spot a few days later, another four Jews were hanged for illegal trading: Nachum Lon and his son, Yehudah Vorman and Feffer. The Judenrat prepared the gallows. …

This same night [May 10, 1942] the Gestapo, aided by the Jewish militia and the Judenrat, led by Merin himself, invaded the heavily populated buildings at Mandzever 32, Dekerta 14, and Targowa 2 and 11, from which they took away all the Jewish residents, men, women, and children. … While I was at work around eleven the next morning, I saw the Jewish militia, accompanied by the Gestapo and police dogs, running through the street. They surrounded the same houses again and dragged out all the people they found … All were packed into wagons and taken to the transport. Approximately 1500 people were sent to Auschwitz that day with the transport. …

In the second half of June 1942, the second large transfer of the Jews from Sosnowiec took place. At night the Gestapo, with the help of the militia, encircled Panska [Pańska] and Ostroguska Streets and dragged out nearly all the inhabitants. In this district there lived mainly poor, hard-working folk who had struggled all their lives. …

That same night, the Jewish hospital was encircled and all the sick were taken away. The sick who could walk tried to flee over the fences. They were caught like mice by the SS and their Jewish helpers. … The sick were thrown onto the platform like sacks, the next atop the last. Those who could not move were tossed onto the train cars like garbage. To our great disgrace, even this work was done by Merin's militia. …

In Landau's café the "prominent" Jews were still sipping their coffee and eating their pastries. … The Judenrat officials and the privileged Jews began behaving as if the end was in sight. They sold everything they had, bought themselves liquor and lost their inhibitions. Morality vanished. They gathered in private homes and staged orgies. The women shed all their shame and began cavorting like prostitutes, surrendering to every man before every other man's eyes. …

> The 12th of August 1942 will go down as the most diabolic of all the days in the destruction of the Jews of Zaglebie. … Merin had decided to hand over all Jews to the Nazi devil for the sake of saving his own life and the lives of all his relatives, and everyone knew it, so no one believed him any more. … So he decided that the Judenrat would organize clarification meetings. … One of the rebbes who was present spoke in support of this, declaring that Merin was "our savior, our leader."
>
> … In Sosnowiec alone around twenty-six thousand Jews assembled voluntarily. Only a very few stayed away. People came in their holiday clothes, as if to a festival. …
>
> Only in the afternoon did SS officers appear, along with leaders of the *Arbeitseinsatz* [forced labor unit], accompanied by leaders of the Judenrat. Tables were set up and document inspection began. The commission that examined the documents divided the Jews into four categories. … All of this lasted until August 18, when approximately eight thousand Jews were loaded onto train cars and carried to the Auschwitz gas chambers. …
>
> In January 1943 the Nazis decreed that all remaining Jews in the ghetto of Sosnowiec must leave the city for a smaller ghetto in the suburb of Szradula [Środula] … The Judenrat and the Jewish militia were also installed in Szradula. The crowding was horrible. … Merin's last act was to collect all the remaining gold and silver from those who still had any. …
>
> Merin and his servants had done all that had been demanded of them. But once they had nothing more to offer, they were useless to the Germans, and potentially disruptive, so they were liquidated. … Then [they] immediately appointed a replacement. …
>
> On August 1, 1943, the last phase of the liquidation of the Zaglebie Jews took place. In the middle of the night the ghettoes [sic] of Sosnowiec and Bedzin were encircled. SS and Gestapo storm troops entered, and they and Ukrainian bands of murderers started shooting left and right. Many Jews had hidden in underground shelters … The Gestapo called forward the new "kings" of the Jews and warned them that any Jews found hiding in bunkers would be shot on the spot. The rest would be transferred, with their belongings, to Birkenau, where they would be able to work unhindered. …[1209]

Abraham K.'s provides information about Merin, and the Jewish ghetto police, that contradicts the notion that these collaborators were merely powerless individuals desperately trying to save their own lives. It also contradicts the notion that Jewish collaborators were not really collaborators in that they obtained no favours from the Germans. Thus, Abraham K. writes,

> I don't know how he [Merin] worked himself up so high. He had influence with the Gestapo and everywhere had his say. He had his own automobile, he had a chauffeur, and he led the life which he certainly could not have afforded before the war. He have good jobs to his best friends. They had pull, and they fared well. …

[1209] Charmatz, *Nightmares*, 18, 22, 26–32, 35–36, 38–39, 41–44, 46, 50–53. According to Konrad Charmatz, Moishe (Manyek) Merin even tried to become the leader of all the Jewish councils in the German Reich and the conquered territories. The Gestapo allowed him to travel to Berlin, Prague, Warsaw, Łódź, Kraków, and other cities, and at each of these cities he urged the Jewish communities to unite under a central committee, under his leadership. Ibid., 20–21. Merin's sexual exploitation of Jewish women and girls is referred to again at p. 76.

> It was the same thing with the Jewish militia. … The Jewish militia did not feel that they were merely functionaries to execute what was demanded of them. They also felt that they were better, more important people.[1210]

All this had practical consequences. A Jew about to be arrested by a German policeman, who usually did not know him, could often hide. But if a Jew was about to be arrested by a Jewish policeman, who usually knew the Jew, any attempt to hide was much more difficult.[1211] Merin was also responsible for ferreting out the Jewish underground in Będzin and delivering its members to the Gestapo in Sosnowiec, who executed them.[1212]

According to Dawid Zycher, "In Sosnowiec it was a widely fact that members of the Jewish ghetto police [Odnungsdienst; OD] were treating the Jewish population very badly; in particular they used to beat Jewish men and rape Jewish women." Zycher recounted a story that two women from Sosnowiec told him about Chaskiel Szpigelman: "They were saying that they gave Szpigelman dollars, gold, and themselves, and he in return was going to try to send them to Hungary." In Fela Zycher's opinion it was her refusal "to give herself" to Szpigelman that made him select her child for the death camp."[1213]

Another Jew from Sosnowiec describes the participation of Jewish policemen in pursuing Jews who tried to escape:

> SS-men, Gestapo, and the few remaining Jewish orderlies combed the Gentile neighborhoods to hunt down Jewish runaways. I was eventually arrested. … A Jewish militiaman from Sosnowiec recognized me, grabbed me by my hair and pulled it, and cursed at me in Polish and German. I insisted that I was not Jewish. The chief of the militia, Mr. Langer, a big and fat man, had me taken to the Jewish police station inside of what was left of the Środula ghetto. I kept protesting, 'You made a mistake! I am not Jewish!' But Mr. Langer … was unimpressed. He and his companions forced me on a table, held my arms and legs, and pulled down my pants. They laughed and spit on my privacy, hollering: 'Hey, you are not Jewish? Who chopped off your wee-wee?' They saw that I was circumcised and ridiculed me in foul language. Then Mr. Langer became serious and slapped my face with his large, powerful hands. 'Either you agree to go on a transport to a labor camp,' he shouted, 'or I will turn you over to the Gestapo.' I continued to claim that I was not Jewish. … He walked over to me and looked at me without uttering a word, when suddenly I felt a punch in my stomach that knocked me down. The few men from the Jewish militia were ordered to do some of the dirty work for the Gestapo. The ghetto was already liquidated, but they were still flushing out Jews hidden in bunkers. … they also found Jews in other hiding places.[1214]

[1210] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 29.

[1211] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 29.

[1212] Testimony of Samuel Waldman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3479.

[1213] Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 260–61.

[1214] Edward Gastfriend, *My Father's Testament: Memoir of a Jewish Teenager, 1938–1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 87–88.

The situation was much the same in other towns. In Częstochowa,

> Shortly before the resettlement of the ghetto, the [Jewish] police numbered 250. … The police … received a monthly salary and consisted of unscrupulous people. Many of the received favored treatment from the German authorities. This favored treatment by the German authorities was reserved for "suppliers of information," that is, informers and denouncers and they, above all, pursued material interests.
>
> The police were a plague for the Jewish population. It is clear that there were no willing volunteers to go for unpaid forced labor. There were also no volunteers who would allow themselves to be sent away to the camps to be overworked, tortured, beaten, and to bear various afflictions or willing volunteers to pay various bribes. There were also no volunteers for donating their merchandise to the Nazis. This the police carried out with coercion, through house searches, both by day and night, arresting, beating with rubber sticks, and through other irksome actions.
>
> The attitude toward the police was bitter, full of hatred and rage. …
>
> The forced laborers belonged to the poor strata of Czestochowa Jews. The well-to-do Jews ransomed themselves with money, and the poor, not having with what to live, suffering from hunger and want, had, in addition, to toil at forced labor, be vexed, terrorized, tormented and beaten by masters, foremen, and *kapos* [short for *kameradenpolizei,* Jewish prisoners who served as overseers].[1215]
>
> The Workers' Council afterwards became an elected administrative body selected by the over five thousand slave laborers. …
>
> The Workers' Council led a constant battle against the *Judenrat* for bettering the economic conditions of the slave laborers. The battle consisted of hunger strikes and mass demonstrations in the offices of the *Judenrat.*
>
> Many times were the leaders of the Workers' Council arrested and put into the ghetto prison (9 Avenue) by the Jewish police on the orders of the members of the *Judenrat.*[1216]
>
> At the same time, when there was need and want in the ghetto, a restaurant was organized in the first house near the ghetto border by several tradesmen and gastronomic workers where one could obtain fine, delicious foods, almost as in pre-war times. It was not understood how the owners were able to make such good foods from products that could not be obtained anywhere. The prices were higher and the premises were visited by those Jews who were able to indulge in paying out a large amount of money. Poles, who wished to meet their Jewish acquaintances in order to carry out various business, also began to come in. The Jewish police would enjoy themselves in the nearby little rooms of the premises, but always after eight o'clock in the evening when all of the Jews had to be at home and only they alone had permission to be in the street. There were also other Jews who had night passes—

[1215] Binyamin Orenstayn (Orenstein), "Czestochowa Jews in the Nazi Era (1939–1945)," *Czentochov: A New Supplement to the Book "Czenstochover Yidn",* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa/Czestochowa.html>, translation of S.D. Singer, ed., *Tshenstokhover: Naye tsugob-material tsum bukh "Tshenstokhover Yidn"* (New York: United Relief Committee in New York, 1958), 39ff.

[1216] Tzvi Rozenvayn, "Concerning the Workers' Council in Czestochowa," *Czentochov: A New Supplement to the Book "Czenstochover Yidn",* Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa/Czestochowa.html>, translation of S.D. Singer, ed., *Tshenstokhover: Naye tsugob-material tsum bukh "Tshenstokhover Yidn"* (New York: United Relief Committee in New York, 1958), 49ff.

members of the *Judenrat*, several higher officials of the *Judenrat* and other Jewish young people with privileges that no one knew how they had been acquired. All of these people would pay large sums in the new restaurant and the owners had a good business.

In time the premises also became known on the "Aryan" side; one received such meals at the ghetto restaurant that were not even available on the "Aryan" side. Polish guests, therefore, also began to come. They sneaked in at night through a back door and ate there and got drunk as in former times.

A new coffee house quickly opened opposite the restaurant where one could receive the best baked goods and the best cakes with good coffee. These premises were very well visited and in time developed regular guests. The gendarmes would come into these Jewish premises from time to time and carried out to their autos roasted geese and hens, other foods and alcohol and wine. The owners were cursed and beaten. The Germans could not understand where the Jews were getting all of the good things. They arrested one of the owners and put him in jail. His partner and good friend succeeded in arranging for his freedom after a few weeks. The restaurant continued to exist after the arrest. The police would also seize Jews for work in these premises. However, this did not scare people and immediately after the people were taken away to work, other guests would arrive at the premises. …

The ghetto oozed a scum of Jewish swindlers and "fixers" who for money would agree to take care of various matters with the regime. They would promise to extract those arrested by the Gestapo and meanwhile drew large sums, ostensibly needed to be used in order to carry out the release. After receiving the money, the "fixer" found a means to extricate himself and he kept the money.

A strange young man named Besser appeared among us. He and his wife opened a small restaurant where this sinister business was carried out.

This is how it would be done:

When a Jew who still had some possessions was arrested, a person would appear who would contact the family or wife of the arrestee and in a conversation would "accidentally" mention that there is an honest man named Besser who had already extricated people from the Gestapo and only he could help. Those closest to the arrestee knew that if he were not freed immediately on the first day after the arrest, he would be sent away to Auschwitz, from which there was no return. The unfortunate, therefore, grasped at every hope and thus fell into the hands of the swindler.

Another swindler was active here—one named Szeftel—incidentally, a Czenstochower resident. He was an informer even during the First World War. It was said that he legitimized himself with the Hitlerists with those papers, but this time his activities took on a wider scope. Now he made denunciations in order to then be able to "make things good." In this way, he had twice as good a business with each "transaction."

Jews were not permitted to possess gold, foreign currency and various goods. The main foreign currency office in Krakow [Kraków] organized a control brigade that made lightning visits to the cities where they expected to find something and it controlled the local foreign currency offices at the same time. Szeftel, the informer, had his German acquaintances on this commission and he told them where to storm in for a search.

The searches made on Szeftel's instructions were so thorough that the searchers did not leave the invaded residence until they had found something. The residence was simply turned over: floors were ripped up, the ovens were taken apart, every corner was ransacked dozens of times until something was found. If Szeftel had indicated something—it must be found! The owner of the residence was

arrested and tortured for so long that he revealed the names of his partners, who were also arrested. Such a bit of work was recognized as Szeftel's and, therefore, only he could "make it good."

The wives and relatives of the arrestees would then run to Szeftel, who was immediately ready to do a favor for the unfortunate people. He would assure them that if he himself could not take care of the matter, he would send his son and if his son also could not help, he would send his daughter. Szeftel's "making it good" would usually end in this way: several people would be freed for the substantial sum that he extracted from the unfortunate ones and the others were deported. Szeftel explained that this could not be otherwise because if the commission members carried out a search, they then had to show that they had found guilty ones.

There was a series of other swindlers who operated as criminals among us in the bitter, dark days. This lasted until one day the Gestapo attacked the swindlers, took a great deal of money, gold and things of value from them. Then they were arrested and sent to Auschwitz. It later became known that the Germans eliminated them because they knew too many secrets and became inconvenient for the Gestapo.[1217]

Two police precincts were opened. One on the First Avenue under the leadership of Commandant Galster, himself, and the second on Kasze Street under the leadership of Itshe Landau. The police stood at all exits of the ghetto boundaries during the hours when Jews had the right to be on the ghetto streets, and controlled whether the passes were in order. They also paid attention so that, God forbid, Jews did not carry on any trade in the street. They took their office very seriously and chased after the poor traders, even beating them with their rubber sticks. Only a small number of the policemen behaved fairly and with compassion toward the harassed people.

The Jewish labor office often sent lists with the names of those who had not appeared for forced labor. The Jewish police would attack the people at night, taking them out of their beds and placing them in the cellar of their precinct. In the morning, these people were taken to the worst labor.

The German firm *Waserwirtschaft* [Water Industry] ordered the labor office to recruit Jewish workers for it in the shtetl "Nidel," Radomsko district. The firm needed many workers, but no one wanted to go because the conditions were unbearable; it was necessary to stand and work in water. The food was bad and there was no place to sleep. Anyone who could brought all means to bear not to go there. The labor office demanded that many young men submit for the work and when the time for leaving came, it was seen that many had not appeared. Therefore, when it was decided to send a group, the Jewish police would catch young people in the street a few days earlier and arrest them. The rich would make a payment to the *Judenrat*, which always needed money, and only the poor were sent away to work.

The labor office would often receive a command from the German firms or from the regime to provide workers. Then the Jewish police would go out on a hunt, closing off streets, closing gates and they would gather the required number of people, using their rubber sticks, and deliver them to the German work places.

The *Judenrat* would use the Jewish police to collect taxes from those who did not pay promptly, or against those who could not afford to pay the *Judenrat* but who the *Judenrat* did not want to count as poor and thus free from taxes. And the Jewish police would attack these people at night, take them out of their beds and bring them to the police cellars. There they would sit until their families brought the demanded sums to the *Judenrat*. If there were "obstinate" people who still did not take care of the tax

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[1217] Waga, *The Destruction of Czenstokov*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa2/Czestochowa2.html>, translation of *Hurbn Tshenstokhov,* 129–32.

accounts, they would be "made softer" through blows. If this also did not help, our *Judenrat* was not ashamed of placing these people in the hands of the German police, who coped with the "obstinate."

The Gestapo also used the Jewish police to find people whom they wished to have in their hands. They would turn to the Jewish police with an ultimatum that they deliver the persons sought and the Jewish police used every means to carry out the Gestapo order.[1218]

Other Jewish policemen in the ghetto also came to the craftsmen's house and bought food products and then sold them in the ghetto for a higher price. …

The chief also had several people in the Jewish police to whom he gave the same task. The policemen visited the Jewish houses in the ghetto, even the poorest and took what they had from each one. They gave receipts for the things taken with assurances that the people would be taken to the shop. The chief would drive up with his automobile to the ghetto houses and take the gathered gold and objects.

The Gestapo, hearing that Jews were giving money and things of value, also began carrying out the same pursuit. They also found someone in the Jewish police who carried on the "business."

Later, more Jewish policemen took to the same "business" and joined with the gendarmes, with whom they carried out the pursuit in partnership. The Jewish policemen carried out transactions with the Jews and the gendarmes brought the people into the shop. …

The relatives of these hidden people, who were in farther ghetto streets from which the Jews had not yet been driven out, were afraid that the people in the holes would die of hunger because they already knew that the *aktsia* would last a long time. Therefore, they told the Jewish policemen about the secret places and who was there. For large sums of money the policemen helped move the Jews from the bunkers to a house where Jews were located who had not yet been affected by the *aktsia*. The policemen left for the bunkers with their gendarme acquaintances and called into the holes: "Jews, we have come to save you!" They alluded to their relatives, who had sent them here and the hopeless people emerged one by one from their pits and holes. They shook from fear, looking terrible, unwashed, unshaven, hungry; they could barely stand on their feet. They were led to the farther ghetto street by the gendarmes. …

Chief Degenhardt learned that Jews were hiding in bunkers, in attics and cellars and he declared an "amnesty" for all who would come out of their hiding places by themselves by a certain deadline and they would be able to return to their houses.

Jewish policemen accompanied by gendarmes and Ukrainians went into all of the courtyards and shouted: "Jews, We have come to save you from death! Come out from your holes and nothing will happen!"

Many emerged from their hiding places. They were in terrible condition. Starving, faint and neglected. They had surrendered everything that they had of value. Then they were allowed into their houses, which had not yet gone through the *aktsias*.

However, there were also others who had good bunkers and food that would suffice for several weeks. These did not listen to the beautiful words of the Jewish policemen and remained in the hiding places.

[1218] Shlomo Waga, ed., *The Destruction of Czenstokov*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa2/Czestochowa2.html>, translation of *Hurbn Tshenstokhov* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine, 1949), 117–18.

> When the period of the "amnesty" passed, the gendarmes began to energetically search for those hiding. The Jewish policemen, who had their gendarme acquaintances with whom they would carry out various businesses in partnership, went through the courtyards with the gendarmes and searched for the bunkers of Jews. They shouted in Yiddish that if those hidden would emerge by themselves, they would still be saved. They shouted into cellars and up to attics, until they reached people who were already tired of lying in the hiding places and they came out. When the people were outside, they were first asked to surrender everything they possessed. The Jewish policemen were apparently comforting. They would try to persuade the gendarmes to spare their lives, if they surrendered everything. When they had everything of the victims, the gendarmes shot them on the spot. The Jewish policemen would receive a certain percent of the stolen items.[1219]

As elsewhere, the Germans had a retinue of Jewish helpers (mostly policemen) in Częstochowa who searched for bunkers where Jews hid and dragged out adults and children, and who misappropriated Jewish property.[1220] When members of the underground Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa—ŻOB*) began to gather arms, they were betrayed by a Jewish policeman, who furnished the Germans with a list of plotters and the location of their bunkers. In June 1943, Dr. Adam Wolberg, the leader of the resistance group "Fighting Group 66" (based on 66 Nadrzeczna Street) was denounced to the Gestapo and killed. A young Jew caught with underground documents outside the ghetto also betrayed members of the underground.[1221] During the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish informer fingered 35 people in a line-up, who were taken away and promptly shot.[1222] The Częstochowa ghetto had a thriving underworld and there was no shortage of luxuries for the well-to-do. These ghetto leeches led their high life at the expense of fellow Jews. The ghetto was plagued by crime: theft, burglary, seizure of other people's property, brawls, assaults. Jewish "informers and secret agents all waited for opportunities … either for bribery or seizing the [illegally traded] goods."[1223] Jews were employed by Germans to stand in the railroad station and spot Jews who wanted to escape from Częstochowa so the Germans could arrest them.[1224]

[1219] Shlomo Waga, ed., *The Destruction of Czenstokov*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Czestochowa2/Czestochowa2.html>, translation of *Hurbn Tshenstokhov* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine, 1949), 156–57, 160–61, 167.

[1220] Testimony of Hanka Rychter, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3494.

[1221] Account of Herta Lustiger in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 181, 185, 187; Aktion Reinhard Camps, Czestochowa Ghetto, Internet: <http://www.deathcamps.org/czestochowa%20ghetto.html>. According to Henryk Szaniawski, the Jewish policeman who betrayed the hideout of the ŻOB underground command was pushed in front of the Germans when they surrounded the bunker and was killed by shots fired by the Jewish fighters. See Diatłowicki and Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 2, 257.

[1222] Testimony of Harry Jubas, September 4, 2008, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=595>.

[1223] William Glicksman, "Daily Record Sheet of the Jewish Police (District I) in the Czestochowa Ghetto 1941–1942," *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance,* vol. 6 (1967): 331–57, at 348–49.

[1224] Jerzy Mizgalski and Jerzy Sielski, eds., *The Jews of Częstochowa: The Fate of Częstochowa Jews, 1945–2009* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2012), 35.

The Jewish underground in Kraków established contact with the Polish underground and was thus able to procure weapons, yet there too the possibility of revolt was thwarted. Shlomo Schein explains the obstacle they faced:

> Our boys were falling into the hands of the Gestapo one by one … The Jewish policemen sniffed after us, fearing that they would be blamed for aiding the fighters … and also in order to buy themselves time before they themselves would be annihilated. One day, one of our boys was arrested. The Gestapo arrested his father as well, and by threats and promises to free his father got his cooperation. Several friends were arrested following his revelation, myself among them.[1225]

When a group of five members of an underground organization that included two Poles attempted to get out of the city to the forest, they were apprehended and killed except for Mietek Bierger, who was taken by the Gestapo. Under torture, he revealed secrets of the organization including the hiding place of Hershek Bauminger. Following these disclosures, the weapon caches on Bonarka Street (in Podgórze) and Słowacki Avenue were found and captured, and the underground printing press was seized.[1226]

According to historian Eliyahu Yones, one of the critical reasons for the "scanty" Jewish underground organization Lwów was that

> The Jewish "order police" in Lvov [Lwów] collaborated with the Germans, thwarting any possibility of illegal organization and uprising in the ghetto. "Any action would have required total secrecy. The ghetto swarmed with informers and Gestapo agents who believed they could save their lives by denouncing their brethren," an eyewitness wrote. Furthermore, one of the Jewish police units (the *Sonderdienst*) was specifically tasked with dealing with "political" problems, including manhunts for members of leftist circles and Soviet sympathizers. Any attempt to organize resistance actions or flight to the forest was, as stated, perceived as an expression of pro-Soviet sympathies, and the policemen conscientiously reported suspects to the Gestapo.[1227]

Before any uprising could take place in the ghetto the most important task for the Jewish underground was to eliminate particularly corrupt policemen and Jews who acted as agents and informers for the Gestapo. This was accomplished effectively in the case of Białystok,[1228] where there was a group of Gestapo agents headed by Grysza Zelikowicz. Among the collaborators eliminated were the Judkowski

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[1225] Oral history interview with Shlomo Schein, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., Accession no. 1994.A.0051.6, RG-50,308.0006.

[1226] Arieh L. Bauminger, *The Fighters of the Cracow Ghetto* (Jerusalem: Keter Press, 1986), 85–87.

[1227] Yones, *Smoke in the Sand,* 216.

[1228] "Bialystok," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), column 809; account of Kalman Barakin in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 392.

brothers, Ćwiklicz, Zbar, Fenigstein, and many others.[1229] Judkowski was a notorious collaborator who was responsible for the deaths of many Jews and at least one Pole, a chauffeur who took part in smuggling in and out of the Białystok ghetto.[1230]

> The negative perception of the Jewish police was due not only to its behavior [in rounding up 5,000 unskilled, poor and sick Jews in the Białystok ghetto in September 1941] during the Pruzhany [Prużana] deportation but also to corruption. Policemen in the Gestapo's pay instilled fear in the hearts of the ghetto residents and Judenrat as well. Only after the purging of the police force on June 16 and 17, 1942, during which time more than twenty corrupt policemen were sent to labor camps, did [Judenrat acting Chairman Ephraim] Barash [who oversaw the deportations to Prużana] confess at the Judenrat session of June 20, 1942, that criminal gangs operating under police protection had almost undermined the Judenrat and jeopardized its existence.
>
> In the same session, Barash reported on the activities of Grisha Zelikowicz, [police force chief superintendent Yitzhak] Marcus's right-hand man and the most notorious Gestapo agent, who had a network of men working for him and supporters inside the Judenrat itself. … Barash said of Zelikowicz and his men that they "sent some policemen to the house of a Jew. The policemen stayed there for three days and three nights, until they extorted from him the sum of 10,000 Marks. … Zelikowicz's gang also stripped Dr. Szacki and his wife of all their valuables and silver, claiming they were ordered to do so by the authorities, but taking everything for themselves."
>
> In her book, Haika Grosman revealed facts about Zelikowicz that were not public knowledge:
>
>> When a Jew dealt in smuggling cattle Zelikovich [sic] would inform on him, and then ransom him for money which he shared with his German confederates. He occupied himself with extortion and his house was filed with valuable objects. … He worked against Barash, spied on him and frustrated many of his plans. When Barash bribed a German of one of the institutions Zelikovich would inform another institution about it. He stirred up trouble and served everybody in turn. … When "illegal refugees" who, according to German plans, had been supposed to die like their brothers in Vilna [Wilno] or Slonim [Słonim] or Volkovysk [Wołkowysk] arrived, Zelikovich considered it his duty to betray them to the authorities.
>
> Klementinowsky related how everyone in the ghetto—particularly smugglers and black-marketeers—were petrified of Zelikowicz and his gang: "When he [Zelikowicz] discovered that someone was doing business in the ghetto, he or one of his accessories came and demanded protection money. If anyone refused his demand, he had no compunction about denouncing him to the Gestapo. He also extorted money and jewels, by threatening to inform the authorities that his victims were Communist activists." …

[1229] Memoirs of Marian Buch "Marek" in Adam Dobroński, ed., *Białostoccy Żydzi,* vol. 1 (Białystok: Instytut Historii Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1993), 71; S.S. Berkner, "Notatki więźnia getta", Part One in Adam Dobroński and Waldemar Monkiewicz, eds., in *Białostoccy Żydzi,* vol. 2 (Białystok: Instytut Historii Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1997), 44, 50. The latter volume contains information about various forms of assistance provided by the Polish Home Army to the ghetto underground movement in Białystok. See Waldemar Monkiewicz, "Za cenę życia: O ratowaniu Żydów w Białostockiem w okresie okupacji niemieckiej," in *Białostoccy Żydzi,* vol. 2 (1997), 152–54. For more information about Jewish collaborators (such as Nissel) in Białystok see Gustaw Kerszman, *Jak zginąć, to razem* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2003), 39, 60–61.

[1230] Testimony of Helena Najmark, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1830.

> The Zelikowicz affair was not the first of its kind: Pfenigstein, a police superintendent, was discovered to be extorting money from the ghetto Jews and collaborating with the Gestapo. In the end, his German bosses discovered that Pfenigstein was deceiving them, too, and he was arrested and executed in one of the Gestapo's cellars. …
>
> Barash felt it was safest to hand over Zelikowicz to the authorities, and let them deal with him, to avoid complications. Zelikowicz was duly arrested with the help of Yitzhak Engelman, Barash's assistant. A thorough search of Zelikowicz's house revealed large sums of foreign currency, gold, diamonds, twenty women's fur coats, suits, expensive fabrics, hides, and many other valuables. The loot was loaded on a large truck and handed over to the Germans. Zelikowicz himself was marched with his hands raised through the streets of the ghetto to Gestapo headquarters, where he was tortured. In the end, he died in the local prison. … Zelikowicz's wife, too, was arrested, after forged papers were discovered indicating that Zelikowicz had intended to escape with his family to Switzerland. On the same day—June 21, 1942—after the assembly, Barash called a meeting of the Jewish police in the Linat Hazedek hall, to discuss the purge …[1231]

For the most part, planned revolts did not materialize in the ghettos because of internal rather than external factors. A revolt in the Złoczów ghetto was stifled from within, even though arms had been procured with the assistance of Poles: "In spite of the secrecy and precaution, there had been somebody spying on the planners who betrayed the five leaders on the eve of the enterprise. The informer was a boy from Lwow [Lwów] … The five leaders were arrested."[1232] A similar situation transpired in Mir where a planned escape of Jews to the forest was foiled

> by a Jew from the Mir *zamek* [castle] ghetto named Stanislawski. … If [Oswald] Rufeisen had not been betrayed [by him] … Our ambush would have been a unique event … Perhaps the life of the Mir ghetto itself could have been prolonged by wiping out the gendarmerie stationed in the town. But instead, the traitor Stanislawski brought ruin upon himself and the entire ghetto.[1233]

> A Jew named Stanislavski [Stanisławski] worked with horses at the gendarmerie. The chief promised to let him live and give him special privileges if he informed him from where the Jews had gotten the guns, and who told them about the planned roundup. Stanislavski, believing he could save himself through this betrayal, agreed to the *Kommandant's* conditions. He told him he heard say "Oswald" [Rufeisen] had given the guns to the Jews and had planned their dispersal with them.[1234]

[1231] Bender, *The Jews of Białystok During World War II and the Holocaust,* 134–36.

[1232] I. M. Lask, ed., *The City of Zloczow* (Tel Aviv: Zloczower Relief Verband of America, 1967), column 133.

[1233] Jack Sutin and Rochelle Sutin, *Jack and Rochelle: A Holocaust Story of Love and Resistance* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 1995), 59–60. See also the testimony of Oswald Rufeisen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3726.

[1234] Account of B.A. in Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 295; and the account of Szloma Charchas (Szlomo Charches) in Ajzensztajn, *Euch podziemny w ghettach i obozach,* 116, and in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 514.

The Germans became aware of the existence of an underground in the ghetto in Baranowicze and "were employing Jewish spies to acquire information about it." The planned revolt in the ghetto was foiled even though a huge amount of weapons was amassed.[1235] In many cases, as in Krasne, near Mołodeczno, it was the Jewish Council who dispatched the Jewish police to investigate and break up an underground organization that smuggled men and arms to the forest.[1236] In Kurzeniec, the Judenrat warned the parents of underground members who were collecting weapons of the threat these activities posed to all of the town's Jews. "When we heard about it," one Jew recalled, "we stormed into the meeting with two drawn guns. We threatened to kill whoever threaten [sic] our families."[1237] A similar situation existed in Iwie (Iwje) where the Judenrat warned the brother of an underground member who started to procure arms that this "activity was liable to bring about the handing over [of] my family to the gendarme."[1238] Boris Rubizhewski used to steal into the ghetto in Dworzec and urge the youth to escape and joing his fighting group: "The last time he was apprehended by the Jewish Ghetto Police and beaten for going back and forth; they thought this wold bring the ghetto's downfall if th Germans found out. These Jewish police even threatened to hang him in a cellar…"[1239] When a Jewish partisan, Abraham Zaretski, sneaked into the ghetto in Stołpce with the aim of leading out a group of Jews to join a partisan detachment in the forest, he was betrayed to the Germans by the head of the Jewish council and killed by them, as the chairman feared the consequences of such an escape for those Jews who remained.[1240]

In Głębokie, after some Jews managed to procure weapons from Poles outside the ghetto,

> In the Jewish police it was decided to quietly confiscate the weapons and to, somehow, get rid of us … Once, while my brother was sleeping, two Jewish policemen came, took him to the Judenrat cellar, beat him and demanded he give the weapons. … I was called to present myself. I let it be known that I would not come and that if, indeed, they tried to arrest me, I have in my possession a hand grenade … The Judenrat men were scared the Germans would find out about the weapons and backed off. So, except for the Germans, the Judenrat and the Jewish police also became our enemies. They interfered and threatened at any attempt to revolt or escape from the ghetto.[1241]

[1235] Yehuda Bauer, "Jewish Baranowicze in the Holocaust," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 31 (2003): 136.

[1236] Isaac Kowalski, comp. and ed., *Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance, 1939–1945,* vol. 4 (Brooklyn, New York: Jewish Combatants Publishing House, 1991), 473.

[1237] See the account of Zalman Uri Gurevitz in Meyerowitz, ed., *The Scroll of Kurzeniac,* Internet: <www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kurenets/kurenets.html>, translation of *Megilat Kurenits: Ayara be-hayeha u-ve-mota* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kurzeniec in Israel and the U.S.A., 1956).

[1238] See the account of Meyshe Kaganovitsh in *In Memory of the Jewish Community of Ivye,* Internet: <www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/ivye/>, translation of M. [Moshe] Kaganovich, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Ivye* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Ivie in Israel and United Ivier Relief in America, 1968).

[1239] Sulia Wolozhinski Rubin, *Against the Tide: The Story of an Unknown Partisan* (Jerusalem: Posner & Sons, 1980), 124.

[1240] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. 2, Part B, 1288.

[1241] Dov Katzovitch, "With the Partisans and in the Red Army," in David Shtokfish, ed., *Book in Memory of Dokshitz-Parafianow* (Israel: Organization of Dokshitz-Parafianow Veterans in Israel and the Diaspora, 1990), Chapter 4.

Of the Jews who had escaped to the forests from the ghetto in Głębokie we learn: "When the deceitful call came from the Judenrat, that the remnant of survivors come to the Gluboke Ghetto, most of the Jews obeyed."[1242]

In Grodno, when a small group of refugees from a nearby town (where the ghetto had already been liquidated) detected signs of an eventual massacre of the ghetto population, they were accused of spreading rumours to create panic and of being Communists, who deserved to be punished by the Germans. They were ordered by the Judenrat to be silent or face being turned over to the Germans.[1243] Jewish partisans conducted a trial of a Jewish informer, a certain Motl Sh. from Mishnitz, who used to inform the Gestapo about everything that was going on in the ghettos in Łomża and Zambrów. Motl was sentenced to death by the partisan tribunal and executed.[1244] In Kopyczyńce, near Tarnopol, a Jew informed the authorities about the contacts Mrs. Katz, the wife of a local lawyer, had with an underground organization. The entire Katz family was tortured and murdered by the Gestapo.[1245] Jewish agents and informers of the Gestapo also presented a danger in Radzyń Podlaski,[1246] and virtually every other ghetto.

Warsaw was infested with Jews in the service of the Gestapo and German Criminal Police. Some of their exploits are detailed by Jonas Turkow (Turkov), who refers to this as one of the most "shameful" episodes of the history of the Warsaw ghetto.[1247] Collaborators of various ilk were plentiful both inside and outside the ghetto, though their precise number is difficult, if not impossible, to specify. Emanuel Ringelblum, in his chronicle entry for May 18, 1942, speaks of an estimated 400 Gestapo informers in the Warsaw ghetto alone. Some estimates run as high as 800.[1248] One source places the number of Jewish Gestapo agents at more than one thousand.[1249] At one point, the *Delegatura,* the Delegate's Office of the Polish government-in-exile, compiled an incomplete list of 1,378 Jewish Gestapo collaborators.[1250] An archival source indicates that the Sonderkommando AS, which worked closely with the German Abwehr (intelligence

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[1242] Rajak, *Memorial Book of Gluboke,* iii.

[1243] Kahn, *No Time To Mourn,* 94–95.

[1244] Yitzhak Stupnik, "We Organize a Partisan Group," in Yom-Tov Lewinsky, ed., *Sefer Zambrow (Zambrove) [The Book of Zambrov: Memories of Our Town Which Had Been Annihilated by the Nazis and Does Not Exist Any More]* (Tel Aviv: The Zambrover Societies in U.S.A., Argentine and Israel, 1963), 27 (English section), 183 ff, and in Yom-Tov Levinsky, ed., *The Zambrow Memorial Book: In Memory of a Martyred Community That Was Exterminated* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2010), Internet: <http://www.museumoffamilyhistory.com/z/zyb-01.htm>.

[1245] Account of Isydor Diener in Szewczyński, *Nasze Kopyczyńce*, 125–26.

[1246] Schupack, *The Dead Years,* 44, 71 See also Ziegelman, ed., *Sefer Radzin,* 227ff.: "One of the actions carried out by the Germans were house to house searches. Two or three Gestapo members were enough to turn the house upside down. It must be admitted that in most cases they knew where to search as the result of information garnered from informers."

[1247] Ionas Turkov, *C'était ainsi: 1939–1943 la vie dans le ghetto de Varsovie* (Paris: Austral, 1995), 131–49.

[1248] Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego,* 375. Ringelblum goes on to describe the shameful activities of many of these collaborators.

[1249] Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 231.

[1250] Ibid., 241 n.12.

service), employed some 820 Jewish agents in the Generalgouvernement.[1251] The honorary counsel of Chile in Warsaw, Samson Mikiciński, turned out to be working secretly for German intelligence, informing them of the activities of the Polish underground and its contacts abroad. (He was eventually lured to Palestine, interrogated and executed by the Polish underground in January 1941.)[1252] The *szmalcownik* Jefim Pironer was also believed to have ties to German intelligence.[1253] Jewish Gestapo agents even organized a birthday celebration in honour of Hitler at a restaurant on Leszno Street in February 1941. The chief of the German police was reportedly invited to this festivity, but declined to attend.[1254]

A survivor from the Warsaw ghetto recorded the following occurrences, including the so-called "night courts" in the spring of 1942, when the Gestapo targeted those suspected of smuggling and being underground activists, based on lists prepared with the assistance of Jewish informers.[1255]

> Two SS men entered the building and broke into the apartment of our neighbors, the Orensteins… It seemed that a Jewish collaborator had reported to the Gestapo that her husband still had in his apartment some leather from his store. … one of the SS men shot Mr. Orenstein and [his 8-year-old] child from the balcony. …
>
> That night, for the first time, the German 'death car' had made the rounds of the ghetto streets. The 'death car' was a shiny black limousine with a skull and crossbones painted on the door. … The Gestapo had compiled a list of names and addresses of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto [obviously with the help of Jewish informers] who had been wealthy or socially prominent before the war.
>
> Between four and five o'clock each morning, the 'death car' would pull up at addresses chosen at random from this Gestapo list. The heads of the wanted families would be pulled from their beds and, still in their night clothes, would be dragged out into the street. There in front of their apartment buildings, they would be shot in the back of the head at such close range that they were mutilated beyond recognition.
>
> …a Jewish informer who was known in the ghetto as Yossele Kapote [Erlich]. … Yossele was a big shot, proudly sporting an official-looking cap adorned with four stars. …everyone knew that Yossele Kapote had become very popular with the Gestapo. … Yossele lived on our street with a Jewish prostitute whom he had taken as his mistress. He had made a good living as a Gestapo stool pigeon, but at the same time, rumor had it, he could be persuaded to use his privileged status to help get Jews out of trouble—provided it brought him enough cash.
>
> … Yossele was not in, but his girl friend was there, lunching on such delicacies as scrambled eggs, sardines, chocolate milk and cake. While decent, innocent people round about her were starving to death, this scum, this traitor to her own people, was living off the fat of the land.[1256]

[1251] Żebrowski, *Paszkwil Wyborczej (Michnik i Cichy o Powstaniu Warszawskim),* 94–95.

[1252] Piotr Matusak, *Wywiad Związku Walki Zbrojnej–Armii Krajowej 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza and Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2002), 643, 667.

[1253] Jacek Wilamowski, *Pętla zdrady: Konspiracja–wróg–polityka. Za kulisami Polski Podziemnej 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Agencja Wydanicza CB Andrzej Zasieczny 2003), 102.

[1254] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 82–83.

[1255] Ernest, *O wojnie wielkich Niemiec z Żydami Warszawy 1939–1943,* 93, 138–41.

[1256] Adam Starkopf, *There Is Always Time To Die* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), 88–89, 92, 93–94.

There are numerous accounts of Jews acting as agents and informers for the Gestapo and German police outside the ghetto. They relentlessly tracked down and betrayed countless Jews in hiding. They also lured Jews out of their hiding places on false promises of escape. In July 1942, wealthy Jews in Warsaw were promised safety in Lublin, where an *Aktion* had just taken place. A Jew who claimed to have connections with the Gestapo, charged exorbitant sums of money (60,000 złoty from one group) to take some 50 Jews to Lublin. Upon arriving in Lublin, the Jews were stripped of the valuables and belongings and sent to camps.[1257] In the so-called Hotel Polski affair the following year, some 2,500 to 3,000 well-to-do Jews on the "Aryan" side in Warsaw were lured out of hiding by Jewish Gestapo agents, among them Adam Żurawin and Leon (Lolek) Skosowski, on false promises of passage out of Nazi Europe on foreign passports. Although the Polish underground tried to warn Jews that it was a trap, the desperate Jews could not be persuaded and paid very dearly for their hope to be delivered from the Nazis (some families paid as much as 750,000 złoty, which was more than $2 million US).[1258] Jewish Gestapo agents were also involved in other schemes to extract money from fellow Jews and spread false hopes, as the following report (from November 1943) of the Bund's Central Committee in Warsaw describes:

> Unfortunately, the power of illusion has continued to hold sway over the Jews even after the mass tragedies of the Jews themselves. A glaring example is the question of the camps for foreign Jews in Vitelle [Vittel], or in Hannover. Many of the letters sent by the Paraguayan consulate in Switzerland to Jews living in the ghettos in Poland under German occupation, letters containing the promise of granting them Paraguayan citizenship, did not reach the addresses because they had been executed during the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto. These letters have thus entered the black market, the matter being in the hands of those wicked people among the Jews who work for the Gestapo, who demand and obtain vast sums for the letters. In certain incorrigible Jewish circles these letters were treated as a way to liberation, as a means of rescue from mortal danger, and as a writ of safe conduct. … The psychosis spreading among the despairing and doomed Jews was deliberately fostered by the Jewish informers of the Gestapo.[1259]

[1257] Testimony of Fruma Bregman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1984, pages 1–2, noted in Czajka, et al., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue,* vol. 2, 370.

[1258] Abraham Shulman, *The Case of Hotel Polski: An Account of One of the Most Enigmatic Episodes of World War II* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1982), passim; Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 441–45; Paulsson, *Secret City,* 138–40; Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych,* 23, 26–27; Agnieszka Haska, *"Jestem Żydem, chcę wejść": Hotel Polski w Warszawie, 1943* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, and Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN Warszawa, 2006); Teresa Prekerowa, "Sprawa Hotelu Polskiego," *Polityka* (Warsaw), no. 20 (1987); Agnieszka Haska, "Adam Żurawin—bohater o tysiącu twarzy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 2 (2006): 177–201; Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Irena's Children: The Extraordinary Story of the Woman Who Saved 2,500 Children from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Gallery Books/Simon & Schuster, 2016), 203–6.

[1259] Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 751.

False identity documents purchased from Jewish Gestapo agents by Jews leaving the ghetto were linked to addresses where the unsuspecting fugitives could be tracked down, whether to be denounced to the Gestapo, if they were poor, or extorted, if they were well off.[1260]

Moreover, ghettos had to contend with common criminals and criminal gangs that also undermined Jewish survival and resistance. There are numerous memoirs that attest to the widespread practice of corruption, extortion and common thievery inside the Warsaw ghetto, often by Jews who exercised positions of influence.[1261] The manufacture and sale of bread was a thoroughly corrupt enterprise, with rampant ingredient substitutions.[1262] A group that became notorious in the ghetto was the so-called Pinkert group, gravediggers employed by the Pinkert funeral service other such establishments in the ghetto. They had amassed considerable wealth and, allegedly, some of them had collaborated with the Germans. Working hand in glove with the Jewish ghetto police, they were essentially graveyard hyenas. They would dig up bodies recently buried in the Jewish cemetery and extract gold crowns and fillings and steal jewels and burial shrouds.[1263] Yitzhak Zuckerman states that they "also made money by roaming around the streets and abandoned buildings … even during the first days of the Uprising."[1264] After their escape from the ghetto, the Pinkert group became notorious for robbing and terrorizing the local population in the vicinity of Wyszków. According to Communist documents, the gravediggers so aroused the enmity of their fellow Jews that the latter wanted "to get rid of them at any price and to liquidate them." Likely, they were eliminated by a joint action of the Communist People's Guard and Jewish partisans in their rank from the Warsaw ghetto's Jewish Fighting Organization.[1265] However, the Pinkerts were not the only grave robbers in the ghetto. Groups of teenagers, among others, also engaged in that lucrative activity. A memoir of a participant recalled how these youngsters descended on Warsaw's burial grounds and used pliers and knives to extract gold teeth, crowns and bridges from the mouths of corpses.[1266]

[1260] Testimony of Leon Bukowiński, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4424.

