

*Lest
we
forget*

The
MASSACRE
of the
**WARSAW
GHETTO**

**WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
REPRESENTATION OF POLISH JEWRY**

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A COMPILATION OF REPORTS

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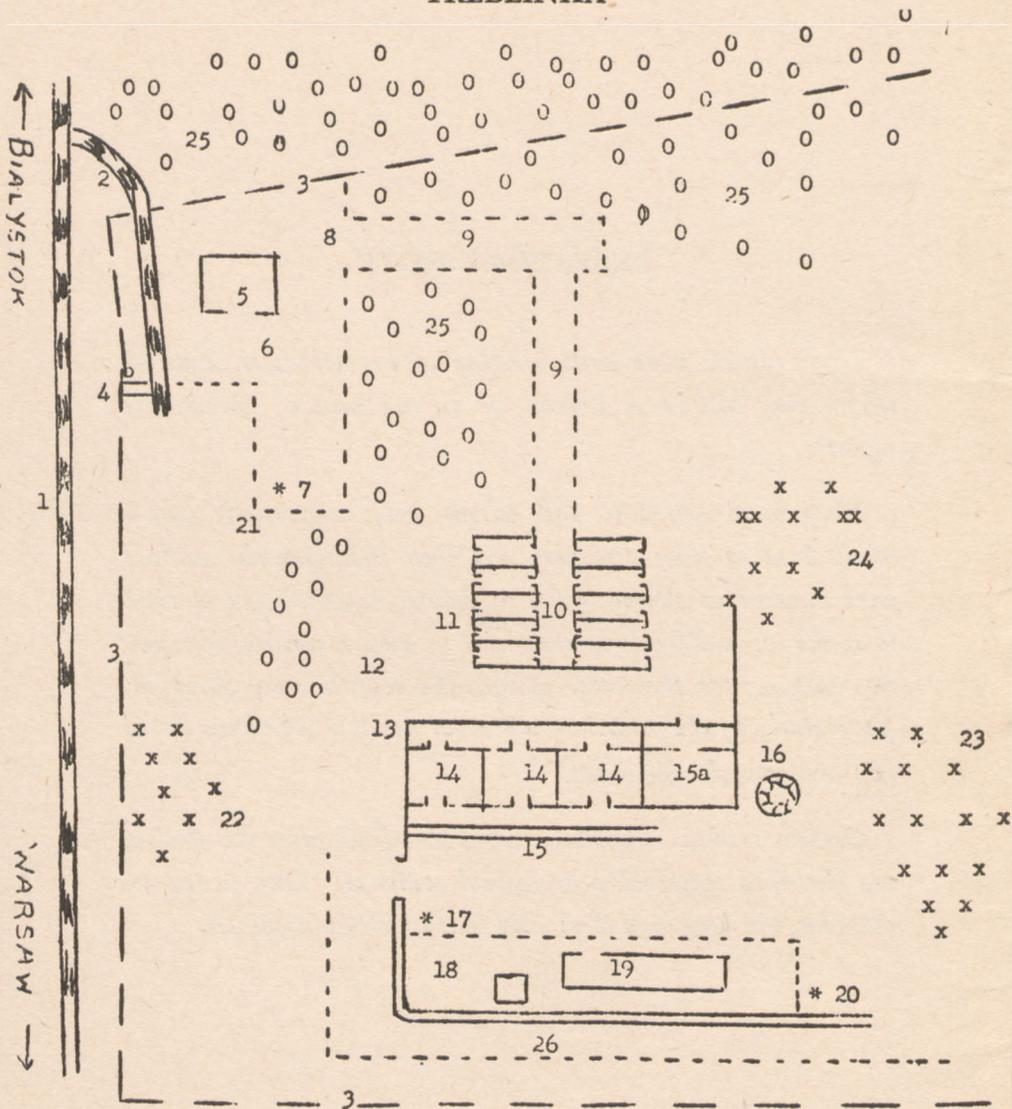
PREFATORY NOTE

These reports were written either by eye-witnesses, some of whom may still be in Poland, or on the basis of eye-witness reports.

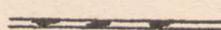
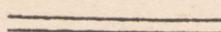
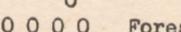
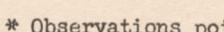
They were edited to this extent only: statements which might lead to their discovery and thus endanger the authors were omitted or altered; parts of various reports were merged to make them difficult to trace and to give a concise, consecutive picture; for the latter reason, the reports were abridged, particularly by the omission, wherever possible, of minor detail and conjectural statements.

Certain sections, translated word for word from the Polish, are identified specifically as original evidence. Even in the remainder, the language is usually that of direct witnesses.

TREBLINKA



LEGEND

-  Railroad tracks
-  Barbed-wire fence
-  Fence of wooden boards
-  Forest
-  graves
-  * Observations points
-  Fence made of bushes interwoven with barbed-wire

TREBLINKA

The village of Treblinka is situated near the Warsaw-Bialystok railroad line, a few kilometers from Malkinia, in a sandy and wooded area. The village is inhabited by a Polish population consisting of peasant-farmers and forest workers. In 1940, the Germans established on the sandy stretches near the village a penitentiary concentration camp—Treblinka A—for Poles who were guilty of such transgressions as not supplying the demanded quota of agricultural produce, or smuggling. Discipline at the camp is very strict; the prisoners are shot on the slightest pretext. The camp is as notorious as the penitentiary camp of Oswiecim.