[1261] See, for example, Alicja Zawadzka-Katz, *Refleksje pewnego życia* (Paris: Institut Littéraire, 1967), chapter 2; Irena Birnbaum, *Non omnis moriar: Pamiętnik z getta warszawskiego* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1982), 86–87, 90, 112, 114, 116, 124, 148–49; Piotr Weiser, ed., *Patrzyłam na usta…: Dziennik a warszawskiego getta* (Kraków: Homini; and Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2008), 33–35, 49–51, 83–91; Estelle Glaser Laughlin, *Transcending Darkness: A Girl's Journey Out of the Holocaust* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 15–16 (extortion).

[1262] Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 459–61.

[1263] Stanislaw Adler, *In the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1943: An Account of a Witness: The Memoirs of Stanislaw Adler* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1982), 258; Charles G. Roland, *Courage Under Siege: Starvation, Disease, and Death in the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 47; Levin, *Walls Around,* 98.

[1264] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 397–402.

[1265] Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 102–3.

[1266] Bogdan Wojdowski, *Bread for the Departed* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 299–315. Gravediggers were to be found in other towns as well. Josef Zelkowicz describes the funeral of a Jew who had recently died in the Łódź ghetto: "He's wrapped in rags with a rotten board under his back—a rotten piece of wood that will later be stolen to warm a spoonful of soup for someone still alive. … Who robbed the Jews of their sense of piety toward the dead, nurtured in their hearts for centuries?" See Samuel D. Kassow, ed., *In Those Nightmarish Days: The Ghetto Reportage of Peretz Opoczynski and Josef Zelkowicz* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015), 164.

There are also many descriptions of demands for money from well-to-do Jews, ostensibly as "contributions" for arms acquisitions, by the Jewish underground in Warsaw.[1267] One historian describes this phenomenon as follows:

> Compulsory levies—called "Exxes" ("Expropriations")—were sometimes collected in combat-like operations, whereby a group of fighters would take over a building and demand that the tax be paid on the spot. The Ż.O.B. [*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa* (Jewish Fighting Organzation)] even maintained improvised prisons where the relatives of those who refused to pay could be held until the account had been settled.[1268]

According to other sources, this practice opened up opportunities for abuse:

> At first it was necessary to make people pay up the point of a gun and even keep them locked up in one of the organization's secret detention cells in the ghetto or in the factory area. … There were even times when the Z.Z.W. [*Żydowski Związek Walki* (Jewish Military Union)] had more money than it could immediately use to buy arms. …
>
> Once the underground organizations' fund-raising activities became common knowledge in the ghetto, various gangs of tricksters began resorting to similar methods of obtaining money under false pretences …[1269]

> deception and embezzlement also flourish. Armed gangsters still operate in the Ghetto. They, too, visit apartments ostensibly to collect money for the resistance, but the money they steal goes into their own pockets. They burgle at night and take all the clothes first—knowing that the Ghetto Jews usually sew money and valuables into their clothes to conceal them from the Nazis.[1270]

> people came and demanded money, supposedly for the underground, but we all knew it was a plain robbery and theft, and Dad, somehow, for his money, bought knives, and gave it to some of the young people in the backyard, and the self-defense was created. People imagined some things could be arranged for this way.[1271]

[1267] See, for example, the account of Pnina Grynszpan-Frymer in Anka Grupińska, *Po kole: Rozmowy z żydowskimi żołnierzami* (Warsaw: Alfa, 1991), 92. An expanded version of this book was published under the title *Ciągle po kole: Rozmowy z żołnierzami getta warsawskiego* (Warsaw: Twój Styl, 2000), where the reference is found on page 96. This collection of interviews with survivors from the Warsaw ghetto is also available in German translation as *Im Kreis: Gespräche mit jüdischen Kämpfern* (Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 1993). The practice of "expropriations" was also found in the Częstochowa ghetto. See Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 4, 404.

[1268] Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1945,* 344.

[1269] Litai, *Muranowska 7,* 162–64.

[1270] Hillel Seidman, *The Warsaw Ghetto Diaries* (Southfield, Michigan and Nanuet, New York: Targum/Feldheim, 1997), 231. The author, chief archivist of the Warsaw Kehillah, kept a faithful journal of ghetto life. Reportedly, the Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) ambushed and captured a group, posing as an underground group, in the act of committing a robbery. See Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1945,* 350. For another eyewitness account see Piotr Weiser, ed., *Patrzyłam na usta…: Dziennik z warszawskiego getta* (Kraków: Homini; Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2008), 33, 35.

[1271] Testimony of Izaak Wacek Kornblum, Centropa, 2005, Internet: <https://www.centropa.org/biography/izaak-wacek-kornblum>.

Rachela Hönigman recalled how young armed Jews and Jews posing as Germans invaded homes to rob affluent Jews.[1272] Members of the Jewish underground also posed as Christians when carrying out expropriations in the ghetto, and thus Poles are often blamed for these deeds in Jewish memoirs. Simha "Kazik" Rotem (Ratajzer) recalls:

> At Hanoch [Gutman]'s order, we went on "exes" (short for expropriations) to "raise" money from rich Jews. We kept watch at the home of one man, collected information, and set a date for the operation. The apartment was on the second floor. One of us knocked on the door and when it opened we burst in, identified the man of the house, stood facing him in a "persuasive" movement, and announced, "We've come to get your contribution for the ZOB." The Jew refused. I put the barrel of my revolver near him; he froze and didn't utter a sound. Then Hanoch ordered, "Kazik, kill him!" When he called me "Kazik," I was to understand that I had to appear as Kazik, that is, as a Pole. I assumed a strange expression, rolled my eyes, puffed up my chest, grabbed the Jew by the collar, and dragged him into a corner of the room. "Listen, with me you don't play games!" I told him. When he heard the name "Kazik," he understood he was dealing with a Gentile, and you didn't get smart with a Gentile, especially not in those days. He broke down, asked for a brief delay, went to a hiding place, pulled out some money, and reluctantly gave us his "contribution." …
>
> The "sniffers"—our intelligence people—identified a very rich Jew in the Brushmakers' Area. We considered how to get money out of him after he refused to contribute willingly. At headquarters it was decided to take his beautiful daughter hostage. … We took the girl to a locked room in an attic in the Brushmakers' Area. … This girl was to write a letter to her father, which we dictated to her and delivered to her house by messenger. … Once again I played a Christian, a representative of the Polish Underground, supposedly cooperating with the ZOB in the Ghetto.
>
> Soon after, the father was brought to the jailhouse. … after the man was brought into the locked room, the three of us had to try to squeeze out of him a sum of money which, according to our information, he was capable of paying. He was a real character. Despite our threats of execution, he claimed he couldn't give us such a large sum. In fact, at first he demanded that we release him and his daughter for nothing. This went on for two or three days. …
>
> As a last resort, my commanders decided to include me in an attempt to "convince" him, so he would know he wasn't dealing with "compassionate Jews" but with real Gentiles, for whom killing a man, not to mention a Jew, was not a problem to hesitate about. … we had agreed from the start that, at a certain stage, we'd begin to play the role of "murderer," that is, we'd put him up against the wall, cock our weapons, count to three, according to all the rules of executions, hoping the man would finally break. Hence, when I didn't succeed in convincing him with the carrot, I was forced to use the stick of execution. I cocked the weapon in my hand. My finger was on the trigger. I said, "I'll shoot you if you don't respond." The man broke down and for the first time started negotiating the amount. … The man believed a Gentile was standing in front of him, a pure Aryan.[1273]

[1272] Testimony of Rachela Hönigman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4239. According to this testimony, looting by Jews also continued to be a problem.

[1273] Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter,* 28–31.

The Germans sponsored an organization of collaborators known cryptically as Żagiew ("Die Fackel"—"The Torch"), the so-called Jewish Freedom Guard or *Żydowska Gwardia Wolności*, whose task it was to infiltrate all aspects of life in the Warsaw ghetto. Not only did they spy on, track down and hand fellow Jews over to the Germans, but they also carefully monitored the sources of outside assistance for the ghetto in order to expose Polish conspiratorial organizations. (The counterintelligence of the Home Army Chief Command eventually cracked this organization.[1274]) Less visible, but quite harmful, were censors at the post office building at 5 Leszno Street, such as the rabbis Blumenfeld and Glincensztajn, who collaborated with the Germans.[1275]

The Warsaw ghetto was plagued by the existence of a large number of informers. The most notorious concentration of Jewish collaborators in Warsaw was "The Thirteen" (*Trzynastka*—or "number thirteen"), a name derived from their premises on 13 Leszno Street. This was the Office for Combatting Usury and Profiteering (*Preisüberwachungsstelle*), was established by the Kripo (Criminal Police) shortly after the creation of the ghetto in November 1940, ostensibly to combat profiteering and speculation, that is, the black market. Its staff comprised about 300–400 persons (perhaps even as many as 500, according to Raul Hilberg). "The Thirteen" furnished information to the Security Police (Sipo) while also providing a range of welfare services. In this way, it aimed to supplant both the Jewish police and even the Judenrat itself. It provided to the Germans detailed reports about the internal life of the ghetto, especially the underground and illegal activities. The tentacles of that organization reached every aspect of ghetto life and it even achieved a certain degree of popularity because of its promotion of Jewish culture and other aspects of Jewish life. "The Thirteen" created an atmosphere that encouraged informant activity, which became the scourge of the ghetto. Some historians even called them "The Jewish Gestapo."

"The Thirteen" was headed by Abraham Gancwajch (Ganzweich), a former teacher and Zionist journalist who became a gangster-like figure with close contacts with the Germans. He oversaw the operation of various shady institutions in the ghetto. He entertained rabbis, artists and the culturally prominent at lavish feasts, while at the same time engaging in a wide array of extortion inside the ghetto. "The Thirteen" began extorting more and more money. Its agents blackmailed and denounced ghetto inhabitants, including bullying people in paying fines and extorting payments from people involved in smuggling and illegal trade. In December 1941, Ringelblum noted that they had begun taking a 25 percent cut of the goods stored in underground warehouses, plus 25 percent for soup kitchens, leaving the owners with the remaining 50 percent. A few days later, Ringelblum wrote that in confiscating Jewish property, on the Aryan side of Warsaw, "The Thirteen" took one-third for itself, handed one-third to the Germans, and left only one-third with the owners. By March 1941, their corruption was entirely out in the open, sending people out to bakeries to forcibly take bread for themselves and standing at the ghetto's exit points and taking bribes. Gancwajch was also an ideological ally of the Nazis who called on Jews to cooperate, as the Germans were

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[1274] Matusak, *Wywiad Związku Walki Zbrojnej–Armii Krajowej 1939–1945,* 538.

[1275] Halina Gorcewicz, "Ghetto, end of August, 1942," *Why, Oh God, Why?,* Internet: <www.books-reborn.org/klinger/why/>.

A comprehensive account of the activities of "The Thirteen" and other collaborators is found in Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* Second edition, 223–47.

going to win the war. Gancwajch collected hefty sums in exchange for promising to lobby for releasing Jews from prison (although his success rate was moderate), obtaining permits and other favours. He lived a privileged life; the ghetto buzzed with talk about his son's lavish bar mitzvah in May 1941, held during Shavuot (the Feast of Weeks) when other Jewish children lay starving in the streets. On the other hand, he handed out free bread to the poor and supported cultural and literary activities.

"The Thirteen" formed their own 300 to 400 member strong police, headed by Dawid Sternfeld, formerly of the Łódź underworld, whose activities were separate from those of the *Ordnungsdienst.* Sternfeld's closest associate was Gojcherman. Those policemen, says Jonas Turkow, "Were fat fellows, debauched, mostly from the lowest low of the underworld." In return for a sizable amount of money, policemen cast a blind eye toward smugglers, and at times even cooperated with them. If other smugglers were arrested, these policemen would charge a fee—often thousands of złoty—for not handing them over to the Germans. They extorted hush money from various ghetto craftsmen. They arrested Jews and released them in return for thousands of złoty in ransom money. The upper echelons of "The Thirteen" and its police force were patrons of expensive restaurants and coffee-houses of the ghetto. Ringelblum related:

> At the "Britania" hotel at 18 Nowolipie Street they've opened a club in the basement that is little more than a whorehouse. It's open until 7:00 in the morning, and the owners are Leszno 13 folks. They make merry there without limits. On Sunday, they took in 10,000 złoty, on Monday—2,000. A kilo of grapes costs 25 złotys. They write out bills for 500 złoty and more.

"The Thirteen" would often appear with Germans and Jewish policemen, who were partners in their transactions. One Jewish policeman, who was on friendly terms with both "The Thirteen" and SS, frequented their parties in the ghetto:

> I remember walking with Jędruś in the street once, when a fellow waved at him and said: "Hello, Jędruś!" "Hello, Jaś," Jędruś replied. "Who was it?" I asked because I was intrigued that they greeted each other like friends. "Oh, it's an SS man I know, but in plain clothes." …
>
> It's interesting that at those parties of theirs—so I was told by Jędruś—occasionally SS men appeared as acquaintances of the young people. They socialized with the Jewish youths.[1276]

In addition, Gancwajch also set up a smaller but equally suspect "Ambulance Service" (First Aid Station). Headed by Cantor Gershon Sirota and his doctor son, it too became a tool for "The Thirteen's" corrupt employees, who used the ambulances (called "Marys" after Gancwajch's wife) for smuggling goods. In mid-1941, there was a split in "The Thirteen's" leadership. Gancwajch's partners, Morris (Moryc) Kohn and Zelig (Zelik) Heller, broke with him in a battle for control and financial competition and established another agency at 14 Leszno Street. Kohn and Heller, both traders from Łódź who had come to Warsaw along with Gancwajch, were widely considered to be German agents. They soon exceeded their "teacher" Gancwajch in terms of ostentatious wastefulness. The two owned most of the carriages that carried both people and property within the ghetto. They employed spies to help locate caches of hidden merchandise

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[1276] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 66.

and valuables. By July 1941, the Germans had tired of "The Thirteen" and closed down its office. Half of its police force was incorporated into the *Ordnungsdienst,* while Gancwajch and his comrades co-opted the Ambulance Service, which from then on was little more than a front for their smuggling activities. "The Thirteen" was later reopened, only to be shut down permanently in April 1942, when the Gestapo systematically eliminated its heads and employees, and even Jewish Gestapo agents. Gancwajch and Sternfeld (the commander of "The Thirteen's" police force), who apparently received an early warning, managed to escape and live on the Aryan side under false identities. Rumor has it that during the mass deportation of August 1942, Gancwajch suddenly surfaced as an informer. After that, he tried rebuilding his power base in the ghetto. What became of him and what was his end is unknown.[1277]

Gancwajch's closest collaborators were the aforementioned Moryc Kohn and Zelik Heller from Łódź; Zachariasz and B. Szymonowicz, from Radomsko; the lawyer Herbert Stahrer from Gdańsk (Danzig), who acted as Grancwajch's legal advisor and secretary general; and the writer Jehuda Warszawiak, his press secretary. Other collaborators of "The Thirteen," which included many Jews from Łódź and some from Germany, included: Gonsiorowicz, from Radomsko; Stanisław Boraks, a lawyer from Warsaw; Lewin, a lawyer from Wilno; Lewin, a lawyer from Warsaw; Mandel, an engineer; Margules, a sock manufacturer from Łódź; Gurwicz (Górowicz), from Wilno; Koenigl (Kenigl), from Lwów; Reichman (Rajchman), from Łódź; the Prużański (Próżański) brothers, from Warsaw; Leon Skosowski, from Łódź; Hendel; Kaner; the Erlich brothers; Wolf Szymonowicz, from Radomsko; Stroter, a lawyer; M. Lejzerowicz; Dr. Feldszuh; Kleinweksler, a lawyer; Bramson, a lawyer; Reszal, a lawyer; Dr. Sirota; Katz; Bialer. According to historian Adam Rutkowski, there were "many, many others."[1278] Two other Jews identified as Gestapo agents were Wiktor Nuss and Lolek Skodziński (Skosowski?).[1279]

As mentioned, many of these people maintained close contacts with the Gestapo, and were in fact its agents. The agents Kohn and Heller, for instance, did not hesitate to draw up lists of people to be eliminated by the Gestapo. Both Gancwajch and Dawid Szternfeld are believed to have blackmailed and betrayed Jews hiding on the "Aryan" side.[1280] As Jonas Turkow points out, "The Thirteen" targeted both Jews and Poles:

> Leon Skosowski and Kenigl were very officially collaborators of the SD [*Sicherheitsdienst*, i.e., the security service unit of the SS] and were more often on the 'Aryan' side than in the ghetto. Their task

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[1277] A. Rozenberg, "Trzynastka," *Bleter far Geszichte* (Warsaw), vol. 5, nos. 1–2 (1952): 187–225, xxxiv–xxxv (English summary), and vol. 5, no. 3 (1952); A. [Adam] Rutkowski, "O agenturze gestapowskiej w getcie warszawskim," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), no. 19–20 (1956): 38–59 (this study also refers to the Gestapo connections of the Jewish Ambulance Service [Żydowskie Pogotowie Ratunkowe]); Lewin, *A Cup of Tears,* 18; Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust,* 145–46; Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 220–33, 714, 729–30; Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition, vol. 1, 236; Ernest, *O wojnie wielkich Niemiec z Żydami Warszawy 1939–1943,* 114–21; Levin, *Walls Around,* 94–97; Testimony of Izaak Drajer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7283 (use of spies to find hidden caches).

[1278] A. [Adam] Rutkowski, "O agenturze gestapowskiej w getcie warszawskim," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 19–20 (1956): 41.

[1279] Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 4, 401–2.

[1280] Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 229.

> consisted in denouncing Jews who found themselves on the 'Aryan' side and denouncing Poles who engaged in political [underground] activities.[1281]

Skosowski was one of fourteen Gestapo agents liquidated by the Home Army in November 1943.[1282] (An earlier attempt undertaken jointly with the Jewish Military Union had failed.) Interestingly, he as well as other Jewish Gestapo agents reportedly maintained links with the Communist underground, perhaps as a safeguard in the event of a change in the political situation. The Communist People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa) also prided itself on eliminating Jewish Gestapo agents, among them a resident of the ghetto named Neuman (Nejman) and three Jewish informers who lived on Chmielna Street in the Aryan part of Warsaw.[1283]

The Germans cultivated other spies in the ghetto. Bernard Goldstein, a Bund leader and political activist in the ghetto, described the constant fear of Jewish collaborators that ordinary ghetto dwellers, but particularly political activists, faced in their day-to-day lives. Things came to a head on April 17, 1942, when the Germans staged a large-scale raid on the Warsaw ghetto, accompanied by Jewish police who led them to their targeted destinations.

> Soon after the organization of the Jewish police, a new figure appeared in the ghetto, a man named Ganzweich, a journalist and one-time Zionist, originally from Lodz [Łódź]. …
>
> After the Germans announced the formation of the ghetto, Ganzweich set up a bureau for distributing favors and concessions like jobs as house janitors or rent collectors. He seemed to have great influence with the authorities. People stood in line at his office, bribe in hand, hoping to enlist Ganzweich's aid to free an arrested member of the family, to get a better apartment, to procure a vital legal document. His carefully constructed network of connections and acquaintances kept his finger on every pulse of ghetto life, supplying him with information invaluable to the occupation authorities. …
>
> Everyone knew that this creature was working for the Germans; that it was for them he was organizing this supposed campaign against exorbitant prices and smuggling. Nevertheless people joined his group for the same reason that others had joined the Jewish police. His "anti-profiteering" police numbered several hundred. Because their headquarters were at 13 Leshno [Leszno] Street, they soon became known as the "Thirteeners." They wore the same uniform as the other Jewish police.
>
> The Thirteeners spread fear throughout the ghetto. They conducted raids, descending on entire blocks of houses, supposedly hunting for smuggled goods, speculators, and black marketeers. Actually they were on the scent of political material, illegal literature, and active workers in the underground. They fulfilled the function of the Gestapo in the ghetto. In time, Ganzweich and his

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[1281] Turkov, *C'était ainsi,* 140.

[1282] Trunk, *Judenrat,* 552–53.

[1283] Testimony of Jerzy Duracz, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3587; Statement of Jerzy Teodor Duracz in Wiera Gran, *Sztafeta oszczerców: Autobiografia śpiewaczki* (Paris: n.p., 1980), 198; Testimony of Jerzy Duracz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5017. See also Tomasz Strzembosz, *Akcje zbrojne podziemnej Warszawy 1939–1944,* Second revised edition (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1983), 312–13, which does not identify the agents by name or nationality. In fact, the operation appears to have targeted a Jewish couple named Rembowski. See Dariusz Libionka, "Zapisy dotyczące Żydów w warszawskich kronikach policyjnych z lat 1942–1944," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i Materiały,* vol. 10 (2014): 558–91, at 573–74.

Thirteeners became the authority on Jewish matters for the Gestapo and had its complete confidence. Before the rupture of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Ganzweich even enlisted Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to filter into the Russian zone to bring back information for the German authorities.

At first the Judenrat carried on a quiet fight against Ganzweich. … But all efforts to eliminate Ganzweich as competition for police control in the ghetto failed. His connections with the Gestapo were too strong. His Thirteeners continued to function as a police unit, parallel to the Judenrat police but more closely identified with the specific features of Gestapo policy toward the Jews.

Aside from Ganzweich's Thirteeners, the Gestapo included some Jews in its own apparatus. One of them, Kokosoffsky, had been before the war a leader of the Maccabee, a Jewish sport organization, in Pabyanitza [Pabianice]. Another agent, Andes by name, had previously been a boxer in the Zionist Maccabee. He now specialized in searching out illegal flour mills. Later he was sent by the Germans to the Oswiecim [Oświęcim—Auschwitz] camp. Rumor had it that the millers paid substantial bribes to engineer this coup. At least one Jewish woman was on the Gestapo payroll-Madame Machno, a former Warsaw actress and dancer.

Through the hands of these creatures flowed tremendous sums as bribes for the Gestapo. They used to "arrange" passes for the ghetto gates, business licenses, exemptions from forced labor, and other privileges. A travel permit between Warsaw and Lodz cost thousands of zlotys; exemption from forced labor, tens of thousands. The scale of prices varied with the importance of the service.

These leeches attached themselves firmly and sucked, for themselves and the Gestapo, the last drop of blood from the Jewish population, spreading what they bred upon—complete demoralization and licentiousness without limit.

The Jewish police found their strongest and most capable opponent in Morizi Orzech.

Orzech's hatred of the Jewish police once led him into serious difficulty. Encountering a police captain attempting to arrest an old Jewish woman for illegally selling vegetables in the street, he intervened. In the course of the argument, he struck the officer. Orzech was arrested to be handed over to the Germans. It took a lot of work and money to save him …[1284]

One morning the janitor of 12 Novolipya [Nowolipie] burst in to tell me that he had just been visited by two Gestapo agents, apparently Jews, who had gone through his registry book. They had paid particular attention to the G's. He was sure that they were after me. …

Ten minutes later a Gestapo car pulled up in front of 12 Novolipya, and agents swarmed into the building. They ransacked my apartment, questioned my family and neighbors. They left a written order that I must report the following morning at the headquarters of the Gestapo at Allee Shucha [Szucha].

The following day they returned to find out why I had not appeared. My brother was not at home, so they took young Jacob as a hostage. …

Jacob was a Bundist and, living in my apartment, had seem comrades come and go on underground business. The Gestapo tortured him in an attempt to get information, but they were finally defeated when death brought an end to his agonies.[1285]

[1284] Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness,* 68–71.

[1285] Ibid., 94–95.

Dark as usual was the spring night of April 17, 1942. … During that night, the Gestapo had visited scores of houses in various parts of the ghetto, had dragged people out and shot them on the spot. The bodies were left where they fell. Jewish police had accompanied the SS and Gestapo men, carrying a list of names and addresses, and leading he murderers directly to their victims.

In the morning, under order from the police, the bodies were cleaned off the streets by wagons of the Chesed Shel Emmeth Burial Society and by other undertakers. The police drove the neighbors of the murdered men into the streets and forced them to wash away the blood.

That night we lost, among others, the following comrades: …

Especially tragic was the death of our comrade, Moishe Sklar, a typesetter. He had been a member of the executive committee of the Printers' Union, and continued his Bund activity in the ghetto. He was arrested that night but not shot immediately as were the others. For two weeks he was held in Paviak [Pawiak] prison and horribly tortured. He was asked for the names of those active in printing illegal literature. He knew them all, but he endured the terrible pain and said nothing. At five o'clock in the morning, two weeks after his arrest, he was taken to the corner of Djelna [Dzielna] and Motcha [Smocza], where he was shot.

Neighbors heard the shots and ran out. They saw a man lying in a pool of blood and a Jewish policeman leaning over the corpse, removing its shoes. … Later we identified the Jewish policeman who had done the ghoulish looting. He was dealt with appropriately.[1286]

Now the terror in the ghetto entered a new and bloodier phase. Almost every night the Nazis would break into a tenement, drag scores of people into the street, and shoort them. People were brought into the ghetto from the Aryan side at night and shot. We did not know who they were or why they were murdered.[1287]

The feeling of expectancy, of nervous waiting for an unknown but certain catastrophe, grew when the Germans began a new campaign of terror. From time to time in the past they had seized people on the streets and shipped them away into forced labor. After April 17, [1942], such abductions took place much more often and with much greater ferocity. The Jewish police, led by SS men and [German] gendarmes, would descend on a ghetto area like a band of wild animals, grabbing every adult man and throwing him into a circle of armed guards in the center of the street. Ringed by the police, numbed by fear and bewilderment, the condemned would huddle there, waiting to be escorted to the nearest police commissariat and then to the freight cars for forced labor. …

From the window of my hiding place at 13 Gensha [Gęsia] I once witnessed a horrifying scene. A Jewish policeman held a thin young man, with matted black hair, who fought with insane fury to break loose from his captor's grasp. There was a mad look in the victim's eyes as he punched and kicked and pulled. With a rubber truncheon the policeman beat his hands, his legs, his entire body and then half pushed, half dragged him toward the square where the armed ring was waiting.[1288]

[1286] Ibid., 100–102.

[1287] Ibid., 104.

[1288] Ibid., 106.

On the night of Friday, April 17 [1942], trucks crammed with German soldiers and SS officers stormed the Warsaw Ghetto. They poured through several gates simultaneously, fanning out through the locked-down district, which was dark and silent, no lights or movement being permitted after curfew. Within minutes the deserted cobblestone streets echoes with the clatter of jackboots, while portable searchlights scanned buildings and doors were hammered down with rifle butts. Shots rang out, along the occasional staccato of machine gun fire.

One of the tenements targeted during the raids was Isaac Zuckerman's Valiant [Dzielna] Street headquarters. His startled janitor-lookout barely had time to pull the makeshift alarm before Gestapo agents were pounding up the stairs. On the third floor, in the Young Pioneer clubhouse, panic erupted and there was a mad dash for the attic, where an emergency exit had been cut through the wall into an adjacent building. In the ensuing scramble one of Isaac's most trusted deputies, Tuvia Borzykowski, was shot in the leg, but he still managed to escape. Two other Pioneers were not so fortunate. They were dragged to the ground-floor courtyard, and, with all the residents looking on in horror, each was shot in the head.

Before executing them, the Gestapo posed only one question to the victims: Where were Isaac Zuckerman and Lonka Kozibrodska? That the SS knew about Isaac was not surprising. His involvement with the Socialist Zionist youth movement was not a secret. But Lonka was a different story. Very few outsiders were aware of the clandestine role the beautiful blonde played in linking the Young Pioneers to the outside world.

This could only mean that the Nazis had Jewish informants, a suspicion that was borne out when the homes of almost all the Bund's central committee members were also raided that evening. Sonya Nowogrodska, the only woman in the Bund underground leadership, narrowly cheated death, as did Bernard Goldstein by switching hiding places at the last minute. … the Bund lost nearly a dozen operatives that night. All were shot on the spot, their bodies left to bleed out where they fell. In total, fifty-two people were killed on April 17, which became known variously as Bloody Friday, Night of Blood, or the Sabbath Massacre.

Blood Friday revealed a shift in Nazi tactics. Until then, the Gestapo had focused its brutal counterinsurgency measures almost exclusively on Gentiles. (Indeed, earlier that very day, the Nazis had conducted a series of separate raids in the Christian quarters of Warsaw, deporting 461 suspected Resistance members to Auschwitz.) Prior to Bloody Friday, no evidence existed to suggest that the occupation authorities either knew or cared that Jews were forming conspiratorial cells. [Perhaps this was because these cells did not engage in any armed activities either then or for some time afterwards. *M.P.*] Occasionally, the Gestapo inquired about the likes of Bernard Goldstein, since he was a well-known agitator from before the war. But there had never been mass arrests or Gestapo dragnets in the Jewish Quarter on the scale that routinely decimated the Polish Resistance. The question was: Why now? What prompted the raids? Had the Germans, through their network of spies, gotten wind of the unification talks between Zionists and Bundists? Had they heard of the intensified efforts to acquire weapons? Did they know about the newly formed youth militias and their growing chorus of calls for self-defense?

The sad fact remained that the Bund, to date, had not managed to procure a single gun. The vaunted militias, in Boruch Spiegel's opinion, "were not very serious." Spiegel, after he recuperated, had

demanded to join the defense unit, and he quickly became disillusioned by its lack of structure, discipline, adequate training, and, most of all, arms.[1289]

This atmosphere of gloom, demoralization and terror is reinforced by the memoirs of apolitical residents of the ghetto who just tried to get by. One common thread in these memoirs is that Poles did not play a role in the day-to-day oppression of the half million Jewish residents of the Warsaw ghetto.

> Unfortunately, there were many traitors amongst the Jews who formed a secret police working with the Gestapo. None of them was from Warsaw, I'm happy to say. They were all from Lodz [Łódź], which the Germans called Litzmannstadt. They were all intelligentsia—doctors, engineers, police—none of them uneducated or from the lower classes. They were all professionals—and disgustingly mean. We were afraid of them like fire. Their headquarters were on the same street as Café Sztuka, but on the other side. The building was Number Thirteen Leszno Street. Because of that, they were called Number Thirteens.
>
> This was the Jewish Gestapo against the Jews. They had green bands on their caps. The regular Jewish police had blue bands. The Jewish Gestapo would come into the café, but we did not like to serve them. They did a lot of dirty work. Let's say some Jews had hidden in their apartments dollars or money or gold that they could sell to buy food. The Jewish Gestapo would give away all these secrets to the Germans. And the Germans would come shooting and killing. There was not mass killing yet. It was just bad treatment, very awful treatment, but not mass exterminations. …
>
> Some German Jews were given jobs outside the walls of the Warsaw Ghetto. … One day these German Jews were marching off to work past the SS men on guard. These German Jews were all raising their hands, hollering, *"Heil Hitler!"* and the SS men did not even answer them, did not look at them, did not even spit at them. In Warsaw, we just laughed when these German Jews screamed, *"Heil Hitler!"*—as if Hitler would help them—this was the funniest part. …
>
> Jews were starving, even though food was being smuggled in. We did not have food, but we could get smuggled-in strawberries on the street. I remember one day I bought myself all kinds of goodies. I was walking on the street and a man came and he grabbed all the food and ran away. …
>
> The conditions in the ghetto were so terrible … People hated each other. You understand, they were starving. They could kill each other for food. We had a family from Lodz in our apartment. My mother cooked. The wife of this man came and ate up my mother's soup, so my mother complained to me. The man did not like my mother complaining, so he pushed her around and beat her up. When I came home from work that day I hit him on the head with an iron pot. I got even for my mother. He got no pity from me. He never touched her anymore.
>
> I did not see any resistance leaflets or newspapers in the ghetto. If I ever saw any resistance, any writing on the walls, it was in the Aryan section. There they would write on the walls things like "Only pigs go to the movies," because going to the movies helped the Germans by making people forget about the war, forget about resisting. But in the ghetto we were only worried about food, the cold, the sickness and the lice. We were completely demoralized.

[1289] Brzezinski, *Isaac's Army,* 154–56. Based on Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1943,* 176; Władysław Bartoszewski, *1859 dni Warszawy* (Kraków: Znak, 2009), 330.

> We were so demoralized that people became disrespectful of each other.[1290]

> I did not ask anybody what to do. I was all on my own. Whenever I did something, I never asked anybody. … Besides you couldn't talk to anybody. You did not know who was a traitor. I was too afraid.[1291]

The Jewish underground occasionally liquidated Jewish informers and Gestapo agents inside the ghetto. Jacob Celemenski, for example, relates how he was tracked down in his hiding place in the Warsaw ghetto by a young Jewish informer sent by Jewish Gestapo agents. The Jewish underground assigned a clandestine cell of five comrades to execute him, but were outdone by the informer's own bosses, who shot him themselves.[1292] Among those reportedly executed by the ŻZW [*Żydowski Związek Walki*—Jewish Military Union] were: two Gestapo agents shot dead near the entrance to Schultz's restaurant on Karmelicka St. (spring 1942); Adolf Borensztein (known as the "13th man"), shot dead in Elektoralna St. (March 1942); a police lieutenant of the Leszno St. police station, shot near one of the ŻZW tunnel entrances (summer 1942); a nest of eleven Gestapo spies (eight men and three women), executed in the cellar of Kosieradzki's house on Karmelicka St. after a "trial" (June 1942); two female Gestapo agents, one of them Haya Blumberg; Jacob Leikin, the deputy commander of the Jewish police, shot in Gęsia St. (October 29, 1942); Israel Firszt or Izrael First, the head of the Judenrat's Economic Department (November 29, 1942); Leon (Lolek) Skosowski (who, seriously wounded, escaped to the Aryan side where he was later executed by the Polish Home Army), Paweł Bludarski, Arik Waintraub (had in his possession a detailed list of bunkers for the Gestapo), H. Mangiel, Lydia (Anya) Radziszewska, all shot in the brush-factory compound at 38 Świętojerska St. (February 21, 1943); Jerzy Firstenberg, a high-ranking officer in the Jewish ghetto police (February 1943); Moniek Prozanski and his son Anders, shot as they were about to escape to the Aryan side; Zinger, shot in a restaurant on Nowolipie St.; two porters called Pinya and Elia ("Małpa") on Nowolipki St.; Nosek, shot dead in the brush-factory area (he too was in possession of a detailed list of bunkers).[1293] According to Józef Grynblatt, a member of the Jewish Military Organization (ŻZW), after the failed ghetto revolt a large group of ŻZW fighters hid out in premises on Grzybowska Street. The hideout were betrayed to the Gestapo by Dawid Guzik, a Jewish agent who was involved in the Hotel Polski affair, and not by the radical Polish underground group "Miecz i Pług," as claimed by Bernard Mark and Marek Edelman. The ŻZW fighters were all killed by the Gestapo in a firefight.[1294]

When the Great Deportation of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto began in the summer of 1942, the families of Jewish Gestapo agents were ushered to safety on the "Aryan" side. Jonas Turkow mentions a large

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[1290] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 23–25.

[1291] Ibid., 39.

[1292] Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 106.

[1293] Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), 615–17, 904 n.14. Ainsztein states that Revisionist historians wrongly ascribe the execution of First to the ŻZW. According to historian Dariusz Libionka, First was executed by Dawid Szulman, a member of ŻOB.

[1294] Anka Grupińska, "Rozmowa z Józefem Grynblattem, członkiem Betaru i Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego w czasie powstania w getcie warszawskim," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały,* vol. 3 (2007): 329–30.

number of Jews who worked as Gestapo agents on the "Aryan" side, such as the dancer Franciszka Mann (née Manheimer, later Rozenberg), the lyricist Józef Lipski, the lyricist Andrzej Włast (Gustaw Baumritter), a German Jew named Sachsenhaus, who threw Adam Czerniaków, the head of the Judenrat, down the stairs, the Weintraub brothers, the boxer Anders, Manheimer, the brother of Franciszka Manówna, a German Jew named Fostel, Josef Włodawski, the boxer Fred Bobi, Milek the "redhead," Edek Ast, Szeps, the inspector Erlich (Josl Kapote), "and others." Franciszka Mann, who was exposed by double agents working for the Polish underground, frequented nightclubs in the company of German Gestapo officers. Turkow also mentions a Jew from Lublin by the name of Greier (Szama Grajer), who had assisted in the liquidation of the Jews in Lublin. Ignacy Lubowiecki and Dawid Gertler were other well-known Jewish Gestapo agents in Warsaw.[1295] Baumritter is mentioned in Jewish sources as a Gestapo agent.[1296] Polish underground sources record additional Jewish Gestapo agents such as Tadeusz and Waleria Rębowski (assumed identities) from Anin, Matia Goldman (the wife of Włodawski), Hermanowski and his wife Wanda Mostowicz (the wife of Jerzy Weisberg), Weintraub, Eryk Lipiński, Zuzanna Ginczanka (Sara Ginzburg), and many others.[1297] A 1942 Polish underground report mentions Stefania Zauderer, the actor Adam Danielewicz, and Zdzisław Mirtenbaum-Koss.[1298]

Samuel Kenigswajn left a particularly poignant account of the fate of Jewish collaborators in the Warsaw ghetto:

> The Jewish Fighting Organization countered the urgings [of the shop owners to report willingly for transfer to the Poniatowa labor camp] and took up arms against the betrayers and renegades … They carried out a death sentence on one of the directors of the Schultz shop by the name of Hirszl, a German Jew, who together with another renegade director by the name of Wajsberg urged workers to transfer and denounced the fighters. …
>
> Seeing that the agitation of the directors was not working, the Hitlerites brought eight Jewish masters from Lublin together with the famed Gestapo agent, Szama Grajer, at their head. These lackeys of the enemy started to agitate on the streets of the ghetto in favour of transferring to the Poniatowa "paradise." This was already in March 1943. The Fighting Organization reacted immediately by breaking the bones of the betrayers. They quickly absconded back to Lublin …
>
> The operation of liquidating traitors continued throughout all of March. The fighters were particularly keen on [liquidating] a group of dangerous denouncers which included Bergazyn, the second director of the Hallman factory, his wife, her brothers by the name of Becher, and her brother-in-law, Kac. Kac had betrayed a hideout at 71 Nowolipki Street to the Germans. Many innocent victims were lost at that time.
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> The united fighters from the PPR [Polish Workers' Party] and Hashomer Hatzair issued a death sentence against tthat group. They didn't succeed in killing everyone. They burned out the eyes of the

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[1295] Kerszman, *Jak ginąć, to razem,* 81; Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 26.

[1296] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 601.

[1297] Chodakiewicz, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne,* 348 n.175. Jerzy Weisberg, who went by the name of Mostowicz, maintained contacts with the Communist underground. He was liquidated by the Polish underground on February 10, 1943. See Chodakiewicz, Gontarczyk, and Żebrowski, *Tajne oblicze GL–AL i PPR,* vol. 2, 213–14.

[1298] Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* 61.

> wretch Kac. … The Jewish Fighting Organization passed a death sentence on the betrayer Singer, a security guard at the Schultz factory. He was a Jew from Praga, a former boxer. Singer was eliminated. Another boxer by the name of Andres met the same fate. He was a denouncer and spy. Learning of the Organization's sentence he tried to escape to the "Aryan" side but a fighter's bullet hit him in time. There were other such armed operations in February and March 1943, but I so not remember them all.[1299]

Some Jews worked, at various times, for the Communists as well as the Gestapo, for example, Mieczysław Walczak and Jerzy Sawicki (Izydor Reisler).[1300] Izydor Reisler, who under the assumed name of Jerzy Sawicki was an influential figure on the Lawyers' Council in Soviet Lwów and persecuted its Polish members, turned agent for the Gestapo in the Lwów ghetto. This did not prevent him from rising to the position of prosecutor of the Supreme National Tribunal and Supreme Court in Stalinist Poland, where he was charged with prosecuting war criminals. Another example of a Jew who served many masters was described by Stanisław Taubenschlag (later Stanley Townsend), a scion of a prominent Jewish family from Kraków. (His father, Professor Rafał Taubenschlag, was the dean of the Jagiellonian University.) Taubenschlag was pursued by Danek (Danko) Redlich, the son of a Jewish official from Kraków, who denounced him to the Gestapo while on a mission for the Polish underground in Warsaw. Taubenschlag managed to extricate himself and survived this trap, but his pursuer was now a wanted man.

> The news of my tribulations in Warsaw quickly spread in the circles of young people. The hunt was now on for Danek Redlich who, it transpired, had been in the employ of the Bolsheviks in Lvov [Lwów] and had betrayed several people there. When Lvov was occupied by the Germans, this professional agent, entered the service of the Gestapo. After the war he worked in the security service (UB [*Urząd Bezpieki*]). In the 1950s he went to Venezuela where he met his death in a car accident in Caracas.[1301]

Wanda Kronenberg, the scion of a wealthy Jewish banking family, was probably in contact with the NKVD in Lwów under the Soviet occupation before moving back to Warsaw, where she became an agent for the Gestapo, German military, and German Security Police (SiPo).[1302] Another Jewish collaborator who changed sides was Teresa Bryk, the wife of a Polish airman who was killed in the Battle of Britain. During the German occupation she maintained liaisons with the Gestapo in Wyszków and Ostrów Mazowiecka. After the arrival of the Soviet army she began to work for the NKVD. She then made a career in the

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[1299] Testimony of Samuel Kenigswajn, dated July 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5008, reproduced in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 132–33.

[1300] Zbigniew Błażyński, *Mówi Józef Światło: Za kulisami bezpieki i partii 1940–1955,* Third revised edition (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1986), 138, 228; *Słownik biograficzny działaczy polskiego ruchu robotniczego,* Second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1993), vol. 3 (Jerzy Sawicki).

[1301] Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 49–57, here at 57. See also Andrzej Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa,* vol. 5: *Kraków w latach 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), 287.

[1302] Michał Wójcik, *Baranówna: Na tropie Wandy Kronenberg—najgroźniejszej polskiej agentki: Śledztwo dziennikarskie* (Kraków: Znak, 2018).

Communist political structures in the Pułtusk district.[1303] (Although quite a few individuals who had compromised themselves during the German occupation, including Jews and Ukrainians, tried to cover their tracks by joining the apparatus of oppression during the Communist takeover of Poland after the war, the natural allies and far more likely candidates for these cadres were those who had collaborated with the Soviets under Soviet rule or had joined the Communist underground during the German occupation.[1304])

On May 9, 1942, leaders of the leftist underground in the Warsaw ghetto were arrested after a denunciation, thereby paralyzing the so-called Anti-Fascist Bloc.[1305] The use of Jewish confidants by the Gestapo was officially discontinued in September 1943.[1306] However, well after the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, according to one report, the Gestapo continued to employ some 300 Jewish agents, remnants of the Żagiew organization and others, to ferret out Jews who were hiding among Christians in Warsaw. It was likely because of those agents that so many Jews passing as Poles and in hiding were captured. A Jew named Hening (Henning) directed a 70-member team of Jews at the Gestapo premises on Szucha Avenue charged with the task of gathering information about Polish underground organizations, often from Communist sources, performing physical examinations on suspected Jews, and interrogating them about their knowledge of the Catholic faith. These agents not only combed Warsaw looking for Jews, but also were sent into the countryside where they were known to infiltrate partisan units and seek assistance from Polish villagers posing as Jews on the run.[1307] After being stopped by German gendarmes in a routine check, Lidia Kott was taken to the Gestapo headquarters on Szucha Street. Luckily, she succeeded in concealing her Jewish identity.

> Lidia was interrogated by two officers, tall blonds beautiful as archangels in their black uniforms. They told her to say her prayers, asked her to tell them the shape of the host, and tried to get her to say that it was square. Next day they sent her to the "anthropologist," whom they addressed as *"Herr Doktor."* He had the rank of a major. He examined her from all angles and came to the conclusion that the build of her body was Nordic and her type Euro-Asiatic. The investigations began all over again, now with the assistance of three experts: a Jew, a Ukrainian, and a Pole. … Lidia was taken out into the corridor and told to wait. Police informers were running around the corridors constantly, several times bringing in Jews. … After an hour or two, she was ordered to go home …

[1303] Jan Garbarczyk, "W Narodowej Organizacji Wojskowej na Ziemi Wyszkowskiej," *Glaukopis: Pismo społeczno-historyczne,* no. 9–10 (2007–2008): 67–68.

[1304] For examples from the Lublin area, see Jacek Romanek, *Kolaboracja z Sowietami na terenie województwa lubelskiego we wrześniu i październiku 1939 r.* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019).

[1305] Engelking and Leociak, *Getto warszawskie,* First edition, 648.

[1306] Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 26.

[1307] Dariusz Libionka, "Zapisy dotyczące Żydów w warszawskich kronikach policyjnych z lat 1942–1944," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i Materiały,* 10 (2014): 558–91, at 577; Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 233, 234, 235, 241 n.11; Bednarczyk, *Obowiązek silniejszy od śmierci,* 156–57. In the latter book, Bednarczyk details many other cases of collaboration at 26, 28, 32, 35–36, 43, 75, 78, 94, 103, 121. The figure of 70 Jewish agents or employees of the Gestapo in Warsaw comes from a report submitted by Polish underground courier Tadeusz Chciuk in August 1944. See Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 197.

> When they had let Lidia go, she had said to the Jewish informer, with her usual sangfroid, *"Au revoir."* "Don't say *'Au revoir'* and never come back here. It's a horrible place."[1308]

A Jewish woman who was held at the SS command post (*Befehlsstelle*) on Nowolipie Street in Warsaw together with other Jews apprehended in Aryan Warsaw and in bunkers reported that there was a group of 16 Jews there, led by a 20-year old, whose task it was to locate hidden Jews.[1309] According to another account, "After the elimination of the Jewish quarter, a period began of diligent search for Jews on the Aryan side. A whole contingent of Jewish and Polish stool pigeons and flunkies roamed around town in the service of the Gestapo, like [Julek] Lubraniecki and others who recognized and gave into the hands of the police the last of the survivors."[1310] After the failed uprising of August–October 1944, Jews refugees in the transit camp at Pruszków continued to be ferreted out by the "Heaven Brigade," composed of Gestapo agents whose ethnic composition is not known, though likely there were Jews among them.[1311] The high figures for Jewish Gestapo agents and informers active in Warsaw do not appear to be exaggerated given that, as mentiomned earlier, the Germans employed at least twenty Jewish *Greifers,* or "catchers," to hunt down Jews in Berlin where far fewer Jews were hiding.

A similar situation prevailed in Lublin where the Germans were well-informed about the internal affairs of the ghetto thanks to their network of Jewish agents and informers, among them their ringleader Szama (Szaja) Grajer, Lejb ("Maska"), Abram Gemare, Sz. Mandelbojm, Szulim ("Babe"), and Matys Kurnik. When a second ghetto was established in Majdan Tatarski, Grajer enlisted another group of collaborators who carried out searches of Jewish homes and denounced those with forbidden property to the Gestapo. That group included Josl Szajner, Dinament, Szulim "Babe,", Lejbl "Maske,", "Para-Niepara," Monkiel Ganew, Jankiel Szczygieł, and two brothers from Piaski. In December 1941, several months before the mass deportations to the death camps, the Germans set up an agency, known as the Office of Disinfection and Delousing, which was headed by Bolesław Tenenbaum, an experienced operative brought in from Warsaw where he had worked under the notorious Gancwajch. Tenenbaum and his colleagues Sztokfish, who was in charge of the sanitary section, and Dawid Kuperminc, who was in charge of the disinfection section, organized a team of 190 people in a military-like structure. These two groups (Grajer and Tenenbaum's), together with the Judenrat, later played an important role in preparing for and executing the deportation of Lublin's Jews and various other liquidation actions as part of Operation "Reinhard." As elsewhere, the search for Jewish hiding places was carried out by the Jewish police and Jewish agents, who

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[1308] Kott, *Still Live,* 77–79.

[1309] Testimony of Rachela Joselson, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 870.

[1310] Leon Wanat, "The Warsaw Ghetto and Pawiak," The American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies, Internet: <http://www.aapjstudies.org/index.php?id=215>.

[1311] Zylberberg, *A Warsaw Diary, 1939–1945,* 179, 188. Otherwise, as historian Gunnar Paulsson notes, few if any Jews were actually betrayed by Poles during the exodus from Warsaw or inside the camp at Pruszków. See Paulsson, *Secret City,* 191–92.

often took bribes from Jews before betraying them to the SS.[1312] None of this is mentioned in Martin Dean's entry for Lublin in the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*.[1313]

As Israeli Historian David Silberklang shows, at times, Jews who collaborated with the Nazis not only enriched themselves at the expense of other Jews, but actually formed close friendships with leading Nazi officials. The case of Szama (Shamai, Szaja) Grajer, of Lublin, is instructive. A barber and petty criminal before the war, Grajer was imprisoned by the Germans for hitting a *Volksdeutsch* who had been mistreating Jews. Silberklang continues,

> While in prison he befriended many influential SS men and emerged from his incarceration as a proprietor of a café at 15 Lubartowska Street, which was frequented by some of the SS men. Grajer very quickly became a wealthy and influential figure, mistrusted and feared. He was able to acquire special privileges for those who paid him well, and he was correctly perceived by the ghetto community as a Gestapo informer. Nearly all survivors from Lublin remember him vividly.[1314]

Szama Grajer rose to great heights before his sudden, tragic end, as described by Silberklang,

> Shamai Grajer decided that he wanted to marry his pregnant mistress, the seventeen-year-old, blond, blue-eyed Stettin refugee, Mira Fishman. Grajer forced the well-known Rabbi Zvi Elimelech Talmud to grant him a divorce from his wife Bella (against her will) and to perform the wedding. Grajer threw a big wedding party at his café and invited his SS friends, including Worthoff and Sturm, to attend. Sturm even sent a large bouquet of white roses. A day or two later the "illegals" were shot in the Krepiec [Krępiec] woods, and on November 9, Sturm shot Grajer, his wife, and his baby.[1315]

Jews from Lublin were enlisted in large numbers by the Germans to carry out confiscations in the countryside:

> Unlike the typhus epidemic, confiscation of various materials was a German-initiated idea designed to benefit the Germans and weaken the Jews all at the same time. In mid-1941, the civilian labor office created a large team of more than 500 Jewish "*sammler*" (gatherers) all across the district. Their job

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[1312] T. [Tamara] Berenstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 21 (1957): 33–37; Hersz Feldman, "Z Majdanu do Dachau," in Adam Kopciowski, ed., *Księga pamięci żydowskiego Lublina* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2011), 334–35, translation of *Dos bukh fun Lublin* (Paris: Former Residents of Lublin in Paris, Paris, 1952).

[1313] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 675–78. The entry notes the existence of the Jewish police and states that on November 7, 1942, the German demanded that the Jewish police participate in the ghetto's liquidation, offering to protect the policemen and their families.

[1314] David Silberklang, *Gates of Tears: The Holocaust in the Lublin District* (Jerisalem: Yad Vashem, 2013), 265. According to one source, Szama (Szaja, Shamai) Grajer (Greier) was an underworld figure who made a fortune from Jews by promising them preferential treatment in the ghetto. See Marek Urban, *Polska… Polska…* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny IN-B, 1998), 96. According to another source, which confirms Grajer using his influence in exchange for large suns of money, Grajer was a pimp. See Doba-Necha Cukierman, *A Guardian Angel: Memories of Lublin* (East Bentleigh, Victoria: Ester Csaky, 1997), 131.

[1315] Silberklang, *Gates of Tears,* 334–35.

> was to comb the Jewish communities and other areas in search of metals, glass, paper, cloth, and other materials for industrial use. These people continued to work as *sammler* until the spring of 1942. For those chosen for this job, it was a boon; it gave them relative freedom of movement and widespread contacts with other Jews and with Poles. In some cases it also could serve as a basis for underground activity. However, for the Jews forced to relinquish materials, this was yet another blow to their wellbeing.[1316]

Jewish POWs from the Lipowa Street camp in Lublin were employed in the liquidation of the ghetto in Lubartów.[1317] When the need arose, Jewish Gestapo agents from Lublin were brought to Warsaw to help out with the Great Deportation of the summer of 1942:

> Later, in August [1942], when the truth [about the destination of the deportees, namely Treblinka] became widely known, there was the psychological difficulty of accepting it. … Moreover, the Nazis saw to it that their victims should still be able to reject the truth by providing them with false hope. Hoefle [SS Major Hermann Höfle] had brought with him from Lublin a gang of Jewish Gestapo agents who were ready to do anything to stay alive a little longer. They were installed in number 101, Żelazna Street, next to number 103 where Hoefle had his own headquarters, and there, assisted by Jewish Gestapo agents from the Warsaw ghetto, they fabricated letters, which were supposedly written by the 'resettled' from labour camps in Russia and elsewhere.[1318]

Jewish Gestapo agents and informers operating outside the ghetto were a significant peril for Jews who passed as Poles or who tried to hide. Indeed, Aleksander Biberstein, the eminent chronicler of the Kraków ghetto, whose testimony is cited later, considered them to have been a greater source of danger for Jews than Polish denouncers. This was a factor of their familiarity with the Jewish community and the "professional" pressures stemming from their duties: if they did not turn in fellow Jews in considerable numbers, their usefulness to the Germans was spent and their very existence in jeopardy. Most Jewish historians, however, are reluctant to admit to the existence of the numerous Jewish collaborators agents operating on the "Aryan" side, preferring instead to leave the impression that the enemy the Jews feared were not so much the Germans as the Poles, whose favourite pastime was allegedly hunting down Jews. [1319]

Antoni Marianowicz, who hid in and near Warsaw, concurs with that assessment: "Danger lurked not only from the Germans and Polish scoundrels—there were also Jewish scoundrels. I feared them no less, and maybe even more than the former. The conditions encouraged human baseness, regardless of race."[1320] In his published memoirs, in addition to a Jew by the name of Włodek S. working with a ring of

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[1316] Silberklang, *Gates of Tears,* 266.

[1317] Testimony of Maria Plech, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1884.

[1318] Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), 581.

[1319] The latter charge was shamelessly levelled by Jewish American historian Lucy Dawidowicz, who wrote about "the widespread Polish sport of bounty hunting." See Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians,* 106.

[1320] Jolanta Wrońska, "Strażnik niewygodnej pamięci" (an interview with Antoni Marianowicz), *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), August 19, 2000.

szmalcowniks, a phenomenon that will be discussed in more detail, Marianowicz mentions a Jewish woman by the name of Zarembska, who denounced him to the director of the foundry in Wołomin where he worked, and another Jewish co-worker, who fled to Israel after the war in order to escape punishment for his role in helping the Germans plunder Polish property.[1321]

In her memoirs, Sandra Brand mentions a Jew who was captured during a German raid on the apartment of an extortionist in Warsaw and a young Jewish woman who betrayed the hideout of several Jews after being captured by the police.[1322] After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Dr. Ludwik Sztabholz (Stabholz), his wife, and his mother resided in rented premises in Warsaw. Unexpectedly, his wife was visited by an unknown man who spoke Yiddish and offered to help them. Frightened by this turn of events, the family relocated to a village outside of Warsaw where they survived with the help of Poles.[1323]

Barbara Abramow-Newerly did not abide by the order to relocate to the ghetto. She continued to reside in her housing estate in the Warsaw suburb of Żoliborz, even though her Jewish background was widely known. The only *szmalcownik* she ever encountered was a Jew by the name of Saul, whom she knew. Saul worked for the Gestapo ferreting out Jews in hiding on the "Aryan" side. He was also engaged in extorting money, preyed upon Barbara weekly until she was penniless, and threatened to report her to the Gestapo. Facing denunciation, she turned to the Home Army for assistance. Witold Pilecki, the famed escapee from Auschwitz, extricated her by providing money to pay off the *szmalcownik* and told her not to worry. The Jewish *szmalcownik* did not return, perhaps because he was liquidated by the underground.[1324]

Zofia Bandurska-Herman, a Polish woman who was married to a Jew, took in a Jewish family by the name of Przeworski, who had escaped from the Warsaw ghetto. She hid Marek Przeworski in the cellar of the tenement building in which she lived and found hiding places for the other members of his family with her friends. A group of Jews came to her home to extort money. When Marek Przeworski recognized one of them, that Jewish blackmailer shot him. Bandurska-Herman buried Przeworski with the help of the janitor. The Jewish blackmailers continued to visit her with monetary demands. Bandurska-Herman found out the address of one of blakmailers and reported him to the police. However, Bandurska-Herman herself was later summoned to the police station and killed.[1325]

Simha Rotem, who himself "dressed like a Gestapo agent" on his missions into the countryside, acknowledged that "Germans weren't the only ones who served in the Gestapo, whose ranks included members of other nationalities, including Jews."[1326] Another Jewish underground leader Yitzhak Zuckerman ("Antek") also documents the activities of numerous Jewish collaborators in Warsaw. He points

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[1321] Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione,* 115, 163–65.

[1322] Brand, *I Dared To Live,* 110, 113.

[1323] Testimony of Ludwik Marceli Sztabholz, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/861.

[1324] Jarosław Abramow-Newerly, *Lwy mojego podwórka* (Warsaw: Twój Styl, 2000), 143–52; Jack Fairweather, *The Volunteer: One Man, an Underground Army, and the Secret Mission to Destroy Auschwitz* (New York: HarperCollins, 2019), 343. When Witold Pilecki faced trumped up charges of working for "foreign imperialism" after the war which resulted in his execution in 1948, Barbara Abramow-Newerly came forward unsuccessfully in his defence.

[1325] Testimony of Paulina Hirsch, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 453.

[1326] Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter,* 70–71.

out that Abraham Gancwajch, the head of the notorious "Thirteen," worked for some time on the "Aryan" side against the Polish underground and that Adam Żurawin, one of the many Jewish Gestapo agents he mentions, moved to the United States where he became a millionaire and summoned a rabbinical court to acquit him. Zuckerman openly acknowledges that he was accosted by as many Jewish blackmailers as Polish ones, and that it was a Jewish blackmailer who almost cost him his life:

> And if I consider the treason carried out against me by individuals, there were just as many Jews among them as Poles. For example, when I was condemned to be executed on April 18, 1942, it was because of a Jewish denunciation.[1327]

Encounters with Jewish Gestapo agents were almost invariably fatal. Although a relatively small group, German archival documents confirm that agents were the Gestapo's chief source of reliable information, accounting for about a third of all successful "hits".[1328] Only a small number of accounts, albeit important ones, speak to direct experience with this source of danger; most memoirists don't care to recall such episodes which they undoubtedly witnessed or heard about. The magnitude of the phenomenon is thus underreported. Jerzy Warm (later Mikołajczyk) reported that, after her escape from the Warsaw ghetto, his 19-year-old daughter was denounced by a Jew who worked for the Gestapo. She perished in the Pawiak prison.[1329] Eliszewa Totengreber, who was sheltered by a Pole after escaping from the Warsaw ghetto with her mother, recalled that her mother was denounced by a Jew, probably working for the Gestapo, and perished.[1330] Erwin Schenkelbach, a teenager from Drohobycz who took refuge in Warsaw in 1942 and moved from place to place, recalled his encounters with Jewish Gestapo agents, some of them of German background, who denounced and blackmailed Jews hiding and passing in Warsaw.[1331] Roma Elster identified a Jew by the name of Szpinak, who worked together with a Polish woman, Kazia Świerdzewska, as a Gestapo agent in Warsaw.[1332]

Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski (then Ryszard Abrahamer), whose family passed as Christians in Warsaw, states that his father was fingered in a streetcar by a Jewish Gestapo agent. "Jews in the service of the

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[1327] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 493.

[1328] Borodziej, *Terror i polityka,* 84–85.

[1329] Testimony of Jerzy Mikołajczyk (Jerzy Warm), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6148.

[1330] Testimony of Eliszewa Totengreber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4577.

[1331] Testimony of Erwin Schenkelbach (Jerzy Szeliński), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5900.

[1332] Memoir of Roma Elster, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 200.

Gestapo," he writes, "were best at recognizing other Jews."[1333] Aviva Unger was just 12 years old when she and her mother, a widow, were confined in the Warsaw ghetto. After the Germans shot her mother, Aviva escaped from the ghetto in 1942 by crawling through the sewers. She was taken to a Catholic convent where she lived with nuns and attended the convent school. She "was recognized on a tram by a Jew who was a police spy, and betrayed to the Gestapo." She was beaten viciously to extract information, but she said nothing. Risking his life, a priest from the convent was able to save Aviva by vouching for her Catholic background.[1334]

Ruth Altbeker Cyprys describes a familiar scene she witnessed after the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in May 1943. She personally observed Jewish Gestapo agents shouting Jewish slogans or singing Jewish songs in order to provoke a telltale reaction in fugitive Jews among the pedestrians in the streets of Warsaw.

> The Jewish Gestapo men who remained alive were very dangerous. Their eyes were penetrating and Jews pointed out by them were lost without hope. A little car often seen passing slowly along Marszalkowska [Marszałkowska] Street, always keeping close to the pavement, became notorious. Once I was walking along this street when suddenly I heard the shout 'Szma Israel' [*Shema Yisrael* – Hear, O Israel, the words of a section of the Torah that is the centrepiece of morning and evening prayers], followed by the sight of a man dragged struggling into the car. It transpired that the cry had come from the slowly driven vehicle, causing an elderly gentleman passing by to stop and look back instinctively. It was final proof for the manhunters. They must have been observing their prey for some time and, having reckoned that only a Jew would react to these words, had successfully used their subterfuge. A friend told me that the most unexpected shouts could be heard from this car.
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> Another time, while walking in the street, I heard behind me a low humming of the *Hatykva* [*Hatikva*—"The Hope," a Zionist anthem]. For a moment I wanted to look back but I overcame this desire. The singing individual overtook me. He was a young fellow in a little round hat with a feather. This hat meant the same as a Gestapo uniform as we learned at the end of the war. Unfortunately under this hat was the cheeky, carefree face of one of my university colleagues—a Jew. The degradation of some people had plumbed such depths.[1335]

Jankiel Cieszyński (later Jerry Shane) recalled that when he was caught in Otwock, near Warsaw, together with an elderly Jewish man, the German gendarme ordered the man to speak to him in Yiddish to test whether he understood the language. Cieszyński acted as an aggressive anti-Semite, expressing his anger at

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[1333] Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski, "W skorodowanym zwierciadle pamięci: Szkic autobiograficzny," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2005): 7–202, here at 27–28; Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...,* vol. 4, 195 ("Będący na usługach Gestapo Żydzi najlepiej rozpoznawali innych Żydów!"). See also Zbigniew Grabowski, Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Internet: <https://www.1944.pl/archiwum-historii-mowionej/zbigniew-grabowski,1177.html> ("mój ojciec został złapany na ulicy, w tramwaju właściwie, przez żydowskiego agenta gestapo. Ci byli najniebezpieczniejsi, a gestapo miało sporo agentów żydowskich, którzy za obietnicę uratowania życia wyszukiwali ukrywających się Żydów. On został wydany Niemcom przez agenta i znalazł się w alei Szucha.").

[1334] Gill, *The Journey Back From Hell,* 277–78.

[1335] Cyprys, *A Jump for Life,* 165–66.

the Jewish man.[1336] Similar tactics were used in other occupied countries. For example, in Belgium, a Jewish informer for the security police by the name of Icek Glogowski toured around in an unmarked police vehicle identifying Jews. He was credited with having been responsible for fifty percent of the Gestapo arrests of Jews on the streets of Brussels.[1337]

In his memoir, Alexander Bronowski recounts his arrest in Warsaw by the *Sicherheitspolizei* (security police) after one of their informers, a Jew from his native Lublin, recognized him.[1338] Ironically, the Polish "Blue" police, to whom Bronowski was handed over by the Sipo for temporary safekeeping, proved to be his saviours. Staff sergeant Wacław Nowiński not only rescued Bronowski, but Nowiński and his family also selflessly assisted and sheltered other Jews. Yet Mordecai Paldiel, a historian at the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, repeatedly covers up the fact that it was a Jew who betrayed Alexander Bronowski, even though Paldiel finds time to describe Bronowski's fate in various publications.[1339]

There are numerous recorded cases of Polish policemen—members of the "Blue" police in the *Generalgouvernement* (so known because the navy blue colour of their uniforms), the railroad police, the criminal police, and the local police forces in the so-called Ostland (Poland's prewar northeastern territories)—who used their positions to help Jews. Several "Blue" policemen have been recognized as "Righteous Gentiles" by Yad Vashem. This fact is not surprising when one considers that the "Blue" police were heavily infiltrated by the Polish underground, which often provided extensive assistance to Jews. Moreover, without the widespread practice of policemen averting their eyes, illegal trade could not have flourished and starvation would have been a common occurrence in the small ghettos, which was not the

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[1336] Joanna Beata Michlic, "The Aftermath and After: Memories of Child Survivors of the Holocaust," in Horowitz, *Lessons and Legacies X,* 163.

[1337] Moore, *Survivors,* 346.

[1338] Alexander Bronowski, *They Were Few* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 30–33. See also his account in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 142–44.

[1339] Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 289–90; Mordecai Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 53, 153 (twice). Paldiel is so preoccupied with railing against Christian Poles that, in connection with Bronowski's betrayal, he lays the blame on "local anti-Semites" and for good measure adds: "Spotting a Jew on the street had become a sort of sport in Warsaw."

case.[1340] On the other hand, an act of kindness by a Jewish policeman was rare and almost always came with a price, often quite hefty. A Jewish survivor from Lublin recalled:

> I went to a Jewish policeman and asked him to accompany me along the streets forbidden to Jews, up to the factory [where a Polish friend was employed]. He wanted a thousand zlotys [złotys] for his

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[1340] Yad Vashem has recognized at least 20 Polish policemen as Righteous Gentiles: Jan Adamczyk from Denków, near Opatów; Franciszek Banaś from Kraków; Leon Bukowiński from Warsaw (a Kripo, i.e., criminal policeman); Władysław Cieśla from Jarocin, near Nisko, who enlisted the Home Army to liberate some imprisoned Jews; Piotr Czechoński from Tomaszów Lubelski; Grzegorz Czyżyk from Chełm; Jan Fakler from Warsaw; Michał Gerula from Łodzinka Górna, near Bircza; Paweł Gołąbek from Warsaw, who, with his brother-in-law Jan Bartczak, helped smuggle Jews out of the ghetto and hid Jews in their home; Telesfor Hadrysiak from Warsaw; Władysław Książek from Kożuchów, near Strzyżów; Jan Kubicki from Międzylesie, near Warsaw; Bronisław Marchlewicz, the commander of the Otwock police commissariat, a Home Army member who released Jews caught in round-ups, foiled denunciations, warned persons hiding Jews of dangers, and extended his protection to the convent of the Sisters of St. Elizabeth which sheltered a number of Jewish children; Stefan Matacz from Warsaw, whose extended family rescued Ewa Wasserman-Feldstejn and her son; Wacław Nowiński from Warsaw, whose story is set out later; Stanisław Ratyński from Warsaw (Praga); Antoni Sergel from Stężyca, near Garwolin; Stanisław Śliżewski from Kraków, who almost perished in the Montelupich prison for aiding Jews; Władysław Szalek from Kraków; Stefan Żbikowski from Warsaw; and Władysław Zioło from a village near Sandomierz, who was also a member of the Home Army. See Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust,* volumes 4 and 5: *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), Part 1, 69 (Franciszek Banaś), 71 (Rzeszów), 88 (near Siedlce), 121 (Leon Bukowiński—see also Joanna Michlic, "Stories of Rescue Activities in the Letters of Jewish Survivors about Christian Polish Rescuers, 1944–1949," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis,* 149 (Władysław Cieśla), 157 (Piotr Czechoński), 200 (Jarocin, near Nisko), 210 (Jan Fakler), 371 (Sokołów Podlaski), 413 (Jan Kubicki), 477 (Łaskarzew); Part 2, 556 (Wacław Nowiński); 663–64 (Stanisław Ratyński), 777 (Władysław Szalek), Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II, 556–57 (Paweł Gołąbek), 559 (a Blue policeman transported a Jewish child from Radom to Warsaw), 592 (Bronisław Marchlewicz), 597 (Wacław Nowiński); The Righteous Among the Nations Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?/search.html?language=en>; Michał Czajka, Marta Janczewska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 2001–3000/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: No. 2001–3000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 2002), vol. 3, 102 (Jan Kubicki, a policeman from Warsaw, helped Kira Heinsdorf); Barbara Engelking and Dariusz Libionka, *Żydzi w powstańczej Warszawie* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2009), 204 (Jan Kubicki), 208 (Wacław Nowiński); Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...,* vol. 5, 315 (Paweł Gołąbek); Ewa Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German-occupied Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Hippocrene, 1997), 220 (Bronisław Marchlewicz); "Izrael uhonorował granatowego policjanta," *Rzeczpospolita,* July 25, 2005 (Bronisław Marchlewicz); Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 304 (Stanisław Śliżewski), 312–13 (Franciszek Wencel, a policeman in Ropa, near Jasło, who protected Jews in hiding and their rescuers). Mieczysław Erdelli, a Blue policeman from Warsaw who assisted in the rescue of several Jews, was arrested while trying to smuggle two Jews into Slovakia in October 1943, and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. Unlike his wife, Eugenia, for some reason he was not recognized by Yad Vashem. See Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II, 547; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 136–37.

For details of these and many other examples of assistance provided to Jews by Polish policemen see the following publications: Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 82–83 (Stefan Małecki, a Kripo policeman in Warsaw and member of the Polish underground, rescued several Jews), 137–40 (Eliasz Pietruszka, Warsaw—see also Saphier Fox, *Out of Chaos,* 124–26; Testimony of Irma Grundland, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5543; Testimony of Eliasz Pietruszka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, numbers 5222 and 5949), 141–42 (Jan Kubicki), 142–44 (Wacław Nowiński), 145–46 (a Polish policeman sheltered a Jewish boy from Łęczna who had turned himself in at a police station in a village near Lublin), 163 (Zygmunt Okuń, a sergeant in the Warsaw police, his wife Janina and Wacław Mila, clerks with the Criminal Police), 234 (police in Warsaw came to a home to investigate a denunciation but did not seize anyone), 292–95 (the evidence relating to some policemen in two villages near Siedlce is mixed: one of them, who was known as a "Jew-catcher," warned a Jewish girl whom he recognized to leave the village and assisted her with an alibi; another policeman did not seize that same girl out of pity, and his commander recommended her to a good farmer as a cowherd); 335 (Warsaw), 400–401 (Warsaw), 449 (Wiesław Malanowicz, a Kripo policeman who was secretly a Home Army member, brought Jews out of the ghetto, provided them with identity documents, and found them shelters), 603 (for procuring forged documents and sheltering Jews, Michał Kliś, a member of the Home Army counter-intelligence who joined the Blue police in Kraków, was arrested and imprisoned in several prisons and concentration camps; he

> services. I asked another policeman; he asked eight hundred zlotys. It was permissible to walk along those streets when escorted by a policeman, but the sidewalks were forbidden. A third policeman asked six hundred …
>
> Arriving at the factory, I rang the bell at the gate. …
>
> The guard went to the telephone. I gave the policeman one hundred zlotys. (I borrowed the money from my sister—one hundred and no more! …) I handed the policeman the hundred zlotys, promising to pay the rest if and when we survived the war. The policeman grabbed my arm and began pulling me back to town, but Pawlowsky [Pawłowski, the friend] wrested me from his grip, saying:
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> "You have no authority! He belongs to me."[1341]

Andrzej Jezierski recalls how he was stopped in Warsaw in the summer of 1943 by a "Blue" policeman, together with his uncle Jan Kreczmar, an actor, and his wife Justyna Kreczmar, after being fingered by a Jewish confidant. The policeman proved to be less rigorous than his informant because he let them go when he discovered that the men were not circumcised.[1342] A Jew by the name of Kalinowski, who was sheltered first by the Humięcki family and later the Tembler family in Warsaw, ventured outside his hiding place and was spotted by a Jewish policeman working with the Gestapo who demanded a bribe. Kalinowski ran back to the apartment where he was staying with his child. The Gestapo followed him there, seized his child and threw it out the fourth storey window and shot Kalinowski on the spot. They arrested the Tembler family, consisting of parents and two sons, and deported them to Auschwitz. Only Mrs. Tembler and her son Jan survived.[1343]

Betrayals in other contexts were legion. A Jewish woman known as Irka, whose lover was a German policeman, was amassing large sums of money and valuables from turning in Jews. The Communist underground tried without success to eliminate her.[1344] Herman Fleiszer, who passed as a Christian in Warsaw using the name Henryk Repa, was betrayed on the street by a Jewish acquaintance from his student days in Lwów, who apparently was promised the freedom of his wife in exchange for his collaboration with the German police.[1345] A Jewish actor from Lwów who went by the name of Witold Kledzki became a Gestapo agent and worked in a Warsaw casino posing as a Pole. He denounced a number of Jews. At least two of the Jews he turned over to the Gestapo were executed in the Pawiak prison.[1346]

[1341] Goldberg, *The Undefeated,* 120–21.

[1342] Antoni Zambrowski, "Niczym rozmowa głuchych," *Antysocjalistyczne Mazowsze,* June 9, 2005, posted online at: <http://mazowsze.k-raj.com.pl/111834969449210.shtml>.

[1343] Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny,* Part One, 29–30.

[1344] Testimony of Zofia Skalska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3314.

[1345] Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych,* 379. The corresponding entry in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 5: *Poland,* Part 2, 838, fails to mention that the denouncer was a Jew.

[1346] Michał Czajka, Marta Janczewska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301: Nr. 3001–4000/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301: No. 3001–4000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 2005), vol. 4, 54, based on the testimony of Aleksander Bardini, dated September 18, 1947, found in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, record group 301, number 3114.

Maciek Rosenblatt, a young Jewish lawyer who fled from his native Drohobycz after gouging ghetto residents with the help of his uncle Dr. Rosenblatt, head of the Jewish council, took up residence in Warsaw under an assumed identity only to be tracked down by a Gestapo agent from his home town operating in Warsaw.[1347] (This latter source also details other examples of Jewish collaborators in Drohobycz, including one who informed on Jews who had dollars and valuables—something only other Jews would generally be aware of.[1348] Betrayals of hiding places were also known to have occurred in Drohobycz.[1349])

A Jewish woman from Warsaw recorded the following cases:

> Jewish Gestapo men often went [to the sanatorium in nearby Otwock]. They were called the 'Thirteens', because their headquarters was at 13 Leszno Street. They all wore high boots in the German manner. High boots and a rubber truncheon. And they had beautiful girl-friends. The Thirteens didn't wear armbands with a blue star.[1350]

> Two Jewish Gestapo women in the other [room in a flat in Marszałkowska Street]. … Who were they? They were attractive young Jews who were destined to die, but the Germans had spared their lives on condition that they worked for them by denouncing Jews in hiding. The Germans paid them and they dressed smartly.[1351]

Another young Jewish girl who had become the mistress of the Gestapo Colonel Von Korta, and her brother the colonel's chauffeur-valet, had both been plucked from the Warsaw ghetto, and eventually accompanied the colonel to Germany.[1352] That same memoir mentions a German dentist in Warsaw, a Nazi, who had taken a young Jewish mistress, and a young Jew from Lwów who became the lover of a civilian German homosexual. (The German had rented a room from the Jew's parents in Lwów, and that is probably when the relationship started. Rumor had it that he had the boy's parents killed by the Gestapo to maintain the relationship and eventually brought him to Warsaw.)[1353] Fanny Sołomian-Łoc mentions a harmful collaborator residing in the same building her family occupied in the Warsaw ghetto.[1354] Maximilian Tauchner describes the activities of an engineer from Lwów by the name of Koenigl, who worked with the

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[1347] Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz, and Other Stories,* 42.

[1348] Ibid., 40–43. On p. 51, a survivor recounts the hatred, rivalry and in-fighting among Jews in Nazi camps.

[1349] Budzyński, *Miasto Schulza,* 217, 338.

[1350] Szereszewska, *Memoirs from Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945*, 214.

[1351] Ibid., 332, 337.

[1352] Yehuda Nir, *The Lost Childhood: A Memoir* (San Diego, New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1989), 234–35.

[1353] Ibid., 112, 129.

[1354] Sołomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiazdy,* 38.

Gestapo in Warsaw "in the department of combating communism."[1355] A popular meeting place for Jewish Gestapo agents in Warsaw was the Stanisławówka bar on Senatorska Street.[1356]

In some cases, Jewish Gestapo agents and informers struck at both Jews and their Polish benefactors. Sztutman aka Pruszyński, known as "Czarny," a provocateur who posed as an arms dealer, denounced Stefan Prokopek, a People's Army contact with the Jewish underground. Prokopek's apartment on Waszyngtona Avenue, which served as a meeting place for the Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa*), was raided and Prokopek was shot dead. Simha Rotem managed to escape as did Prokopek's daughter, but Tuvia Szajngut ("Tadek"), a Jewish underground member, was also killed. The Germans found a Jew hidden on the premises who, under torture (the allegation of torture has never been confirmed), broke down and revealed the hideout of Sara Biderman ("Krysia"). When the Germans arrived at her hideout, they shot her and left her for dead. Miraculously, she survived. (With the help of Polish friends, she was nursed her back to health.[1357]) About a week after the raid, Sztutman was riding with Germans on Wolska Street. Upon spotting Rotem, he attempted to inform on him again, but Rotem escaped into the crowd and got away. After the war, Sztutman took refuge in Sweden.[1358] Eleonora Prokopek, Stefan Prokopek's wife, tells more of this story. Her husband was a member of the People's Guard, a Communist underground ground. After he was killed in the shoot-out with the Gestapo in June 1943, she continued to hide Jews in her home in Pustelnik. One of their charges, a 17-year-old boy named Mardeks, was apprehended and gave away information to the Gestapo about the rescuers and other Jews in hiding. He even helped look for them. This resulted in death of several Jews and Prokopek's second husband, Aleksander Borkowski, who was sheltering three young Jewish women, underground members from Rembertów. Helena Prokopek stated:

> I would add that Mardeks (the Jewish 17-year old) must have known that death awaited him whatever he did, but all the same he accompanied the Germans by motorbike to the forest and gave away his own people. Once they [the Gestapo] no longer needed him, the same fate befell him.[1359]

Yad Vashem recognized Stefan and Eleonora Prokopek as Righteous Gentiles in 2000, but there is no mention of betrayal by Jews in their official entry, leaving the impression that the denouncers were Poles.[1360]

[1355] Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs,* 245–47.

[1356] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 75.

[1357] Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* vol. 4: *Poland,* Part 1, 68.

[1358] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 424–25; Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter,* 80–84. Unlike Zuckerman, Rotem does not mention that "Czarny" was a Jew. See also the Ghetto Fighters House Archives, Catalog No. 273, Registry No. 11081P, Internet: <http://www.infocenters.co.il/gfh/notebook_ext.asp?book=27994&lang=eng&site=gfh>; Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity,* Part One, 260 (entry 607).

[1359] Emuna Nachmany-Gafny, "The Fortunate Few," *Yalkult Moreshet: Holocaust Documentation and Research* [Tel Aviv], vol. 2 (Winter 2004): 127–28; Testimony of Eleonora Prokopek, May 22, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5225; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 150.

[1360] Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II, 607.

Zosia Goldberg, who passed as a Pole in "Aryan" Warsaw, recalled her precarious encounters with "unintentional" betrayers and an active informant.

> I was almost exposed three times when I was on the street. Several times I saw the trucks with the *placowka* [*placówka*—labor platoons from the ghetto], the Jews who worked outside the ghetto, and many times they would holler, "Zosia, how are you?" I made believe I didn't know them when they yelled from the trucks because … They were not doing it on purpose to give me away, they were just hollering hello, happy to see someone they knew.
>
> Another time there was one fellow by the name of Lifszitz whom I had known from before the war. He was tall and skinny, with curly, kinky, blond hair, and he worked for the Germans. I was told that he would go into the Aryan section and he would look for Jews to denounce. One day I saw Lifszitz on the street, and he was heading in my direction. So I went up to him, right up to him, and I said, "You know, I have a knife. I will stab you if you try to give me away. Get away!" He ran away from me; otherwise I would have been in big trouble.[1361]

One survivor, who moved to Warsaw with her parents during the occupation, described three encounters with Jews who were extorting money from fellow Jews or helping the Germans hunt them down. According to Halina Zylberman, her mother was identified by a Jewish woman from Lwów, her father was accosted by a fellow Jew from Kraków in the services of the Gestapo. After the failed Warsaw Uprising of 1944, she witnessed a Jewish Gestapo agent spotting Jews among the evacuees from the city.

> At last I heard heavy steps on the stairs, followed by lighter ones I recognized as my mother's. She came in accompanied by a Polish policeman. "I'm sorry I'm so late Halinka, but I had a misunderstanding with the authorities. Everything's all right now."
>
> From her flushed cheeks and the unnaturally high-pitched tone of her voice I knew something was very wrong, but Mama gave the policeman a glass of tea and sat down and chatted with him about things in general. He mentioned he would like to take me to the country to visit a close friend of his, a farmer. He would like to make up for inconveniencing her by buying us fresh dairy products. I could see by Mama's expression that she didn't like the idea, but she kept on smiling and acting friendly. "I'll let you know," she replied.
>
> When at length the man left, she collapsed on the sofa, exhausted. "You've no idea what I went through today, Halinka." I went over and hugged her as the words poured out: "I was just walking in the street when I was stopped by that policeman. He asked for my identification papers, then without even looking at them, he put them in his pocket 'I'm afraid,' he said, 'You'll have to come to the police station with me.' 'On what charges?' I asked. 'I've been told that you are a Jewess,' he said. Halinka, I thought I was going to faint. How could he know? 'You're making a terrible mistake,' I told him. 'It's no use pretending that you're not, because I know for sure. There's a lady sitting in the café over there who knows you from Lwow [Lwów] as a Jewess.' I glanced over and sure enough, I saw a woman I knew from Lwow. But she was also Jewish. Why should she have turned informer? I almost panicked, but then I thought of you waiting at home and I knew I had to do everything possible to get out of this mess. I asked him, 'Do you have any children?' 'Yes' he said, 'I have a daughter.'

[1361] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 74–75.

> ‘So have I,’ I said. ‘She’s waiting for me at home right now. She’s very young and needs me. I’m not a Jewess,’ I told him, ‘but I have black market connections and I wouldn’t like to be interrogated by the police. Please let me go home to my little girl.’ I was crying by now, and I looked him straight in the eyes. I could see he was trying to decide what [to] do so I took off my wedding ring and watch, and my golden cross, and pushed them into his hand. Thank God he accepted the bribe. He said, ‘I have a daughter waiting at home for me too, and I can’t imagine how she would manage without me. But the informant is watching, so I can’t just let you go. I’ll have to take you home to check on your story.’[1362]
>
> My father was warned that a Jewish acquaintance, originally from Krakow [Kraków], had turned ‘Jew-spotter’ for the Gestapo. Soon after, they met in the street and although my father’s blood froze, he greeted him warmly and invited him to a nearby café for a cup of tea. The informer suggested that they exchange addresses and my father readily agreed, and gave him a different pseudonym and address. He wandered the streets for some hours till he was sure he was not being followed, till he dared to go home. Fortunately, their paths never crossed again, but we were shocked to think that someone who was so well-educated and well-liked could have fallen so low.[1363]
>
> There was one man standing close by the Germans who attracted my attention. He was the only civilian amongst them and was well dressed and well nourished. I thought I must be dreaming because he looked so obviously Jewish to me. “What is a Jew doing here amongst the German soldiers?” I thought. But when I heard him talking to the Germans saying, “I can’t see any of them in this lot,” shivers went down my spine. He was clearly in the service of the Gestapo—another Jewish ‘Jew-spotter’. Suddenly I was very self-conscious and I felt a touch of ice in my heart. Would he recognise me as a Jew?
>
> But we stayed standing there for about fifteen minutes and then two soldiers of the Wehrmacht approached us and ordered us to follow them.[1364]

The topic of Polish blackmailers or *szmalcowniks* has received much attention in Jewish memoirs and from Holocaust historians. However, there is virtually no recognition in mainstream literature that these same blackmailers, usually from the dregs of society, were not always ethnic Poles and that they also preyed on vulnerable Poles, including members of the Polish underground.[1365] *Szmalcowniks* were by and large, though not exclusively, members of the poor *lumpenproletariat* who were motivated by greed rather than anti-Semitism. Like those inside the ghettos where extortion was widespread, Jews outside the ghettos

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[1362] Halina Zylberman, *Swimming Under Water* (Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2001), 30–31.

[1363] Ibid., 71–72.

[1364] Ibid., 86–87.

[1365] Józef Garliński describes extortion directed at stores which served as drop-off points for the Polish underground in Warsaw. See Józef Garliński, *Świat mojej pamięci* (Warsaw: Volumen, 1992), 305–306. While living in the house of a Polish prostitute in Warsaw, Edward Reicher experienced this firsthand. One morning, two “policemen” came to her door. They were not trying to blackmail the woman for hiding a Jew (something that they did not know at the time), but for being a prostitute. They demanded a “tax” in exchange for not reporting to the authorities that she was a prostitute. When she refused, they threatened to denounce her, in which case, they threatened, she would end up paying twice as much. See Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 186–87.

happened to be easy targets for extortion because of their vulnerability and their inability, in most cases, to seek redress from the authorities. These blackmailers were hardly representative of Polish society, despite the claims of some Holocaust historians to the contrary, and in fact their activities were generally viewed as reprehensible by Polish society at large.[1366] The Polish underground condemned their misdeeds, as did Polish society. The underground passed a number of death sentences against betrayers and suspected Gestapo agents but did not manage to carry all of them out because of practical difficulties associated with such executions. Moreover, very little publicity is given to their Jewish counterparts either operating on their own or in mixed gangs. The latter phenomenon is described in greater detail below.

Polish *szmalcowniks* were generally either members of extortion rings, which were usually made up of professional criminals with ties to German officials and the Polish police, or amateurs, who were often young ruffians interested above all in extorting money and not actually in denouncing Jews. As one Jew hiding in Warsaw attests,

> Did these young ruffians, or 'Shmaltsovniks' as they were known in the Occupation jargon, really want to hand over their victims to the German authorities? No, they were not particularly interested in that. Instead they wanted to rob the Jews, relieve them of their money, jewellery and other valuables, or at least of a jacket or winter coat.[1367]

Historian Gunnar Paulsson, who published a major study on the fate of Warsaw's Jews, concurs in this assessment.

> the *szmalcowniks*, were for the most part interested in money, not blood. Those who accosted Jews on the street were generally satisfied with relatively small sums, while those who found out their victims' hiding places would take whatever they could find. Although in the latter case Jews could be left destitute and desperate, and often died as a consequence, it was relatively common for *szmalcowniks* to turn them over to the police, contrary to the general belief. Actual denunciation was done for personal or ideological reasons, brought little material benefit to the denouncer and was relatively rare.[1368]

Furthermore, since the German authorities had little use for freelance blackmailers, despite threats of turning the Jews in by the latter, these rarely materialized. Even "Blue" policemen who turned to blackmailing Jews could turn out to be more interested in procuring small payments, rather than turning in

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[1366] Historian Tomasz Szarota, an unequaled authority on occupied Warsaw, states unequivocally that *szmalcowniks* were on the margins of Polish society, a component that became more numerous because of wartime conditions. See Wojciech Klewiec interview with Tomasz Szarota, "Miasto paragrafu śmierci," *Rzeczpospolita,* March 26–27, 2011. See also Marcin Zaremba, "'Człowiek drży jak liść'—trwoga przed badytyzmem w okresie powojennym," in Eisler, *Niepiękny wiek XX,* 375–76.

[1367] Reich-Ranicki, *The Author of Himself,* 194. For a description of a "timid" *szmalcownik* see Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 197.

[1368] Paulsson, *Secret City,* 238.

their victims.[1369] Members of the Communist underground were also active in extorting and robbing Jews, often with lethal consequences.[1370]

Most Jews survived their encounters with the amateur *szmalcowniks*, even several of them in a short span; hence the abundance of references to such incidents in Jewish accounts. For the most part amateur *szmalcowniks* had their sights set on relatively small amounts of money or jewelry, and could often be bargained down. Dov Weissberg describes one unfortunate Jew who was robbed in Warsaw three times in a row; by the time the third blackmailer appeared on the scene he had no money to offer him: "The bum let him go. After all, he was only interested in the money, not in bringing a Jew to the police station."[1371] Some blackmailers were careful not to take all of the victim's money and even gave tips on how to conduct oneself and dress to avoid future encounters with blackmailers.[1372] One Jewish apartment in Warsaw was visited several times by a blackmailer who contented himself with taking small amounts of money and valuables and provided "practical hints about better and safer ways of hiding their identity." The two women never ended up moving.[1373] Amateur *szmalcowniks* were afraid of actual contact with the police because extortion was a punishable offence. Jews who were extorted could sometimes get the *szmalcowniks* to back down with bravado denials that they were Jews and threats of reporting the *szmalcowniks* to the police.[1374] Even policemen who extorted money from Jews are known to have backed away from harming those who had no money to hand over or who they had already blackmailed.[1375] Encounters with gangs of professional blackmailers, who were generally much more ruthless and usually included Jews, Polish policemen and German officials among their members, were far more precarious. But such encounters were

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[1369] Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 197.