In March 1942, the Germans started the construction of another camp—Treblinka B—in the vicinity. That camp has been set aside as a slaughter-house for the Jews of Poland and other European countries. Poles of the nearby camp (Treblinka A), as well as Jews caught in the neighboring villages, were put to work at preparatory construction. That work lasted until the end of April when the central point of the camp, death house No. 1 (14)* was built.

The new camp—Treblinka B—is situated on sandy hills among woodland. The area of the camp is comparatively small, some 5,000 hectares (about 12,500 acres). The whole camp is surrounded by a fence of shrubs interwoven with barbed wire entanglements (3). A part of the fence runs through a young forest in the north (25). In the four corners of the camp, observation points were placed for the

*The figures in parenthesis indicate the respective points on the map of Treblinka.

Lagerschutz (Camp-Guard). The Lagerschutz consists mostly of Ukrainians armed with machine guns. At the observation points, strong searchlights have been installed to light the whole place at night. Observation posts are also set in the middle of the camp and on the hills in the woodland. The western border of Treblinka B is formed by the railroad embankment through which runs a siding that connects the camp with the main railroad line (1). The siding (2) was constructed recently so that transports might be delivered directly to the slaughter house. The northern border of the camp is formed by the young forest; east and south the border goes through sandy hills. In the area of the camp, bushes form a long stretch parallel to the railroad tracks, starting in the north (25).

A railroad crossing bar (4) is adjacent to the siding. Trains with transports halt there. From that bar there is an entrance to a square which holds two to three thousand persons (6). That square is fenced in with barbed wire. On the square, not far from the northern border, there is a wooden barrack (5). In the southwestern corner of the square, there is a guard house with a military post on 24-hour duty (7). South of the square, outside the fence, there is a "rag-sorting place" (Lumpensortierungsplatz) (21); and further south, there is the execution place of the camp commandant and the graves of those murdered by him (22). The above described arrival square (6) is connected with the rest of the area by an entrance in the northeastern corner of the fence (8). From there, a path runs through the woods for about 200 meters eastward (9) and then turns at right angles to the south and runs along the young forest, parallel to the western limit of the arrival square. This road stops at a large building (10) of unusual shape: it is an unfinished one-story brick construction, about 40 meters long and 15 meters wide. (When we received the information concerning Treblinka B in the first half of September, this building was about to be finished.) The Germans began the construction of that building after the deportations started—probably in the middle of August—with the help of Jewish artisans picked from among the Jews brought to Treblinka for death. The bricks for the construction were brought from as far as Warsaw, in trucks attached to each transport. The inside of the building is laid out as follows: a corridor 3 meters wide runs through the middle; there are five chambers on each side; the height of each chamber is about 2 meters; the area, about 35 square meters. The execution chambers are without windows, but they have doors issuing to the corridor and a valve on the outside walls. Next to these valves there are large troughs (they remind one of large vessels). In the walls pipes were installed, through which live steam pours into the chambers. This is to be death house No. 2.

The above-mentioned path (9) skirts that building and runs along its western wall (11) and finally ends at the next building (12), near death house No. 1 (14). This building is at right angles to death house No. 2. It is a brick construction, much smaller than the other. It consists of only three chambers and a boiler room. Along the northern wall of this house runs a corridor from which there are doors to the chambers. The outside walls of the chambers have valves (until recently, doors which were replaced by valves for greater utility). Here, too, a trough in the shape of a shallow vessel (15) is placed at the height of the valves. The boiler room is adjacent to the building (15a). Inside the boiler room there is a large furnace which produces the live steam. The hot steam comes into the chambers through pipes installed there, each having the prescribed number of vents. While this machinery of death is in action, the doors and valves are hermetically sealed. The floor in the chambers has a terracotta inlay which becomes very slippery when water is poured over it. There is a well next to the boiler room (16)—the only well in the whole area of Treblinka B. Not far from the death house, south of the barbed wire and wooden fences, there is the grave diggers' camp. They live in a barrack (19), next to which are the kitchen buildings (18). On both sides of that camp there are guard houses (17, 20). The remaining area of Treblinka B is set aside for burials. Part of the area is already a large cemetery (22, 23, 24). At first, Poles employed in the camps dug the graves; later, as the murder campaign was intensified and more ditches were required, bulldozers were brought in, which now run day and night. A Diesel motor supplies the energy. Its rattle is a characteristic sound for the death camp Treblinka B.

The supervisors and execution staff are small in number. The slaughter house is commanded by an SS.-man, with the rank of major, named Sauer. The German staff, consisting of SS.-men, are in constant terror of their "chief." The moment they see him at a distance they drive the Jewish workers as well as the deportees on their way to death with even greater energy. Altogether there are ten Germans and thirty Ukrainians.

The German crew changes from time to time; sometimes SS.-men from various towns of the General Government who were active at the deportations there, arrive in the camp.

In addition to the German-Ukrainian camp guard, there is also the Jewish auxiliary, part of whom are employed at the sorting place for the clothing of the victims (Lumpensortierungsplatz) and part of whom act as grave diggers: they empty the execution chambers and bury the dead; the rest work at the arrival square. The Jewish auxiliary

service is headed by group leaders whom the Germans call "kapos." They are better fed than the rest and wear a triangular yellow patch at their knees to distinguish them. The personnel of the Jewish auxiliary service is changed almost daily. Rarely can a Jew stand that service for more than two weeks under the inhuman treatment they receive at the hands of the Germans. They are constantly tortured and beaten with whips; corporal punishment (25 strokes) is very frequent as well as the shooting of the weak who become unfit for "work." This is done mostly by the chief himself. Every day there is a roll-call. The German asks, "Who does not feel strong enough to carry on with the work?" A few men step out of the row, report their unfitness and beg him—as a favor—to be shot. The executions take place at a special spot; the victim himself stands erect over a grave while the chief shoots him in the back of the head. The next victim has to step forward and throw the corpse into the ditch, to share the fate of his predecessor a few moments later. Those young Jews are so driven that all will to resist is gone. German terrorism is so atrocious that it makes them want to part with life quickly so as not to suffer further inhuman tortures. On one of the first days of September, the chief of Treblinka thus murdered 500 young Jews by shooting them one after another. What is startling is that not one of this group of a few hundred men attacked the German. The execution lasted from 7:30 A. M. to 3 P. M.

The "lightest" work in the death camp is the sorting of the clothing of the victims. While assigned to that work, one can eat to one's heart's content, for the "deported" Jews take bread, marmalade, fats, sugar. But the chief does not leave the men at this work for a long time; after a few days, he transfers them to grave digging.

The gaps in the Jewish auxiliary service are supplemented from the transports arriving in Treblinka. As a rule, two transports arrive daily: one in the morning and one toward evening. At the height of the "action," several transports arrived daily. Each train consisted of a few score freight cars. Part of the cars halt at the siding directly across from the arrival square, while the remaining cars are shifted to the side to wait until the first part is taken care of. The cars are quickly emptied. The tortured and greatly excited human throng breathes with relief when let out on the square. They are immediately taken over by the Jewish auxiliary guard headed by the "kapos," who give them orders in Yiddish. The women and children are told to enter the barracks immediately, while the men remain in the square. Looking around, they see a high pillar with a poster bearing a large inscription: "*Achtung Warschauer*" (Attention, people of Warsaw); despite the fact that transports of Jews from any other towns of the General Government, from Germany, and the states of Western Europe

are also brought to Treblinka. "Do not worry about your fate"—continues the poster—"you are all going eastward for work; you will work and your wives will take care of your households. Before leaving, however, you have to take a bath and your clothing must be disinfected. You have to deposit your valuables and money with the cashier for which you will get receipts. After the bath and disinfection, you will receive everything back undamaged."

In the first period of murder in Treblinka, an SS-officer with an angelic, confidence-inspiring face used to come to the square and deliver a speech along the same lines to those assembled. However, when transports began to arrive from various parts and the crowds had to be liquidated quickly, the Germans cancelled that speech as superfluous.

To make the Jews believe that actual classification according to trades would take place at the arrival square in order to assign occupational groups for labor, they posted small signs with inscriptions: tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, etc. It goes without saying that no such segregation ever took place.

The "kapos" quickly arrange the men in rows of 10, asking them to take off their shoes, undress completely and prepare for a bath. Everybody is permitted to take along a piece of soap and his documents. In the meantime the sorting service men take away the clothing to the sorting place. Women and children also have to undress completely. Then comes the last act of the Treblinka tragedy. The terrorized mass of men, women, and children starts on its road to death. At the head, a group of women and children is driven, beaten by the accompanying Germans, whips in hands. Ever quicker the group is driven; ever heavier blows fall upon the heads of the women, mad with fear and suffering. The cries and laments of the women, together with the shouts and curses of the Germans shatter the silence of the forest. The people finally realize that they are going to their death. At the entrance of death house No. 1 the chief himself stands, a whip in his hand; in cold blood, beating them, he drives the women into the chambers. The floors of the chambers are slippery. The people slip and fall; they cannot get up any more for new groups of forcibly driven victims fall upon them. The chief throws small children into the chambers over the heads of the women. When the execution chambers are filled to the brim, the doors are sealed and the slow strangulation of live persons by the steam issuing from the numerous vents in the pipes begins. In the beginning, stifled cries penetrate to the outside, gradually they quiet down, and 15 minutes later the execution is complete.

Now comes the grave diggers' turn. Shouting and cursing, the

German overseers drive the diggers to work, which consists of getting the bodies out of the execution chambers. The grave diggers stand at the trough near the valves. The valves open, but not a body falls out. Due to the steam all the bodies have been fused into a homogeneous mass cemented together with the perspiration of the victims. In their death agonies, arms, legs, trunks intertwine into a large, macabre entanglement. To make it possible for the grave diggers to get out individual bodies, cold water from the nearby well is poured over that mass. Then one body separates from another and may be taken out. As a rule, the surfaces of the bodies are not deformed; only the faces and buttocks are purple. The grave diggers, constantly beaten and driven by the Germans, place the corpses on the troughs until the chambers are empty. The bodies lie piled up like slaughtered cattle; now the burying takes place. Formerly (during the first half of August), the grave diggers had hand carts to convey the bodies to the ditches, which had to be done at top speed. Lately, however, the chief-disposed of that facility. "Ein Mann—zwei Leichen" (one man—two corpses), meaning that each grave digger has to bury two corpses. He ties the legs or the arms of the body with the belt from his pants and running, pulls it from the trough to the ditches, throws it in, and again running, has to return for the next load. Formerly, the graves were right at the death house so that the burying of corpses could take place quickly. As new victims were added, the grave line moved ever further to the east and pulling the corpses to their place of eternal rest takes longer. After the ditch is filled, the grave diggers quickly cover the bodies with earth and the digging machine nearby is already preparing the next grave.

The execution of the men is identical. They also are driven through the road in the woods to their death. People react differently while being driven in the direction of the death house; some repeat loudly psalms of penitence, confess their sins; others imprecate God; but a sudden shout of the Germans and the blows falling upon their back immediately bring silence upon the whole crowd. Sometimes all the victims cannot get into the overcrowded chambers; then the Germans keep the rest in the woods near the slaughter house. These people see and hear everything, but there is no attempt at self-preservation.