[1370] Gontarczyk, *Polska Partia Robotnicza,* 212 n.43. Members of the Communist underground were also caught robbing Jews during the final stages of the Warsaw ghetto. See Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 304.

[1371] Weissberg, *I Remember…,* 70. For other examples from Warsaw see Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 441; Bronislawa Alland, *Memoirs of a Hidden Child During the Holocaust: My Life During the War* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 21 (the companions of a female *szmalcownik* did allow her to leave her victim without a coat); Reiss, *Z deszczu pod rynnę…,* 110; Reich-Ranicki, *The Author of Himself,* 194–97; Rosenberg, *To Tell at Last,* 122 (a crooked policeman).

[1372] Natan Gross, *Kim Pan jest, Panie Grymek?* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1991), 257. Translated into English as Natan Gross, *Who Are You, Mr Grymek?* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001. See also Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość,* 170.

[1373] Cyprys, *A Jump For Life,* 140. Although there was no real risk of denunciation, the author explains: "Nonetheless the danger lay elsewhere. During his numerous drinking bouts he might blurt out to the more ruthless type and sooner or later the Jew would be done for."

[1374] Reiss, *Z deszczu pod rynnę…,* 122–23.

[1375] Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość,* 194. A Jew from Mosty Wielkie and his brother were stopped in Warsaw by a blue policeman who demanded money. When this same policeman ran into the brother a year later he said: "You're still alive? Get lost!" See Hersch Altman, *On the Fields of Loneliness* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors' Memoirs Project, 2006); Wiesław Piechocki, "Żyję dzięki 'Sprawiedliwym wśród Narodów świata': Wywiad z panem Jerzym Czarneckim," *Nowy Kurier* (Toronto), November 2003. "The street urchins, whose only possessions were their meager clothing, did not attract any special attention from the shmalzers [szmalcowniki] (blackmailers who denounced Jews to the Germans) and were therefore in less danger than the adults." When the Jewish boy cigarette sellers did experience threats of denunciation to the Germans, it was in order to try to force them to disclose the names and addresses of wealthy fugitive Jews. See Joseph Ziemian, *The Cigarette Sellers of Three Crosses Square* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1975), 14, 52–53, 64.

not routinely lethal, and the blackmailers could also be bargained down or, on occasion, even befriended.[1376] Samuel Willenberg describes a Warsaw gang headed by Antoś, who obtained counterfeit identity documents for the author.[1377] Another source indicates that even the "king" of the Warsaw *szmalcowniks* was recruited, albeit for payment, to help Jewish insurgents escape from the ghetto after the failed revolt of April 1943.[1378]

As mentioned earlier, mixed gangs of *szmalcowniks* which counted Jews among their members were already visible in the fall of 1939. Under the date November 4, 1939, Chaim Kaplan recorded the following entry:

> The conqueror has surrounded himself with spies, traitors, and talebearers, some of whom are found even among our Jewish brethren. The Jews fill a triple role here. First, they are "informers" pointing out the way for the thieves. Visits are made to one place and then another, and each visit ends in a loss of money and life. Valuables are brazenly stolen, accompanied by threats and most often by blows and injuries. …
>
> The second role filled by the Jews is to serve as sacrificial victims. As a result of our sacrifices, they take nothing from the Christians except in unusual cases. A third role is, to our shame, filled by those Jews who buy the stolen goods from the robbers.[1379]

The topic of *szmalcowniks* is dealt with extensively in a study by historian Jan Grabowski which is based on court records from Warsaw relating to trials of persons charged by the German authorities with extorting Jews. It is now beyond dispute that this phenomenon was not an exclusively Polish undertaking, but one in which persons of other nationalities, including Jews, played a prominent role. Of the more than 240 persons charged in 1940–1943, Poles accounted for about two thirds (159 in total), 45 were Germans (almost 20 percent), and more than 30 were Jews (there were also a few others including Ukrainians). Organized gangs targeted well-off Jews, usually included Jews among their members (some of these Jews were Gestapo agents), worked hand in hand with German officials, and often had connections with corrupt members of the Polish "Blue" police. Jewish scum was indispensable for extortion operations within the ghetto

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[1376] For examples of bargaining with szmalcowniks see Janina Bauman, *Winter in the Morning: A Young Girl's Life in the Warsaw Ghetto and Beyond, 1939–1945* (London: Virago, 1986), 111–12, 118; Bakowska, *Not All Was Lost,* 173. For examples of szmalcowniks who befriended the Jews they extorted see Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs,* 245–47; Kaplan, *I Never Left Janowska…,* 74–80; Cyprys, *A Jump for Life,* 140; Reich-Ranicki, *The Author of Himself,* 195–96.

[1377] Willenberg, *Surviving Treblinka,* 151–55.

[1378] Grupińska, *Po kole,* 220.

[1379] Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 63.

itself.[1380] Maria Radziewicz, a doctor's wife, recalled that she and others who had relocated from Łódź to Warsaw ended up seeking safety in the Warsaw ghetto because of the activities of Olek Kon from Łódź, who had joined up with a gang who blackmailed and denounced Jews.[1381]

Jan Grabowski's study is also important for another reason: The Polish underground is often taken to task for delaying, until mid–1942, to take measures against *szmalcowniks*. However, since the Germans were actively prosecuting *szmalcowniks* until that time, there was no need to engage the complicated procedures of the underground state: it was far easier for someone, even the Jewish victims themselves, to simply report the *szmalcowniks* to the German authorities.[1382] Until 1942, Jews could also obtain justice through Polish criminal courts which continued to operate to deal with ordinary transgressions, such as theft, robbery and assault, not involving Germans. Another study by Jan Grabowski of the court records from the environs of Warsaw yielded the following conclusions regarding the fairness of the criminal proceedings involving Jews as victims (witnesses) and as accused:

> Once in the Polish court, proceedings involving Jews advanced along the lines prescribed by the Polish pre-war criminal code. Although the criminal law remained in force, the social context changed dramatically, and the magistrates seem to have been aware of the new reality and were ready to make certain allowances. In some cases … the judges quite clearly commiserated with the Jews and, while weighing their decisions, took into consideration the particularly dramatic plight of the "non-Aryan population."
>
> When Mendel Don and Izaak Butliński, both severely beaten by a group of hooligans, abruptly changed their testimony, the court "aware of the important discrepancies between the earlier testimonies of the victims and those given more recently," decided to pay heed to the original statements. "The last testimony," declared the judge, "must have been given under pressure, which

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[1380] Jan Grabowski, "Szmalcownicy warszawscy, 1939–1942," *Zeszyty Historyczne* (Paris), no. 143 (2003): 85–117; Jan Grabowski, *"Ja tego Żyda znam!": Szantażowanie Żydow w Warszawie, 1939–1943* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004), especially 45–47, 86; Engelking and Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią!",* 56–61. See also Dorota Siepracka, "Mordercy Żydów przed nazistowski Sądem Specjalnym," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 2 (6) 2004: 233–46. In his important commentary on Jan Grabowski's study, Marek Wierzbicki points out that the gangs operating prior to 1942 targeted Jews and other victims not primarily because of their race, but because they were easy targets. Thus they were thus not classic *szmalcowniks* who threatened the Jews with denunciation to the Germans, but rather common bandits who could be punished under German law. See Marek Wierzbicki, "W kwestii szmalcownictwa w Warszawie w czasie II wojny światowej," *Zeszyty Historyczne,* no. 148 (2004): 120–26. For an example of a hold-up ring in Warsaw consisting of German soldiers who were eventually apprehended by the German criminal police, see Brand, *I Dared To Live,* 20–27, 30–31. For an example of a group of German criminal police involved in a home invasion, see Sten, *Memoirs of a Survivor,* 25–26. Another case, based on the memoir of Helena Szereszewska, strongly suggests that Polish hooligans worked in the Warsaw ghetto in cooperation with Jews. See Levin, *Walls Around,* 76–77. Two well-known known rings of denouncers in Lwów also had ties to German officials and could, for payment, secure the release of persons arrested by the Germans. See Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939–1945,* 185. For an account which suggests that a Ukrainian from Lwów was working in cahoots with *szmalcowniks* in Warsaw, see Christine Winecki, *The Girl in the Check Coat: Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland and a New Life in Australia* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), 69.

[1381] Testimony of Maria Zadziewicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2225.

[1382] German Special Courts also prosecuted Poles accused of harming Jews. See Dorota Sierpacka, "Mordercy Żydów przed nazistowskim Sądem Specjalnym," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 2 (6) 2004: 233–46. Jewish police records in Częstochowa reveal that the Polish police were also frequently enlisted to curb crimes committed by Poles against Jews. See William Glicksman, "Daily Record Sheet of the Jewish Police (District I) in the Czestochowa Ghetto 1941–1942," *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance,* vol. 6 (1967): 331–57, at 352–57.

could have been easily applied (especially in the case of the Jews) by Kaliński [one of the accused] who works in the mayor's office." [The accused, local peasants who assaulted and wounded a Jewish artisan, were sentenced (on appeal) to eight months in prison.] In another case, the court in Siedlce sentenced Chaim Lewin to three months in jail for charging black-market prices. The sentence was successfully appealed. The Warsaw Court of Appeals stated in its April 1941 decision that, "the accused Lewin is a poor artisan, and a sole provider for a family of six. In the present, tough times, he faces extreme financial hardship, and this speaks in his favour. In this context, the arguments of the prosecution are irrelevant."

The Polish judges were also aware of the problems facing Jewish victims and witnesses summoned to court. In most cases, in order to appear before the bench, the Jews had to apply to police authorities for special travel permits. Such permissions were usually denied, and the witnesses' absence could have been used to cut the proceedings short. The judges would have none of it, and refused to dismiss cases based on testimonies of absent Jewish witnesses or victims. The trials went ahead, and some Poles were even sentenced, although the Jewish victims had already been sent away to the death camps. [Several examples are cited of Poles being fined and sentenced to jail terms for stealing from or assaulting Jews.]

In all criminal cases heard by the Siedlce District Court, which involved Jewish victims and Polish accused, the trials went ahead even when the former were unable to testify. What may seem more surprising, in most cases the defense went along with the prosecutors' requests to have testimonies of absent Jews admitted in court. [Examples are provided.] In all sentences that were appealed in the Warsaw Court of Appeals, the higher court upheld the decisions of the Siedlce court. The fact that the victims were Jewish, and the witnesses were unable to attend the hearings, seemed to have played no role in the judges' deliberations.

The phenomenon of relative judicial impartiality as demonstrated in the Siedlce District Court and in the Warsaw Court of Appeals is corroborated by evidence from the Municipal Court in Otwock. There, the sentences imposed on Jewish defendants differed little from those imposed on Polish culprits. A comparison of fifty-four cases involving Jews with an equal sample of "Polish" cases reveals that the ethnic origin of the accused played no visible role in the court decisions. The cases heard by the court during the 1940–1942 period dealt mostly with theft and assault, and the judges were more preoccupied with the pre-war record of the accused than with their racial features. Repeat offenders were given harsh treatment regardless of their origins. Overall, the judges strayed on the side of leniency, often explaining in their decisions that the times were difficult and prison conditions were appalling. …

Although ultimately unsuccessful, the accused and their lawyers often appealed to the "racial solidarity" of the judges. …

A lawyer tried to link the Jews to "smugglers, thieves and Bolsheviks" who threatened the villagers east of Warsaw. Another accused peasant justified the assault on one Szwarcberg, "because the Jew pretended to be a Pole." … these exhortations seem to have carried little or no weight with the judges …

… The records of Municipal and District Courts in the Warsaw area testify to the fact that the sentencing of Jewish defendants was carried out, for the most part, without a visible bias.[1383]

[1383] Jan Grabowski, "Jewish Defendants in German and Polish Courts in the Warsaw District, 1939–1942," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 35 (1) (2007): 49–80, here at 68–70, 80.

Survivor and rescuer accounts confirm that Jews were frequently involved in blackmailing fellow Jews. Maximilian Tauchner, a Jew from Lwów passing in Warsaw, describes how Jews from his native Lwów worked hand in glove with a gang of Polish blackmailers in Warsaw by compiling detailed lists of Jews in hiding. After his arrival in Warsaw, Tauchner gave his address to a Jewish friend he recognized from his home town of Lwów, also living in Warsaw under an assumed identity. Soon after, he was visited by blackmailers who demanded a payoff, but with whom, curiously, he developed amicable relations. They even urged him to change his address.

> When I asked him who had given them my name, he said that I was not the only one on their list of Jews living in Warsaw under Polish names. … I was beside myself when I saw the list. It contained quite a number of Jews, among them about ten from my hometown, all registered by their assumed Polish names, their addresses in Warsaw, their real names, and also their means, the size of their families, their profession before the war, and finally, the place where they were working in Warsaw, if one held a job. Although I had my suspicions about who the author of the list was, I still was not sure and asked my friend to tell me who he was. My friend, the 'szmalcownik', gave me a few names of Jews who belonged to their gang. I was stunned to learn that, among others, there were the two colleagues of mine whom I mentioned earlier. They both came from so-called good Jewish families, and who would have believed that they could have been the source of information given to the blackmailers, by which they betrayed a fellow Jew, their former class-mate?[1384]

Tauchner acknowledges the wartime complexity as follows: "And to this question I would only add, and what about the Jews? Have we all been saints? Have there not been any rotten apples in our barrel? Based on my experiences during the Holocaust, I have come to the conclusion that a generalization in this matter [i.e., about the behaviour of Poles] would be unfair."[1385]

Ozjasz Landau, who left Lwów and took up residence in Warsaw, reported that shortly after his Jewish friend's cousin took him to an apartment where a family of Jews was living, the apartment was visited by Kuba Perlmutter and two "Aryan bandits" who took 16,000 złoty from the Jewish family.[1386] Henryk Reiss, who also took refuge in Warsaw, was warned by his aunt, a native of Lwów, of Jews in the service of the Gestapo: "Refugees from Lwów were exposed by others from Lwów, usually members of the so-called golden youth. She mentioned the name of the son of a known pharmacist E."[1387] Another Jew from Lwów who found refuge in Warsaw, where he personally encountered Jewish blackmailers, was Marion Andre (Marian Andrzej Tenenbaum aka Czerniecki), who later became a theatre director in Toronto.[1388]

[1384] Maximilian Tauchner's account appears in Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs,* at 240–42.

[1385] Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs,* 237.

[1386] Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 3, 160–61; Testimony of Ozjasz Landau, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1146.

[1387] Reiss, *Z deszczu pod rynnę…,* 106.

[1388] Marion Andre's account in the author's possession.

Joseph Rosenberg from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, who was passing as a Christian in Warsaw, described his family's misfortunes (a robbery) at the hands of group of *szmalcowniks* with whom Józef Goncho, a Jewish acquaintance from Wolbrom, worked.[1389] A Jew from Radomsko identified the following Jews from Radomsko believed to be blackmailing Jews from their hometown living in Warsaw: the Najmark sisters, Epstein, and Sidorowicz. Radomsko Jews hiding in Warsaw were afraid of encountering Jews from their hometown.[1390]

A Jew named Włodek S. got entangled with a Warsaw policeman and his wife, a prostitute; the Jews on whom he informed were then blackmailed by *szmalcowniks*.[1391] Janina Zdaniecka describes how her Warsaw residence was raided by three men pretending to be secret policemen, one of whom was a Jew. After robbing her, they warned her to leave in to avoid such further visits.[1392] A Jewish woman who was offered an opportunity to work together with *szmalcowniks* on Warsaw's "Aryan" side after being unable to pay a ransom was Luba Gawisar.[1393] Paulina Hirsch describes the activities of a group of relentless Jewish blackmailers who shot and killed one of the Jews they were extorting money from.[1394]

A Jewish woman named Stefania K. recalled how a young Jew living in a tenement house in Warsaw she moved to, lured those he suspected of being Jewish to other premises on the pretext that they would be safe there from denouncers. In fact, it turned out this person worked together with the Gestapo, and the "safe" premises were soon visited by Germans to extort money from the Jews who fell into the trap and relocated.[1395] Zosia Goldberg, who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with her mother, described how her "friend" Franka, in whom she had confided, betrayed the fact that she had jewelry to a *Volksdeutsch* plainclothes policeman, who then staged a robbery in her home, forcing her and her mother to relocate.[1396]

Another account tells of a Jewish woman confiding in a Jewish friend about family members passing as Poles in Warsaw: "And at parting, she even gave them our address and telephone number." Soon the blackmailers came and, when the author's father refused to give anything, he was arrested by the police. Fortunately, the Pole who interrogated his father had pity on him and released him. However, the father's mother was suspicious of the policeman's motives so, in a bizarre twist, she turned her son in to the police for trading in dollars. Although his fellow prisoners learned he was Jewish, a certain criminal protected him and he was eventually released in exchange for a large bribe. The aunt who had triggered this series of

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[1389] Rosenberg, *My Name is Józef Nowak,* 34–36.

[1390] Testimony of Edek, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/1993.

[1391] Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione,* 115. That author states that Jews in hiding managed to establish good connections with various German agencies. Ibid., 116.

[1392] Testimony of Janina Zdaniecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5625.

[1393] Her account is found in Grupińska, *Po kole,* 152–54, and Grupińska, *Ciągle po kole,* 160.

[1394] Testimony of Paulina Hirsch, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 453.

[1395] Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość,* 168.

[1396] Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 62–63.

events had an affair with an informer, and when his wife learned of this she denounced the author's mother, who she mistakenly believed was having the affair.[1397]

A Jewish family passing as Christians in Warsaw faced extortion by a mixed gang of *szmalcowniks,* possibly with police connections, after a young Jewish woman from their native Białystok sought their assistance to pay a bribe to the Kripo. Within days a gang of three men, including two Germans, who knew all about their circumstances, descended on their residence. The Jewish woman had obviously been used as a decoy. The Jews spotted one of the *szmalcowniks* on the street a few weeks later and he offered to return the bracelet he had taken from them in exchange for cooperating with the group by finding other victims.[1398]

Gary Keins describes several encounters in Warsaw with a Jewish woman, a Mrs. Salc, whom he had met in Zamość, where she first revealed his cover. Originally from Lwów, Mrs. Salc eventually moved to Warsaw where she worked together with a gang of *szmalcowniks,* tailing Jews passing as Poles. But that wasn't the author's only worry: "If Mrs. Salc only speculated about my origin, there was at least one other person who could finger me—a young man and former member of the Ghetto police who suddenly showed up on the Polish side."[1399] The author recalls that the Nazis had their agents, including Jewish ones, all over Warsaw and "used Jewish cowards to track down their co-religionists hiding on the Polish side. We heard that they made dozens of denunciations every day to the Gestapo. The numbers were so numerous that the Nazis fell behind in their frenzied Jew-killing, so much so that betrayals from December, 1942, were not yet disposed of in March of 1943, according to the information of the underground." He had heard that "about one hundred fifty Ghetto dwellers had pledged themselves as agents to the Gestapo. … about one hundred and fifty Jewish escapees were caught every day with the help of those betrayers and various other headhunters."[1400]

Rescuer Kazimiera Żuławska recalls a number of raids on her Warsaw apartment whose purpose was to extort large sums of money. The Gestapo was accompanied by spies or denouncers who were Jews, *Volksdeutsche* or Poles.[1401] Another rescuer recalls an extortion by a Polish policeman. The Jewish woman in question was denounced by a Jew, and the extortion money had to be shared with the Germans.[1402]

Jewish Gestapo agents and informers on Warsaw's Ayran side were involved in blackmailing as an important sideline, in addition to their assigned tasks of ferreting out Jews in hiding, searching for Jewish goods hidden with Poles, gathering intelligence about the rescue network, and infiltrating underground organizations.[1403] Henryk Grabowski, a legendary Home Army liaison between the Polish and Jewish

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[1397] Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 197–202.

[1398] Gustaw Kerszman, *Jak ginąć, to razem* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2003), 84–85.

[1399] Keins, *A Journey Through the Valley of Perdition,* 131–32, 151, 179.

[1400] Ibid., 145, 151, 154.

[1401] Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 461–62.

[1402] Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej,* 568.

[1403] Hempel, *Pogrobowcy klęski,* 179.

underground, who smuggled scores of Jews out of the Warsaw ghetto, recalled that there were Jewish, as well as Polish *szmalcowniks* he had to watch out for.[1404] Ludwik Hirszfeld, a Jew who converted to Christianity, confirms that Jews feared Poles as well as Jews in the service of the Gestapo: "Thousands of spies were roaming the city [of Warsaw], Volksdeutsch, Poles, and Jews whose lives were temporarily spared in exchange for denouncing their countrymen in hiding. … Spies included both Poles and Jews in the service of the Gestapo. The worst were the blackmailers. They could wring the last penny out of their victims."[1405]

Irena Tarłowska (Szenberg), who survived passing as a Christian in Warsaw, after recounting her experiences with Polish blackmailers, concludes: "What is so surprising about this? Robbing Jews was such an easy way to make a profit. In every nation one can find rogues. There were after all Jewish blackmailers too."[1406] Miriam Peleg-Mariańska, a Jew who worked closely with Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, writes: "In spite of the fact that the streets of Warsaw were swarming with many informers, collaborators and stool-pigeons, both Polish and Jewish ones, the city always awakened in me feelings of admiration with regard to its general attitude to the occupiers."[1407]

Israel Shahak, a Jew from Warsaw, has stated:

> Of course there were Polish policemen who rounded up Jews and Poles, who blackmailed Jews whom they recognized as such. … But who of the Jewish survivors does not know … that there were also Jewish blackmailers, some of them even quite famous by name, outside the Ghetto, who were neither better nor worse than the Polish ones, and also Jewish policemen in the Ghetto whose duty in the first weeks of the extermination of summer 1942 was to deliver, each of them a specified number, of Jewish victims to 'be sent' to extermination. *Now,* I hold that both kinds of murderers or accessories to murder are fully equal and that the abhorrence in which one should hold them does not depend on nationality, but my memories (and memories of all the survivors who are honestly 'talking among themselves') tell me that at the time we Jews hated the Jewish policemen, or the Jewish spies for the Nazis in the Ghetto, much more than we hated anybody else.[1408]

Of this tragic and complex phenomenon Władysław Bartoszewski, an active member of Żegota, writes:

> The struggle against the blackmailers was exceedingly difficult. It was nevertheless carried out systematically as far as possible by the Polish underground organizations during 1943 and 1944. If, however—as events would show in several cases—the memory of the wrongs and the personal

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[1404] Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych,* 92. Grabowski also described how he tried in vain to find Jews in the Białystok and Wilno ghettos who were willing to run the risks involved in conspiratorial activities. Ibid., 92–94.

[1405] Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld,* 276, 313.

[1406] Engelking, *Na łące popiołów,* 157.

[1407] Peleg-Mariańska and Peleg, *Witnesses,* 150–51. Edward Reicher, who pretended to be a gentile in Warsaw, recalled the following act of defiance of the Germans by Poles when he boarded a tram: "On the steamed-up window, someone had written: 'Your underpants may be lined with fur, but you'll never win the war!' It was clear the Poles lacked neither humor nor courage. A Jew would never have dared to use such words." See Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 133.

[1408] Israel Shahak, "The 'Life of Death': An Exchange," *New York Review of Books,* January 29, 1987, 46.

> tragedies suffered as a consequence of denunciation was stronger and more lasting in those who were rescued than the memory of the incomparably more numerous cases of proffered assistance, this has to be regarded as a characteristic, but also understandable, trait of human nature. In general, tragic and negative experiences leave a deeper and more lasting impression on the human psyche than do good and positive ones. Aside from the German police and the informers and extortionists, who were recruited from the dregs of the Christian Polish and Ukrainian population, it was the Jewish confidence men who represented the greatest threat to Jews living in hiding. Seduced by false hopes and promises, they frequently helped the Germans to track down fellow Jews who were hiding in the 'Aryan' sector.[1409]

Elsewhere Bartoszewski wrote that confidants, renegades and betrayers constituted a greater plague, and were much more visible, inside the ghettos than the parallel phenomenon on the Polish side.[1410] It is also worth noting that the Germans employed many non-Polish agents and informers not only in Warsaw, but throughout occupied Poland,[1411] even in areas where those ethnic minorities did not live. According to historian Jan Pietrzykowski, the city of Częstochowa was plagued by both Ukrainian and Lithuanian Gestapo agents.[1412] Other Polish historians note that Ukrainians, Belorussians and Russians were employed not only in Warsaw, but also in a small town like Augustów.[1413] Jewish memoirs also confirm that Ukrainian Gestapo agents and informers were plentiful in Warsaw.[1414] However, despite the existence of such copious evidence, historian Gunnar Paulsson, who published an important study about Jews in wartime Warsaw, insists that the notion that blackmailers included substantial numbers of Jewish turncoats is "quite mistaken."[1415] Moreover, he maintains that he has not encountered in his research a single

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[1409] Władysław Bartoszewski, *The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: A Christian's Testimony* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), 89.

[1410] Władysław Bartoszewski, "Losy Żydów Warszawy 1939–1943," in Władysław Bartoszewski and Marek Edelman, *Żydzi Warszawy 1939–1943* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1993), 12.

[1411] A counterintelligence report of the Home Army Command for the Lwów District for the period March 1 to September 1, 1942, refers to 3,172 informers broken down as follows: 1,365 *Volksdeutsch*e, 83 *Reichsdeutsche*, 463 Ukrainians, 278 Communists, 91 NKVD agents, 104 Gestapo agents, 23 Soviet intelligence agents, 307 Poles, and 91 Jews. The Jewish informers would only include those active outside the ghettos. See *Polska-Ukraina: Trudne pytania,* vol. 9 (Warsaw: Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej and Ośrodek Karta, 2002), 270.

[1412] Jan Pietrzykowski, *Cień swastyki nad Jasną Górą: Częstochowa w okresie hitlerowskiej okupacji 1939–1945* (Katowice: Śląski Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985).

[1413] Tomasz Strzembosz, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna: Społeczeństwo polskie a państwo podziemne 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Krupski i S-ka, 2000), 107; Wilamowski, *Srebrniki Judasza,* 23, 111, 116 (Warsaw).

[1414] Keins, *A Journey Through the Valley of Perdition,* 116, 219–20; Rosenberg, *To Tell at Last,* 117; Goldberg, *Running Through Fire,* 64; Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 196–97.

[1415] Paulsson, *Secret City,* 150.

"concrete example" of a Jew betraying his Polish benefactor,[1416] even though such cases were already reported during the war and confirmed afterwards.[1417]

Conditions were much the same outside Warsaw. The Jewish police (*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst—OD*) played a pivotal role in the deportations from and liquidation of the Kraków ghetto.

> On 30 and 31 May 1942, a mass deportation of Jews from the Kraków ghetto to the death camp at Bełżec was carried out. On the night of 31 May 1942 OD-men, at the behest of the German authorities, conducted inspections of identity cards in the Krakow [Kraków] ghetto. Following this examination, they gathered those destined for deportation at Plac Zgody, and escorted them the next day to the train station in Płaszów. From there, the Jews were sent to the extermination camp at Bełżec, to which a total of about 2000 people were deported. Further raids, round-ups and deportations from the ghetto to the Bełżec camp continued from 2 to 8 June 1942. About 5000 Jews went to the Bełżec death camp. On 5 June the German authorities introduced a new identity card. On 7 and 8 June 1942, with the help of the OD, identity cards were inspected and a selection of persons to be deported was conducted. In the Kraków ghetto, several hundred Jews were killed and several thousand, including some from the "Optima" courtyard on Węgierska Street, were brought by the OD to the train station in Płaszów. In summary, from the beginning of the operation to exterminate the Jews, about 7000 people had been sent from the Kraków ghetto to the death camp at Bełżec.
>
> The main responsibilities of the OD were, therefore, maintaining order, issuing identity cards, carrying out document checks, participation in raids and blockades organized by the German authorities in the Kraków ghetto, and escorting people gathered at Plac Zgody to the Płaszów train station. In addition, OD-men participated in searches of Jewish apartments in search of illegal residents in the Jewish quarter. One consequence of the events associated with the extermination of the Krakow [Kraków] Jews, however, was the OD's independence from the Judenrat.
>
> On 20 June 1942, a decision of the German governor of Kraków, Rudolf Pavel, reduced the area of the ghetto. The Jewish police were given responsibility for the orderly resettlement of Jews to new homes. According to Franciszek Banaś, a "navy-blue" policeman, following the deportations of June, the OD took control, among other things, of the division of population registration.
>
> On 26 June 1942 OD-men were forced by the Gestapo to perform a show execution, hanging seven unknown men on the railway embankment next to the Płaszów station. Because there were Poles among the murdered [the victims were Polish railroad victims, as described later—*M.P.*], the event was commemorated by the Nazis. This crime was aimed at awakening aversion to Jews, as the perpetrators, among the residents of Kraków. One can only assume that the events of 26 June and October 1942 had a demoralizing effect on the members of the OD.
>
> In October 1942, the OD once again carried out the orders of the German authorities. OD officers were responsible for maintaining order, taking people from their homes for deportation, forming them into columns and escorting them to Płaszów train station. The process of deportation lasted one day. Approximately 600 Jews were killed on the spot and 7000 were deported to death camps.

[1416] Gunnar S. Paulsson, "Ringelblum Revisted: Polish-Jewish Relations in Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945," in Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed., *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 185.

[1417] Szapiro, *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka,* 163. These two rather well-known and well-documented cases are described earlier.

> In November 1942, the German authorities excluded part of Lwowska Street, known colloquially as "Ukraine," from the area of the Kraków ghetto. During the same month, the Germans separated a group of 200 Jewish workers who were sent from the ghetto every day in the company of OD men to work on the construction of a labor camp in nearby Płaszów. On 6 December 1942 the ghetto was divided by the German authorities into two parts: A for the employed and B for the unemployed. The deadline for liquidation of the ghetto was set for 13–14 March 1943.
>
> On 13 March 1943 at 6 o'clock in the morning, the SS, police and Sonderdienst surrounded the ghetto. From 11 am to 3 pm, OD-men gathered between 6000 and 8000 Jews from part A of the ghetto. In the next step, 14 March 1943, German troops carried out the liquidation of the ghetto's part B, whose residents were allegedly to be directed to the German forced labor camp Julag I. On the streets, in hospitals and shelters, the Germans segregated Jews by gender, age, state of health and ability to work. The segregation did not apply to the families of OD-men, who, during the operation, gathered the bodies of the murdered and loaded them onto the platform of a truck, which then drove away to Płaszów. On that day, about 2000 Jews from the Kraków ghetto were deported to KL Auschwitz. In the ghetto remained only a few dozen Jews who cleaned up the area. OD-men worked on the deserted streets as well, collecting the bodies of victims and loading them onto the truck platform. The bodies were taken to the area of the nearby Płaszów Zwangsarbeitslager [hereafter: ZL Płaszów], where they were buried in a mass grave.
>
> The "clean-up" of the former ghetto lasted until August 1943. Members of the Judenrat and the OD and their families remained in the area. Until September 1943, the building at Józefińska Street 39 housed branches of the SS and Gestapo. The most zealous OD-men in the civil division followed the orders of the German authorities. These OD officers believed until the end that their involvement would be appreciated by the occupiers. On 14 December 1943, at the behest of Wilhelm Kunde, director for Jewish affairs, inconvenient witnesses of the Nazi crimes were murdered at Płaszów. Symche Spira, Michał Pacanower and Dr Wilhelm Armer perished along with their families. Thus ended another stage of the operation of the OD, which, now consisting mainly of former OD-men from the Kraków ghetto, went on to maintain order in the forced labor camp at Płaszów.[1418] [footnotes omitted]

Helena Rosthal recounted how Jewish policemen went looking for hidden Jews on their own initiative when the Kraków ghetto was being liquidated. They took bribes consisting of jewelry and money from those they found for protection. Notwithstanding a promise to sneak her into the Płaszów camp, two Jewish policemen—Müller and Teichler—betrayed her and her child.[1419]

Historians Józef Bratko and Witold Mędykowski deal extensively with the activities of Gestapo agents of various nationalities in Kraków, where a group of about thirty Jews worked under Maurycy Diamant

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[1418] Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, "*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst* in Occupied Kraków During the Years 1940–1945," *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia,* vol. 11 (2013): 147–60, here at 151–53.

[1419] Testimony of Helena Rosthal, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4481.

(Diamand) and Julian Appel and another smaller group under Aleksander Förster.[1420] There was a special division for Jewish affairs—Department No. 3—at the Gestapo headquarters on 2 Pomorska Street in Kraków, which consisted of a large network of agents, drawn mainly from the Jewish ghetto police, and informers. One of the most active German Gestapo agents in Kraków was Rudolf Körner, originallly from the Sudentenland, who was responsible for the capture of hundreds of Jews on the Aryan side.[1421] A postwar investigation revealed that Gestapo confidants Julian Appel and Grun (likely Marcel Grüner) apprehended Michał Kaczor, a Jew living in Kraków on Aryan papers, and brought him to a police station.[1422] Roman Sperber, a member of the Jewish underground in Kraków, was also denounced by Julian Appel, whereas Henryk Sperber, Roman's older brother, was denounced by a female Jewish agent and apprehended by Jewish police. Both brothers were murdered by the Gestapo.[1423] Julian Appel also denounced Celina Krischer; she was able to escape from a transport to the Płaszów concentration camp, however, and was sheltered by Poles.[1424] Among the Poles denounced by Julian Appel was Jan Idec, a member of the Polish underground, who was tortured in Montelupich prison in Kraków and then sent to Auschwitz.[1425]

Jewish policemen, among them Julian Appel, Wilek Giemski and Weiss, with the assistance of the informer Stefania (Stefa) Brandstätter (née Rottenberger), tracked down members of the Jewish underground on the "Aryan" side.[1426] Erna Hilfstein's chances of hiding among the Poles were higher than average: she had false documents, spoke flawless Polish, and because she happened to attend a Catholic school, knew religious rituals and prayers. Furthermore, the chaplain at the school she attended was the secretary of Adam Sapieha, the archbishop of Kraków, and had the connections and the willingness to hide Erna in a convent. The only thing that stood between Erna and successful evasion of the Nazi persecution was Stefania Brandstätter, who combed the convents searching for hidden Jews. Eventually, Erna had to abandon the idea, after two children of her mother's cousin's were fingered by Stefania Brandstätter and

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[1420] Bratko, *Gestapowcy,* especially at 86–99; Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20. See also Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?: Wokół przypadków kolaboracji Żydów w okupowanym Krakowie* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018), for a whitewash of the activities of Jewish collaborators. Jarkowska-Natkaniec dismisses the notion that Maurycy Diamant headed a network of Jewish Gestapo agents (at p. 291).

[1421] One of the most active German Gestapo agents was Rudolf Körner, originally from the Sudentenland, who was responsible for the capture of hundreds of Jews on the Aryan side. See Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 23–24. Interestingly, Taubenschlag also befriended Eduard Schubert, the head of two sections of the criminal police (Kripo) in Kraków, who took a bribe to transfer Taubenschlag's mother from Lwów to Kraków.

[1422] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów,* 369.

[1423] Testimony of Eugenia Halbreich, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1674.

[1424] Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 236.

[1425] Testimony of Jan Idec, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4128. Appel was known to have denounced other Poles as well. See the testimony of Antoni Pieprzyk, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1916.

[1426] Bauminger, *The Fighters of the Cracow Ghetto,* 26, 85–86; Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 204, 206.

seized by the Germans from the convent where they resided.[1427] Zofia Weindling describes how she was betrayed by Stefania Brandstätter, her best friend, who sent Natan Weitzman (also referred to as Weisman or Wiessmann) to orchestrate her arrest by the Gestapo, and how she was tortured in prison and interrogated by Brandstätter's lover, Rudolf Körner, the head of the criminal police.[1428] Stefania Brandstätter also denounced two Polish colleagues, Anna Maria Heydel and Izabela Czecz, who were arrested and deported to concentration camps,[1429] and possibly other Poles who had dealings with Jews.[1430] The activities of a Jewish woman identified as Stella (perhaps Stefania Brandstätter), who became the mistress of a high-ranking Gestapo officer, are described by her friend Samuel Honig:

> Nobody in the ghetto knew or would ever suspect that Stella, moving freely in Krakow, would be a denouncer, nor the Jewish people hiding their identity in the free Aryan part of the city. On one occasion she met a school friend on the street. … She whispered to him that she was also hiding on Aryan papers and she assumed so was he. … She … proposed to meet him in the same café the next day. … He came on time, but Stella wasn't there. Instead two Gestapos in civilian clothes suddenly appeared and took him away. Stella did this not once, but often, denouncing friends and mothers with children. … a person like Stella is called a "muser", a denouncer, and people that she denounced faced certain death.[1431]

The Jewish underground had little success in eliminating Jewish Gestapo agents (some were eventually executed by the Polish underground, others like Maurycy Diamant, who had personal Jewish bodyguards protecting him, avoided his death sentence). According to members of the Jewish underground, these Gestapo agents succeeded in destroying almost completely the Jewish underground in the ghetto and its members, liaison officers, supply depots and printing shops on the Aryan side. When the ghetto was liquidated on March 13, 1943, most of the remaining underground members perished when a Jewish informer betrayed their bunker.[1432] Not only did the Germans employ groups of Jewish Gestapo agents to

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[1427] Erna H. [Hilfstein] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–2914), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library; Testimony of Erna Hilfstein, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9995.

[1428] Testimony of Zofia Anita Weindling, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1212.

[1429] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 204, 209; Testimony of Anna Maria Heydel and Izabela Czecz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4549, cited in Czajka, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz/Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue,* vol. 5, 195; Testimony of Stefania Schutzman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1631.

[1430] Testimony of Barbara Pawlik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1218.

[1431] Samuel Honig, *Reunions: Echoes of the Holocaust, Pre-War and Post-War Stories* (Windsor, Ontario: Benchmark Publishing & Design Inc., 2000), 69–70. Stella survived the war and was seen in Hungary and the United States. For similar accounts concerning Stefania Brandstätter see Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 206–207.

[1432] See the testimony of Cesia Frymer and Pola Warszawska in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i Zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 7–9.

ferret out Jews in hiding, but also to spread propaganda, particularly for the benefit of the West, by creating Jewish organizations dedicated to the "welfare" of fellow Jews.[1433]

Aleksander Biberstein, the chronicler of Kraków Jewry, describes at great length the activities of numerous members of the Jewish police—the *Ordnungsdienst* (OD or Order Service), and various other Jewish agents active both inside and outside the ghetto.

> During the entire period of the occupation the *Odnungsdienst* was a tool in the hands of the Gestapo. On its instructions the OD-men carried out without reservation the basest activities, frequently surpassing the Germans in their ruthlessness. They were the ones who pulled Jews out of homes to their deportation, pressing them on with screams and often with beatings. They were the ones who filled up the jail cells on the basis of lists of names drawn up with their help and the help of other denouncers. They convoyed the transports of deportees and, on their own initiative, carried out searches of homes to look for those who were staying there "illegally." …
>
> The OD had three sections: political, currency, and criminal. The *Zivilabteilung* was a special section that reported directly to the Gestapo and received its instructions from them. That unit struck terror [in the ghetto]…
>
> Only a few members of the *Ordnungsdiesnt* did not have shameful deeds on their conscience. …
>
> Over and above the uniformed portion of the *Ordnungsdienst*, who openly assisted the occupier, there existed during the occupation a broad network of confidants, commonly called informers, who were connected to individual German bureaus such as *Zollfahndungsstelle,* the Gestapo, *Wirtschaftsamt.* These confidants spied on Jews in hiding especially members of the Jewish Fighting Organization, searched for hidden Jewish property and that given over [to Poles] for safekeeping, and listened in on conversations. Often the denunciations were trumped up and were the result of personal conflicts. Because of these denunciations hundreds of people were imprisoned or deported to Auschwitz where they died in gas chambers. …
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> … The number of confidants was elusive, although it probably exceeded significantly the number of official OD workers. …
>
> On instructions from the Gestapo Spira [Symche Spira, the head of the Jewish police] organized the so-called *Zivilabteilung,* the most ominous part of the OD, which reported directly to the Gestapo. Its workers were: Julian Appel, [Leopold] Blodek, Michał Pacanower, Ignacy Pacanower, Artur Löffler, Natan Schleifer and Wertal. These persons handed over to the Germans, without scruples, Jews who had displeased them for whatever reason. … Artur Löffler … made up lists of Jews for deportation, and denounced Jews who hid. Natan Schleifer searched for hideouts of Jews, informed about political conversations, and thought nothing of blackmailing people for bribes. …
>
> The confidants were commonly called informers. This was the most dangerous element, bereft of all scruples and human feelings. … Depending on their assignment they tracked down Jews in hiding, members of the Jewish Fighting Organization, hidden Jewish property, people with party affiliation, etc. The confidants blackmailed their victims and extorted money from them, and once deprived of their money and valuables, they handed them over without the slightest scruple. There were many

[1433] Arczyński and Balcerak, *Kryptonim "Żegota",* 173–74.

> confidants living both inside and outside the ghetto who were not known at all and consequently were very dangerous.[1434]

The activities of a Jewish Gestapo agent in Kraków are described by Zvi Helmut Steintiz:

> Uncle Jurek had connections to a man whom he claimed would be able to get us residence permits from the Gestapo against payment … Mother's brother handled negotiations with the mystery man …
>
> Gestapo members were happy to do business with the Jews that they despised, so that they could line their own pockets with east money earned at their victims' expense. When I saw the agent I couldn't understand how this man—"typically Jewish" in appearance and not especially likeable—had managed to win the trust of several Gestapo men. The agent was known back then as a "Macher" (doer, maker), as were other people who had connections to the Gestapo and got things done. … I don't know the price he demanded. Having noted down our personal data, he promised to get the papers to us within ten days, and certainly before the deadline date [of the "resettlement"]. Ten long days passed and we neither saw nor heard from the agent.[1435]

The activities of a Jewish policeman in Kraków are described by Bertha Ferderber-Salz:

> One of the ghetto policemen was a low creature who had been friendly with one of the leaders of the underground during their university days. The police had prepared a satanic plan. This man met his friend frequently and gained his confidence through lies and hypocrisy. The member of the underground movement would rebuke him for serving the Germans. The policeman gradually convinced him that he was in the force not by choice, that he wanted to help the underground, and that in effect they both desired the same end. In order to prove his good intentions he would supply the underground with items of information from time to time, until he was trusted by them. Then, when he knew where the leaders of the underground met he arrived with a group of policemen, surrounded the building, and attempted to arrest its occupants. The policemen, however, were unarmed, whereas the members of the underground had arms in their possession. With their arms at the ready, they prevented the traitors from implementing their foul plan and made their way through the ghetto's alleys and streets to the "Aryan" side. But the game was up. The traitor knew the addresses of the members of the underground inside the ghetto and outside it. Some of the fighters managed to escape to Warsaw, where they continued the battle. Others fled to the forests, but most of them were caught and flung into the infamous Cracow prison, Montelupich. They were executed after being tortured sadistically.[1436]

The ghetto walls were not a barrier for Jewish collaborators, whose activities were directed at both Jews and the Polish underground outside the ghetto. Jews escaping from the ghetto by way of the sewers were

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[1434] Aleksander Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), 164–74; Aleksander Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie,* Second edition (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), 188–200.

[1435] Zvi Helmut Steinitz, *As a Boy Through the Hell of the Holocaust: From Poznań, through Warsaw, the Kraków ghetto, Płaszów, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Berlin-Haselhorst, Sachsenhausen, to Schwerin and over Lübeck, Neustadt, Bergen-Belsen, and Antwerp to Eretz Israel, 1927–1946* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2009), 155.