“DESTINATION UNKNOWN”

A coat of snow shines and twinkles in the light of the matchless, golden Polish fall. That snow is nothing other than the down feathers of Jewish bedding left along with all their goods—chests, trunks, suitcases full of clothing, pots, pans, plate—by the 300,000 Jews deported eastwards. Abandoned goods: tablecloths, coats, blankets, sweaters, books, cradles, documents, pictures, all that is lying in disorder in the apartments, in courts, squares, in piles covered by that “snow” of the period of the German mass murder of Jews.

The ghastly silence is cut by revolver shots, the rattle of machine guns, the noise of car and motorcycle motors of the German patrols, the clamor of doors broken in and the shattering of furniture, the hoarse cries “Alle Juden raus” (All Jews out) the macabre march of Jewish victims sentenced to death, and the streets echoing to the heavy steps of the international band of ghetto guards under the command of SS. officers. Households dead or dying, streets full of barbed-wire entanglements, wooden fences separating individual street blocks and, above all, the complete absence of the throngs who two months ago still crowded the main streets of the ghetto, hastening to their occupation, buying and selling, working—complete emptiness such as was not even brought about by the Black Plague—this is the picture of the Warsaw ghetto in September, 1942. A human form sneaking stealthily along the walls, the curb spattered with blood, the smoke of smoldering fires, the sharp odor of burning, this is the atmosphere of that city of death where, before the fearful 22nd of July, close to 370,000 Jews “lived” in the shadow of 16 kilometers of wall enclosing the ghetto.

PROPAGANDA AND PREPARATION

What was the reason for concentrating Jews in the Polish General Government? It now appears that this program, begun on a large scale in July, 1941, and concluded in the summer of 1942, was preparatory to the immense and gruesome project of physically exterminating the major part of European Jewry. The ghettos within whose walls practically the whole urban Jewish population and the overwhelming majority of the rural Jews were enclosed by the middle of 1942—a total of over two and one-half million, including foreign Jews from the Reich, Vienna, Czechoslovakia, etc., who were transferred to the General Government—became the technical means of concentrating and enslaving that population in order to facilitate its extermination.

Immediately after the German occupation, a propaganda barrage portrayed the Jews as unproductive parasites, evading physical labor, and ruining and demoralizing the non-Jewish population. In line with that propaganda, compulsory labor was enforced by the army, the police, and administration, for Jews of both sexes between the ages of 16 and 60. Street hunts to round up Jewish auxiliary labor for military barracks, street work, and even work in private German apartments were organized. The primary purpose was, of course, to get unpaid labor, skilled (tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, etc.) and unskilled (street-cleaning, clearing wreckage, local transportation, etc.). The other purpose, strongly underscored by the offensive German propaganda, was to discredit the Jewish population in the eyes of their neighbors as non-productive speculators, living on the work of others, lazybones, etc., and to indicate to the "credit" of the German authorities that they were the ones to draw the proper conclusions and apply an "educational" method—physical labor in camps, under the direction of German "instructors." The result was a wild, planless, ruthless exploitation of life and manpower, accompanied by acts of sadism and terror, by psychopathic humiliation, and by robbery and extortion. On the whole, however, the so-called labor camps established in the Lublin district in 1940 affected relatively small numbers of Jews. They were almost all liquidated by the middle of 1941, the inmates being sent home or transferred elsewhere.

Another technique of German anti-Jewish propaganda was to charge the Jews with being a focus of contagious diseases, primarily of typhus. The German press insistently pressed the conclusion that because of the danger carried by the Jews there must be, as the slogan went, "*Keine Beziehungen mit den Juden*" (No contact with Jews). This was the basis of regulations issued allegedly to protect the health of the "Aryan" population. Jews were barred from restaurants, cafes,

movies, parks, etc.; separate sections in street cars and trains, separate shops, separate queues at post-offices and other bureaus, and, finally, separate living quarters—ghettos. The Germans were determined, above all, to eliminate the Jews from the political, social, and economic affairs of the occupied territories; and their hygienic arguments were intended to conceal the purpose of the segregation of the Jews. But even at that early stage of the propaganda campaign, the plan of making the Jewish population loathed, of alienating them from the rest of the population, of branding them as a harmful element and stamping out any sympathy for them was distinctly apparent.

German propaganda turned with ever-increasing force against the Jews after the outbreak of the German-Russian conflict and the Japanese attack on the United States. The administrative and police offices turned their attention to the Jews of the Eastern territories; particularly in 1942, during the military setbacks, they tried to connect the war against bolshevism with their anti-Jewish action. They began to issue pictures and stories concocted to fit the need of the moment. As far back as the end of 1941, badly concealed attacks of rage among the agitated officials and party leaders behind the lines foretold a difficult period for the Jewry of the occupied territories. There was no invective which was not hurled against the Jews. The Judaization of the political leadership of Bolshevism (the press, GPU, army-commissars); the espousal of Communism by the Jewish masses in Soviet-occupied Poland during fall, 1939; alleged Jewish participation in pogroms against the "Aryan" population under the Soviet occupation; the "Jewish role" in British and American politics and business; the racial egoism of the Jews—these were the constant themes of German articles, speeches, and publications of that period.