[1436] Bertha Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980), 35.

betrayed by Jewish informers.[1437] People who were randomly stopped on the street and suspected of being Jewish were examined by Jewish informers. A woman so examimed was identified by Symche Spira, the head of the Jewish police, as a Jew and executed by the Gestapo.[1438] There were also cases of Poles, who had agreed to take in Jewish property for safekeeping, being arrested and sent to concentration camps because of betrayals by Jewish agents.[1439] As one Jewish witness noted,

> Most of them did not conclude their dirty work with the annihilation of the ghetto but continued collaborating with the Germans on the "Aryan" side, helping them to expose Jews who had tried to save themselves through "Aryan" certificates.[1440]

Many of the numerous collaborators active in Kraków, including 42 members of the Jewish order police headed by Leopold Blodek who became Gestapo confidants after the liquidation of the ghetto and were strategically located throughout the city,[1441] have been identified by name and some of their activities detailed. Not only were they responsible for scores of Jews being turned over to the Germans (it is estimated that Jewish confidants detected at least one third of all Jews apprehended outside the ghetto), often they also misappropriated their victims' property and extorted money from them. The list of Jewish Gestapo confidants includes:[1442] the boxer Anders, Julian Appel, Chaim Auerbach, Behavier, Mojżesz Białobroda, Mietek Birner (Biernacki), Leopold (Leopol) Blodek, Stefania (Stefa) Brandstätter, Broda (who was executed by the Jewish underground), Mojżesz (Samuel) Brodman (who worked for the Foreign Exchange Control Office and informed on Jews who traded illegally in currency), Brzeziński (executed by the Home Army on February 26, 1943), Zofia Czyżyńska, Solomon Desler, Maurycy (Józef) Diamant (or Diamand), Esterowicz, Josef Erlich (code name "Josele Kapota"), Szuje Fastak, who betrayed both Poles (such as Home Army members Antoni Szczygielski and Witold Jernik) as well as Jews to the Gestapo (Fastak was executed by the Home Army), Mosec Feiler, Feingold brothers, Israel First, Albin Fleischman,

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[1437] Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie*, Second edition, 98.

[1438] Testimony of Izak Scheidlinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 824.

[1439] Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie*, 30 (1985 edition), 32–33 (second edition).

[1440] Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…,* 34.

[1441] Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 857.

[1442] This list is based on the following sources: Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie,* passim; Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 229–41; Para, *Los polacos y los judíos a través de los siglos,* 269–73; Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…,* 34; Rivka Perlis, "The Hehalutz Fighting Resistance in Cracow," in Asher Cohen, Yehoyakim Cochavi, and Yoav Gelber, eds., *Dapim: Studies on the* Shoah (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 233–34, 237, 238; Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945,* 838, 843; Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20; Diatłowicki and Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 2, 157; Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?,* passim; Testimony of Jan Herman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1345 (Mendelberger would denounce Jews and then, in collaboration with the Gestapo, release those who could pay hefty bribes); Testimony of Jakub Leblowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3711 (regarding Izak Stern). Some testimonies are imprecise as to the name of the Jewish informer. See also the testimony of Feliks Heinberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2331, who mentions a convert by the name of Aleksander, who took in Jews only to betray them.

Aleksander Förster (Ferster), Szymon Friedman, Wilhelm Gemski (Wilek Giemski), Marcel Goldberg, Paweł Gottlieb, Zamek Grajek, Marcel Grüner (who tracked down Jews in hiding and members of the Jewish Fighting Organization; he immigrated to South America after the war), Dawid Gutter (executed by the Home Army), Gurman, the Hand brothers, Heller, Marian Handel or Händel (originally from Lwów, after the war he lived in Caracas, Venezuela, under the name of Klinowski but disappeared when detected by fellow Jews), Hochwald (who informed the Germans about wealthy Jews and, after the liquidation of the ghetto, denounced those still in hiding), Regina Judt (a cabaret owner and prostitute), Stanisław K., Kamerman, Katz, Meier (Majer) Kerner, Kleinberger, Kohn, Henryk Koppel, Leser (Lejzor) Landau (who later immigrated to Israel), Leinberger, Willi Leitgeber (executed by the Home Army), Lejtkin, Lewin, the Lichtenbaum brothers, Lisman, Artur Löffler (Loeffler), Mandelberger, Markowicz (executed by the Home Army), Henryk Mandel, Mojsie Müller, Mynis, Bobi Nebel, Alfred Nossig, the brothers Israel or Ignacy (Michał) and Leon Pacanower, Peschel (executed by the Home Army), Michael Poretz or Purec, Marta Puretz (who was also active in Budapest under the name of Maria Panecka and later became Marta Hercz), Alfred Reich (from Bochnia), Dr. Szymon Rosen (from Bochnia, who was arrested and tried after the war), Marian Rotkopf (from Bochnia), Roth (from Rzeszów, who left a trail of arrests after each stay in Kraków), Rozencwajg, Jakob Schindler or Szindler (who milked his charges before betraying them), Natan Schleifer, Jakub (also known as Moszek or Mosiek) Selinger and his wife, Róża (not only did the Selingers denounce Jews on "Aryan" papers, but also Poles who accepted Jewish property for safekeeping), Leo Silber, Silberstein, Symche Spira (the commander of the Jewish police, executed by the Home Army), Szymon Spitz or Spic, Stein, Steinfeld, Professor Sterling (executed by the Home Army), Izaak Stern, Świeca, Samuel Streimer, Ozjasz Süsser, Sylwia Szapiro, Szejn, Szmerling, Szymanowicz, Ignacy Taubman (who also went by the names of Borkowski and Gołębiowski), Hersz Waga, Ark Wajntraub, Warszawiak (code name "Parszawiak"), Salomon (Salo) Weininger, Natan Weisman or Weitzman, Weitz, Wiktor Wertal, Witkowski, and many others.

Some of the informers were not agents or confidants at all, as in the case of a well-to-do Jew who informed on Shimek Drenger in revenge for an "expropriation" carried out by Drenger on behalf of a Jewish underground organization, thus leading to the arrest of Drenger and Gusta Davidson in January 1943.[1443] Some of these Jewish Gestapo agents also ventured outside Kraków, especially to Bochnia.[1444] Mojżesz Brodman betrayed a large hideout in the remnants of the Kraków ghetto, as well as many hideouts in Bochnia.[1445] Brodman was also said to have lured Jews into paying for secure, secret transports to Hungary, only to betray them to the German authorities.[1446] Szymon Spitz made his way to Pilica, where he

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[1443] Rivka Perlis, "The Hehalutz Fighting Resistance in Cracow," in Cohen, Cochavi, and Gelber, *Dapim,* 238.

[1444] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 211–13. See also Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 528–29.

[1445] Testimony of Aron Geldwert, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3366; Testimony of Mendel Selinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3429; Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?,* 372–73.

[1446] Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?,* 372. Other testimonies mention the involvement of Maurycy Diamant, Lejzor Landau, and Salomon Weininger in this scheme. See Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?,* 286 n.173, 346.

was followed by Gestapo men from Kraków and Miechów who carried out arrests and executions of Poles and Jews.[1447]

The memoirs of Tadeusz Pankiewicz, a Yad Vashem recognized "Righteous" Pole who ran a pharmacy in the ghetto and was intimately acquainted with its affairs, provide a number of examples of the activities of Jewish collaborators who endangered both Jews and Poles:

> From time to time people would disappear from the Ghetto in this fashion: a list was prepared by a Jewish Gestapo agent, Szymon Szpic, in cooperation with the OD Commander Spira; using this list the suspects were pulled from their homes, usually at night, and delivered to the OD so that they could be transported early in the morning by German cars under heavy police guard, either to Pomorska Street or in an unknown direction where all traces of them disappeared. There were many such cases. Jews disappeared and, also at the outset, some Poles who operated various enterprises in the Ghetto. Even I was included on one of those lists. … The charge against me was that during the night many of the Ghetto inhabitants constantly gathered in my pharmacy. …
>
> Aside from Szpic, I should mention some other informers who carried on their activities both in the Ghetto and beyond its walls, and to whom the Germans assigned various functions. Among them were Julek Appel, … Bialobroda [Mojżesz Białobroda], Stefania Brandstatter or Poklewska, [Wilek or Wilhelm] Chilowicz and his wife [Maria], [Mietek] Finkelstein, Forster, Marcel Gruner [Grüner], Marcel Goldberg, Kleinberger, [Majer] Kerner, Michal Pacanower, Szymon Rosen, Marian Rotkopf, Ignacy Traubmann, Weininger, Weismann, and many others about whom we did not have positive proof. These informers infiltrated all the institutions of the Ghetto, including the Customs House. … [Mojżesz] Brodman and Steinfeld were particularly useful to the Germans there. We kept the names of the informers on prescription blanks which I kept hidden during the occupation. Virtually all of them perished at the hands of the Gestapo or Polish underground organizations.
>
> A very dangerous couple in the service of the Gestapo was the Selingers. … They collaborated with the Obersturmfuhrer [*Obersturmführer*], Theodore [Kurt?] Heinemayer, who was counselor of the Gestapo for political affairs. In the cafes she would eavesdrop on the conversations of the Germans; he would not slight any task assigned to him by the Gestapo. He [Mojżesz Selinger] denounced Jews who had Aryan papers and Poles who were in contact with the Jews.[1448]

Abraham Brand was one of the Jews passing as an Aryan in Kraków who was recognized and apprehended by Mojżesz Selinger and his colleague Brajtman (Brodman?). Fortunately, Brand was able to escape with the help of a Polish policeman.[1449] Other Jews apprehended and denounced by Selinger include Bronek

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[1447] Account of Estera Rusinek in Diatłowicki, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945,* vol. 1, 307; Testimony of Estera Rusinek, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 520.

[1448] Tadeusz Pankiewicz, *The Cracow Ghetto Pharmacy* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987), 35, 37–38. Tadeusz Pankiewicz, a great benefactor of the Jews, was decorated by Yad Vashem. According to Stanisław Taubenschlag, Szymon Szpic's son was also a Gestapo collaborator who was sent to England as a spy by the Germans. See Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 33–34.

[1449] Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945,* 226; Testimony of Abraham Brand, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3216.

Dreyfuss[1450] and Henryk Wachtel.[1451] Henryk Wachtel, who was passing as a Pole, ran into Mojżesz (Jakub?) Selinger, a good prewar friend turned informer, on the street and unsuspectingly agreed to meet with him to discuss plans to escape to Hungary. Selinger came to the meeting with two Gestapo men who arrested Wachtel. Wachtel was deported to the Płaszów concentrion camp.[1452]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, several groups of Jews continued to be employed by the Germans. One group consisting of about 20 (or even as many as 42 according to another report) former Jewish policemen, headed by a Jew named Leopold Blodek, became Gestapo confidants. Spread throughout the city, their primary, but not their only task, was to ferret out Jews in hiding, at which they excelled. Another group consisted of about a score of Jews from the Płaszów concentration camp who, in exchange for their freedom, undertook to infiltrate Polish underground organizations and to expose Jews in hiding. The leaders of these groups (Diamand or Diamant and Förster, respectively), as well as some of their members (Julek Appel, Natan Weissman, Stefania Brandstätter, Symche Spira, Wilhelm and Maria Chilowicz, and Mojżesz Białobroda), were eventually exposed in the Polish underground press. Having thus been rendered useless and expendable, many of them were done away with by the Gestapo.[1453] Some Jews were more fortunate. After his arrest by the Gestapo, Mundek Erlich was released on payment of a substantial bribe. However, he was required to inform on Jews who were in hiding in Kraków under the cover of "Aryan" papers. His Polish benefactor, Jacek Stocki-Sosnowski, arranged to smuggle him out of Poland into Hungary.[1454]

As a result of a grenade assault on the Cyganeria café, carried out in cooperation with the Communist People's Guard on December 22, 1942, according to Jewish sources, or December 24, 1942, according to the official plaque marking the event, the Jewish underground in Kraków basically ceased to exist. The action was part of a gun heist intended to arm the fledgling Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa–ŻOB*). Its Warsaw members, Yitzhak Zuckerman and Havka Folman, were enlisted in the operation. The plan was to shift the blame for the attack onto the Home Army, avoid reprisals against Jews and divert them toward Poles. (A similar strategy, i.e., directing anticipated German retaliations onto Christian Poles rather than Jews, was behind the alleged derailment of a train by the Wilno United Partisans Organization near Nowa Wilejka, sometime between May and July 1942, which, according to Jewish

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[1450] Testimony of Józef Rumpler, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2380; Testimony of Szyfra Westreich, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2381.

[1451] Testimony of Helena Wachtel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2390. Selinger turned over to the Gestapo the author's husband, who had been in hiding.

[1452] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 209.

[1453] Arczyński and Balcerak, *Kryptonim "Żegota",* 173–74; Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę,* 294 n.157. On the activities of Maurycy Diamant's (Diamand's) group directed at the Communist Polish People's Party organization in Kraków see Gontarczyk, *Polska Partia Robotnicza,* 240–41. Wilhelm Chilowicz denounced Iganacy Neuhaus, a Polish airport employee, who helped Jews escape to Hungary via Slovakia. Neuhaus was imprisoned in the Płaszów camp. See the testimony of Ignacy Neuhaus, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3406.

[1454] Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005),* volume II, 618. See also Mundek Erlich's rescuer's autobiography: Jacek Stocki-Sosnowski, *Jedno życie cztery świata* (Kraków: Baran i Suszczyński, 1994).

sources, allegedly resulted in the execution of scores of Polish villagers,[1455] and the decision of the Jewish underground in Częstochowa to kill a German soldier near the Jasna Góra monastery, which resulted in the execution of twelve Christian Poles.[1456])

> Disguised as Germans, members of the Jewish Fighting Organization's Krakow [Kraków] branch were told to launch diversionary attacks on drinking establishments frequented by off-duty German officials: the Esplanade, the Bohemian [Cyganeria] Café (a favored haunt of the businessman Oskar Schindler), and several other locales. The idea was to seize as many weapons as possible and then raid an armory in the ensuing chaos.
>
> The attack was coordinated by local ZOB leader Abraham Leibowicz [known as Laban], a General Zionist from the youth group Akiva. …
>
> At the appointed hour, when Christmas parties were in full swing, Laban's partisans struck. They lobbed grenades into the bars and restaurants and stormed in, firing pistols. Isaac [Zuckerman] was part of the team that hit the upscale Bohemian Café, where several Mausers were pried from the hands of a tableful of dead Gestapo agents.
>
> The Germans were so stunned by the brazen assault—the first major rebellion in their otherwise tranquil stronghold—that all the assailants got away safely. … Thirteen Germans [11 according to other counts] were dead and a dozen more were in the hospital. It was revenge, pure and simple, and unburdened by moral dilemmas. There were no bystanders in a place like the Bohemian Café—from the waiters to the women of loose virtue who trolled for German clients, everyone there was complicit in the Occupation in one way or another. [This statement is simply ludicrous. Staff working in such establishments were no more complicit than Jews employed in German ammunition factories. *M.P.*]
>
> To throw the vengeful Gestapo off track in the aftermath, the ZOB raiders left behind leaflets implicating the Home Army. This, they hoped, would prevent reprisals by the angry SS on innocent Jewish residents of the Krakow ghetto. The shirking of responsibility was a risky gambit that [justifiably] could have provoked the wrath of the Polish Resistance had the Germans retaliated against the Gentile population instead. The Nazis, however, knew full well who was behind the "terrorist" actions because they had two informants in the Krakow branch of the ZOB. The collaborators tipped off the Gestapo to the location of a deserted hospital where Zuckerman was supposed to rendezvous with Leibowicz the following day. The SS was waiting for him when he arrived. … He was hit. Havka Folman and Abraham Leibovicz had been caught. Their capture allowed Isaac to slip away …[1457]

[1455] Cohen, *The Avengers,* 62. The Jewish underground searched for an appropriate location to strike "somewhere far from the ghetto and far from the forest camps where Jews were used as slave labor. The Nazis met each rebellious act with collective punishment, killing a hundred Jews for one dead German. The underground did not want to give the Germans reason to blame the explosion on Jews."

[1456] Mizgalski and Sielski, *The Jews of Częstochowa,* 35. In need of a German uniform with a certain rank, the Jewish underground killed a German soldier not near the ghetto, where Jews would be exposed to retaliation, but rather near the Jasna Góra monastery. In retaliation, twelve Christian Poles were executed.

[1457] Brzezinski, *Isaac's Army,* 223–24. Yitzhak Zuckerman was cared for by Polish strangers and, although wounded, managed to return to Warsaw. See also Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 530.

Havka Folman Raban, who was a courier between the different branches of the Jewish Fighting Organization and the Dror Youth Movement throughout occupied Poland, recalled how she ended up in prison as a result of the betrayal:

> By nine o'clock everyone but Menachem had returned [to the secret base on the Aryan side]. … Suddenly, there was a loud knock on the door. We knew that behind the stoves were weapons, ammunition and banners. One of the guys got up to hide them, but at the same moment a freezing call sliced the air: "Hands up?" Germans burst through the door with guns drawn. We froze on the spot. There were many people: officers, Gestapo men and civilians. They shoved us into the hallway with our hands raised. It wasn't hard to sense their exalted mood. "We caught a gang of Jews!"
>
> The outside of the building was surrounded by tens, perhaps hundreds, of Germans. It seemed they had received information about us; it looked like an ambush. Guards were stationed beside the doors. There was no chance of escape. … They found the supply of weapons and the banners. …
>
> … Two vehicles were parked in front of the gate. They pushed us inside and laid us down one on top of the other. By the light of the moon we could see Menachem. He was lying in a corner of the vehicle covered in blood. … When we reached the prison we learned that the two informers were (Julian Appel and Natan Weissman) young men who worked with our people in Krakow.
>
> … The vehicle stopped beside one of the buildings. I knew that one of our people lived there with the Polish gatekeeper. After a few minutes, the gatekeeper's entire family was dragged into the vehicle. On the way the car stopped a few more times, dragging in additional prisoners. Eventually there were about twenty of us. …
>
> We reached the Gestapo headquarters on Pomorska Street. … There were many weeks of interrogations, beatings, pain and blood. …
>
> Meanwhile the Germans continued searching for the "bandits". … They went through the city and surroundings. … The Germans succeeded in arresting tens of underground activists, Jews and Poles. Every day prison cells were filled with additional prisoners.[1458]

When a number of Poles and Jews from the Polish Communist People's Guard made their way from Kraków to Klimontów and Prądnik Biały, they were betrayed by Birner ("Mietek"), one of the Jewish members of the underground group.[1459]

As in Warsaw, Jewish agents played a crucial role in ferreting out Jews passing and hiding in Kraków and its vicinity after the liquidation of the ghetto. According to Aleksander Biberstein, the "greatest threat" facing Jews with "Aryan" papers, i.e., passing as Poles, was "confidants in the service of the Germans, who most often were Jewish betrayers. … Many cases of denunciation are known to me where Polish rescuers lost their lives along with the Jews they hid." Biberstein mentions the following victims of Jewish betrayal by way of example: Dr. Michał Schnell, Dr. Wilhelm Porański, Dr. Izydor Fischhab, Dr. Zygmunt Thur, Dr. Regina Thurowa, Dr. Maria Hirschtal, Dr. Leopold Jakobsohn, Dr. Adolf Engel, Dr. Maria Englowa, Dr.

[1458] Havka Folman Raban, *They Are Still With Me* (Western Galilee, Israel: Ghetto Fighters' Museum, 2001), 142–46.

[1459] Diatłowicki and Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce,* vol. 2, 60–61; Testimony of Adolf Bromberger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2371.

Helen Fisch.[1460] Sometimes fate smiled on near victims and they managed to avoid falling into the hands of the Germans. A Polish "Blue" policeman in Kraków rescued a Jewish family from a Jewish informer named Ignacy Taubman:

> Members of the clandestine Organization to Assist Jews [Żegota] secured us an apartment at 30 Sebastian Street. However, this was the apartment of a policeman named Pitera, and Mama was afraid to stay there. Then, it turned out that this Polish policeman was one of the most decent men Mama encountered during the war. …
>
> We were spied on all this time by a certain Jew, Ignacy Taubman, who was a Gestapo informer and wanted to denounce us. Policeman Pitera relocated us to Józefińska Street, because Germans used to drop in on him, and this was dangerous for us. There, we saw Taubman again snooping under our windows.[1461]

Ada Kessler-Pawlak confirms that Jews in hiding had to be on guard constantly because of the large number of Jewish spies seeking out fellow Jews whom they often knew.[1462] Maria Stecko reported that the Gestapo employed Jews at the railway station to detect Jews leaving from or arriving in Kraków.[1463] One such agent who made travel for Jews extremely hazardous was Salo Weininger, who was seen at the train station looking for Jews. Weininger also patrolled the streets of Kraków hunting down Jews passing as Poles. Weininger turned in many Jews, among them Irena Goldwasser, Koper, and Leibek Heffner. Weininger recognized Heffner on a streetcar and apprehended him with the assistance of another agent. He was also active in Bochnia, near Kraków, where he was responsible for the arrest of a number of Jews. Weininger was also involved in a scam, orchestrated by the German authorities, in which some 80 Jews were lured out of hiding on false promises of passage to Hungary, then a safe country. These Jews were taken to the former Jewish cemetery on Jerozolimska Street and shot in 1943. Towards the end of the war Weininger resurfaced in Budapest where, after the German occupation of that country, he worked with the Gestapo in detecting Jews who had fled there from Poland. He denounced several members of Marian

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[1460] Biberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie,* 220 (1985 edition), 252 (second edition). Biberstein also describes how Polish labourers smuggled goods destined for Jewish inmates into the Płaszów concentration camp, as well as other forms of mutual assistance in that camp which held both Jewish and Polish prisoners. Ibid. (1985 edition), 31, 95, 134–36. Interestingly, a Gypsy was employed by the German commandant to execute Polish prisoners in Płaszów. Ibid., 137.

[1461] Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses,* 8. Ignacy Taubman, who also went by the name of Gołębiowski, was eventually shot by the Polish underground in a failed execution attempt. He may have settled in Australia under the name Borkowski. See also the testimony of Julian Aleksandrowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3202 (Aleksandrowicz was stocked by Taubman); and the testimony of Jakub Tilles, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7108 (Tilles was told by other Jews passing as Poles to watch out for Taubman because he had denounced a number of Jews). Taubman also pursued Poles wanted by the Gestapo. See the testimony of Marek Koczkowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3190.

[1462] Kessler-Pawlak, *Nie chcę nocy,* 93, 102.

[1463] Testimony of Maria Stecko in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 25.

Faber's family who were apprehended and perished in concentration camps. Another such Jewish transplant from Kraków was Marta Puretz, who also continued her association with the Gestapo in Budapest.[1464]

Janina Ekier recalls that her brother, who was passing as a Christian, was denounced by a Jewish Gestapo agent at the train station in Kraków and taken to Płaszów (he later perished in Auschwitz): "Jews from the ghetto had to turn in every day ten people hiding on Aryan papers."[1465] Izydor Landesdorfer is another Jew who testifies to the activities of Jewish Gestapo agents operating in Kraków. Groups of Jews—consisting of men, women and children, who had been ferreted out of their hiding places on the Aryan side by these agents—were brought to the concentration camp at Płaszów and executed.[1466] The Jewish informers Julek Appel and Natan Weissman discovered and betrayed Jews hiding in a bunker in the nearby town of Bochnia.[1467] Informers and agents active in Bochnia included Mojsze Müller and Szymon Friedman, both from Kraków, and a teenager from Wiśnicz named Fichtner or Wertheimer. Müller travelled with the Gestapo throughout the Kraków district. After the liquidation of the ghetto in Bochnia, the Jewish police, among them Cukerman, ferreted out several hundred Jews hidden in bunkers. One of the Jews found in a bunker, Kalfus from Wiśnicz, betrayed the Jews who had smuggled his brother out of the Kraków ghetto, hoping thereby to save his own life.[1468]

A Jew by the name of Jakob Szindler (or Schindler), who passed as a Pole, took in dozens of wealthy Jewish escapees from the Kraków ghetto for large sums. Once the charges ran out of cash, they paid their rent with valuables. After running out of any means of support the Jewish fugitives were handed over to the police. Szindler eventually betrayed his own wife when she found out that he kept a young mistress, who was also a Gestapo collaborator.[1469] Marta Puretz approached Elżbieta Jasińska, who was involved with the Polish underground, to obtain false documents. Puretz arrived at Jasińska's home for the documents accompanied by the Gestapo, who arrested Jasińska and deported her to Auschwitz.[1470] Henryk Reiss encountered Marcel Grüner, a prewar acquaintance, in the town square. Acting in a friendly manner and not wearing an armband, Grüner asked Reiss where he was staying and took Reiss to see his cousin Genia

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[1464] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 207–208. Marian Faber reported meeting more than a dozen Jews denounced by Weininger while he was imprisoned in Kraków. Weininger was arrested after the war in Romania or Hungary but managed to buy himself out from prison. See the testimony of Marian Faber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4604, cited in Czajka, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz/ Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue,* vol. 5, 215. See also the testimony of Filip Adler, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3452 (this testimony mentions the use of false South American documents), and the testimony of Henryk Nisencwajg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4559.

[1465] Isakiewicz, *Harmonica,* 248.

[1466] Marian Turski, ed., *Losy żydowskie: Świadectwo żywych,* vol. 2 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 1999), 184–85.

[1467] Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse,* 173.

[1468] Testimony of Abraham Sternhell, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3400. These informers were eventually themselves killed by the Gestapo in November 1942.

[1469] Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 76–80.

[1470] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 206.

Stillman, who was surprised to see him and was panicky. Reiss managed to extricate himself and left for Warsaw. Later he learned that Grüner was executed by the Polish underground for betraying Jews in hiding.[1471] According to another account, Grüner denounced Schepetschi, the head of the *Arbeitsamt* in Kraków, who issued work cards to Jews well in excess of the permitted number.[1472] A female Jewish Gestapo agent identified as Kamerman was involved in extorting money and valuables for protection and denouncing Jews hiding in Kraków. After doing much damage, she was eventually discarded by her German lover and sent to Auschwitz.[1473] Henry Billys (then Henryk Białystok), who, passing as Ukrainian, held a position in a post office in Kraków, was fingered by a Jew in the service of the Gestapo in July 1944. Fortunately, he was able to convince the Gestapo men who surrounded him that he was not circumcised.[1474]

A German Jew by the name of Aleksander Förster ran a restaurant near the ghetto, which was a meeting place for Jewish confidantes and their German overlords. He acted as a spy and informer, moving around both inside and outside the ghetto without an armband.[1475] Roman Frister had several run-ins with Jewish Gestapo agents—professional informers—spying on Jews passing in Kraków:

> There was something shiftless about the way he stood, as if waiting to see what would happen next. He was about fifty, a short, thin fellow in an unfashionable grey suit and black hat. … The connection between the strange onlooker and the police only dawned on me when the policeman holding my ID turned to look at him. The man nodded with a slow, accidental-looking movement of his head that must have been a pre-arranged signal.

That Jewish agent reappeared at the police station to provide positive identification for the German police.[1476] Later on another Jewish informer by the name of Diamant (likely Maurycy Diamant) betrayed Frister's parents, who were arrested in their home by German policemen and perished in a concentration camp.[1477] Stanisław Taubenschlag, who passed as a Pole in Kraków, recalls:

> They [i.e., the Germans] formed, at 6 Sławkowska Street, what we Jews amongst ourselves called "the Jewish Gestapo". This was a group of informers comprising several Jewish traitors. Among them were Diamant, Szpic, Branstäter [Stefania Brandstätter], Appel. Their task was to denounce to the Gestapo Jews who were in hiding.[1478]

[1471] Reiss, *Z deszczu pod rynnę…,* 108–9.

[1472] Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations,* 81.

[1473] Testimony of Erwin Zahler, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5301.

[1474] Oral history interview with Henry Billys, Sophie Billys, and Millie Korman, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection, Accession number 1993.A.0087.57, RG number RG-50.091.0057.

[1475] Witold Mędykowski, "Przeciw swoim: Wzorce kolaboracji żydowskiej w Krakowie i okolicy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materały,* no. 2 (2006): 202–20, here at 208–209.

[1476] Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 112–14, 193–94.

[1477] Ibid., 193–98.

[1478] Taubenschlag (Townsend), *To Be a Jew in Occupied Poland,* 31.

With the liquidation of Kraków ghetto, as in other cities and towns, Jews hid in shelters they had prepared secretly in order to avoid capture. Rabbi Menashe Levertov, the chief rabbi of Kraków, describes in poignant terms the fate of his immediate family, whose hideout was discovered by the Jewish ghetto police.

> We arranged, my wife and I, that I would go with my eldest son, who was 12 years old, but who was tall. I thought that it would be successful meanwhile to take him out to the concentration camp, and later it would be easier to bring out my wife with my second son. I said goodbye to my wife and child. My wife Hinde'ze, decided to hide herself with the child and with her mother and sister, the daughter-in-law of Rav Shlomo Yoskovitch. Rav Shlomo was the Gerer Rebbe's son-in-law. With them was another sister-in-law of mine with a son, and a whole array of rabbinic children, and also other respectable Jews, all together 30-some people.
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> I took a rucksack and inside placed, like all religious Jews, the Talis (prayer shawl) and Tefillin (phylacteries), took my son by the hand, and stood on line by the "bramke." [*brama,* i.e. gate] When I approached the gate, my child was torn away from me. He went back to his mother.
>
> …
>
> As soon as I entered the Plaszow [Plaszów] camp, I immediately began efforts to rescue my wife and my two children who were in a bunker hidden in the ghetto. I constantly sent my wife brief letters and food through acquaintances, who went from our camp to the ghetto to work. That is how contact was maintained for a few days. I still thought that today, tomorrow I would succeed in getting them out. Because of the children, it was harder.
>
> Meanwhile, the Jewish Police, the OD of Simcha Spira, may his name be erased, found my sister-in-law the daughter-in-law of Shlomo Yoskovich, the son-in-law of the Gerer Rebbe, with her two children. This was the first Wednesday after we went to the concentration camp. Since they were hidden in a hiding place in the same house as my wife and children with my mother-in-law and other Jews hidden in the bunker, I understood that it was bitter. And in fact, two days later, the Jewish OD, while searching the whole house, found my family with all the other Jews. This was Friday. When the people from the clean-up detail came back Friday night from the work in the ghetto, I found out then that it was "dark before my eyes." (bleak). This life had ended for me. I searched for means to bring them to the concentration camp.
>
> Sunday, I snuck out of the camp with the clean-up detail to the ghetto and ran straight to the OD where they were keeping the captured Jews. I saw my wife and children. Also, my mother-in-law. I spoke to them. Sadly, for the last time. Before nightfall the "Black ones" came, the Ukrainians or Latvians in black uniforms, with ammunition. They came to take the Jews from the bunkers who were to be found in the OD. I saw them through a window, how they are leading away all the people, among them my wife, my children, my mother-in-law, and my whole family. They were led to the concentration camp. Seeing this I wanted to jump out the window and run to my wife and children. The rest of the workers who were with me pulled me back because they knew if anyone else was noticed, they would also be shot. The same thing happened to me in the concentration camp.
>
> As soon as they took them out of the ghetto, they called all of the workers together and we marched back to the concentration camp. When I entered the concentration camp and approached the bunks, I saw from afar how they are shooting all the people they brought from the ghetto. You can imagine what I experienced then. I started to run in their direction. I was caught, hands turned backwards, and

> was not allowed to move from the spot. We saw, pitifully, how they undressed, heard the terrible shrieks, especially from the children, heard the shots, and saw how they fell into the ditches. …
>
> In about a week, it happened that they brought out the "cave Jews," the young Gerer men, who hid the entire time in a bunker from the ghetto; they were brought to the Plaszow concentration camp, where they were all shot, to the last one. You cannot imagine the holiness of these young men. Everyone of them ran into the ditch and with great passion shouted "Shma Yisrael" (Hear, oh Israel) You could hear the outcry Shma Yisrael, and right after that a shot. That is how it repeated until they were all shot, to the last one. We all in the camp heard the outcries and were left numbed—every one of us, in that moment, wanted to be together with those young men, who went to their death with such passion, that the human mind could not conceive of it. At that time, when every moment we waited for Death, we wished ourselves to at least die like them, with that kind of heroism.
>
> The OD man Moshe Filler who brought out my wife and children from the bunker in the ghetto, told me later, that my younger one, my 9 year old son, said to him, "You are probably taking us to be shot. The end will be that you will all therefore be shot, for what you are doing to us."[1479]

Henryk Zvi Zimmermann provides extensive information about Jewish collaborators operating both inside and outside the ghetto in Kraków:[1480]

> … people from the ghetto were rounded up according to special lists. These lists had been drawn up by police informers of Jewish origin—who were generally well known to the residents—or by other secret collaborators with the mass murderers, who were all the more dangerous because no one knew how to identify them. The lists were drawn up for the most part by Spira's people [Symche or Simcha Spira headed the Jewish order police], a particular sort of "elite," distinguished for their sadism and abasement, and handpicked by their chief. One of Spira's most zealous collaborators was the agent Szymon Schpitz [Szpic]. … The lists were, of course, a way of settling personal scores as well as of fulfilling German wishes. … Blackmail was applied against the wealthiest families, who were rounded up in the hope that they would offer monetary ransom to the Gestapo. This rounding up of people was a way of keeping the Jewish population in continual fear.

When it came to uncovering safe houses for Jews on the Aryan side, informers, searches and round-ups took an enormous toll.

> Unfortunately, Jewish informers were best at recognizing their fellow Jews! Determined criminals or desperate people of weak character often fell victim to the agents. … Worst of all, however, were the German agents of Jewish origins. One of them was a stunningly beautiful *gimnazjum* student, Staf Branstetter [Stefania Brandstätter], who got herself mixed up in some sort of affair of the heart with Rudolf Körner, assistant chief of the Gestapo Political Department. … She supposedly became his

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[1479] Testimony of Rav Menashe Yaakov Levertov, recorded in 1957 by Yonas Turkov, Internet: <https://www.levertov4ever.com/testimony-in-english>.

[1480] Henryk Zvi Zimmermann, *And Tell the Deeds of God* (forthcoming in English translation), especially chapters 13, 15, 17; published in Polish as *Przeżyłem, pamiętam, świadczę* (Kraków: Baran i Suszczyński, 1997). As in Warsaw, Zimmermann notes that the Jews in the Kraków ghetto refused to believe firsthand reports brought to the ghetto about the operation of the death camps. Ibid., chapter 14.

> mistress, and if this were indeed true, then she represented a source of reliable information. Her looks, deportment and knowledge of Hebrew made her one of the most dangerous seekers-out of shelters, bunkers, and safe houses. She spied principally on wealthy Jews who had enough money and valuables to assure themselves of good living conditions in hiding. … A second perfidious operative and informer was an acquaintance of mine, another student from the Hebrew *gimnazjum,* Artek Löffler. … A pleasant-looking youth, he had blond hair and did not appear at first sight to be Jewish. He became especially dangerous for the young resistance fighters and the economic underground.
>
> The Jewish informers, who turned against their own people to serve the oppressors, had become a true plague. They thought that they could save their own lives and families through servility and treason. There were others, psychopaths, who were even worse. The chance of accumulating property and tormenting their brothers gave them pleasure. They were ardent and effective collaborators in the liquidation of armed groups and the denunciation of Jews in hiding. … it was decided by a majority vote [of the Jewish underground] that the Jewish informers would have to be liquidated as a final measure, but this should not occur inside the ghetto—so that the Germans would not be sure that Jews were responsible. Otherwise, they might be provoked to mass executions and a speeding up of the liquidation of all those who remained in the ghetto. … We had various ways of doing this, since we were cooperating with Aryan partisan bands.

Zimmermann also describes the execution of seven Polish railroad workers for derailing a German military train, mentioned earlier. These Poles were hanged on June 26, 1942 by Jewish policemen near Wodna Street and the Jewish cemetery in the Płaszów suburb. The Germans assembled the Jewish Council and others to witness the spectacle, the first public execution carried out in the city of Kraków. The Jewish policemen brought a long rope, cut it in lengths, made nooses, fastened them around the necks of the condemned men, stood them on a board, and then, on the given signal, removed the board. All of the condemned men were suspended from the gallows at the same time.[1481] According to Zimmerman,

> The executioner was Feiler, an OD man … He was clearly necessary to German propaganda, which wanted to show in the next day's newspapers how partisans were hanged by a Jewish executioner in the presence of dignitaries from the ghetto. Nevertheless, the Germans knew that, all their efforts at isolation notwithstanding, the contacts between the Jewish underground and Polish partisans were growing …

In fact, the Jewish police carried out even more executions of Poles in Kraków at the behest of the Gestapo. A few days later, on July 1, 1942, in Wola Duchacka, they hanged 11 more Poles sentenced to death in retaliation for the liquidation of a German confidant by the Polish underground.[1482] Using the kind of

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[1481] See also "W Krakowie uczczono Polaków—ofiary pierwszej niemieckiej egzekucji publicznej," Institute of National Remembrance, Internet: <https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/102186,W-Krakowie-uczczono-Polakow-ofiary-pierwszej-niemieckiej-egzekucji-publicznej.html>. For another Jewish witness to the hanging, see the testimony of Fajwel Kornberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4117.

[1482] Krystian Brodacki, "Co z tymi napisami?" *Tygodnik Solidarność,* June 22, 2001. In both cases, the inscriptions on the monuments blame only the "Nazi occupier" or "Nazi executioners" for these crimes but, as that author correctly points out, the actual perpetrators were neither Nazis nor occupiers.

venomous language legitimized by Jan Gross and Jan Grabowski, without any objection on the part of Holocaust historians, one could say that ordinary Jews often surpassed their German masters as ghetto enforcers and, facilitated by their anti-Christian animus, transitioned smoothly into their roles as hangmen of Poles.

As in other cities, Jewish gangs also operated outside the ghetto in Kraków. Abraham Blim recalled that his friend, Wilek, with whom he used to smuggle goods into and people out of the ghetto, joined up with some other Jewish teenagers to mug travellers, targeting mothers who were occupied with children and luggage. Eventually, they were caught by the authorities.[1483]

Jewish informers, agents, and collaborators were active throughout occupied Poland. They held out promises for those willing to pay their price, but were ruthless towards who stood in their way. Corruption flourished and small fortunes were made. Jack Werber, the son of a well-to-do merchant in Radom, wrote:

> In Radom there was a man named Brenner, who had been deported from Germany a year before as an *Ostjüde*. People felt sorry for him at first, and generally made him feel welcome. But he turned out to be a traitor and an informer for the Nazis. By acting friendly towards everyone he was able to get invited to many peoples' homes, including our own. In this way he was able to learn who had money and who didn't, who was politically active and who wasn't, and so on. Brenner also became a good friend of Nathan. Like many others, Nathan divulged quite a bit about his financial dealings to Brenner as well as those of the rest of the family. Nathan was flattered by Brenner's friendship and got involved in some of his schemes. What Nathan didn't know was that Brenner was also having an affair with his pretty wife.
>
> Nathan began to ask me for loans. I gave him money on several occasions, but when I saw that he wasn't paying me back, I realized that this was simple extortion. As a result, I stopped giving him money. Unbeknownst to me, my father continued to make payments to Nathan, fearing that he would betray us to the SS. When my father finally put an end to the blackmail, Nathan became angry and told Brenner that I had hidden leather in my house. Brenner related this information to the Gestapo. However, when the Nazis came to the house and tore up the floorboards, they were unable to find the merchandise because I had already sold it.[1484]

Joseph Freeman, a resident of Radom, recalls some of his own dealings with the Germans:

> I then worked for the disinfection department … The SS had ordered the Jewish police to disinfect the ghetto with sulfur, block by block. … the rich came to pay the police in order to avoid the process. The police then sent them to our department where I collected the money—forty *zloty* [*złoty*] per apartment—with my assistant, a boy named Mietek Wiszlicky. … As we worked, I gave the head of the typhus department, Gimpel Weintraub, the names of the rich as well and their payment which he divided among the three of us, the police, and Dr. Szenderowicz, the hospital director. In order to

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[1483] Joanna Sliwa, *Jewish Childhood in Kraków: A Microhistory of the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2021).

[1484] Jack Werber with William B. Helmreich, *Saving Children: Diary of a Buchenwald Survivor and Rescuer* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London; Transaction Publishers, 1996), 26–27. Another source states that Werber was falsely accused of being a Communist and hoarding furs, and sent to Buchenwald. See Taitz, *Holocaust Survivors,* vol. 2, 580.

> make extra money, over the next few months of my work I accumulated 4,000 pounds of sulfur and sold it to Polish citizens. Money, as long as we were in Radom, opened doors. …
>
> Some Jews who felt it would save them by collaborating had reported the wealth of my family to the police. After the first day of my imprisonment, my parents found out they would be required to pay the police a ransom of 50,000 *zloty.* …
>
> Upon my release I did not go back to my job …
>
> With money it was possible to gain work that was not too difficult. The Jewish police and individuals in the *Arbeitsamt* (employment office) knew which jobs were easier and would secure them for a price. After a while my father was able to arrange to pay a large sum of money in exchange for a position for me at the Kromolowsky [Kromołowski] Palace factory.
>
> Knowing that in the ghetto I found ways to obtain food, a quite wealthy many by the name of Mr. Richtman approached me and asked if I could buy food for him and others, saying I would be paid for doing so. …
>
> I decided I had to speak with a *Volksdeutsch* named Minsky who was the gatekeeper in the small building at the factory's entrance. … I approached Minsky the next evening … Talking to him, I began to feel we could do business. …
>
> It took a lot of courage to go to him the next evening and ask him to help me buy food. I said I would pay him. … Later that evening I spoke with Richman to tell him to have the money ready.
>
> The next evening I returned to see Minsky. I paid him for the basket of food he had ready and took the food back to my room, where I divided it into small packages, then brought them to Richman. This was the first time I made money selling food. …
>
> Pulling my little cart full of food, I returned to Minsky, paid him fifty *zloty,* then went to my room, as I had the night before divided the food into small packages, and brought them to Richman. That night there were people waiting in his room to buy food. Shortly I sold all of it. I made my first 400 *zloty* profit and I had some free food, too.[1485]

However, most Jews were not so fortunate and enterprising. With the help of Polish friends Dr. Lejbuś Dyment and his wife had moved to Radom from Szydłowiec and lived there under false identities. They were soon denounced to the Gestapo by a Jewish policeman and arrested. Although tortured, Dyment did not betray his Polish benefactors and committed suicide in prison; his wife was deported to Auschwitz.[1486] A Jew confined to the Szkolna Street camp in Radom recalled:

> I remembered what had happened to Dudek Margulies. He had plotted an escape, and even succeeded in getting false papers attesting to being a Christian. One night he managed to escape and was supposed to be joined by his friends the next day. Gestapo agents, supplied with information furnished

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[1485] Joseph Freeman, *Job: The Story of a Holocaust Survivor* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 1996), 19–21, 33–35.

[1486] Jacek Wijaczka, ed., *Żydzi szydłowieccy: Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 22 lutego 1997 roku* (Szydłowiec: Muzeum Ludowych Instrumentów Muzycznych w Szydłowcu, 1997), 131 n.64.

> by informers planted by them in many of the camps, swooped down and executed all of Dudek's friends as well as his aged mother.[1487]

When a young Jewish woman turned to Dr. Nachum Szenderowicz, the Judenrat representative, for protection from deportation for her mother and her sister, his reaction was brutal.

> Szendorowicz [sic] lost his temper now; he had to show the Germans how he dealt with such situations. "Stop making a spectacle of yourself," he shouted. "Your tears will not help anyone. I will make no exceptions."
>
> Bella rose now. Her hair was disheveled and her face streaked with tears.
>
> "No exceptions, you say?" she screamed. "What about your mistresses, with the medical arm bands you gave them? And if I would hand you money, then what would you say? You're a dirty scoundrel and a shameful traitor." She spat the words at him.
>
> Szendorowicz clenched his fists and screamed for *"Ordner!"* As though out of the shadows, two Jewish policemen appeared and began to pull Bella away. In the courtyard, one of them tried to remove her medical arm band. She resisted so hard that she knocked him to the ground. An S.S. detachment came by, and one of the officers ordered the Jews to leave Bella alone.[1488]

In the Łódź ghetto,

> On 7 June 1944, our enthusiasm was suddenly dampened. In the preceding days, round-ups and arrests of large numbers of underground radio-listeners had taken place—amongst them, my school friend's father, Yankel Weksler, his two brothers and many others. A Jewish Kripo informer, by the name of Sankiewicz, had denounced them, and they were interrogated, tortured and taken away, never to be seen again.[1489]

According to Jewish sources, in Opatów,

> We cannot dismiss the role of informers in the ghetto. A young German Jew by the name of Mandelbaum, regularly supplied the German gendarmes with information on what went on in the ghetto—the smuggling of food or the secret slaughter of chickens or other livestock. Some of these "transgressors" were apprehended [by the Jews] and sentenced to death. One day Mandelbaum got drunk and paraded through the ghetto streets singing songs of the Germans. The Germans caught him and shot him. Another young Jew, Poznerson from Lodz [Łódź], approached Governor Frank of the General-Government requesting that his parents be brought from Ghetto Lodz. In return, he promised to reveal to the Germans names of Opatow Jews who had hidden property. Poznerson also indicated in his letter that the Opatow Judenrat had bribed local officials and security police to avoid searches

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[1487] Friedman, *Nazi Hunter,* 63.