Direct action accompanied the impassioned propaganda. In the winter of 1941-1942, the Germans suddenly confiscated all fur coats, warm underwear, and clothing in the Warsaw ghetto—ostensibly for the Eastern front, although women's furs and women's and children's sweaters and woolen underwear, and similar objects of dubious military value were confiscated. Most of this loot was simply wasted during alterations, much was sold on the black market by the German administration. The segregation of the Jews in ghettos proceeded apace: in the winter of 1941-1942 the Jews of the whole General Government, including those in newly acquired Eastern Galicia, were driven behind the walls or barbed wire of Jewish Quarters; even small provincial towns with a few hundred Jewish families had to establish isolated living quarters, mostly in the slum sections, sometimes in empty areas (such as the suburban areas, with no buildings at all, in the Minsk-Mazowiecki district.)

In order to make the segregation more complete, strict measures were issued (for the Warsaw district in fall, 1941) introducing the death penalty for wilful departure from the ghetto as well as for assisting in the escape of or sheltering those who fled. Despite the executions which were carried out, Jews continued to escape frequently, preferring the risk of death to the misery and hunger of the ghetto. In Warsaw, there were thousands of Jews, mostly well-to-do and able to pass as Poles, who, with the assistance of the Polish population, obtained false documents and managed to live outside of Warsaw in summer resorts or villages.

In spite of the closing of the ghetto quite a number of "Aryan" enterprise continued to operate there. "Aryan" commercial enterprises were removed from the ghetto by spring, 1941, but industrial enterprises employing Aryans as well as Jews remained. The official trade with the outside world was conducted through the medium of a special German office—the *Transferstelle*. In spring, 1942, during a period of more or less stabilized trade, the volume of trade was 13 grosz (about 2 cents at the official rate) per head daily. Since 1 kilogram (about two pounds) of bread cost 10 zloty (\$2), and 1 kilogram of potatoes about 5 zloty (\$1), the daily trade amounted to about two pounds of bread or four pounds of potatoes for every hundred persons in the ghetto. The official ration for Jews, much less than that of Gentiles, was half a kilogram of bread and nothing much more. The food ration cards which were issued were only sufficient for 5-7% of the daily needs; only scraps of fabrics were granted, with minute quantities of fuel, sugar, fats, milk, soap, and other essential articles. The Germans exploited forced laborers, either entirely without pay or else for 2 zloty (50 cents) daily. The mortality in the ghetto reached the figure of 5,000 per month (fall, 1941). Official statistics give the number of deaths in the Warsaw ghetto during the first quarter of 1942 as 14,692 persons. During March, 1942, there were 300 deaths on the streets alone, as a rule from starvation and exposure. This fantastic situation could exist only thanks to the fact that the Jewish Quarter was kept supplied by smuggling from the "Aryan" quarter. The Jews did not passively submit, but organized in self-defense against the effects of segregation. This was, of course, known to the Germans: for example, fuel supplies for the ghetto were always delivered with the consent of the well-bribed German guards and comptrollers. Of course individuals could avail themselves of these supplies only if they had saved goods to sell or barter. Thousands of Poles made their living, and sometimes lost their lives, in this hazardous trade.

In this quasi-bootlegger atmosphere there was not only import into but also export out of the ghetto. Thus, the Warsaw ghetto produced "for export" cigarettes from extra-monopoly tobacco, illegal saccha-

rine, various kinds of liquors, stationery, extra-quota shoes, decorative articles, imitation jewels, watches, etc. There were well-known firms, either connected with German circles or smuggling on their own, which did very well in this two-way trade. It seems as though this very circumstance, regarded by some German circles as a dangerous and demoralizing activity which might corrupt the German offices, contributed to the decision to liquidate the Jewish quarters, beginning in the middle of 1942.

The real causes for the liquidation of the segregated Jewish Quarters in the General Government since the end of spring, 1942 are, naturally, not known officially. No detailed or authentic German declarations on the subject have been issued. The occupation—or German press (less frequently the German-controlled Polish press) carries items from time to time concerning anti-Jewish activities of the governments of other European countries, such as Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and even France; but it usually does not write about the policy of the Reich Government itself. As far as the General Government and the occupied Eastern territories are concerned, the occupation-press sometimes carries items about accomplished facts, such as the clearing of a town or village of Jews, but it lets fall not one word about the methods by which these results were achieved. Thus, in August, 1942, a comprehensive article appeared in the *Warschauer Zeitung*, dealing with the prospects of de-judaizing the Warsaw artisan trade, in which trade it declared there would be no Jews by 1943. But no mention was made of the beastly liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto at the very time of publication. The declaration of Governor Frank in the middle of 1940, that by the end of the present war and as its final result, Jewry must entirely disappear from Europe is well known; but even Frank himself did not touch upon that subject in his later statements.

The decision concerning the mass martyrdom of the Jews was not outwardly marked by any propaganda campaign or official forecast. The *Warschauer Zeitung* rather calmed down in the spring and Governor Frank's declarations became very infrequent and relatively mild. The persecutions started quietly, and significantly coincided with the nomination of the Chief of German Police and Gestapo in the General Government, General Krueger, to a position in the so-called administration of the General Government. That nomination, which evoked wide comment and speculation, took place in the early spring of 1942. An intense persecution of the Jews began simultaneously, reaching its climax in July with the action against the giant, half-million Warsaw ghetto.

THE FIRST PHASE—PSYCHOLOGICAL TERRORISM

The Warsaw ghetto was established in October, 1940, and was the largest population center of its kind. The number of the ghetto inhabitants could never be exactly stated but considering the influx of Jews from Western Germany, etc., it is to be assumed that the maximum population was 450,000 to 500,000 souls. Unofficial calculations circulating in Warsaw estimating the number at 600,000 or 700,000, are definitely exaggerated.* The population of the ghetto was diminished by the end of the first year and a half on account of deportations to labor camps, escapes, etc.; the number of births was insignificant.

By May, 1942, the first signs of anti-Jewish terror had appeared, particularly in Galicia, as well as cases of mass execution. In Eastern Galicia (Rzeszow in the Zamosc district) a few hundred Jews were shot and the rest deported to an unknown place in the East. In Szczepieszyn, a German formation shot a few score Jews, while 600 were deported, allegedly for labor, to an unknown destination. The first vague rumors were heard in Warsaw about the camps in Sobibor (Wlodawa district) and Belzec (Eastern Galicia) where mass murder by gas or electric current was said to have been perpetrated upon transports of hundreds of Jews from Eastern Galicia. The facts behind these rumors, as far as could be ascertained, were the following: Vilna, 60,000 Jews murdered; Rowne 14,000; Kowel—10,000; killings in Lublin (only 2,500 including 70 women, remained alive out of 30,000); Rzeszow, Sokal, Aborow, Przemsyl, Kolomyja, Zyrardow, Piotrkow, Stanislawow; the counties of Gawolin, Zamosc, Hrubieszow, Sanok, Lowicz and the western parts of Poland. In all the above, and many more places, all the Jews were liquidated except artisans and specialists working for the army.

Only vague details of the slaughter reached the ghetto of Warsaw, all communications having been cut. The ghetto of Warsaw as well as the provincial ghettos were hermetically sealed, with special guard-formations enforcing the minutest execution of orders. In addition to this, the possibility of communication between Jewish centers was curtailed to the limit. Consequently, the Warsaw ghetto knew very little or nothing at all about massacres of Jews raging in the Lublin district during April and May, 1942.

*A report by a Polish policeman, on August 11, 1942, states that the total number of Jews in the ghetto was 400,000:

"The usually accepted figure of over 500,000 of ghetto inhabitants is fictitious and due to the fact that the Jewish Council claimed a larger number of Jews than there actually were in order to obtain additional food ration cards. It is said that there were between 150,000 and 200,000 such additional ration cards."

The next step was to terrorize and completely disorganize the Jewish masses and paralyze centers of possible resistance. The period of terror began when, in the unforgettable night of April 17 and 18, fifty-two persons were dragged out of their homes, put up against the wall and shot or killed in the gutter, without any attempt at explanation. Ever since, the Jews have had no sleep. Every night brought a few score of new victims. They were either men who smuggled food into the ghetto, or persons taken at random from this or that house; no one was sure of his life. These crimes were committed under the pretext of combating smuggling. The climax was the "reprisal" killing of 110 Jews in Babice near Warsaw for alleged resistance against the German authorities, in June, 1942. The moral resistance of Warsaw Jews was greatly shaken.

The events of those days are described as follows by a refugee who succeeded in escaping:*

Just a week ago today, I miraculously escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with the help of my Polish friends. At their request, I am writing down what I saw, heard from others, and lived through during that horrible period of my life in the Jewish Quarter.

Some time before the new deportations started, news began to spread in the Warsaw ghetto about the liquidation of the ghettos in other cities, such as Krakow, Lodz, and particularly Lublin. Not everyone believed the news, and the majority of those who did thought that in a city as big as Warsaw, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, the Germans would not dare to apply such methods. This was the opinion of the majority. Even more horrible news came from the provinces, but the people, though frightened, tried to convince themselves and others that these were false rumors and that even if they contained a particle of truth, the same thing could not happen in the capital, in Warsaw.

Another "sensation" was at that time accorded to the Warsaw ghetto: filming by the Germans. From among the poor street crowds, the Germans selected the few elegant women (mostly with vague sources of income) and the better looking men, and these people were filmed in various piquant poses. They were ordered to remove a corpse from the street, laughing as they did so, and sometimes kicking it. They were photographed in restaurants at richly set tables. Also, the apartments of the few councilmen (the only decent apartments

*Report of refugee A (escaped woman) August 25, 1942.

in the ghetto) were filmed under proper staging. Bottles of champagne and elegant waitresses were provided; people brought in from the streets were guests. One day the German cameramen staged a funeral with wreaths, gentlemen who were supposed to be rabbis but looked more like pastors, and "mourners," consisting of women in black and men caught in the streets. The Mikveh, the ritual bath, was also filmed. The players were young girls and elderly bearded Jews who were ordered to undress and bathe together with the women. We could not discover for what propaganda purposes the film was made.

On April 17 an atmosphere of panic enveloped the ghetto when the news spread that a pogrom was scheduled for that day. At 6 P.M. Jews started to close their shops. Some departments of the Jewish Council, such as the Provisioning Board, ordered their employees to abandon work and go home early. It was said that at 6 P.M. a "raid with shooting" would take place in the streets and homes. At 6 P. M. all was quiet, but at night, the Germans dragged some 50 people, mostly bakers and printers, from their homes and shot them. In an official announcement issued later, the murder was justified on the grounds that these persons meddled in "matters which were none of their business"; the population was assured that such events would not recur, and ordered to resume normal work. From that day on, people looked less optimistically upon the future.

Night after night, we were awakened by shots; the Germans began to fight with smugglers who did not bribe them sufficiently. I do not remember the date of the next event which shook the ghetto. It must have been at the end of June. In the evening, the news spread that the Germans had ordered a grave for 200 people dug at the Jewish cemetery; no one knew who was to be murdered.