[1488] Friedman, *Nazi Hunter,* 55–56.

[1489] Abraham H. Biderman, *The World of My Past* (Sydney: Random House, 1995), 164.

> where the property was hidden. When the local SD found out, they arrested Poznerson and shot him to death.[1490]

According to Nachum Alpert, the German *Sicherheitsdienst* (security services) "kept installing agents among the Jewish population in the ghetto" of Słonim and describes the activities of a refugee from Warsaw named Mariampol.[1491] Another informer was Sarah, the daughter of a poor old Jewish woman whom she renounced, who "gave the Germans much useful information."[1492] Nechama Tec describes the activities of a Jewish informer in the Lida ghetto.[1493] The Germans employed a Jewish woman whom they had apprehended with false papers as a confidante to seek out other Jews hiding on the Aryan side in Wilno.[1494] Isaac Kowalski mentions the activities of a Jewish Gestapo agent named Goldin operating among the Jewish partisans in the Wilno area.[1495] Yehuda Bauer refers to a Jew named Schulzinger, from the town of Szczuczyn, who informed on Jews who were planning to break out of the forced labour camp in Wilejka Stara, near Mołodeczno; except for a small group who managed to flee in time, all those left in the camp were killed.[1496] Witnesses report on "traitors and enemy agents" in the ghetto in Baranowicze.[1497] An escape of Jews from a Luftwaffe base near that town was betrayed by a Jewish teenager from Łódź who worked there and informed the German commander about the underground group.[1498]

The activities of Isser Schmidt (known as Davidovsky), a special agent with the Soviet Jewish Brigade operating in the Rudniki forest south of Wilno, are described as follows:

> He took to hunting Jews who collaborated with the Germans. … In the winter of 1943, he grew suspicious of Natek [Natan] Ring, a Jewish policeman from the ghetto. Ring was charged with collaborating. In the ghetto, Jews had seen him lead enemy soldiers to rooms where people were hiding. On his latest venture [to Wilno], he had moved through the city with surprising ease; some felt he was even now working for the Germans. Isser was bareheaded as he led Natek into the trees. Two shots and the birds stopped singing. Isser came back down the trail alone, wearing a fur cap and new boots.[1499]

[1490] "Opatow," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 7, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00058.html>, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 7, 58–64.

[1491] Nachum Alpert, *The Destruction of Slonim Jewry: The Story of the Jews of Slonim During the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 144–45, 152, 241.

[1492] Ibid., 339. Sarah ended up leaving with the Germans when they retreated.

[1493] Tec, *Defiance,* 178.

[1494] Account of Mozes Fejgenberg in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945,* 540.

[1495] Kowalski, *A Secret Press in Nazi Europe,* 310–11.

[1496] Yehuda Bauer, "Jewish Baranowicze in the Holocaust," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 31 (2003): 121.

[1497] Ibid., 148.

[1498] Ibid., 138.

[1499] Cohen, *The Avengers,* 121–22.

Haim Lantzman (Lansman), a Jewish *agent provocateur* active in the Nowogródek ghetto was executed by Jewish partisans when he was sent by the Germans into the forest to act as an informer.[1500] It is not clear whether this is the same incident as mentioned in other sources:

> In the winter of 1942/43 an underground group of dissenters formed in Novogrudok [Nowogródek] with plans of revolt in the ghetto and escape to the forest. … The Germans tried to infiltrate the underground through a Jewish informer, but he was disclosed, tried by his friends and executed.[1501]

> On 4 February 1943 we heard the bad news that the Ghetto had been liquidated in the early hours. And on the following day there was an additional Jew in our camp. He said that he had escaped from the massacre and managed to get into the camp. It had not snowed that night, the leaders looked for his footprints near the toilets, but could not find any. He had been planted by the Germans. A meeting was called by the escape organizers and it was decided to behead him. The execution was done the same day.[1502]

When a group of Jews decided to dig their way out of the ghetto in Nowogródek, they discovered that they had been infiltrated by an informer. Sonia O. recalled:

> In the ghetto I was part of a small group determined to find a way out; we had been digging a tunnel. A kid dug with us, but we found out he had been hired by the Germans and [Jewish] police to inform. We later learned that he had been responsible for the deaths and capture of several families. Apparently the Germans and police paid him or told him he his family wouldn't be killed if he told them where to find Jews.
>
> There was a barber in our group, a gentle guy; we knew him as a person who never hurt anyone. … One night, after digging, he grabbed an ax and without a word hacked off the head of that kid. I remember his eyes; how wild they were. We buried the head and body in the tunnel. No one ever spoke of it.[1503]

The Mielec Gestapo used several Jewish *V-Leute* (confidants) in the region. A German labour camp on the outskirts of Mielec housed a special barracks for Jewish informers and their families. The informers were drawn from the Jewish council in Mielec and the ghetto police of Dębica. Its main agents were Yitzhak Kaplan (Icchak Kapłan) from Mielec, Immerglik or Imerglück from Radomyśl Wielki, and Bitkower from Tarnów. They were active from the end of 1942 until the summer of 1943, when they were

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[1500] Allegedly his wife had been imprisoned by the Germans and he agreed to find the partisan base and betray its location. See Tec, *Defiance,* 176–77; Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), 69–70; Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), 299–300.

[1501] "Novogrudok," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 8, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol8_00430.html>, translation of, *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 8 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 430–37.

[1502] Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans,* 170.

[1503] Glass, *Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust,* 71.

executed. Several accounts describe the activities of Yitzhak Kaplan, allegedly a prewar Communist, then a member of the Judenrat, and finally a full-fledged Gestapo agent.[1504] According to Irene Eber, Kaplan and possibly his brothers were active informers in the Cyranka-Berdechów labour camp. They also hunted down Jews who were sheltered by Poles.

> They were free to come and go as they pleased, using their freedom not only to betray Jews sheltered by Poles in the vicinity of Mielec, but also to give away anyone who had come into the camp illegally. … it was a Kaplan who informed the Germans about the three tired fugitives in the barracks. Father, Aunt Feige, and Cousin Esther were apparently shot in the camp … The bodies of the three were left to lie where they had fallen for all to see when they returned from their day of hard labor. Later they were buried in the forest surrounding the camp. To this day somewhere in a forest near Mielec in an unmarked grave are their remains, as are the bones of many other victims of the Kaplans and the Germans.[1505]

The Jewish policemen in the work camp near Mielec—among them Yitzhak Kaplan, the Kleinman brothers from Wielopole, Fenichel from Mielec, Rosenwasser from Nowy Sącz, the brothers Henryk and Josek Friedman from Wielopole, Hirsch Rosenblum (known as Gawryś) from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Buciu Gotinger from Mielec, Imerglück, Wilhelm Chilowicz from Radomyśl Wielki (later transferred to Płaszów)—became notorious for abusing and robbing Jewish prisoners and denounced those who planned to escape from the camp.[1506] According to prisoner Josef Kas,

> But also in the camp itself the Jewish police mistreated the Jews badly. The contemporary Kommandant of the Jewish police, Khilowitz [Chilowicz], had during the five months in his position beaten to death at least five Jews; also, the majority of the Jewish police personnel did not differ from their Kommandant in this respect. For roll call Khilowitz would whistle three times, and all the Jewish police would immediately charge into the barracks, and with a deluge of blows they would drive the inmates out. In this regard it must be noted that in previous times there were regular rollcalls. Often all the groups which had already returned from work would be lined up in the *appel-platz* and then would come the command 'about turn', and we would have to march back to work, often until 11 at night. In the morning, we were woken at five thirty. Woe betide anyone who did not spring out of bed. The Jewish policeman, Rosenzweig, who was an absolute sadist, followed this method: he would enter the barrack and call out quietly 'get up', and then he would call out loudly: 'What, you don't want to get up?!' And before one could manage to get out of bed, he would immediately pounce upon

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[1504] Mark Verstandig, *I Rest My Case* (Melbourne: Saga Press, 1995), 142–43; Testimony of Jakub Grynblum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3503; Tomasz Frydel, "The Devil in Microhistory: The 'Hunt for Jews' as a Social Process, 1942–1945," in Zalc and Bruttmann, *Microhistories of the Holocaust,* 181–82.

[1505] Irene Eber, *The Choice: Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004), 130. Eber owes her life to at least two Polish families who aided her—Korpantowa and Leokadia and Stanisław Orłowski, neither of whom have been recognized by Yad Vashem.

[1506] Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich,* 57, 104, 149, 122–23, based in part on the testimony of Izak Steiglitz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1637. Hirsch Rosenblum survived the war and was investigated for abusing fellow prisoners, but the outcome of this matter is not known.

> people handing out beatings in every direction, then overturn the beds, and pour water over those Jews who were in the process of getting dressed. He behaved in the same way at every opportunity.[1507]
>
> The shootings were carried out mostly by the Gestapo Chief Tonmeier from Mielice [Mielec], and the Jewish Police Chief Shtein or the factory manager. … The Gestapo no longer had to make decisions about Jewish affairs, and likewise also the Jewish Police Chief, Meier Shtein. By the way, Meier Shtein (appropriately from the Wehrmacht) would chase the Jews every few weeks all over the courtyard in order to see who was no longer able to remain on his feet properly, and would immediately shoot them. At the end of 1943 this same Meier was denounced because of theft, and someone else came in his place.[1508]

Chaja Rosenblatt mentions a group of Jews from Radomyśl Wielki, near Mielec, who were known as "dangerous denouncers." When she and her husband took refuge with a villager, this Pole was also sheltering these Jews from Radomyśl Wielki, and, as it turned out, was working in cahoots with them. The Jews robbed the Rosenblatts of all of their possessions and even wanted to kill them.[1509]

A Jew from Wasilków, near Białystok, mentions a Jewish Communist from his small town who switched masters after the German invasion of that region in June 1941, and began "to serve the Nazis as a so-called 'useful Jew.'"[1510] Another Jew describes how he had to flee from the Białystok ghetto because a Jewish policeman reported that he was smuggling cows into the ghetto and wanted to hand him over to the Germans.[1511] Afterwards, during the deportations from Białystok,

> The first operation of expelling Jews on February 5th [1943], the first victims in Bialystok were the Jews who had recently arrived from the forests in the area. The veteran residents of Bialystok had worried about themselves a long time ago, and had prepared hiding places for times of trouble, supplied with food and arrangements for providing air to breathe. A person from outside had no possibility of joining the veteran groups. …
>
> One of the neighbors, a baker by profession, also requested that they accept him into our hiding place. The owner of the place refused, and then the baker threatened to inform the Germans about them. Not having a choice, they also accepted the baker.

[1507] Freda Hodge, comp., *Tragedy and Triumph: Early Testimonies of Jewish Survivors of World War II* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 2018), 23.

[1508] Hodge, *Tragedy and Triumph,* 25.

[1509] Tomasz Frydel, "Konstrukcja pamięci o ratowaniu Żydów na polskiej wsi: Studium przypadku Radomyśla Wielkiego i powiatu mieleckiego," in Sitarek, Trębacz, and Wiatr, *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji,* 352–53. Based on the testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 303, number 318. Chaja Rosenblatt and her husband were hidden afterwards in Dulcza Mała, near Radomyśl Wielki, by the family of Adam Kokoszka, whom she further endangered by giving birth to a child there.

[1510] Munro, *Bialystok to Birkenau,* 82.

[1511] Testimony of Paltiel Łopata, dated October 5, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3602, Internet: <www.zabludow.com/Paltierstestimony.html>.

> To our dismay, after a few days, the Germans, accompanied by Jewish policemen, revealed our hiding place. Every day, from three o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon, there were searches in the courtyards of the houses and many Jews were taken out of their safe places. …[1512]

In the Łódź ghetto,

> The group of Bundists, Zionists, and others who organized the secret radio listening met a tragic end. Betrayed by an unknown informer, all but one were arrested between July 6 and 8, 1944. The remaining member, a Zionist activist, committed suicide so that he would not fall into the hands of the Gestapo.[1513]

In the Radzyń ghetto, a clandestine youth group, composed of members of the Hashomer Hatzair and other Zionist organizations, who sought to arrange for Jews to flee to the forests and set up fighting units, gained the support of the Hasidic Rabbi Shmuel Shlomo Leiner. In June 1942, the Gestapo learned of this through informers and executed the rabbi in the square in front of the synagogue. When the ghetto was liquidated in October 1942, the Jewish police were ordered to lead the Germans to possible hiding places.[1514]

Edi Weinstein, an escapee from Treblinka, recalls his experiences in a work camp in Siedlce:

> I was to report to Moshe Huberman, a Jew from Lodz [Łódź] who had recently reappeared in the camp. Huberman was on friendly terms with the camp commander … and commanded the Jewish police in the camp. Known as an informer and an extortionist, he harassed anyone from whom he thought he could squeeze a little money. … Huberman said he heard we had been in Treblinka and possessed a great deal of money. He demanded 200 zlotys [złoty] from each of us for what he called the "general fund."[1515]

Later, in Łosice, Weinstein recalled:

> A new elite took shape, composed mainly of former policemen, most of whom were young men from well-to-do families. They were the first to move into the best apartments. They still had their parents' money, retrieved from the family strongboxes. Living for the moment, they often got together to drink and gamble at cards. Most of those who returned to the ghetto lacked the means to live that way …

[1512] Chaim Yehuda Goldberg, "At the Height of the Decay," in Kalisher, *Sokoly,* 158ff.

[1513] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 37.

[1514] "Radzyn," *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland,* vol. 7, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol7_00543.html>, translation of *Pinkas hakehillot Polin,* vol. 7, 543–47.

[1515] Weinstein, *Quenched Steel,* 74–75. All of the belongings of the author's father were stolen while he was in the camp. Ibid., 92.

> Anonymous informers frequently denounced persons with concealed funds … Sometimes the hoarders got off with a beating; in other cases they were locked up until they paid a ransom.[1516]

Inmates of the Płaszów concentration camp in the outskirts of Kraków recall:

> Lackeys from among the Jewish prisoners helped [Goeth, the camp commander] plunder all the camps [around Cracow]. … In our camp, Plaszow, his faithful servants were the camp eldest, [Wilek or Wilhelm] Chilowicz, and his wife [Maria], as well as several other souls who had sold themselves to the devil. …
>
> Once, as we were being made to do one of these additional tasks, the Jewish overseer imagined that I was doing my job negligently. He attacked me viciously, beating my left hand with his whip, and my hand swelled up and turned blue. … That lackey of the murderers caused trouble for many of the prisoners, but he got his due after the war, when he returned to Cracow and was hanged.[1517]

> One day, I had worked night shift and was allowed to sleep during the day. Suddenly, out of my sleep, I heard someone yell, "Down from the bunk! Down, fast!" It was the policeman everyone feared, tall, fat, brutal, aggressive. He yelled insults: unrepeatable, unmentionable words. I didn't get a chance to explain that I had worked all night. He hit me with a lash three times on my back. Great red welts suddenly appeared. My skin was scarred for weeks. It hut, naturally, but no more than the pain of my humiliation. There wasn't a single German in sight! There was nothing to justify his action but his own base nature.
>
> Once the same policeman came into the barracks and saw a woman sitting on the edge of a table, talking to another woman. He lifted the lash and hit her so hard that she lost one eye as a result. She was a poet; her name was Ester Sztub.[1518]

> Anyone who faltered or did not work quickly was whipped by the *Ordnungsdienst* (Jewish police) appointed by the murderous [*Kommandant*] Mueller. *Ordnungsdienst* [Wilhelm] Chilowicz and his wife—a petite archetype of evil—and the brutish Finkelstein were the cruelest.Always dressed in uniforms, these *Kapos* beat, pushed, and mercilessly whipped their fellow inmates. I remember one woman was forced to lug large rocks up the hill, but was not fast enough for Finkelstein, so in a rage, he whipped her. … After the war, this animal received the long jail term he deserved. …
>
> One day Father told me that *Ordnungsdienst* Zanger had insulted and beaten him. He had tears in his eyes when he told me the story of how Zanger caught him in *talis* and *tefillin* at the moment he called an *Appell* [roll-call]. Father was not able to put away his *talis* and *tefillin* fast enough for Zanger, so the *Kapo* cursed, shove, and hit him. …
>
> Mundek Reich, the inveterate bully, was the *Ordnungsdienst* assigned to the barrack containing the tinsmithing and roofing workshop. When I commented to fellow prisoner Shloime Lefkovich that

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[1516] Weinstein, *Quenched Steel,* 86. Another Jewish testimony from Łosice describes how, at the beginning of 1942, the Judenrat asked the German authorities to expel Jewish refugees from Warsaw who supported themselves by begging. Some of them died during their forced return to Warsaw. The Jewish police later assisted the Germans in rounding up and deporting the Jews. See Zylbersztajn, *A gdyby to było Wasze dziecko?,* 28–29, 146.

[1517] Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…,* 100–102.

[1518] Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction,* 99.

> Jewish *Kapos* were terrible, he tried to curry favor by repeating my opinions to Mundek, who punched me in the face several times. Reich had been a professional boxer, and my face was swollen for days. After the war, Reich was tried in Poland for committing atrocities, and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary, a lenient sentence in my opinion.[1519]
>
> But the *ordners* and Kapos beat people with truncheons. Mrs. Hilewicz [Maria Chilowicz] from Kraków, in a shapely suit and knee boots, goaded the women on with a riding whip: "Hurry on, you Venetian cunts, you're not in Drohobycz!" "Hurry on, pricks!" shouted Mr. Hilewicz, the boss of the men's camp. The jackals approached us before we entered the showers: "Give me what you have, I'll give you half of it back. If not, they'll take all of it." The people gave, and naturally didn't get anything back. And anyway everything went into the pockets of the Hilewiczes and Finkelstein, the main Kapo. … Kleinman, a young son-of-a-bitch, would position us by the barracks next to the ditch filled with shit. I stood in the first line of fives and shielded Father who could barely stand on his legs. Kleinman walked up and pushed him. "Straighten up, old geezer!" I pushed him off and he fell into the ditch with shit. Everybody was delighted, but Finkelstein came and dislocated my jaw with a single blow.[1520]
>
> The head of the Jewish police in Płaszów had been a suspected informer, but said he'd only been a milkman, in Cracow. His name was Chilewicz. He knew I was going by a false birth certificate, that I was still a child. His wife was the head inmate of the women's camp. Soon, during an *Appel*, Chilewicz's wife took me out of line and sent me to the children's home where all the other children were being gathered for deportation. She said I was also a child and belonged there. [The author managed to escape and hide.] …
>
> Finally, the head of the women's camp—Chilewicz's wife—found out about us and informed the camp commandant, Goeth. This German said to her that if we four children had the guts to jump into the waste to save ourselves, then we should be spared and not deported like the other children. This is how we were able to remain in camp legally.[1521]

Another memoir identifies Dr. Leon Gross as "the basest collaborator" in Płaszów. (Dr. Gross was another of the very few Jewish collaborators brought to justice after the war in a Polish court, and was sentenced to death for his crimes.) That same author acknowledges: "From the beginning of the war when we lived in Cracow and later in Rzeszów, we were aware of many dangerous Jewish informers working for the Gestapo

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[1519] Tenenbaum, *Legacy and Redemption,* 126, 131–32, 137. Tenenbaum, later imprisoned in Melk, a small camp 100 km east of Mauthausen, recalled a German gypsy called *Zigeunerkapo:* "When he got hold of an inmate, he usually finished him off, and we were terrified of him." Ibid., 147. The Russian POWs were known for "their habitual thievery" and the French inmates for their antisemitism. Ibid., 148. When liberated from Ebensee, another satellite camp of Mauthausen: "The Russians were hell-bent on revenge, and those of us who could muster the strength joined them. The first *Kapo* we caught was the despicable gypsy who had tortured and killed so many of us. The gang beat him badly and kicked him to the ground. We urinated on him, and then the Russians unloaded their weapons into him. I was not proud of what happened, but under the circumstances, the *Zigeunerkapo* got what he deserved." Ibid., 160.

[1520] Account of Dr. Leopold Lustig in Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 33.

[1521] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 118–19.

and other German authorities." He also takes credit for detecting Moszek Selinger, one of Kraków's most notorious Gestapo informers, in Bratislava after the war and ensuring that he was brought to trial.[1522]

A Jew from Piotrków Trybunalski who was forced to work in the Hasag factory (labour camp) in Częstochowa recalled:

> The worst part was going to work and coming back. In the yard, there were always *Kapos* (*Katzet-Polizei* or Head foremen) or just "hitters", who walked around beating up everybody in sight. The worst offender of them was a tall giant whom we called "Bulldog". His real name was Szie Biodra from Chmielnik. He would walk around with a whip, without feeling or conscience, like a robot, and hit everyone in sight.[1523]

There are numerous other accounts that attest to similar occurrences throughout German-occupied Poland,[1524] as well as in camps in Germany proper:

> In Augsburg Soviet prisoners of war stole and robbed. They'd throw a blanket on your head and take away shoes, bread, whatever you had, even bowls and spoons. They had intimate relationships with German criminals for whom they served as whores. And the Gypsies sold themselves too. They worked as barbers and shaved our genitals, so as not to leave a single hair, and they cut us on purpose —*"Ah, entschuldigen Jude."* And we had our own sons-of-bitches as well. The Friedman brothers from the Mielec transport sliced our bread more thinly and stole like ravens. Felczer, a Kapo from Sosnowiec, dished out nothing but water from the top of the cauldron, and whoever protested got hit on the head with a ladle. The Greek Jews hated us for "Canada," the *kommando* which in Auschwitz sorted out the baggage of those sent to the gas, and gorged themselves, keeping others away. A camp was hatred. They couldn't do anything to the Germans, so they hated one another.[1525]

[1522] Herzog, *...And Heaven Shed No Tears,* 306, 311–15.

[1523] Kotkowsky, *Remnants.*

[1524] See, for example: Stanisław W. Dobrowolski, *Memuary pacyfisty* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1989) (Kraków); Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, 8 (Kraków), 20 (a denunciation by a Jewish collaborator in the Warsaw ghetto); Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse,* 173 (Bochnia), 183; Peleg-Mariańska and Peleg, *Witnesses,* 152 (the liquidation in Warsaw of "one of the chief Jewish stool-pigeons, Lolek [Leon] Skosowski"); Szajn Lewin, *W getcie warszawskim,* 26, 52, 54 (Warsaw); Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych*, 16, 23, 24, 107 (Warsaw); Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,*, 233 (Warsaw), 234 (Warsaw), 235 (Kraków), 236 (Warsaw), 238 (Kraków and various other localities); Rafael F. Scharf, *Poland, What Have I To Do with Thee…: Essays without Prejudice,* Bilingual edition (Kraków: Fundacja Judaica, 1996), 45–46 (Kraków); Chwalba, *Dzieje Krakowa,* vol. 5: *Kraków w latach 1939–1945,* 159, 287–88 (Kraków); Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 106 (Lwów); Katarzyna Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat: Losy Żydów w Krakowie, 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004), 84, 158, 166–67, 179, 180, 189–90, 195, 209, 216 (Kraków). For reports regarding Kaunas, Lithuania, see: Alex Faitelson, *Heroism & Bravery in Lithuania, 1941–1945* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House, 1996), 235, 291–95 (Kaunas); David Ben-Dor, *The Darkest Chapter* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1996), 82 (Kaunas); Alex Faitelson, *The Truth and Nothing But the Truth: Jewish Resistance in Lithuania* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2006), 240–42.

[1525] Account of Dr. Leopold Lustig in Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 36–37. Another account in that book notes the hostile attitude of Czech Jews toward Polish Jews in a German camp in Inowrocław: "The bread was divided by Czech women who knew German well. They didn't wear stripes, they had real shoes and canes and had the right to hit. *Polské svině* ["Polish pigs"] they called us. *Polské svině, teď zemřete!* They were Jews, but when Jews are by themselves, then this one is Polish, this one Czech, and that one Hungarian, like at no other time." Ibid., 127.

Abraham Landau, for example, encountered Jewish *Kapos* at several camps, as well as Gypsy *Kapos*.

> Without delay we were assigned to a *kapo,* or foreman, in charge of our block. The kapos at Gutenbrunn were mostly German Jews, so I thought they would go east on us, but this was not so. … Kapos made a pact with the devil: To survive they had to please their masters, which meant oppressing their countrymen. … In exchange for their obedience, kapos received additional freedoms and privileges. You kapo was your master; some of them were angels—friendly while others were the very devil—vicious. …
>
> Evil kapos were not hard to find. The one who earned the distinction of being the worst was the Polish Jew who guarded us at work. He was chosen, no doubt, because he was a big, tall guy and strong as an ox. He was also merciless and stupid. …
>
> Our kapo carried his long, rubber truncheon and beat us along the way. … Many of the boys were not strong enough to put in a full day's work and fell or fainted. This meant more beatings by the kapo. He didn't care. He would kill them right away there by the wayside, and they would be taken away and not seen again. …
>
> And there were always kapos who were crueler than others. As we marched back from work, one kapo made us crawl on our hands and knees—fast, then faster—and sing German songs or make animal noises, like a cow or a pig. He did this as we passed through the village in order to humiliate us all the more.[1526]

> [Buna subcamp of Auschwitz:] On one very cold evening in late December [1943], … I swapped the knife [a friend had given me] with another boy for a piece of bread. Unfortunately, the kapo in charge, a German Jew named Paul, was watching and saw the transaction.
>
> Some of the German Jews, I'm ashamed to say, were as brutal as the SS. They got their orders from the SS, which they had to follow, but they could have done things to help us not to suffer so badly. Instead, they did everything they were told, and sometimes more. For their barbarity they got better rations, better clothes, more privileges. …
>
> Suddenly he [Paul] went wild and grabbed me with both hands. He was very strong and I weighed about a hundred pounds, so I couldn't fight back. In the middle of the barracks was a freestanding stove, and it was very hot. … Paul put me on the stove and held me there for about a minute, burning my whole behind from below my waist all the way down my butt. He then threw me on the floor and left.
>
> I staggered back to the barrack, lay down on my bunk and wept. … As darkness fell, I couldn't sleep from the pain; blisters erupted all across my buttocks.[1527]

> [Dora-Mittelbau, near Nordhausen:] … some Gypsies arrived—the Germans had assigned them as kapos to watch this particular barrack, and they were a murderous group. They went after us right away, for no reason, with rubber truncheons, sticks, and whips, beating us over our heads, feet and bellies.[1528]

[1526] Abraham W. Landau, *Branded on My Arm and on My Soul: A Holocaust Memoir* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: Spinner Publications with The Jewish Federation of Greater New Bedford, 2011), 56–58.

[1527] Ibid., 94–95.

[1528] Ibid., 101.

As shown in the examples cited earlier, German Jews, who were known for their contempt of *Ostjuden,*[1529] acquired a particularly servile and hostile reputation among Polish Jews. An Austrian Jew who was imprisoned in a labour camp near Landsberg recalled:

> The first day in Lager Eins passed with exercises. The Kapo was a Jew from Germany who made us march up and down the camp with intervals of 'caps down—caps up'. He especially had it in for the Jews from Poland, who, in his words, were Muselmaenner [Muselmänn was a nickname for an emaciated prisoner] anyway, and every bit of food was wasted on them.[1530]

Despite their own persecution by the Germans, German Jews often remained ardent German nationalists and even retained loyalty to members of their families who were committed Nazis. According to one Polish Jew,

> The Polish Jews considered their German coreligionists equal to the Goyim (Gentiles) and dreaded having one of their families settled in their homes. The German Jews, likewise, bore a strong dislike for the eastern Jew, the Hasid. Some blamed the Hasidim for the dismal fate they had suffered, having been rejected as rightful citizens of their beloved Germany. "Had it not been for your peculiar deportment and unmistakably Jewish appearance, the Führer might have been kinder to all of us," some remarked.

Another Polish Jew recalled a Jewish inmate in Bergen-Belsen who had married a German and converted to Christianity. Her husband became a member of the SS, while her two sons joined the Hitler Youth.

> However, as far as the Nazi authorities were concerned, she was still Jewish, and, together with the other Jews of Polish nationality, she was deported to Poland, imprisoned in the ghettos, and later sent to various camps. She maintained that the Jews alone were responsible for all the disasters that had befallen her, regarding herself as the victim of a tragic misunderstanding. She would boast about the things her husband and sons had done, declaring that they would soon get her out. In the camp she cultivated the friendship of SS men …

[1529] This was not a new phenomenon. Władysław Szpilman, an accomplished Polish pianist, recalled from his days as a student in prewar Germany: "But I have never met such 'patriots' as the German Jews. During my studies in Germany I used to hear them say: 'Finally Hitler will come and will straighten out those Eastern Jews [*Ostjuden*].'" See Engelking, *Na łące popiołów,* 119. See also Hirszfeld, *Historia jednego życia,* 240, and Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), passim. It should come as no surprise, therefore, as reported by Hannah Arendt, that "Hitler himself is said to have known three hundred and forty 'first-rate Jews,' whom he had either altogether assimilated to the status of Germans or granted the privileges of half-Jews. Thousand of half-Jews had been exempted from all restrictions, which might explain [Reinhard] Heydrich's role in the S.S. and Generalfeldmarschall Erhard Milch's role in Göring's Air Force, for it was generally known that Heydrich and Milch were half-Jews." See Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Revised and enlarged edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 133.

[1530] Ben-Dor, *The Darkest Chapter,* 112.

William Samelson, "Piotrków Trybunalski: My Ancestral Home," in Sterling, *Life in the Ghettos During the Holocaust,* 8.

> She was rapidly appointed supervisor of the block and would torment us as if she were a real German.[1531]

A young Jewish man from Germany, who had been deported to Poland because of his parents' Polish nationality, displayed a similar attitude:

> His mother had been a Jewess from the Warsaw area and her surname had been Mekhlovitz, while his father had been a pure German. He had been given his mother's name because he had been born out of wedlock. He talked about his mother with open hatred, condemning her for having placed him in a Jewish orphanage when he was a child, thus making him a Jew.
>
> "If it hadn't been for that Jewish w…e [whore], I wouldn't be considered a Polish Jew."
>
> He spoke about his father, on the other hand, with obvious admiration. He was an important figure in the Nazi party, and his legitimate sons were members of the Hitler youth organization.[1532]

This man too became a German lackey when he was eventually imprisoned in Płaszów.

The renowned bacteriologist Ludwik Hirszfeld recalled a Jew who owned a tobacco shop in Mannheim that he met in the Warsaw ghetto:

> I asked him: "When the war is over and you have the opportunity to return to Mannheim, will you go back there or will you emigrate?" "I will go back there on my knees." Those German Jews were strange. They were beaten and despised, but they still wanted to see the Germans as a nation of poets and philosophers. In 1942, there came to the ghetto Jews from Germany. They were allowed to take their belongings, including valuables and money. All this was taken away from them on the Polish-German border or in Warsaw. … One of those Jewesses called Hitler "unser Führer" [our leader] and proudly assured me that the Germans were unconquerable. My friend was right when he said that Germany was the Jews' hopeless and unrequited love.[1533]

German Jewish intellectuals retained a strong affinity for German culture, even in its most nationalistic and xonphobic manifestations. Prominent German-Jewish historian Hans Rothfels promoted Nazi positions of ethnic expansion in the East despite experiencing progressively greater discrimination from the Nazis owing to his Jewishness. He failed to secure the status of "honorary Aryan" from Joachim von Ribbentrop, and finally had to emigrate from Nazi Germany just before WWII. Even if Rothfels' views fell short of the fullness of Nazi racial ideology relative to the Slavs, they nevertheless, at very least, promoted the elimination of Slavic nation states in favor of German rule and the relegation of Slavs to vassal status. No sooner had Rothfels returned to Germany after WWII than he became the first German historian to attack the new Oder-Neisse (Odra-Nysa) boundary.[1534]

[1531] Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…,* 162.

[1532] Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining…,* 125.

[1533] Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld,* 232.

[1534] Haar and Fahlbusch, *German Scholars and Ethnic Cleansing, 1919–1945,* vii–viii, 241, 251.

Even among Austrian Jews transported to the Łódź ghetto, such vestiges of pro-German sentiments remained as late as 1942, as Israel U. recalls.

> When we asked them why they were sent to the ghetto, they said that the Germans wanted to protect them from the bombs, because where they were [from] there were severe bombings, and here there were no bombings. You *know* the German Jews! [1535]

Curiously, Polish Jews who left Wrocław (formerly Breslau) after the war in transports for returning German citizens were betrayed by German Jews to the British occupation authorities on arrival in Germany. The British wanted to detain the Polish Jews and send them back to Poland.[1536]

In almost every European country, but not among ethnic Poles in Poland, collaborators easily outnumbered the ranks of the anti-Nazi resistance. Hundreds of thousands of non-Germans—many of them from Western Europe—willingly joined the German war effort. Virtually every European national group, except for Poles, volunteered to serve in the ranks of the elite SS, which included the following nationalities: Dutch—50,000, Belgians—40,000, Hungarians—40,000, Croatians—40,000, Ukrainians—30,000 (of the 80,000 who had volunteered), Cossacks—30,000, Latvians—30,000, French—20,000, Albanians—19,000, Russians—18,000, Estonians—15,000, Belorussians—10,000, Italians—10,000, Tatars—10,000, Norwegians—8,000, Danes—6,000, Slovaks—6,000, Czechs—5,000, Romanians—5,000, Finns—4,000, Serbs—4,000, Bulgarians—3,000, Armenians—3,000, Georgians—3,000, Uzbeks—2,000, Greeks—1,000, Swiss—1,000, Swedes—300, English—100.[1537] Many more fought in other military formations. For example, Ukrainians fought in at least 70 of more than 150 so-called Eastern Battalions, including at least 35,000 in 58 Guard Battalions or *Schutzmannschaftsbataillons.* In total, there were nearly 250,000 Ukrainians in the units of the Eastern Troops and German auxiliary units. According to General Ernst Köstring, the Eastern Troops commander, in October 1944, over 800,000 Eastern volunteers (including Ukrainians) served in the German army and an additional 100,000 served in the Luftwaffe and navy.[1538]

The phenomenon of civilian collaboration was by no means unique to Poland or endemic to Poles, although some historians have attempted to elevate it to some exceptional level. Lucy Dawidowicz, for example, contends: "In no other country in Europe did such police informing and unsolicited cooperation with the SS assume the massive proportions they took on in Poland."[1539] However, Dawidowicz ignores

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[1535] Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds,* 176.

[1536] Meyer Kron, *Through the Eyes of the Needle* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 1999), 115–16.

[1537] George H. Stein, *The Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War*, 1939–1945 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966); Kurt Georg Klietmann, *Die Waffen-SS: Eine Dokumentation* (Osnabrück: Der Freiwillige, 1965), 499–515.

[1538] See the English language "Summary" in Andrii Boianovskyi, *Ukrainski viiskovi formuvannia v zbroinykh sylakh Nimechchyny (1939–1945)* (Lviv: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, and Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 2003), 569–89.

[1539] Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians,* 106.

Jewish conduct in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland, which constituted *de facto* collaboration with an ally of Nazi Germany,[1540] nor is there any evidence that Dawidowicz carried out any serious comparative research before reaching her sweeping conclusions. Historian Philip Friedman has pointed out that a special branch of the Jewish Defence Committee in Belgium daily employed 300 persons, Jews and non-Jews, to assist post-office workers to intercept denunciations of Jews mailed to the German authorities.[1541] In fact, thousands of letters denouncing Jews were sent to the occupying authorities—an enormous number given the size of that country's Jewish community (90,000 or about one percent of that country's population).[1542] French Jews were also confronted with the problem of collaboration and denunciation on a daily basis.[1543] The French wrote between three and five million signed and unsigned letters of denunciation, often sent directly to the Gestapo. An estimated 20,000 of these denunciations pertained to Jews.[1544]

In Norway, nearly half of the minuscule Jewish population of 1,600 (0.05 percent of the total population) was killed during the war and none would have died without Norwegian collaboration. Norway had only a few convinced Nazis but enough anti-Semites and law-abiding policemen and bureaucrats to make the Final Solution a near-success. During the war, many Norwegians who would otherwise not have helped the Germans, took part in registering, arresting, and handing over Jews to the German authorities. As for the powerful Norwegian resistance movement, it resembled all the other European resistance movements in caring little about what happened to the Jews. Those Norwegian Jews who did survive the war were not

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[1540] See the study by Mark Paul, *Neighbours on the Eve of the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941* (Toronto: PEFINA Press, 2020), Internet: <http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>, which is a much expanded revision of an earlier essay by Mark Paul, "Jewish-Polish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941," in *The Story of Two Shtetls,* Part Two, 173–230.

[1541] Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers,* 69.

[1542] Jean-Philippe Schreiber, "Belgium and the Jews Under Nazi Rule: Beyond the Myths," in David Bankier and Israel Gutman, eds., *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority and The International Institute for Holocaust Research, 2003), 478.

[1543] Adam Rayski, *The Choice of the Jews under Vichy: Between Submission and Defiance* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Jean-Marc Berlière, *Les policiers français sous L'Occupation: D'après les archives inédites de l'épuration* (Paris: Perrin, 2001); Julian Jackson, ed., *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Sarah Fishman, et al., *France at War: Vichy and the Historians* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000); Lynne Taylor, *Between Resistance and Collaboration: Popular Protest in Northern France, 1940–45* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan 2000; New York: St. Martin Press, 2000); Simon Kitson, "From Enthusiasm to Disenchantment: The French Police and the Vichy Regime, 1940–1944," *Contemporary European History,* vol. 11, no. 3 (2002): 371–90.

[1544] Sheila Fitzpatrick and Robert Gellately, "Introduction to the Practices of Denunciation in Modern European History," *The Journal of Modern History,* vol. 68, no. 4 (December 1996): 747–67; Benn Williams, "Letters of Denunciation in the Lyon Region, 1940–1944," *Historical Social Research,* vol. 26, no. 2/3 (2001): 136–52; Lareunt Joly, "La délation antisémite sous L'Occupation," *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'histoire,* no. 4 (2007): 137–49. This phenomenon was first detailed in André Halimi, *La Délations sous l'Occupation* (Paris: A. Moreau, 1983). Some historians, like Henry Rousso, offer a more conservative estimate of "hundreds of thousands" of denunciations. See also Laurent Joly, ed., *La Délation dans la France des années noires* (Paris: Perrin, 2012); Lareunt Joly, *Dénoncer les Juifs sous l'Occupation: Paris 1940–1944* (Paris: CNRS, 2017).

sheltered in Norway for long years but smuggled into Sweden where they were out of reach of the Germans. Only a handful of Jews survived in hiding in Norway.[1545]

According to Raul Hilberg, "In the Netherlands the Jews were destroyed with a thoroughness comparable to the relentless uprooting process in the Reich itself." Although Holland had no puppet regime, the local bureaucracy and police played a pivotal role in the Final Solution. The various Dutch police forces—the Security Police, the Order Police, the Dutch police from Amsterdam and the Hague, the Dutch auxiliary police (not to mention the Jewish Order Police from Westerbork)—were crucial to the success of German designs. Ninety percent of the Amsterdam police reportedly cooperated with the round-ups, and a German occupation official proclaimed after the war that without the Dutch police "it would have been practically impossible to seize even ten percent of Dutch Jewry." In the small towns and villages "both the local mayors and the police were complicit in the round-ups." Westerbork, the transit camp where Dutch Jews were loaded onto trains for the gassing centres, was guarded by the illustrious Royal Marechaussee, comparable to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Equally accommodating and essential to the Germans were the personnel of the Dutch transport system who hauled the Jews from the localities to Westerbork and thence east, i.e., to the border where German railroad personnel took over. However, inside Westerbork, the Germans set up an elaborate Jewish camp directorate, Jewish clerks made up weekly lists of Jews for

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[1545] Samuel Abrahamsen, *Norway's Response to the Holocaust: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991); Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), vol. 2, 584–89. Fortunately for Norwegian Jews, Hitler did not invade Sweden. As was revealed in February 2000, Swedish Nazis had compiled lists of Jews for liquidation and even started to gather building materials for the construction of concentration camps.

deportation, and the Jewish order police supervised the loading of Jews onto trains.[1546] The situation was much the same in most other countries.[1547]

Reprisals against collaborators reached massive proportions in Western Europe. The number of persons lynched or murdered during the last months of the war, or at the moment of liberation, ran into the tens of thousand. Beatings of suspected collaborators by unorganized mobs were commonplace. In France, "military operations during the Liberation were often accompanied by acts of revenge perpetrated either by

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[1546] Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition, vol. 2, 600–32; Bob Moore, *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940–1945* (London: Arnold; New York: St. Martin's, 1997), passim; Suzanne D. Rutland, "A Reassessment of the Dutch Record During the Holocaust," in Roth and Maxwell, *Remembering for the Future,* vol. 1, 527–42. According to Raul Hilberg, "In the Netherlands the Jews were destroyed with a thoroughness comparable to the relentless uprooting process in the Reich itself." That the survival rate in Holland was as high as it was had to do in large measure with the exemption from deportation to camps created for 8,000–9,000 Jews in mixed marriages and for some 4,000 Jews in special categories. See Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition, vol. 2, 619, 622–24, 229 n.139. Betrayal of Jews in Holland was an extremely frequent phenomenon, and indeed reached massive proportions, as survivor testimonies confirm. See, for example, Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2003), 320–55; Mordecai Paldiel, *Sheltering Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 15, 169, 170; Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 53, 56, 98, 172, 208, 215, 251, 254, 519, 554; Emily Taitz, ed., *Holocaust Survivors,* vol. 1 (Westport, Connecticut, and London, 2007), 24, 108; Interviews with Ursula Stern, Selma Wijnberg, and Jozef Wins, Internet: <http://www.sobiborinterviews.nl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6>. The so-called Henneicke column first extorted money from Jews, and then when the Germans started paying large rewards they handed over Jews to the Gestapo. As a result of pioneering research, Dutch investigative journalist Ad van Liempt exposed the activities of a committed group of volunteers who denounced Jews and concluded that about 8,000 to 9,000 Jews were turned in to the Germans for cash. This represents almost half of the Jews who attempted to hide. See Ad van Liempt, *Hitler's Bounty Hunters: The Betrayal of the Jews* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005).

[1547] For an overview of conditions in France, see Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* Third edition, vol. 2, 645–703 (France). Historian Michael R. Marrus wrote: "The Germans needed and received a great deal of assistance from the French to carry out their plans. … Most of the work was done by the French police. … it seems highly unlikely that the Germans would have been capable of deporting large numbers of Jews from France without the help provided by the French authorities. … Unlike Poland, where there was always a heavy German police presence, there were few men to spare for France—only three battalions for the occupied zone, for example, or about three thousand men." Thus reliance on the French police to carry out the round-up and deportation of the Jews was absolutely essential. See "France: The Jews and the Holocaust," in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier Macmillan, 1990), vol. 2, 509–513; see also the entry for the infamous French assembly and detention camp in the Paris suburb of Drancy in vol. 1, 404–406. By way of comparison, there were about 150,000 SS or Waffen SS stationed in Poland in 1944. See Prekerowa, *Zegota: Commission d'aide aux Juifs* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 1999), 285. According to American historian Joseph Rothschild, "the achievements of the Polish resistance movement were indeed prodigious. It tied down approximately 500,000 German occupation troops and, according to official German figures, prevented one out of every eight *Wehrmacht* transports headed for the Russian front from reaching its destination. … And Poland was the only Axis-occupied country in Europe without a quisling." See Joseph Rothschild, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II,* Second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 28. (The peak strength and accomplishments of the Polish underground occurred in 1944–1945. By that time, however, the Holocaust of Polish Jews was essentially over.) A recent revelation of the extent of complicity in the Holocaust in Western Europe came in January 1993 with the release of documents implicating the English authorities on the Channel Island of Guernsey of close cooperation with the German military in identifying and tracking down that occupied island's small Jewish community. Only one member of the eight-member cabinet categorically refused his assent to anti-Jewish edicts. As indicated earlier, the Holocaust in Poland was not dependent on such forms of collaboration. See "Guernsey officials put Jews into Nazi hands, records show," *The Toronto Star,* January 6, 1993; Madeleine Bunting, *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands under German Rule, 1940–1945,* Revised paperback edition (London: HarperCollins, 1996). Writing about the Holocaust in Belgium, historian Jean-Philippe Schreiber arrived at a conclusion that aptly sums up the experience of the Jewish population throughout Western Europe. The truth of the matter was that, as elsewhere, the average Belgian "does not like the Jews." (Indeed, anti-Semitism was pervasive in Western countries where Jews constituted a microscopic minority.) Moreover, "the suggestion that there would be a direct link between democratic values and a century of emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe and a widespread readiness to help them is superficial and not substantiated by the facts revealed through a close analysis of the rescuers." See Jean-Philippe Schreiber, "Belgium and the Jews Under Nazi Rule: Beyond the Myths," in Bankier and Gutman, *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution,* 480.

individual score-settlers or by members of the resistance. The number of deaths, which is sometimes put as high as 40,000, certainly exceeded those caused by occupying German forces in 1940–44. … Special courts of justice condoned 10,800 executions, but the spontaneous *épuration* or purging of collaborators claimed many more victims …"[1548] (These figures are all the more suprising in light of recent French scholarship indicating that German terror in France was not nearly as extensive as once believed. In fact, the Germans executed only some 4,500 persons, more than 70% of them Communists, after being condemned to death by military tribunals or as hostages, and not the previously claimed 80,000.[1549] In addition, at least 1,000 persons were executed in mass reprisals in places such as Oradour, Maillé, Saint-Genis-Laval, Bron, Tulle, and Asq.) It is estimated that some 20–25,000 French women were subjected to ritualized shearing (head shaving) and other humiliations following liberation.[1550] An eyewitness described the atmosphere that accompanied a procession of "sexual collaborators" in Paris:

> Near to the metro stop Danube (19th *arrondissement* of Paris), a crowd was following a woman who was entirely naked. Her head had been completely shaved, and on her breast two swastikas tattooed in Indian ink. … On her back she also had tattooed a portrait of Hitler. The crowd which was out of control were throwing stones at her, pushing her and insulting her.