It appeared on the next day, that after countless interventions by the Jewish Council, 110 persons were shot, of whom 100 were taken from the prison at Gesia Street, 10 who had not volunteered for forced labor and 90 others; these persons had been arrested mostly for administrative transgressions, delays in the payment of taxes, etc. The remaining 10 victims were members of the Jewish militia. An official announcement explained the murder as a reprisal against resistance to orders of the German police and threatened another bloody reprisal for any repetition of the alleged acts.

No one knew what "resistance" that was.*

The disorganization was heightened by specially fabricated general and local news. Gestapo agents passed along various plausible and implausible rumors. Thus, "authoritative sources" were quoted to the effect that the administration of the General Government considered the Warsaw ghetto a representative working center whose inhabitants would not be deported. The news of the extermination of entire Jewish centers in the Lublin district (Lublin, Zamosc, Konskowola, Izbica on the Wieprz River, Hrubieszow, Wlodawa), which had filtered into the Warsaw ghetto by way of miraculously escaped Jews, was counteracted by dozens of fabricated rumors about letters from Bessarabia, Ukraine and other territories, allegedly written by the deportees.

On the other hand, some constructive orders were issued. Thus, the Jewish Council was permitted to open new elementary schools for children. The Department of Occupational Training was allowed to organize new classes. Performances for children were held, a number of kindergartens were set up in the ghetto; here and there a laudatory remark on Jewish activities was dropped. Nor was the statement omitted that the Warsaw Jews, with their professional qualifications in all branches of production, represent an entirely "different" type of Jews. The search-raids for laborers, well known in previous years, were conducted less arbitrarily. A registration card stamped by the Labor Department (of the Jewish Council) was a guarantee of safety.

THE "ACTION" BEGINS

This Machiavellian policy was insensibly triumphing when, a week prior to the beginning of the "action," news spread of the forthcoming deportation of the Jews from Warsaw. The Jewish Council, in possession of most solemn assurances from the German authorities, did not credit rumors indicating that at least 300,000 Jews were in immediate, mortal danger of annihilation; it even denied them as harmful and absurd. On Saturday, July 18, Council President Czer-

*Refugee B—a well-known young scholar, age 34, whose wife was "deported" while he was at work in a factory, says: "On April 27 at night, a new pogrom struck the ghetto. Some 60 persons, mostly from among the political leaders and circles financing the underground press, were dragged out of their houses and shot in the street. From that time, shooting occurred almost every night; when morning came, the victims of the execution could be seen lying in the streets. Among the victims there were also Gentiles, transferred from the Polish section and killed in the ghetto; the Germans ordered that they should be buried in the Jewish cemetery. In May and June (1942), the Germans had struck mainly against the smugglers; there were many victims among them but the illegal delivery of food did not stop, for it brought big profits. Often, on these occasions innocent persons were shot. In the course of time, the Jewish population got used to the slaughter taking place in the ghetto; the reaction to continuous murder became more and more apathetic."

niakow officially informed the Jewish Guard and the Council employees that the German authorities categorically denied any rumors of a forthcoming expulsion. But the general restlessness increased, particularly after it appeared that rolling stock, consisting of 60 cattle-cars, had been brought to the loading station at the *Transferstelle* to be used for deportation.

Nervous and excited, the ghetto populace still shook off the idea of "expulsion" (expulsion being understood as deportation only, transfer to other territories or cities, such as was practiced in the years 1939, 1940 and 1941). This denial was lent support by the alleged German intentions of more efficiently combating smuggling (motorized patrols, closing of some ghetto-exits, the increasing number of killings). The Germans took full advantage of the circumstance that the Warsaw ghetto—an immense center of helpless people—refused to believe in the threat of physical extermination.

On Tuesday, July 21, about 60 hostages were brought to the Pawiak prison. They were, among others, the members of the Jewish Council: J. Jaszunski, Sz. Winter, A. Gepner; also physicians, engineers, and others. The day did not pass without murder. A number of persons were shot in the streets or in their homes. Heavy presentiment took hold of everybody, the streets were deserted, the trolley cars empty, food disappeared from shop windows. The Jewish Council continued to deny rumors of impending deportation, but no one took it seriously any more.

Wednesday, July 22, marked the beginning of the "action" proper. In the morning it was seen that the walls of the ghetto were surrounded by German policemen, and Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian soldiers*. The masses did not realize the hopelessness and horror of their situation. The beginning of the "action" was marked by the same mystery, uncertainty, and ignorance of German plans as was the end of the "deportation." In this case, too, the Germans applied the element of surprise, characteristic of their entire war strategy. The ghetto was blockaded, the enemy army entirely encircling it.

In the morning hours of July 22, the Delegate for Resettlement, Hoffle, transmitted instructions to a meeting of the Jewish Council.

*A report of September 1, 1942, notes: "In June there arrived in Warsaw special formations of armed Ukrainians and it was generally supposed that they would be assigned to guard the ghetto. These rumors were realized, but only at the end of July, that is, when the 'evacuation' of the ghetto began. Very soon, however, the Ukrainian formations were replaced by Lithuanian and Latvian battalions which, beginning August 6, took over the guard of the ghetto, within and without. A battalion of Polish police assigned for the same purposes was soon recalled and disbanded as not sufficiently reliable. The Latvian battalions, who earned the worst fame during the massacre in the Warsaw ghetto, consist almost entirely of minors 16 to 20 years of age led by equally youthful petty officers. The real command is German, a

This is what the "Jewish Council" was told:

1) All Jewish inhabitants of Warsaw, irrespective of age, will be resettled in the East.