And yet the vast majority of police officers suspended after the liberation of Paris in 1944 for extreme forms of collaboration, including assistance to the *Parti populaire français* and similar groups) were later reintegrated into the police forces.

The *epurazzione* was particularly brutal in Italy, where somewhere between 12,000 and 20,000 Italians lost their lives. Some 9,000 Fascists or their sympathizers were killed in April and May 1945 alone.[1551] On July 6, 1945, local Communist partisans broke into the prison at Schio in the province of Vicenza, and

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[1548] Norman Davies, *Europe At War: No Simple Victory* (London: Macmillan, 2006), 302, 319. See also Herbert R. Lottman, *The Purge: The Purification of the French Collaborators After World War II* (New York: William Morrow, 1986); Herbert R. Lottman, *The People's Anger: Justice and Revenge in Post-Liberation France* (New York: Hutchinson, 1986); H.R. Kedward and Nancy Wood, eds., *The Liberation of France: Image and Event* (Oxford and Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1995). According to a review of Julian Jackson, ed., *France: The Dark Years, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): "Some 9,000 collaborators, suspected collaborators, or people who had simply incurred their neighbors' dislike were killed just before and during the Liberation; about 1,500 more were executed after trial; more than 40,000 were sentenced to prison terms; 20,000 to 30,000 public servants were sanctioned. Among these were few policemen [who had played a pivotal role in the round-up and deportation of French Jews to the death camps]. In August of 1944 the police in Paris and other cities had mutinied against the Germans with whom they had collaborated for so long, and thus qualified for resister status. From 10,000 to 20,000 women (though not Coco Chanel or Arletty) were accused of horizontal collaboration and had their heads shaved, or were subjected to other forms of public humiliation in repulsive and sexist acts. But 80,000 Frenchwomen of the occupied zone had by mid-1943 claimed children's benefits from the German authorities and requested German nationality for their offspring." See Eugen Weber, "France's Downfall," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 2001.

[1549] Jean-Pierre Besse and Thomas Pouty, *Les fusilés: Répression et exécutions pendant l'Occupation (1940–1944)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2006).

[1550] Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation* France (New York: Berg, 2002). The quotation is found at p. 137.

[1551] Keith Lore, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (London: Viking/Penguin, 2012), 149–53. Political violence, often initiated by Communists, also took a large toll in both Italy and France. Ibid., chapter 23.

butchered 54 prisoners, thirteen of them women, accused of various Fascist crimes.[1552] Lynchngs of alleged collaborators took place in Belgium and the Netherlands as well.[1553] In Norway, a country with a population of less than three million, Norwegian authorities arrested some 90,000 of their compatriots on suspicion of collaboration with the Germans. Some 46,000 people were found guilty of some degree of helping the enemy, 17,000 were sentenced to prison with 600 to terms of eight years or longer, and 25 were sentenced to death.[1554] In Denmark, 22,000 people were arrested for collaboration, 14,000 were sentenced to prison terms, and 46 sentenced to death (of whom 23 were executed).[1555] In the Netherlands,

> Some 65,000 Dutch collaborators had already fled to Germany.
>
> … The mass arrests of suspects by Dutch resistance forces started even before allied forces arrived, and between 120,000 and 150,000 men and women were rounded up. In part, this was to protect them from 'blitz-justice' or mass lynchings, a reaction so feared by the Dutch government-in-exile that they alerted their secret representatives in the country to deal with it. So did the Roman Catholic Church. In September 1944, … it asked priests to open their church buildings as places of refuge for suspected collaborators.
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> In the event, lynching on a massive scale was largely avoided. … In the town of Winschoten, for example, a crowd dragged the Nazi-appointed Mayor from his office, threw him into the canal, and hurled his portrait of Adolf Hitler and the Dutch Nazi Party (NSB) leader Anton Mussert into the water after him. In the nearby town of Farnum, a mob simply murdered the Mayor, a man also appointed by the Nazis. Lower-level collaborators were humiliated by giving them dirty and menial tasks …
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> Across the Netherlands, special 'cleansing committees' were hard at work. … In the end, some fifty thousand collaborators were given prison sentences, and over a hundred and fifty were condemned to death. Of these, though, only forty were actually executed. …
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> In and around Groningen, the arrested were held in schools, hotels, cafés, gymnasia and large barns. … At the height of the arrest wave, the city had 18,000 internees—8,500 men, 6,500 women and 3,000 children, a proportion of the population considerably higher than the Dutch national average. Some camps were reasonably comfortable, but overall there was little and bad food, poor hygiene and plenty of dysentery and diarrhoea. …
>
> But after the peak in June, the numbers rapidly declined … It was widely accepted that Dutch society had to be reformed, but in an orderly way, and this meant being more stricy about who was purged and cooling the radical mood that had developed in the resistance.[1556]

[1552] David Stafford, *Endgame, 1945: Victory, Retribution, Liberation* (London: Little, Brown, 2007), 471.

[1553] Lore, *Savage Continent,* 150.

[1554] Stafford, *Endgame, 1945,* 373.

[1555] Tomasz Szarota, *Karuzela na placu Krasińskich: Studia i szkice z lat wojny i opkupacji* (Warsaw: Rytm and Fundacja "Historia and Kultura," 2007), 99.

[1556] Stafford, *Endgame, 1945,* 448–49. Other sources give different or additional figures for the Netherlands: between 120,000 and 150,000 were arrested and, while awaiting trial, imprisoned for various lengths of tme; 100,000 were subject to punishment of some sort; about10 percent of the 380,000 civil servants were purged. See Ido de Haan, "An Unresolved Controversy: THe Jewish Honor Court in the Netherlands, 1946–1950," Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 111–12.

In early September 1944, about 10,000 people—approximately 3,500 collaborators and their families—left Luxembourg with the German civil administration. In 1945, 5,101 Luxembourgers were imprisoned for pro-Nazi activities, which constituted 1.79% of the population. Twelve collaborators were sentenced to death and were shot; 249 were sentenced to forced labour; 1,366 were sentenced to prison; and 645 were sent to workhouses. Thus, about 0.8% of the population was legally punished. This included one former minister, the 1925–1926 prime minister, Pierre Prüm, who was sentenced in 1946 to four years' imprisonment. At least one mayor was also deposed for political activities by grand-ducal decree. There were still acts of violence directed against the families of collaborators as late as 1947.[1557]

On postwar retaliations historian Norman Davies writes: "Across Europe, people wanted to settle accounts with wartime collaborators. … Proceedings were most thorough in the Netherlands, where some 200,000 suspected collaborators were detained, and in Belgium, where, of 634,000 detained, 77,000 were sentenced."[1558] According to another source, as many as 450,000 Dutch citizens were arrested. In Belgium, "Dossiers were opened on 405,067 individuals accused of collaboration, and 57,254 were prosecuted. Of these, 2,940 were sentenced to death (of whom 242 were executed); 2,340 were sentenced to life imprisonment."[1559] However, the Antwerp policemen who took part in the deportation of the Jews were never brought to trial, nor were many other Belgians who denounced Jews. According to historian László Karsai, the 'sentences' of partisan courts of law and spontaneous and/or organized eruptions of popular wrath took 8,000 to 9,000 victims in France and at least 8,000 to 10,000 victims in Italy during 1944 and 1945. In France, 350,000 people were investigated, 45,000 were convicted, and 1,500 were executed. In Holland, 120,000 to 150,000 people were arrested, 50,000 were tried, and 40,000 were convicted, of whom 152 were sentenced to death. Forty of these were executed (five were Germans). Tens of thousands were fired from their jobs.[1560] According to other figures, the various courts set up to hear charges of collaboration examined the cases of 555,100 Frenchmen, and judgments were brought against 127,063 defendants. Of this number, only three were executed, whereas the kangaroo courts had killed up to 9,000 Frenchmen.[1561]

[1557] Benoît Majerus, "Kollaboration in Luxemburg: Die falsche Frage?" in *...et wor alles net esou einfach: Questions sur le Luxembourg et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (Luxembourg: Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg, 2002), vol. 10, 126–40.

[1558] Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1060. See also the essays on Germany, France, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia in Jon Elster, ed., *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[1559] István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt., eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 134.

[1560] László Karsai, "Crime and Punishment: People's Courts, Revolutionary Legality, and the Hungarian Holocaust," *Intermarium,* The First Online Journal of East Central European Postwar History and Politics, vol. 4, no. 1, Internet: <www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/Regional/ece/intermar.html>. This author describes the workings of the Hungarian Communist courts in "The Hungarian Holocaust as Reflected in the People's Court Trials in Budapest," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 32 (2004): 59–96. These courts passed 26,997 prison sentences, 14,727 persons were acquitted, 477 were sentenced to death, and 189 of them executed.

[1561] Henry Rousso, "Did the Purge Achieve Its Goals?" in Richard J. Golsan, ed., *Memory, the Holocaust, and French Justice: The Bousquet and Touvier Affairs* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1996), 101.

It is estimated that Polish courts sentenced about 20,000 individuals for war crimes between 1944 and 1948, while the number of cases under investigation may have reached 80,000. The bulk of the trials took place between 1944 and 1950, when special penal courts and then the district courts convicted and sentenced 16,428 defendants. German nationals constituted about one-third of this number, while the rest were either Polish citizens or residents tried for collaboration with the Germans. Close to 1,800 of these defendants were charged with crimes committed in concentration, labour, and death camps as well as in Jewish ghettos. The majority of the convicted were German—887 individuals—followed by 489 *Volksdeutsche* (of whom 198 came from Poland), 282 Poles, 59 Ukrainians, and 30 representatives of other ethnic groups. As Gabriel Finder points out,

> Unlike the tendency by 1948 in many countries in Western and Eastern Europe to bring the trials of Nazi perpetrators and collaborators to an end and to offer them amnesty in an effort to gain their implicit support for postwar regimes, the prosecution of Nazi perpetrators and collaborators in Poland did not abate until much later. … "among the former Soviet satellites, Poland was the most consistent in investigating and prosecuting war crimes: between 1944 and 1985, Polish courts tried more than 20,000 defendants, including 5,450 German nationals."[1562]

Germany's record was nothing short of abysmal. The least likely of all Europeans to be charged and sentenced for their wartime activities were the Germans themselves. Most of those found guilty served little or no prison time. American historian Donald McKale writes:

> The Federal Republic of Germany, founded in May 1949, prosecuted a tiny minority of the estimated several hundred thousand former Holocaust perpetrators. …
>
> Altogether, from the war's end in 1945 to 1992, the West Germans investigated 103,823 persons suspected of participating in or committing Nazi crimes. Of this number, courts convicted only 6,487 (of which 5,513, or 85 percent, were condemned for "nonlethal" crimes). Thirteen were sentenced to death (before the Federal Republic abolished the death sentence), 163 to life imprisonment, 6,197 to temporary imprisonment, and 114 to only fines. If one excludes defendants prosecuted for robbery or assault charges, the disturbingly low number shrinks further. Between May 1945 and January 1992, West German courts tried only 1,793 cases related to Nazi capital crimes during the world war. Of those, 974 led to convictions, while 819 ended with either the court acquitting the defendants or terminating the proceedings for other reasons.
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> In May 1955 an agreement among the United States, Great Britain, France, and West Germany included the provision that German courts could not investigate or prosecute anyone whom the Allied occupation powers had investigated earlier. The overwhelming majority of [the 7,000 to 7,200] SS personnel who had served at the Auschwitz camps … avoided postwar arrest and punishment. Of the four thousand former *Einsatzgruppen* members who, between the fall of 1939 and 1944, slaughtered well over one million Jews in Poland and the Soviet Union, nearly all escaped retribution. By 1948, the Western Allies had captured, and a U.S. tribunal had placed on trial for war crimes, barely two

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[1562] Gabriel N. Finder, "The Poltics of Retribution in Postwar Warsaw: In the Honor Court of the Central Committee of Polish Jews," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis,* 558. See also Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, *Justice behind the Iron Curtain: Nazis on Trial in Communist Poland* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

dozen of them. Later, Western German courts tried only a tiny number of other former *Einsatzgruppen* members.

In the Federal Republic, nearly all of the convicted—in contrast to their crimes of mass murder—received light prison terms. How did such miscarriages of justice in West Germany happen? As punishment for the crime of murder, West German law mandated a maximum sentence of life in prison. But the new Bonn [democratic] government, under its first chancellor Konrad Adenauer, chose not to prosecute Nazi criminals using the charges or legal procedures of the IMT [International Military Tribunal]. Instead, the government wanted to utilize the long-standing German penal code (with its Nazi revisions repealed). …

For all these and other reasons West German courts … seldom applied the maximum punishment. Instead, the courts judged many defendants as accomplices or accessories who, in fact, had ordered, arranged, or supervised mass killings but who hadn't been shown to have committed themselves an act of murder. More often than not, such persons received much lighter prison sentences than some of their former subordinates, whom the courts convicted of shooting or otherwise killing Jews themselves.[1563]

American historian István Deák explodes the myth of Germany having come to terms with its sordid past as having no foundation in its postwar treatment of Nazi war criminals:

But why were so few tried at Nuremberg? The answer is that the victorious powers agreed to punish only those who best represented the crimes of entire groups and institutions, such as the Reich Chancellery or the leadership of the Nazi Party, the SS, the SA, the armed forces general staff, the war industry, lawyers, judges, and the medical profession. The prosecution of other war criminals was left to the Germans, but this never really happened in the American-, British-, and French-occupied parts of Germany. Yet it was in those occupation zones that most German war criminals settled after the war. The reason for this was the Cold War, during which the West Germans turned into valuable allies of the Western great powers and the East Germans turned into allies of the Soviet Union.

We must also face the fact that while in many European countries the new regimes, made up of former resisters, wished to purge and to change society, the German people had no such wish.

In theory, the Nuremberg trials should have been followed by the Germans trying their own war criminals, but the West German courts, mostly presided over by former Nazis, were reluctant to act. When they rarely did, they claimed lack of evidence or, in extreme cases, meted out symbolic punishment. In any case, the West German authorities made sure that the prisoners would soon be released, mostly on grounds of ill health. Because all the Western Allies agreed to appease and to support the Federal Republic of Germany, by the end of 1956 there were just a handful of Nazi war

[1563] Donald M. McKale, *Nazis After Hitler: How Perpetrators of the Holocaust Cheated Justice and Truth* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 216–18. On the shameful inadequacy of the prosecution of Nazi mass murders in West Germany, see, among others, Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germany* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 267–333. Remarkably, the West German courts, generally presided over by judges who had themselves been Nazi Party members, were reluctant to condemn even such German doctors and nurses who had murdered thousands upon thousands of mentally and physically handicapped fellow Germans. Nonetheless, the myth of Germany having come to terms with its past prevails even today.

> criminals in German, British, French, or American prisons. … we can state with confidence that in contrast to non-Germans, many German war criminals got away with murder.[1564]

In fact, West Germany went out of its way to *protect* its war criminals. Germany enacted legislation to prohibit the extradition of German war criminals to the countries where they committed their crimes; the death penalty was banned to prevent war criminals from being executed in Germany. Tellingly, out of the 10,000 functionaries of Auschwitz (most of whom survived and resided in West Germany), only 43 were prosecuted by the German authorities.

Not surprisingly, guilt diffusion has crept into the German wartime narrative, shifting blame away from Germans and onto Poles and others. Lukas Meissel, a historian at the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde in Vienna, writes candidly about this phenomenon, as evidenced by the popular 2013 German TV mini-series *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* (translated as Generation War).

> Historical guilt is often talked about or portrayed in a somewhat elusive way, making it easy to relativize. *Unsere Mütter, unsere Väter* does this in at least three ways:
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> 1. The Poles are shown as even more anti-Semitic than the Germans. Furthermore, they are presented as convinced ideological anti-Semites, whereas the German characters are portrayed mostly as not ideological.
> 2. Soviet soldiers are presented in a primarily negative light. …
> 3. In the series, the Americans (and not the Germans) use 'former' Nazis to pursue their own interests …
>
> These are three common stereotypes sometimes brought up by participants during study trips to downplay Nazi crimes. The general argument is that everyone was guilty to some degree and was simultaneously a victim at some point—even if it was only as a 'victim of circumstances.' The common assumption is that individual Germans and Austrians were not responsible for the situations in which they lived and, therefore, cannot be held responsible for what they did personally.[1565]

Austria's postwar settling of scores proved to be a complete farce, as the initial steps taken against Nazi collaborators were soon reversed.

[1564] Deák, *Europe on Trial,* 193, 213–14. As Deák astutely observes at p. 226, "We also know, incidentally, that all German SS men and policemen were free not to participate in the mass shootings of Jews and Gypsies in conquered Eastern Europe. Yet only a few of these men made use of this privilege …"

[1565] Lukas Meissel, "Not 'How Was It Possible,' but 'Who Made It Possible': The Topic of Perpetrators in Holocaust Education in Austria," in Wendy Lower and Lauren Faulkner Rossi, eds., *Lessons and Legacies XII: New Directions in Holocaust Research and Education* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 418–19. Attitudes in contemporary Germany are troubling, given that country's horrific track record. German remembrance of World War II omits or downplays the plight of Poles, even though Germany's destructive fury was nowhere else more intensely applied than in Poland, and half of the six million killed were Christian Poles. Instead, German remembrance focuses on the Holocaust and on German suffering in the aftermath of the war. Since it is politically incorrect to voice anti-Semitic views, contemporary Germans afflicted with this common prejudice continue to direct their poisoned emotions at Poland. In 2007, the Mannheimer Foschungsgruppe Wahlen institute for Germany's ZDF public television program conducted a survey. What they found was—perhaps very tellingly—incongruous, especially in light of Germany's superficial and reluctant post-war denazfication. The Germans —who consider themselves to be a tolerant and "liberal" nation, but are all-too-often contemptuous of the "nationalistic" and "anti-Semitic" Poles—declared that Poland was, by far, the country in the European Union that they most strongly disliked. Almost one quarter (23 percent) of Germans polled openly declared their animosity toward Poland. (The second most loathed country, Romania, came in only at 11 percent.)

> In Austria people's courts initiated proceedings against 137,000 persons, a figure that does not include the many of hundreds of thousands of civil servants, including teachers, postmen, railway workers, and others who were dismissed from their jobs because they had been members of the Nazi Party. Needless to say, these judgments and decisions were quashed within a few years, and so, ultimately, the proportion of Nazi killers punished in Austria was even lower than in Germany.[1566]

Not one of the 64 Majdanek-related war crimes cases before the court in Graz in the years 1963–1972 resulted in a conviction and punishment.[1567]

Despite the constraints imposed by the Allied occupation, anti-Semitic and anti-Slav sentiments continued to run high among the German population after the war:

> It wasn't just Nazis in Germany who espoused nationalist or racist ideas and attitudes. Poles, Russians and Slavs in general were still widely despised … And, disturbingly, anti-Semitic views remained entrenched. While some Germans were genuinely horrified by Auschwitz, others continued to regard Jews as a race apart—and definitely unequal. Despite all the revelations about the Nazi death camps, such prejudices could still be found even among the 'compassionate' professions …
>
> Alongside the resolute denial of responsibility for the catastrophe, anti-Semitism continued its insidious life. In the initial shock over revelations about the death camps, anti-Jewish feeling became muted. …
>
> Anti-Semitic views even *rose* in Bavaria. … Here, just twelve months after Hitler's death, another survey revealed that almost 60 per cent of Bavarians exhibited racist, anti-Semitic or 'intense anti-Semitic' views. …
>
> But Bavaria was by no means unique. Elsewhere, those who had openly denounced the Jews under Hitler simply donned new clothes and reinvented themselves.[1568]

Unlike virtually every other occupied country, Poland did not have a Quisling regime or organized native collaborators, although a number of prominent persons had been approached to fulfill such a role,[1569] nor did it produce national SS formations. During the course of the German occupation, Poland's underground authorities passed approximately 5,000 death sentences against collaborators, about half of which were carried out.[1570] After the war, as mentioned, the Communist authorities prosecuted thousands of alleged collaborators. However, the Soviet-inmposed regime also used a newly enacted law ostensibly targeting

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[1566] Deák, *Europe on Trial,* 205.

[1567] Winfried R. Garscha, "Warum fand der Grazer Majdanek-Process nich statt?," *Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes Mitteilungen,* no. 205 (March 2012): 5–6.

[1568] Stafford, *Endgame, 1945,* 467, 508.

[1569] Prince Janusz Radziwiłł, who was approached twice by the Germans prior to the summer of 1940 regarding the creation of a Polish government subservient to the Reich, refused to cooperate. See Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust,* 111. Among other Poles who rejected German offers of collaboration were Wincenty Witos, Peasant Party leader and former Prime Minister, and Stanisław Estreicher, a prominent scholar at the Jagiellonian University.

[1570] Gondek, *Polska karząca 1939–1945,* 114.

"Fascist-Hitlerite criminals" to strike at the anti-Communist underground, who were often branded as wartime "collaborators."[1571]

But it was exceedingly rare for Jewish collaborators to face punishment for their wartime misdeeds. Some 40 Jews stood trial in Polish state courts between 1944 and 1945 on charges of collaboration. Most of them —former *Kapos* and policemen—were charged with assisting the Germans in the murder and mistreatment of their fellow Jews in ghettos and camps. Thirty of the Jewish defendants were convicted, with ten sentenced to death (two death sentences were commuted); ten were acquitted.[1572]

Among those prosecuted, and sentenced to death, were the following: Dr. Leon Gross and Meir (Majer) Kerner, the former was the chief medical officer and the latter was the deputy chief of the Jewish police and head *Kapo* at the Płaszów concentration camp (Kerner was sentenced to death based on the testimony of Jewish witnesses, but it is unclear when his execution took place); Maks Zimmerman, a policeman who betrayed the hiding places of Jews in the Kraków ghetto; Max Heimberg aka Szymon Falk, a Jewish policeman from Borysław; and a man named Goldstein. Another person who faced prosecution and, apparently, was sentenced to death in 1950 was Azryl Blumensztok, an overseer at the labour camp in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski. (It is not clear whether this sentence was carried out.) Dr. Szymon Rosen of Bochnia, Mendel Grünszpan of Rzeszów, Henoch (Henryk, Chaim) Klajman of Płońsk, Henryk Gnat, Pinkhas Grynszpan, Samuel Weintraub (a *Kapo* at the work camp in Bliżyn, who was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment),[1573] Alfred Kannengisser, Symcha Binem Smolarz, a foreman at the labour camp in Budzyń, Chana (Hanna) Lender, Issie Zilbiger (a *Kapo* at Bunzlau), and Willy Filkelberger, a Gestapo confidant who was known to accost Poles as well as Jews, were also arraigned before Polish courts and sentenced to prison terms. Izaak Welner, a *Kapo* in Gross-Rosen, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Marian Borenstein, another *Kapo* in Gross-Rosen, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Dr. Mojżesz Zabramny was prosecuted in 1946 for mistreating prisoners in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp. Moszek Freifeld and Dawid Liebling, members of the Jewish police who abused prisoners in Płaszów, were both acquitted.[1574] Wilhelm Lerner, a Jewish policeman from the Tarnów ghetto and later a *Kapo* in Płaszów, faced prosecution in 1946 for cooperating with the Gestapo by searching out Jews in hiding (allegedly, he delivered his own mother to the Germans) and cruelty toward fellow Jewish prisoners.[1575]

[1571] Between 1944 and 1969, 17,845 people were convicted including 5,432 Germans; the rest were Poles, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, and others. In total over 1,500 death sentences were passed. Five of the Jews who were convicted sought clemency. See Czesław Pilichowski, ed., *Zbrodnie i sprawy: Ludobójstwo hitlerowskie przed sądem ludzkości i historii* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1980), 73–74; Zdzisław Biegański, "Kara śmierci w orzecznictwie Specjalnych Sądów Karnych w Polsce (1944–1946)," *Echa przeszłości* (Olsztyn: Uniwersytet Warmiński-Mazurski, 2004), vol. 5, 175, 194.

[1572] Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1955," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 20 (2008): 122–48, here at 128.

[1573] Daniel Boćkowski, Ewa Rogalewska, and Joanna Sadowska, *Kres świata białostockich Żydów* (Białystok: Muzeum Wojska w Białymstoku and Galeria Ślendzińskich w Białymstoku, 2013), 81.

[1574] Ligocka, *Tylko ja sama,* 324; Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, "Powojenne procesy członków Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst w okupowanym Krakowie: Casus Dawida Lieblinga," *Studia Żydowskie: Almanach,* no. 4 (2014): 97–114.

[1575] "Znęcał się nad współwyznawcami i matkę swoją wydał na mękę i "smierć," *Gazeta Ludowa,* np. 39 (1946), 4.

(There is more about Jewish policemen from Tarnów later.) An inmate of the Gross Masselwitz camp who originally hailed from Oświęcim provides another example:

> I had a *landsman* in camp who came from a family of rich *Khsidim,* named Zajdband. He knew my parents, too. He was a *Kapo* in camp. When I met him, I asked him to help me. He looked me up and down with a sadistic smirk on his face, then told me to remove my hat. He suddenly struck me over the head with his rubber club and beat me again and again till I was delirious from the pain. The Khayim Zajdband was one who reached the height of sadism in the camps. He was condemned in Poland in 1947 to twenty years hard labor.[1576]

However, most collaborators escaped punishment. Zygmunt Witkowski and Lismann, who stole from and terrorized prisoners in the Küstrin (Kostrzyn) camp on the Oder River, were responsible for the deaths of many Jews. However, witnesses were simply not summoned for Witkowski's trial and the culprit was acquitted.[1577] Yitzhak Zuckerman rescued a former Jewish policeman in Warsaw from an angry mob of fellow Jews in late January or early February 1945 and had him arrested by the Security Office. He was soon released. Zuckerman then dispatched his own men to find him, and after locating him they alerted the Soviet army to arrest him, but he was set free once again.[1578]

With the approval of the Polish government, a Jewish tribunal or honour court (*sąd obywatelski*), attached to the Central Committee of Jews in Poland, was established. Between November 1946 and December 1949, the Legal Bureau of the Central Committee opened files on 31 suspected Jewish collaborators from Warsaw. Most were former ghetto policemen, but there were also three putative Gestapo informers and two agents of "The Thirteeen." Only three of these investigations led to a trial before the Honour Court. The outcomes were as follows: one acquittal; one conviction with a subsequent commuted sentence; and one conviction that was overturned on appeal.[1579] (Slightly different statistics are cited below.) The Jewish Honour Court submitted to Polish state courts its findings regarding three Jews from Międzyrzec Podlaski, including two former Jewish policemen, Benjamin Lubicz and Szymon Tob (Topf). Although arrested, the latter two managed to escape from prison in 1946 and joined the third culprit abroad. Tob was convicted *in absentia*, in January 1949, and sentenced to death for revealing to the Gestapo the hiding places of Jews during the deportations.[1580] Some thirty Jews, mostly from Eastern Europe, were tried by Israeli courts from the 1950s until 1972 under Israel's 1950 Nazi and Nazi Collaborators Law, but in no case was a

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[1576] Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution,* 178.

[1577] Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 304–306. Zygmunt Witkowski later emigrated to Israel. The author of this account, Leon Borkowski, a Jew, credits many helpful Polish labourers for his survival.

[1578] Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory,* 636.

[1579] Gabriel N. Finder, "The Poltics of Retribution in Postwar Warsaw: In the Honor Court of the Central Committee of Polish Jews," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis,* 547–48. See also Agnieszka Jarzębowska, comp., *Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego: Inwentarz Zespołu: Sąd Obywatelski przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydow w Polsce, 1946–1950: Sygnatura AŻIH 313* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2006), Internet: <https://www.jhi.pl/uploads/inventory/file/136/S_d_Spo_eczny_313.pdf>.

[1580] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 686–87.

Jewish defendant found guilty of the death of a single person. Prison sentences, when administered, were perfunctory.[1581]

Although the Central Jewish Historical Committee looked into allegations of collaboration by Jews and compiled a list of a several thousand suspected collaborators, lawyers from the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce) opened only 175 files against suspected collaborators. Of the 25 alleged collaborators who ultimately stood trial before the Jewish civic court, eighteen were convicted and seven acquitted.[1582] Among those who were excluded from the Jewish community for three years were Jakub Haubenstock and Aleksander Eintracht, policemen from the Kraków ghetto and the Płaszów concentration camp, whereas Mieczysław Grade was simply reprimanded.[1583] Michał Weichert, the head of the Jewish Relief Organization, who was acquitted by the criminal courts, was deemed a collaborator by a Jewish civic court.[1584] The brothers Bernard and Ferdynand Sperling, former policemen, were also acquitted. The fate of Hirsch Rosenblum, a policeman who was investigated for abusing Jews in a work camp near Mielec, is unclear.[1585] Some prosecutions like the curious case of singer Wiera Gran (Grynberg), whose charges were dropped and who was exonerated by a Jewish civic court, may simply have been inspired by vengeful adversaries.[1586]

Jerzy Lewiński, a notorious policeman who rounded up Jews in the Warsaw ghetto and brought them to Umschlagplatz from whence they were sent to their deaths in Treblinka, joined the Communist party and became a prosecutor in Łódź who passed sentence on "collaborators" and enemies of the Stalinist regime. Despite pressure and threats by co-religionists not to testify against him, Edward Reicher and the renowned

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[1581] Gabriel N. Finder, "The Poltics of Retribution in Postwar Warsaw: In the Honor Court of the Central Committee of Polish Jews," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis,* 545; Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationshood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 67, 69. See also Michael J. Bazyler and Frank M. Tuerkheimer, *Forgotten Trials of the Holocaust* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 195–226.

[1582] Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 137. Shepsl Rotholc, a professional boxer turned ghetto policeman, was the first of 25 persons put on trial. The tribunal (*sąd społeczny*) found Rothholc guilty of reproachable behaviour for his continued service in the Jewish police after the first wave of deportations from Warsaw in the summer of 1942. He was expelled from the Jewish commmunity for two years and his right to participate in communal activities was revoked for three years; the tribunal ordered the publication of his conviction in the Jewish press. After two years Rotholc petitioned for and received a commutation of his sentence. He then left Poland and immigrated to Canada. See Gabriel N. Finder, "The Trial of Shepsl Rotholc and the Politics of Retribution in the Aftermath of the Holocaust," *Gal-Ed: On the History and Culture of Polish Jewry,* vol. 20 (2006): 63–89 (English section); Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 138.

[1583] Rączy, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie krakowskim w latach 1939–1945*, 223. See also Ewa Koźmińska-Frejlak, "'I'm Going to the Oven Because I Wouldn't Give Myself to Him': The Role of Gender in the Polish Jewish Civic Court," in Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 265–66.

[1584] David Engel, "Who Is A Collaborator? The Trials of Michał Weichert," in Sławomir Kapralski, ed., *The Jews in Poland,* Vol. II (Cracow: Judaica Foundation Center for Jewish Culture, 1999), 341; Celemenski, *Elegy For My People,* 136–38; Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, "Jewish Collaborators on Trial in Poland, 1944–1956," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 20 (2008): 132–34, 144–46.

[1585] Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich,* 122 n.388.

[1586] Gran, *Sztafeta oszczerców,* 44–80. Later, in Israel, Gran ran into one of the Stalinist security men who dealt with her case; he was working there as a police officer. Ibid., 85. See also Agata Tuszyńska, *Oskarżona: Wiera Gran* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010), translated as *Vera Gran: the Accused* (New York: Knopf, 2013).

pianist Władysław Szpilman refused to succumb. Although he lost his position, Lewiński never faced criminal charges and soon became the director of the state movie production enterprise, "Film Polski."[1587] Fiszke Ikka, the chairman of the Judenrat in Brzeziny ghetto, was accused in a postwar trial of having been a German Gestapo agent who pointed out well-to-do Jews to the police, who would then arrest and extort money from them.[1588]

In early 1947, the *Haaretz* newspaper published the following report. While visiting Paris a Jew from Buczacz spotted a childhood friend, who during the occupation had been the head of the Jewish police in Buczacz. This former policeman had executed this young man's parents during an *Aktion* and came to take him and his brother away later on. (He escaped; his brother perished in a death camp.) The young man beat the policeman viciously in his hotel room on two occasions with heavy objects and smashed some bottles against his head. He reported the policeman to the French police but they refused to take any action. He then went to the Polish consul in Paris. On the intervention of the Polish consul, the French police agreed to arrest the murderer. Supposedly, he was to be sent to Poland to stand trial, but there is no evidence this ever occurred.[1589] Eliezer Gruenbaum, a Communist activist, was known as a brutal *Kapo* at Auschwitz.[1590] He was arrested by the French police in Paris after being spotted by some survivors. Put on trial, he was acquitted because the French court concluded that neither the accused nor the victims were French. After immigrating to Israel, he became Israel's first minister of the interior. He died mysteriously during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.[1591]

Jewish "honour courts" in Germany also heard a number of cases involving alleged Jewish collaborators. In 1948, a Jewish honour court in Munich condemned as a traitor to the Jewish people a former Jewish policeman from the Olkusz ghetto who rounded up Jews for labour, requisitioned Jewish furniture for the Germans, and exposed the bunkers where Jews were in hiding during the "resettlement."[1592] In November 1948, Rachela Bursztajn, who had been a *Kapo* at the Stutthof concentration camp, was found to have behaved in a sadistic manner toward the starving and weakened Jewish women, beating them and finding and driving Jewish women from their hideouts during the evacuation of the camp.[1593] In February 1949, a Jewish honour court tried Josef Wlodawski, a member of the Warsaw ghetto police force and a prisoner functionary in the Radom labour camp and the Hessental concentration camp on charges of committing brutal acts and sadism. The court heard 21 witnesses who related gruesome details of how he had beaten Jewish inmates, aiming for their head and genitals, deprived them of their food rations, subjected them to

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[1587] Reicher, *Country of Ash,* 246.

[1588] Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945,* vol. II, Part A, 44.

[1589] Kahan, *Sefer Buczacz,* 297ff.

[1590] See, for example, the testimony of Abraham Berl Sokal, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2250. See also Tuvia Friling, *A Jewish Kapo in Auschwtiz: History, Memory, and the Politics of Survival* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2014), 100–101, 111, 139–40, 162.

[1591] Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 142.

[1592] Trunk, *Judenrat*, 556–57.

[1593] Laura Jockusch, "Rehabilitating the Past?: Jewish Honor Courts in Allied-Occupied Germany," in Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 75.

severe corporal punishment for random "offences," removed the gold teeth of inmates, and incited other Kapos to act against Jews. His actions directly led to the deaths of at least two prisoners. Wlodawski was found guilty and his case was transferred to the military authorities, but its outcome remains unclear.[1594]

William Kornbluth recalls the exploits of David Zimet, a Jewish policeman from his hometown of Tarnów.

> While in Linz I found out that a Jewish man who had been a ranking O.D. [policeman] in our ghetto and later on a 'Sonderkommando' (he loaded corpses into the crematoria) lived there. Just the sound of his name Zimmet [Zimet] conjured up ugly memories. He was a brute of the first order; in the Ghetto, he beat a friend of mine, Srulek Fenning, to death. He committed other heinous crimes in the service of the Gestapo. I was told that the D.P. camp inmates tried to bring him to justice in Austria, but the local authorities wanted nothing to do with it. He was subsequently beaten up severely, but he stayed on in the camp, being afraid to venture elsewhere for fear of a worse fate. Some time later on, he made his way to Montreal, Canada where he was adjudicated by a 'Bet Din' (a Jewish court) and released. The verdict was 'insufficient evidence' and 'it's a shame before the gentiles' to bring it out in the open.[1595]

(There is more on David Zimet later on.) Kornbluth also recalled another Jew, an Austrian exile named Distler (Diestler), who "fully and brutally" cooperated with the Gestapo in Tarnów. Occasionally, private "justice" was exacted. Miriam Jaszuńska, a Jewish partisan who took up residence in Wilno after the city's liberation, stated that Jews looked for surviving policemen from the ghetto in order to settle scores. Jewish partisans shot a sergeant by the name of Bernstein and handed over a certain Ferdman to the Soviet authorities, who tried and sentenced him.[1596]

Dr. Lopold Lustig from Drohobycz identifies several Jewish collaborators who fled to the West and were never brought to justice because of inaction on the part of the Jewish community:

> At a party [in New York] to honor Helmrich, I saw Wilek Ornstein [a ghetto policeman from Drohobycz]. I wanted to inform on him. I spoke to Mrs. Laufer. She said she didn't remember. I also spoke to Kuba Gold and Stella Wolfgang about Bross when we testified at the trial. "*S'past nisht far dee goyim,*"—it's unseemly in front of the *goyim.* They didn't want to. Ornstein was the main stoker of the crematorium in Mauthausen and Bercio Gutenplan was his helper. …
>
> Attorney Holzman, who delivered my aunt Yetka to her death, lived in Düsseldorf and sat on the supervisory board of the synagogue. No one wanted to touch his case. … Baumgarten and Giza Bachman [confidants and extortionists] were deported to Siberia, sent there by Izio Weisberr who returned with the Soviet Army. They came back later as victims of Stalinism. [Izio Weisberr or

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[1594] Laura Jockusch, "Rehabilitating the Past?: Jewish Honor Courts in Allied-Occupied Germany," in Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 73–74.

[1595] William Kornbluth, *Sentenced to Remember: My Legacy of Life in Pre–1939 Poland and Sixty-Eight Months of Nazi Occupation* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), 67, 144.

[1596] Testimony of Miriam Jaszuńska, dated July 15, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2530.

> Weissber served in the security police after returning to Poland] … In New York, I saw Mićko R.'s brother. He said Mićko [Maciek Ruhrberg, an extortionist] got married again, lived in Toronto and was doing well. Nobody wanted to remember. Nobody wanted to tell on a Jew.
>
> "Not one of them was ever tried?"
>
> "Only one, Bronek Dauerman, in Poland. Someone fingered him, but he had money from his robberies, so he hired good lawyers who got him out on bail and he made a getaway to Germany."[1597]

Jacob Tannenbaum, a former *Kapo* at Görlitz concentration camp, faced deportation from the United States in 1987 for his brutal treatment of prisoners. He was accused by fellow Jewish concentration camp survivors of ordering 300 Jews to their deaths in 1945, for raping women, and torturing and killing male prisoners, including a rabbi. "He was a nasty, nasty guy," said a former head of the Office of Special Investigations, Martin Mendelsohn, "There were a lot of witnesses who remembered him and his bestiality." The *Jewish Week* (February 12, 1988) reported, however, that "most [Jews] agreed, in the words of Elie Wiesel, Auschwitz survivor and Nobel Peace Prize winner, that 'the *kapos* were victims. They were chosen by their enemies. It is true that some were very, very cruel, but even those were acting as instruments of the enemy.'" Tannenbaum was eventually stripped of his U.S. citizenship, but not deported. "This is the best solution for all concerned," said Tannenbaum's lawyer, Elihu Massel. "It will also avoid a truly ghastly trial in which Jews would have had to testify against Jews, none of whom really want to remember."

The role of the Jewish police in assisting the Germans to carry out their genocidal plans came to the fore when Hirsch Barenblat, the deputy commander and later commander of the Jewish police in Będzin, was tried for collaboration, first in Poland immediately after the war and again in Israel in the early 1960s. Barenblat became the assistant conductor of the Israeli National Opera and was identified by a Będzin survivor at a concert in June 1960. He was investigated and eventually arrested in 1961. In 1964, the Tel Aviv District Court found that Barenblat, who had enlisted in the Jewish police voluntarily, turned Jews over for shipment to forced labour camps, beat Jewish residents, and surrendered dozens of orphaned Jewish children to the Nazis. Barenblat also played an active role in the deportations that swept some 7,000 Jews from Będzin to Auschwitz in May, June, and August of 1942. Barenblat was convicted of collaboration and sentenced him to five years' imprisonment by the lower court. Judge Ehrlich stated: 'It does not seem to us that the Israeli legislator intended, in Paragraph 10(b) of the law, to justify assistance in handling over thousands of Jews to the Nazis in order to postpone the end of the rest by severing the [gangrened] arm to use Merin's expression. This is no more than a paraphrase for the sacrifice of thousands of souls, mostly of old people, children, the ill, and the weak, in order to delay the war of destruction against the community, in hope that part of the people would be lucky enough to see the end of the bloody hunt." Later that year, however, the Israeli Supreme Court overturned the decision and acquitted Barenblat, thus putting an end to trials against Jewish Nazi collaborators in Israel. One of the Israeli Supreme Court justices, Cohn, said, "We are altogether unable to judge these people … to put ourselves in their place at all

[1597] Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories,* 42–43.

… as one must in order to judge a person." The Court stated that questions about Jewish collaboration—as opposed to collaboration by non-Jews—should be addressed by historians, and not the courts.[1598]

Apart from a small number of cases submitted to Jewish honour courts and social ostracism within the community,[1599] most Jews largely overlooked the deeds of those Jews who had collaborated with the Nazis to the detriment of their own people. Fania Krawczyk recalled how a Jewish policeman caught her sneaking back into the ghetto in Prużana with some food for her family and seized everything. She said to him, "I will forget the Germans, but I will never forget you, and if I survive, we will settle this." Later, when this policeman settled in the United States and heard Fania was alive, he got scared, changed his name and moved. Fania writes, "I would never have hurt him. You can't revenge everything, but it hurt."[1600]

Exceptionally, there were incidents of revenge killings, especially in camps in Germany proper. But those incidents occurred during the occupation or at the time of liberation, when Jewish collaborators posed a real threat or were still in the midst of their victims. According to one source, hundreds of Jews who had occupied positions of authority at various levels were murdered by fellow Jews immediately after liberation.[1601] Some examples of revenge killings follow.

Jewish testimonies mention that several members of the "elite" from the hard labour camp of Starachowice, such as Jeremiah Wilczek, head of the camp council, his younger son, and Rubenstein, head of the camp kitchen, were murdered in the train during the evacuation of prisoners to Auschwitz, which was ironic in that the Jews on this transport were not gassed.[1602] A Jewish inmate of Budzyń recalled: "I remember a cruel lynching—ordered by Sztokman—of a Budzyń prisoner who had previously been a Jewish policeman and extorted huge bribes from Jews in exchange for not taking them to [Warsaw's] Umschlagplatz."[1603] Godel Wroby (Wroblewski) states that he joined a group of prisoners who decided to

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[1598] Fulbrook, *A Small Town Near Auschwitz,* 224; Jockusch and Finder, *Jewish Honor Courts,* 313–18; Avihu Ronen, Hadas Agmon, Asaf Danziger, "Collaborator or Would-Be Rescuer: The Barenblat Trial and the Image of a Judenrat Member in 1960s Israel," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 39(1) (2011): 117–67.

[1599] On the topic of honour courts see Laura Jockusch and Gabriel N. Finder, eds., *Jewish Honor Courts: Revenge, Retribution, and Reconciliation in Europe and Israel after the Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2015). An example of communal ostracism follows. Although a former *Kapo* was exposed in a DP camp in Bindermichel, near Linz, and some people wanted to lynch him, his accuser intervened to say that he "only wanted people to know what kind of animal this man was and, if he had a conscience, that he should continue to live and suffer the consequences of his degradation." Apparently, the man committed suicide some time later. See Laizer Blitt, *No Strength to Forget: Survival in the Ukraine, 1941–1944* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), 177.

[1600] Interview with Fania Krawczyk, Internet: <http://pruzhanydistrict.com.ar/people_sub/fania.htm>.

[1601] Friling, *A Jewish Kapo in Auschwtiz,* 228.

[1602] Browning, *Collected Memories,* 77–81, 83. The fate of Szaja Langsleben, a "much-hated" policeman in the camp, is not known. Ibid., 69. According to an inmate of Starachowice, only Wilczek's son was killed on the train to Auschwitz, but not Wilczek, who was shot in Auschwitz-Birkenau. See Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life,* 268–71.

[1603] Wiszniewicz, *And Yet I Still Have Dreams,* 81.

beat to death ten Jews deemed to have abused their positions of power and betrayed their people.[1604] Baruch Shub describes the killing of *Kapos* in Jewish DP camps in Metra and Bari, Italy.[1605]

According to Michel Mielnicki, an inmate of Birkenau, "We killed those of our ilk who sold out others among us to the *SS* or their flunkies for an extra half-litre of soup."[1606] Another memoir refers to the efforts of resistance members in liquidating *Kapos* during the final weeks of the war, especially those judged to be overly brutal toward fellow prisoners or too servile to the camp authorities: "the hated kapo would be killed, his clothes taken off him and exchanged for another set, which had the camp number of a sick prisoner sewn on. The death of the sick prisoner was marked in the file, thereby enabling the other to live."[1607] One memoir describes how a young German Jew named Rudy, who had served as a *Kapo* in several camps, was lynched and hanged by fellow Jewish prisoners after their liberation. According to his victims, "He had whipped, beaten, and even killed thousands of Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian Jews."[1608]

In Bergen-Belsen, the only concentration camp in Germany proper where Jews constititued a majority of the prisoners, *Kapos* endured a bloodbath as the British and Canadians liberated the camp. Reportedly, some 150 of them were thrown out of the second-floor windows under the eyes of British soldiers.[1609] Russian POWs dangled them by their ankles from the top floor of the tallest building in the camp, shouting to the crowd below: "Was he good or bad?" When the crowd roared "Bad!" the *Kapo* was dropped. "Even before he hit the ground, the spectators closest to him were flailing at him with bats, stones—anything they could grab or hold in their emaciated hands. The Kapo was unrecognizable when the crowd was through." A mass grave was dug to bury those who were put to death: "… camp inmates passing by made a point of bringing garbage and dumping it there, or failing that, spitting and urinating on it."[1610] However, two Jews allowed a notorious *Kapo* named Walter Steuer to escape punishment, because he had performed a personal favour for them.[1611]

According to Israel Mittelberg, the following prisoners received "their just sentences" from fellow Jews in Buchenwald: a German Jewish policeman named Korn, Abram and a policeman Alek from workshop three, Dr. Zaks, a Jewish policeman named Tepperman, a camp leader in the munitions factory in

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[1604] Godel Wroby, *My Battle for Survival: From Mlyny to Melbourne* (Caufield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2004).

[1605] Interview with Baruch Shub, November 5, 1993, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive.

[1606] Munro, *Bialystok to Birkenau,* 173.

[1607] Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds,* 69. Mittelberg recalls one of his Gypsy *Kapos*, who has an "outstanding talent for inflicting pain." Ibid., 71.

[1608] Rosenblum, *Defy the Darkness,* 286–87.

[1609] Giles MacDonogh, *After the Reich: From the Liberation of Vienna to the Berlin Arilift* (London: John Murray, 2007), 76.

[1610] Simon Schweitzer, *Simon's Quest* (Toronto: Lugus, 2008), 138–39.

[1611] Ibid., 141.

Skarżysko named Kinneman, Shepicki (Josef Krzepicki), and others.[1612] Another testimony that speaks of retaliation in Buchenwald mentions Dovid Bugajski.[1613] Jack Werber, a member of the camp's underground, recalls:

> Acceptance into the Underground was certainly a factor in my survival. Their people were in key positions and, in many ways, really ran the camp, even though it was the Nazis who supervised them. … They sent collaborators to the quarry or to slave on the railway lines.
>
> The members of the Underground carried out a wide range of activities. Kapos who were too eager to beat prisoners for no reason, mysteriously disappeared after interrogations by Underground leaders. …
>
> From 1942 on, the prisoners had their own police force that enforced discipline …
>
> In the summer of 1944, Carlebach told us about a transport of several thousand Jews that was coming in from Skarzysko [Skarżysko], a town not too far from Radom. … Gustav spoke with them about collaborators, saying: "If there are among you people who collaborated with the Germans, report them to us now and we will take care of them." …
>
> Many witnesses testified against him [Leibel, a red-haired fellow from Kozienice] and he was found guilty of a number of charges: that he had betrayed Jews to the Germans, and that he constantly cursed, hit, and kicked women in Skarzysko. And so he was found guilty and executed by those who came into the camp with him. Justice was visited upon him by those who suffered at his hands. …
>
> In another case, a former collaborator ran up to the camp gate and said to the Nazis: "I was a kapo in Skarzysko and I am ready to work for you here." The conversation was overheard by a member of the Underground who reported it to the *blockaltester* in Block 7, which was a barrack for the insane. He, in turn, sent two nurses to the gate who said that the man had escaped from their block. He was taken awau and never seen again. The Underground usually won in such matters. They had an excellent network and were highly efficient.
>
> Very few collaborators came out alive from Buchenwald. One who did was a doctor who showed up with his two young sons. He was accused by the people who came with him to Buchenwald of being a collaborator, and they related a terrible story. Five hundred Jews had been taken in his town and quarantined in the synagogue for a month for fear of typhus. The SS called this doctor in and asked him if they were in good health and if they could be sent out to work. He replied: "They're all shit!" Consequently, all of the Jews were pulled out of the synagogue and shot. The doctor was implicated in other killings too; *aktions* where ten, five, or three Jews were murdered. In one case it was alleged that he turned in sixteen Jews who were hiding in a Jewish hospital. To our dismay, the stories were confirmed.
>
> … We intentionally postponed his case until we were liberated [because of his children]. Suddenly, amidst the chaos, the doctor was forgotten about. [1614]

[1612] Mittelberg, *Between Two Worlds*.

[1613] Testimony of Lejzor Rochman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4605. See also J. Schwiezer, ed., *Pinkas Szczekociny* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szczekociny in Israel, 1959), where Avrum Zylbersztajn describes how *Kapos* from the Skarżysko labour camp were deliberately trampled to death in Buchenwald.

[1614] Werber, *Saving Children,* 79, 81, 84–85.

Charles Kotkowsky describes a "hit squad" in Buchenwald that took revenge against Jews who had mistreated their fellow Jews:

> Once, after the SS Commandant had finished checking and had left, some pushing began. As I approached the scene, I noticed a few men were kicking someone lying on the ground in the snow. It was dark and I could not see very well.
>
> The next morning, the same group of men came into our barracks and beat up the big "Bulldog" from Czestochowa [Częstochowa]. Later, when I saw him lying there on his bunk, which was situated close to the door, his face looked even larger than in Czestochowa. It was badly swollen and all bloody and his eyes were puffy and closed, and he was breathing heavily. He could not get up anymore for the evening roll call and was counted sick. This job was done by a special "hit-squad" under the leadership of an inmate called Gustaw, allegedly from Lemberg [Lwów]. He was the Block leader of No. 66. The hit-squad watched every new transport of prisoners that arrived in Buchenwald and inquired as to who had been the "bad apples" in former camps. They then sentenced the culprits.
>
> When Gustaw was informed of a traitorous Jewish foreman named Heinrich of Berlin, he told the foreman to hang himself. The cowardly foreman did not heed Gustaw's advice, so two days later Gustaw returned with his aides and completed the job for him.
>
> Although I saw [Nachum] Wengliszewski once with Gustaw and his "hit-squad", he did not keep his promise to visit me. That was the last time I saw him. (Later Kudish told me that he was killed by the same "hit-squad" he had served.) Allegedly he had defrauded another inmate.[1615]

Later, when Kotkowsky was transferred to Flößberg, a labour camp near Leipzig, he witnessed similar brutality and brutal retaliations:

> The next day when we left for work, he [i.e., a block leader] summoned the Jewish German *Kapo* who hated the Polish Jews with a vengeance and always cursed us as unworthy citizens of the world. "You Polish Jews are not even worthy to go to hell," he used to say.
>
> Otto [i.e., another block leader] beat him so badly, that we never saw him again. (We learned later that Otto hanged him).[1616]

When Kotkowsky left Flossberg and put on a train destined for another camp, he again encountered collaborators from his hometown of Piotrków Trybunalski who had haunted him at various junctures:

> I closed my eyes and half-dozed off when the door opened and Arie and Shlome Yukel Pinkusewicz came in loaded with lots of bread. They were *Kapos* in Flossberg [Flößberg], and when the train stopped, they had gone in the dark to "organize" bread. Everyone looked at them in silence with big hungry eyes as nobody dared jump at them. I approached them and asked for a few crumbs for my brother because I knew them well. The younger of the two brothers, Szlome Yukel, got curious and crossed over to my brother to check as to why he needed bread crumbs. As he saw him lying on the floor, talking deliriously from fever, he got angry with me and shouted, "Why don't you let him die?"

[1615] Kotkowsky, *Remnants.*

[1616] Kotkowsky, *Remnants.*

> and he hit me over the head with his thick, strong hand. I did not have the strength or stamina to hit him back. I told him that if I survived, I would not forget this. He did not like that and struck me again on the forehead even harder, so that I thought I received the blow in the back of my head. I fell down from shock near my brother and lay there helpless.
>
> Lying next to my sick brother, I was thinking, "Is this really a Piotrkover? Yes, this is a Piotrkover who stems from the *Chapuszes* (catchers), the underworld, the scum of the Staro Warszawska [Starowarszawska] Street. What could I expect of him?"[1617]

The brothers Pinkusewicz both survived the war. One lived in Israel, the other in the United States.

When Harry Haft returned to him hometown of Bełchatów after the war, he ran into a Jewish *Kapo* named Mischa, who had beaten Harry repeatedly in a slave labour camp in Jaworzno. Harry gave Mischa a good thrashing and almost shot him, but his gun did not fire.

> Harry grabbed him and threw him into two garbage cans lined against a wall in the alley. … He picked up a garbage can and started to beat him with it. …
>
> Harry started beating him again with the lid of the can. … Mischa layed there bleeding. …
>
> Harry pulled out his revolver and said, "Mischa, now it is your turn to die."
>
> Harry enjoyed watching Mischa beg and plead for his life, but he pulled the trigger anyway.
>
> The gun did not fire. Harry cursed and pulled the trigger again.
>
> Again, it only clicked.
>
> "Maybe it is not your time to die. Next time, you may not be so lucky."[1618]

Sonia Guss-Hornstein, who lived with her family in Łódź after the liberation, witnessed a group of men ambush and beat to death a Jew whom her father later told her was a kapo.[1619] A similar, perhaps the same event was witnessed by Yankel (Jack) Pomerantz in May 1945:

> As we were arriving in the city, I watched a group of Jews converge on one man. He had been a collaborator with the Nazis in a concentration camp. He had overseen the killing of children, one man joining the group told us. Now in Lodz [Łódź], Jewish survivors from the camp had recognized him. They set upon him and beat him right in the street. They delivered blow upon blow until he died.[1620]

[1617] Kotkowsky, *Remnants.*

[1618] Haft, *Harry Haft,* 89–90.

[1619] Sonia Guss-Hornstein, "The Wild Man," in Julie Meadows, ed., *Memory Guide My Hand: An Anthology of Autobiographical Writing by Members of the Melbourne Jewish Community,* vol. 3 (Melbourne: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2004), 145–54.

[1620] Jack Pomerantz with Lyric Wallwork Winik, *Run East: Flight from the Holocaust* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 158.

Szaja Langleben, the most hated Jewish polieman in the slave-labour camp in Starachowice, returned to Poland and was killed in a restaurant in Radom, an apparent target of revenge killing.[1621] There is no indication that the authorities took any action against the assailants.

A Jew by the name of Blat, who arrived at a Polish refugee camp in Mohács, Hungary, toward the end of the German occupation, posing as a Pole, was recognized as an informer for the Germans and killed by a group of Jews assigned to this task.[1622] Another Jewish confidant, Lezer Landau, who had been active in Bochnia and resurfaced in Budapest, was put on trial before a secret Jewish court but a verdict was never delivered in his case.[1623] No such leniency was shown to non-Jewish collaborators. A Jewish family who set off from Marseilles to Australia on the *SS Derna* in August 1948 with 600 hundred other refugees recalled: "One of the Ukrainians on board boasted that he'd killed Jews during the war. One moonless night, he vanished and was never seen again."[1624] The fate of several Jewish policemen accused of torturing Jews and turning them over to the Germans who were recognized by Jewish passengers aboard the *Marine Perch* is not clear. Apparently, an investigation was conducted on board to prevent a lynching, and the case was supposedly turned over for further investigation after the ship docked.[1625] Not all base and reprehensible conduct, however, was necessarily considered to be worthy of sanctions. A booming business developed in Sachsenhausen where Jews working in the crematorium commando removed gold teeth from corpses with pliers and then sold them to guards and a criminal mafia organized by German prisoners, the so-called Beruf Verbrechers, who were known to eliminate prisoners who stood in their way.[1626] No investigation of these activities is known to have taken place.

The famed Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal addressed the "cover-up" by the Canadian authorities and leaders of the Canadian Jewish community in prosecuting David Zimet (Zimmet), a ghetto policeman and Gestapo agent from Tarnów. Zimet had attacked Wiesenthal with a knife in a DP camp near Linz. Wiesenthal's perceptive remarks on the entire topic are well worth repeating.

> Zimet had been a ghetto policeman in the southern Polish city of Tarnów and, says Wiesenthal, 'the right hand of a very known Gestapo sadist with the name of Grunov. Later, Zimet was sent to Mauthausen to work in the crematory. His family stayed in Tarnów. When the Russians came near Tarnów …, the Germans started more deportations of the few hundred Jews that were left … Since there were no more trains, they sent them in trucks. In one truck of Jewish women was the wife and the daughter of Zimet. And the hatred against him was so great that the Jewish women in that truck taking them all to die killed his wife and his daughter then and there.'

[1621] Browning, *Remembering Survival,* 360 n.35. Langleban had been severely beaten in Auschwitz by a prisoner who was "settling scores" with collaborators. See Pinchas Hochmitz, "We Were Ten Brothers," in Schutzman, *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz,* 263ff.

[1622] Zimmermann, *And Tell the Deeds of God,* chapters 35 and 37.

[1623] Zimmermann, *And Tell the Deeds of God*.

[1624] Armstrong, *Mosaic,* 409.

[1625] Helmreich, *Against All Odds,* 22–23.

[1626] Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski, "Handel złotymi zębami w obozie w Sachsenhausen pod Berlinem," Internet: <http://www.pogonowski.com>.

By 1946, Zimet was a DP in Austria and was recognized by several survivors from Tarnów. Wiesenthal was still collecting testimony about him in the DP camp when Zimet learned that Simon was, as he puts it, 'occupied with his case, so at seven o'clock in the morning he is coming to my office there with a knife. He was a big, strapping healthy man back in '46 while we were all still so thin. He had lived good in the ghetto and, in the crematorium at Mauthausen, they were all given double food … I pick up the inkwell from my desk and throw it at his face to protect myself and I shout so loud that people come running to help me and his is arrested. Zimet was four weeks in jail for this. But then, because he had worked in the crematory, they need him for the Mauthausen trial and bring him to Germany as a witness. From Germany, he emigrates to Canada.'

Years later, Wiesenthal was looking over a confidential list of cases being investigated by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, when he read: ZIMET, David. A policeman in ghetto in Tarnów. Witnesses have attested to his brutality.

'Zimet!' Wiesenthal exclaimed. 'This is my old case!' He informed the Canadian authorities of his evidence against Zimet, but they proved unwilling to prosecute a Jew for Nazi crimes. The Canadian Jewish Committee intervened and Zimet agreed to submit to a council of arbitration established by the committee.

'Nothing ever came of it,' says Wisesenthal, 'because the Jewish community was reluctant to publicize the case since Zimet was himself Jewish.' This is so terrible! Through this false attitude that we must ignore Jewish helpers of the Nazis, we are losing credibility when we say we are acting against all people that commit crimes. If everybody could see that we are not looking only for Germans and Ukrainians, but even for our own Jewish criminals, then we would have much less opposition.'

'I first saw Jewish collaborators in the ghetto of Lwów,' Simon Wiesenthal says in his memoirs, 'and later I saw them in various concentration camps. There were some shocking cases, and when I talked about the problem after the war, many Jews were perturbed. Perhaps they had expected the Jews to be immune from corruption. Like all races, we have had our saints and our sinners, our cowards and our heroes.'

Reinhard Heydrich, who engineered the Final Solution, believed that the secret of manipulation lay in involvement and collaboration. With the appointment of Jewish councils of elders, even rabbis, to enforce Gestapo edicts, Heydrich's hatchet-man Adolf Eichmann could compel each Jewish community to co-operate in its own destruction. …

'After the war, I not only arrested Jews who were Nazi collaborators, but, from the committees running the Displaced Persons camps and the former concentration camps, I expelled people who could not bring evidence about their activities during the Nazi time. I made a rule that was approved by the American military government authorities and became know in the camps as *Lex Wiesenthal*: Latin for Wiesenthal's Law. It was very simple: *Whoever had a function of authority in the Nazi period could not have a function in postwar Jewish life.* I wasn't saying such a man was a criminal. I wasn't even looking into whether he was good or bad. But I needed to protect our Jewish society from more bad surprises.'

'Don't push it, Simon,' a friend he describes as an 'official Jew' pleaded with him. 'What you are doing will only diminish the guilt of the Nazis.'

> 'No,' said Simon, 'this is an extension of the guilt of the Nazis. When they brought pressure on Jews to work against other Jews, when they were guilty of corrupting hundreds of Jews as well as murdering millions of us.'
>
> Wiesenthal noted that 'in many cases, such people after the war found jobs with Jewish organizations. …'[1627]

Israeli scholars Orna Ben-Naftali and Yogev Tuval have argued that small number of *Kapo* trials, which took place in Israel between 1951 and 1964 and then brought to an abrupt hault, have been expunged from Israel's collective memory, and that this matter has been the subject of deliberate collective forgetting.[1628] As Jan Peczkis points out in his penetrating review of their study:

> Israel's Nazi and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law 1950, best known for its application in the trial of Adolf Eichmann, was originally enacted to punish Jews who had collaborated with the Nazis against other Jews. (pp. 128–129). The law stemmed from the following: There were 200,000 Holocaust survivors in the young State of Israel, and they angrily wanted the collaborators to be brought to justice. (p. 144).
>
> Some 30–40 trials of Jewish collaborators took place between 1951 and 1964 (pp. 128–129), but very little is publicly known about them. Court judgments, in Israel, are normally available. With some exceptions, the trials of Jewish kapos are not. They have been sealed, as recently as the 1990's (when interest in them increased), for many decades. (pp. 150–151). Is the privacy of those involved the only consideration?
>
> Ben-Naftali and Tuval point out that the trials have been expunged from Israel's collective memory, and this matter has been the subject of deliberate collective forgetting. (p. 128). They are not part of the curriculum of the Israeli educational system. (p. 129). Ironic to accusations that Poles do not want to face up to "dark chapters" in their history, is it possible that it is the Jews who do not want to face up to "dark chapters" in their history?
>
> The authors complain that the Nazi Collaborators law legally equated the Jewish traitors with the perpetrators without distinction—although this consideration met with legal dissension. (p. 137, 147, 153). However, the sentences imposed by the judges were relatively lenient, and the authors suggest that this stemmed from judges actualizing the distinction between Jew and Nazi perpetrator. (p. 168).
>
> The authors suggest that the Nazi Collaborators law functioned the way it did because the Holocaust had been so recent that its implications had not yet been fully appreciated. Could it be, instead, that there was a growth of Jewish identity politics relative to the Holocaust, and that this new identity made it possible to see Jews only as victims but never as victimizers?
>
> It very much appears that the authors, in this article, are trying hard to re-define terms such as Nazi collaboration, and perhaps to make Jews special, in order that Jews who collaborated with the Nazis not be seen as such. I examine their contentions below.
>
> *The Unusual Circumstances*

[1627] Levy, *The Wiesnthal File,* 83–85.

[1628] Orna Ben-Naftali and Yogev Tuval, "Punishing International Crimes Committed by the Persecuted: The *Kapo* Trials in Israel (1950's–1960's)," *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, vol. 4, no. 1 (March 2006): 128–78.

Ben-Naftali and Tuval argue that the Holocaust may as well have happened on another planet (p. 140), because the customary human norms did not apply. For this reason, the Jewish kapos should not be reckoned as collaborators.

To be consistent, much the same considerations should apply to other genocides. Consider, for example, the brutal German occupation of Poland. Is it surprising that some Poles denounced Jews, were "greedy" over the acquisition of Jewish property, became *szmalcowniki* (blackmailers of fugitive Jews for their belongings), etc.? Should they, too, be excused in some way?

Can Victims of Nazis Be Collaborators?

The authors argue that the Jewish kapos were not collaborators because they were themselves members of a victim group (Jews), because they never adhered to Nazi ideology, because they were never seen by the Germans as fellow Nazis, because they lived under the same inhumane conditions as their victims, and because they were nothing more than order-fulfillers. (p. 157, 167-168). This, too, is problematic.

The Poles were a despised victim group (*Untermenschen*) situated only one rung above the Jews in German thinking. Polish collaborators, as well as other Poles, lived under very inhumane conditions. Virtually no ethnic Polish collaborators (as opposed to *Volksdeutsche*—Polish-speaking Germans) adhered to Nazi ideology. The Germans, most certainly, never saw Polish collaborators as fellow Nazis! Members of the Polish Blue Police (*policja granatowa*) who participated in the *Judenjagd* [i.e., German-ordered "hunts" for fugitive Jews] were also direct or indirect order-fulfillers. Should Polish collaborators, therefore, be exonerated?

Mitigating Circumstances: Fear of Death, and Minimizing Deaths

Let us consider an auxiliary matter. Ben-Naftali and Tuval (p. 138) note that, in a criminal proceeding involving charges of collaboration, saving oneself from the threat of immediate death, or to avert worse consequences, can serve as mitigating circumstances. However, they do not specify when these mitigating circumstances would be valid.

Let us focus on facing death for non-compliance. Consider, for example, the following three situations: 1). The Jewish ghetto policeman, at a ghetto in German-occupied Poland, is in the first half of 1942 or so. He believes the German claim that the Jews he is daily loading upon the trains are being resettled for labor. Both he and the Jewish community are confident that the vast majority of Jews will survive the war, just as Jews had survived past wars and persecutions. He is hardly thinking of death. 2). The Jewish ghetto policeman, now in the second half of 1942 or later. He strongly suspects that the Jews he is boarding on trains are being put to death, and the Jewish community suspects that, unless the war ends very soon, nearly all the Jews will be exterminated. However, at this point, there is no direct or imminent threat to his own life. 3). The same situation as (2), but now the Germans have promised to shoot the policeman, his family, and additional hostages, if he does not fulfill his train-loading tasks. Do the exculpations mentioned by the authors apply only to situation (3), or also (2) and even (1)?

How would fear of death inform the conduct of Poles at Jedwabne … ? Could it be said that Poles were under immediate fear of death because armed Germans were standing away not far from them? Alternatively, would the Poles actually have to be looking down the barrels of German guns before they would be recognized as being in a death-threatening situation?

Now consider the commission of untoward acts in order to forestall worse ones. Consider, for example, the controversial Chaim Rumkowski (Rumkovsky), the head of the Lodz [Łódź] Ghetto.

> There is no consensus among Holocaust survivors as to whether it was all right for *Judenrat* leaders to obey Germans in sending some Jews to their deaths in hope that other Jews would be spared.
>
> This quandary can be extended to peoples under relatively mild German occupation, such as Norway. Vidkun Quisling, whose very name has become synonymous with collaboration, argued that his acts were noble ones, in that they actually reduced the German-made harm that befell the Norwegians. Should Quisling have been exonerated?
>
> In conclusion, the issues raised by Ben-Naftali and Tuval require further analysis. If applied to reduce or eliminate the guilt of Jewish kapos that served the Nazis, they, if applied fairly and consistently, would also reduce or eliminate the guilt of non-Jewish Nazi collaborators.[1629]

The topic of postwar Israeli trials of Jewish collabrators has been raised again by Dan Porat in his 2019 book, *Bitter Reckoning: Israel Tries Holocaust Survivors as Nazi Collaborators*.[1630] According to the publisher's summary,

> Dan Porat brings to light more than three dozen little-known trials, held over the following two decades, of survivors charged with Nazi collaboration. Scouring police investigation files and trial records, he found accounts of Jewish policemen and camp functionaries who harassed, beat, robbed, and even murdered their brethren. But as the trials exposed the tragic experiences of the kapos, over time the courts and the public shifted from seeing them as evil collaborators to victims themselves, and the fervor to prosecute them abated. Porat shows how these trials changed Israel's understanding of the Holocaust and explores how the suppression of the trial records—long classified by the state—affected history and memory.

As Charles Weinblatt notes in his review,

> Nazi leaders demanded that leading members of the Jewish community, including elder Jewish statesmen, assist in their process of controlling and annihilating the Jews of Europe. They were used to move their own people into ghettos, camps, starvation, sickness, a firing squad, and the final fetid train ride to gas chambers in Nazi death camps.
>
> This collaboration with Germans existed in cities and ghettos, within Jewish committees; among the various *Judenrat* (Jewish leadership groups appointed by Nazis); and in Nazi concentration and death camps. In most cases, the accused aided the Gestapo, the SS and various Einsatzgruppen units to expose Jews in hiding. As kapos in the camps, they administered the fierceness and brutality of Nazi persecution. They observed at the least—and participated in at the most—the starvation, brutality and genocide of their own people, sometimes their own families.
>
> In 1950, Israel's governing body, the Knesset, passed the Nazi and Nazi Collaborators Punishment Law, which set the kapos trials in motion. But as time passed, the Israeli courts became less obdurate

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[1629] Amazon Customer Review, Internet: <http://www.amazon.com/review/R2OZ2UBUMA4PJN>.

[1630] Dan Porat, *Bitter Reckoning: Israel Tries Holocaust Survivors as Nazi Collaborators* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019).

> in their approach to the accused. Many judges felt that they were incapable of passing judgment as they had not experienced the Holocaust themselves. In other cases, witness confabulation reduced the efficacy of their testimony. Holocaust experiences were sometimes described very differently by diverse witnesses.
>
> At first, in 1950, Jews who had willingly served the Germans were seen as equivalent to Nazis. A few years later, the defendants became viewed with more disappointment than anger.
>
> In the next phase, from 1952–1957, kapos were no longer tried as Nazis, but as collaborators. Many severe sentences from earlier trials were overturned and prosecutors removed the death penalty. Charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity were dropped. Only Nazis, not collaborating Jews, were subject to the death penalty.
>
> The Israeli public increasingly asked how the state could judge camp inmates, when the prosecutors and judges had not experienced the Holocaust themselves. Porat suggests that these trials would have been more appropriate for honor courts, rather than the Israeli criminal justice system, whose unbending rules made it difficult to reach a viable conclusion.
>
> The third stage, from 1958–1962, saw the accused as people who acted badly, but from good intentions, such as when they were promised good things for their family as long as they cooperated with Nazis. After this, there were far fewer convictions and fewer sentences to prison. They began to be viewed as victims.[1631]

Historian Piotr Wróbel has raised the following pointed questions in this regard: "But how are historians supposed to judge when such important events of the past are not resolved? How can non-Jewish bystanders be condemned for their passivity when Jewish *Kapos*, policemen, and former *Judenräte* leaders were rehabilitated? Many similar questions appear when we study the Holocaust and most of them have no satisfactory answer yet. This aspect of the Holocaust is still far from settled."[1632]

Many Holocaust historians do not share this view. Peter Hayes, who contends—incredibly—that *Kapos* "were almost never Jews," rejects the "collaborator" label for Jews who were former *Kapos* or members of Jewish councils and police forces,[1633] even though most of them were not coerced into accepting those positions or acting brutally towards fellow Jews. But Hayes does not appear to take a similar view with respect to non-Jews who were coerced into service as *Kapos*, policemen, camp guards or members of village guards and labour battalions. In any event, informed Jewish historians do not buy Hayes's whitewash of Jewish collaborators. After an extensive review of hundreds of testimonies, Evgeny Finkel, for example, quickly dispels the exculpatory notion that Jews betraying other Jews were merely desperate people trying to save their own lives. He comments:

> A large body of evidence suggests that quite a few—though certainly not all—Judenrat leaders were utterly corrupt, despotic, and abusive towards ghetto populations. They were often driven by desires

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[1631] Charles S. Weinblatt's review appeared in the *New York Journal of Books*, Internet: <https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/bitter-reckoning>.

[1632] Piotr Wróbel, "The *Judenräte* Controversy: Some Polish Aspects," *The Polish Review,* vol. 42, no. 2 (1997): 225–32, who cites numerous examples backing his thesis. For additional examples, see Trunk, *Judenrat,* 548–69; Idith Zertal, "Izrael wobec ofiar Holocaustu," *Gazeta Wyborcza,* February 16, 2002.

[1633] Hayes, *Why?,* 200–2 , 204.

> for personal enrichment and survival, to the detriment of their communities. This is especially true of the Jewish police force, which tended to be even more corrupt and self-interested than the Judenrats. And those who assisted the Nazis by informing on and betraying other Jews often did so voluntarily, in order to receive monetary rewards, power, and status.
>
> Yet, torture or not, the picture that emerges from the testimonies is that the Jewish police did use physical violence against the ghetto's population. More importantly, they did so not only while Germans were watching, but also when no Germans were present. Whereas the former was generally seen as an understandable, indeed unavoidable behavior, the latter was a blatant violation of existing moral codes. The Jewish police also invested considerable effort in fighting the Jewish underground and managed to arrest several of its leaders …
>
> The Jewish police were widely resented. … Nachum Meringer-Moskowitz considered them worse than either the Germans or the Poles.[1634]

Finally, mention should be made of the well-hidden fact that some Jews, whose instinctive reactions to placate the enemy overtook their appreciation of events, greeted and even assisted the German invaders of Poland in September 1939. Jews built triumphal arches for the German invaders in several towns in central Poland, some shouted "Heil Hitler" as the Germans arrived, and a few Jews openly collaborated with

[1634] Finkel, *Ordinary Jews,* 72, 85, 84.

them.[1635] A Jewish delegation in Radom, headed by a rabbi and other community leaders, marched down the flower-strewn Mikołaj Rej Street on September 8, 1939 to welcome the German army.[1636] In Janów Lubelski, as one eyewitness recalls,

> All of a sudden a group of men appeared from behind a brick house. There were about six men in the group. They wore long black topcoats and black hats. One of them carried a loaf of bread on a tray and another a dish of salt, symbols of hospitality. They were representatives of the Jewish community in the city who waited to welcome the first soldiers of the Nazi army entering the city. When they

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[1635] The following sources corroborate these charges: Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta,* 242 (Jews built triumphal arches to greet the German invaders in Łódź, Pabianice, and elsewhere; Jewish community leaders, headed by rabbis dressed in ceremonial robes, came out to greet the Germans bearing trays with bread and salt); Eugeniusz Buczyński, *Smutny wrzesień: Wspomnienia* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), 132 (in Przemyśl, Ukrainian nationalists and Jews jointly erected a triumphal arch for the Germans and looted Polish military buildings); Elinor J. Brecher, *Schindler's Legacy: True Stories of the List Survivors* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 56 (Jews greeted the Germans in Kraków); Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 315 n.167 (Jews greeted the Germans in Janów Lubelski); Mieczysław Edward Szpyra, *Moja wojna z Hitlerem, Banderą i Stalinem* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 2001), 40 (several Jews who rushed out to greet the German army in Tomaszów Lubelski were photographed by the soldiers but were promptly chased away by officers); Tomasz Strzembosz, "Zstąpienie szatana czy przyjazd gestapo," *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), May 12, 2001 (a Jewish delegation headed by a rabbi greeted the Germans in Zaręby Kościelne, near Ostrów Mazowiecka). Confirmation of these events can also be found in the report of a left-leaning Italian diplomat who stationed in Poland: "in the first days of the conflict, numerous Jews greeted the entrance of the German armies into Polish cities with cries of joy." See Eugenio Reale, *Raporty: Polska 1945–1946* (Paris: Institut Littéraire, 1968), 204. The motivation behind these actions is somewhat baffling because German designs, albeit not yet a full-blown Holocaust, were patently apparent from their widespread public mistreatment of Jews as soon as they entered Poland. Was it merely a matter of opportunism? Some behaviour may have been simply attributable to initial naïveté. According to credible reports, Jews "sometimes cravenly shout[ed] 'Chail Chitler', their pronunciation of 'Heil Hitler', as the Germans arrived." See Michael Burleigh, *Moral Combat: A History of World War II* (London: HarperPress, 2010), 122. A Jewish girl recalled the day the German army marched into Kraków: "My father and I were among the silent crowds in the street. Their soldiers certainly looked young, handsome and impressive in their well-cut green-grey uniforms. My father said to me, 'They look so well-presented,' and I heard admiration in his voice. Then an officer stepped out and called, 'Can anyone here speak German?' Without hesitation, my father approached him." See Zylberman, *Swimming Under Water,* 17. In one case at least, it may have been a calculated course of action. In Oświęcim, on September 1, 1939, two Jews took in and cared for a wounded German, who had parachuted from a crashing plane, without informing the Polish authorities of his presence. When the Germans entered the town, the Jews led them to the wounded man who, it turned out, was an important Nazi officer. See Moshe Weiss, "To Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation from Auschwitz," *The Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), January 27, 1995. Henryk Schönker presents this story in a different light. He states that the German officer was a pilot whose plane had been shot down while bombing Oświęcim. Fearful of possible future retaliation by the Germans, his father, the wartime leader of the Jewish community, decided not to hand the officer over to the Polish authorities, who, in any event, had ceased to function in that town. Leon Schönker hid the officer at his factory with the assistance of a caretaker, a Christian of German origin. Later, the grateful German officer alleviated conditions for Jews in the town, at least for a time. See Henryk Schönker, *Dotknięcie anioła* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2005), 22–24. But perhaps part of the answer lies in deep-seated sentiments shared, it seems, by even the élite of the Jewish community. In his wartime diary, Chaim Kaplan, a rabbi, educator and author from Warsaw, wrote on September 1, 1939: "This war will indeed bring destruction upon human civilization. But this is a civilization which merits annihilation and destruction. … well, now the Poles themselves will receive our revenge through the hands of our cruel enemy. … My brain is full of the chatterings of the radio from both sides. The German broadcast in the Polish language prates propaganda. Each side accuses the other of every abominable act in the world. Each side considers itself to be righteous and the other murderous, destructive, and bent on plunder. This time, as an exception to the general rule, both speak the truth. Verily it is so—both sides are murderers, destroyers, and plunderers, ready to commit any abomination in the world." See Katsh, *Scroll of Agony,* 19–21. Kaplan also peppered his wartime diary with anti-Christian remarks directed at Poles and gave credence to German anti-Polish propaganda. Ibid., 47, 133, 161. A similar attitude was demonstrated by Rabbi Kalonymos Kalmish Shapira, a prominent Hasidic leader, who wrote in the Warsaw ghetto: "The Jewish people have often had to endure calamities whose sole purpose was the destruction of wicked Gentiles. At such times, Jews are imperiled through no fault of their own." See Rabbi Kalonymos Kalmish Shapira, *Sacred Fire: Torah from the Years of Fury 1939–1942* (Northvale, New Jersey and Jerusalem: Jason Aronson, 2000), 294.

[1636] Józef Łyżwa, "Pomagałem, a potem siedziałem," *Gazeta Polska* (Warsaw), February 10, 1994.

heard our footsteps on the street, they thought that we were the German soldiers. After discovering their mistake, they were embarrassed and returned behind the building to wait for the Germans.[1637]

In the Volhynian town of Luboml, where the Germans entered first and then retreated a few days later in deference to their then Soviet ally, Jews came forward to collaborate with the Germans (and later with the Soviets) in rounding up Polish soldiers—the only Allied army actually engaged in fighting at the time.[1638] In Kobryń, in Polesia, the Germans armed local Jewish Communists who then carried out diversionary assaults against the Polish army.[1639] The last Jewish delegation to welcome the German army was probably the one sent by the Jewish community in Międzyrzec Podlaski, on October 10, 1939, after the departure of the Red Army; its representatives symbolically carried a loaf of bread on a silver tray which they handed over to the dismissive Germans.[1640] Israeli historian Tom Segev brought to light the fact that as late as 1941, the Zionist group LEHI, one of whose leaders was Yitzhak Shamir, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent organization, the Irgun (NMO), with the proposal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine bound by a treaty with the Third Reich, as a base for strengthening German power in the Near East. The NMO in Palestine offered to take an active part in the war on the side of Germany. The Nazis rejected this proposal, it is reported, because they considered LEHI's military power "negligible."[1641] Curiously, the members of the Jewish Councils in occupied Poland were for the most part Zionists as well.[1642]

Recently, American historian Bryan Mark Rigg has chronicled the hitherto silenced story of some 150,000 Germans of Jewish origin (60,000 of them half-Jewish, 90,000 one-quarter-Jewish, and 5–6,000

[1637] Marian S. Mazgaj, *In the Polish Secret War: Memoir of a World War II Freedom Fighter* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2009), 16. See also Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 315 n.167.

[1638] Berl Kagan, ed., *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1997), 240–41.

[1639] Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Białorusini w zaborze sowieckim: Stosunki polsko-białoruskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej pod okupacją sowiecką 1939–1941* (Warsaw: Volumen, 2000), 181.

[1640] Józef Geresz, *Międzyrzec Podlaski: Dzieje miasta i okolic* ((Biała Podlaska and Międzyrzec Podlaski: Ośrodek Wschodni "Civitas Christiana", 1995), 299; Stanisław Jarmul, *Radzyński Obwód Związku Walki Zbrojnej i Armii Krajowej (1939–1944)* (Biała Podlaska: Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna, 2000), 26.

[1641] Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); Lenni Brenner, ed., *51 Documents: Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis* (Fort Lee, New Jersey: Barricade Books, 2002). Yitzhak Shamir's father, Szlomo Jeziernicki (Shlomo Yezernitsky) was a member of the Judenrat in his native town of Różana. See M. Sokolowsky, ed., *Rozhinoy: Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rozhinoy ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rozhinoy in Israel, 1957), 155, translated as *Rozana: A Memorial Book to the Jewish Community,* Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/ruzhany/ruzhany.html> (Shlomo Jezrenisky).

[1642] According to Isaiah Trunk, 77 percent of the Judenrat members were Zionists. See Trunk, *Judenrat,* 34.

entirely Jewish) who served dutifully in the German war machine.[1643] Nazi racial laws were bent to allow this widespread phenomenon to occur, and these German Jews espoused completely German war aims which called for the annihilation of Poland.[1644] Approximately 300 Jews served in the Finnish army, which was fighting the Soviet army alongside the German Wehrmacht. Thus the number of Jews fighting on the side of the Germans was probably greater than the number of Jews in anti-Nazi underground movements in all of Europe. Characteristically, with the notable exception of the Poles, far more numbers of the native population in nearly every German-occupied country, including Denmark, volunteered to serve in German-sponsored formations than in the anti-Nazi underground.[1645]

No nation had a monopoly on informers or collaborators during the war, although some historians try to convince us that it was otherwise. While denying that (some) Jews collaborated with the Soviets in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland 1939–1941, Jan T. Gross proffers a sweeping condemnation of the Poles during the German occupation:

> it is manifest that the local non-Jewish population … broadly engaged in collaboration with the Germans, up to and including participation in the exterminatory war against the Jews."[1646]

Eschewing such a strident and nationalistic vision of history, British historian Norman Davies offers a much more compelling vision for serious discussion of the topic of wartime collaboration—one that is more attuned to what honest and thoughtful survivors wrote based on their experiences:

> The Holocaust will be seen to have been perpetrated not by the one single, supreme evil force of European History, but by one of the two great evils whose titanic contest generated a much richer range of criminals and victims of all degrees. …

[1643] Bryan Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2002). While it is true that the majority of the German Jews and *Mischlinge* (those of mixed blood) interviewed by Rigg escaped persecution by concealing their background or being fortunate to serve under officers that disregarded it, there were also quite a few of them known and spared by top Nazi officials and re-labeled Aryans. Hitler did this with the stroke of a pen. In Chapter 3 of his subsequent study *Lives of Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: Untold Tales of Men of Jewish Descent Who Fought for the Third Reich* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2009), which deals with those who received the *Deutschblutigkeitserklarung* (declaration of German blood), Rigg wrote: "No fewer than twenty-one generals, several admirals, and one field marshal of Jewish descent served with Hitler's consent. And thousands in the lower ranks of the Wehrmacht remained there because Hitler personally exempted them from the laws." (P. 171.) Rigg reiterates the fact that Erhard Milch had been either a half-Jew or full Jew. (Pp. 177–78.) In his Chapter 4, Rigg discusses those who got the *Genehmigung* (racial amnesty, and permission to remain in the German armed forces).

[1644] Ibid., 124, 207, 210. As historian Bernard Wasserstein notes, German Jews who were perfectly comfortable with the chauvinistic premises of Nazism, without of course its anti-Semitism (excepting the vehement hostility to the Ostjuden). This included Max Naumann, who argued unsuccessfully that Jews were in fact part of the German *Volk*. His organization, *Verband Nationaldeutscher Juden*, once had a membership of 3,500 mostly Berlin-area Jews. Hans Joachim Schoeps led a similar movement, the *Deutscher Vortrup.* See Bernard Wasserstein, *On the Eve: The Jews of Europe Before the Second World War* (New York and London: Simon & Schuster, 2012), 216–17.

[1645] For some statistics see Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński and Rafał Sierchuła, "Legiony cudzoziemskie III Rzeszy," in *Encyklopedia "Białych Plam",* vol. 11 (Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne, 2003), 9–27.

[1646] Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 155.

> … it will become impossible to use ethnic criteria to decide who in the maelstrom of war were the murderers, who were the bystanders and collaborators, and who were the victims and survivors. …
>
> Similarly, if one looks at the total experience of each of the ethnic groups, one finds that each of them provides candidates for inclusion in all compartments of the rogues and heroes galleries. …
>
> At all events, ethnicity offers no suitable guide to wartime conduct or misconduct. Nowhere is this truer than in the vexed question of wartime Polish-Jewish relations.[1647]

Unfortunately, a new breed of Holocaust historians will have none of this. Historians like David Cesarani has no time for the "old accusations" leveled by Raul Hilberg and Hannah Arendt that without the collusion of the Jewish councils, the Germans could not have carried through the Final Solution to the same extent. Exonerating Jewish conduct goes hand in hand with another dangerous development: vilifying entire nations by denying any Pole—including children—the status of a bystander. Omer Bartov is one of the most vocal proponents of this approach:

> the very term 'bystander' is largely meaningless. The majority of the non-Jewish population profited from the genocide and either directly or indirectly collaborated with the perpetrators of the Holocaust. Even if at times the non-Jews also resisted the occupation for their own reasons, only a minority was involved in rescue and feared the vengeance of the majority. In this sense no one was passive or indifferent.[1648]

Jan Grabowski has followed in Bartov's footsteps, showing a thinly veiled contempt for all Poles based on the actions of a small minority:

> But no one, in these circumstances, could remain a neutral, emotionally detached witness, often described by historians as a "bystander to the Holocaust." … each rural inhabitant—each man, woman, *and child*—had a role to play in this horrible theatre of death.[1649] [emphasis added]

Such ideologically tainted writing does not bode well for the future of Holocaust studies.

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This work has been cited, with recognition, in the following publication:

Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?: Wokół przypadków kolaboracji Żydów w okupowanym Krakowie* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018), at pp. 33–34, 408

[1647] Norman Davies, "The Jewish Strand in European History," in Sławomir Kapralski, ed., *The Jews in Poland,* Vol. II (Kraków: Judaica Foundation Center for Jewish Culture, 1999), 96–98.

[1648] Omer Bartov, "Much Forgotten, Little Learned," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 35, no. 2 (2007): 276.

[1649] Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews,* 83.