2) The following categories are exempt from resettlement:

a) All Jews employed by the German authorities or enterprises who are able to submit proof of it;

b) all Jews who are members or employees of the Jewish Council as of the day of publishing of this order;

c) all Jews employed by firms belonging to the German Reich, who are able to submit proof of it;

d) all Jews fit for work but not yet covered by the employment procedure; these are to be isolated in the Jewish Quarter;

e) all Jews enrolled in the Jewish Guard;

f) all Jews belonging to the personnel of Jewish hospitals as well as those enrolled in Jewish Sanitary Columns;

g) all Jews, members of immediate families of persons enumerated under a) to f); only wives and children are considered members of families;

h) all Jews who on the first day of resettlement find themselves in one of the Jewish hospitals and are not fit to be released; *the unfitness for release must be stated by a physician designated by the Jewish Council.*

3) Every Jewish deportee is permitted to take along 15 kilograms (33.3 lbs.) of his property as traveling luggage. Luggage above that weight will be confiscated. All precious objects, such as money, jewels, gold, etc., may be taken along. Food for 3 days is to be taken.

4) Beginning of resettlement July 22, 1942, 11 A.M.

fact which is carefully concealed. The men in these battalions are mostly uneducated, and bestially cruel, and are purposely incited in the barracks by lessons to the effect that 'Bolshevism and Jews are one, Jewish GPU agents murdered your parents,' etc. The Latvians and Lithuanians guard the walls of the ghetto forming a continuous chain of posts (one every 50 meters); they have orders to shoot persons approaching the walls as well as anyone looking out of the ghetto houses. The shooting takes place without warning and the young degenerates make wide use of their rights, as is proved by pierced and broken window panes and by traces of blood on the sidewalks. For the past month, particularly at night, ceaseless gunfire has been heard at the ghetto borders."

Later in the day, this order was issued in the name of the Jewish Council itself. Some of the circumstances surrounding this act are related by an escaped refugee in a report dated September 1, 1942.

On July 20, Engineer Czerniakow, the president of the Council, who was worried about the fate of the ghetto, applied to Auerswald, the Commissar of the Ghetto, asking him whether the rumors about deportation were true. The answer was, definitely, no. However, the population of the ghetto, used to German lies, did not believe it. On July 23, in the evening, Engineer Czerniakow committed suicide. Lichtenbaum became President of the Community, and many councilmen were arrested as hostages. On that occasion several people were killed. The Germans imposed a new person in charge of the ghetto militia. This man, J. Szerynski, once held a high post in the Polish Police, and had commanded the Jewish militia since the creation of the ghetto. In the winter of 1942, he was arrested on the charge of smuggling his furs to the Polish section; he was released by the Germans on the eve of the deportation, and restored to his post. At that time, the SS. occupied a house in Leszno Street and for the time being just watched the "action."

On July 22 and 23, the militia went about the deportation of the poorest people of the so-called Centres (asylums). The greatest misery was to be found there, mostly among the Jews from the provinces. Beggars were also taken. All were brought to the so-called *Umschlagplatz*, a small square in front of the former Jewish hospital at Stawki Street. There, they were loaded into freight trains, 100 people to a car, and sent to an unknown destination. The Jewish Council and militia were used to spread the information that the deportees had safely reached Brzesc on-the-Bug.

The witness continues as follows:

Mad panic seized the ghetto. People ran from street to street with their bundles, trying to avoid deportation. The horror of the situation was heightened by starvation, since smuggling from the Polish section had become disorganized.

In the beginning, the Germans ordered 3,000 people deported daily, but soon it became impossible to raise the contingent. Large numbers of people got themselves working cards for workshops already in operation or planned for the future. But after a few days the militia, acting upon German orders, ceased to recognize such certificates. Contrary to previous announcements, the deportation of employees began. So-called blockades were now applied; one or several houses, or an

entire street, were surrounded and all those who could not display the required documents, or bribe the policemen, were held.*

Meanwhile the Germans began to raise their demands. Now they asked for 5-6,000 victims daily, then even 10,000. There were days when 15,000 persons were deported.

I do not remember the exact date when the SS. officers, at the head of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian helpers, for the first time participated in a blockade at Nowolipie Street. Now a real pogrom on a large scale began. The German cruelly beat and shot at people who tried to hide, and accidental passersby. Every morning and afternoon bands of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Latvians, under the command of SS. officers, went to the ghetto, roaring German songs. They caught whomever they

*A list of "recognized" firms—"Aryan" and Jewish—in the ghetto as of the middle of August, 1942, and the number of Jewish workers assigned to them:

1. Schultz & Co.	5,000	1. Ursus	400
2. W. C. Toebbens	5,000	2. Steyr-Deimler	350
3. K. S. Schultz Co.	600	3. Asid	15
4. Ostdeutsche Bautischl. Werk- staetten (East-German Car- pentry Workshops)	900	4. C. Binder	94
5. Curt Roehrich	500	5. Haberbusch-Schiele (Beer)	1
6. Wisniewski-Serejski	200	6. Neubrandenburg	35
7. W. Hoffman	500	7. Olympia	4
8. Oxaco	500	8. Eng. St. Palecki	1
9. Herman Brauer	600	9. Schmidt & Munstermann	150
10. W. Doering	400	10. Szparkewski	12
11. DAL	500	11. Wasserwirtschafts insp. (Water supply)	60
12. B. Hallmann	900	12. Wawrzecka	16
13. O. Schilling	600	13. Kommandeur d. Sz.	100
14. Astrawerke	200	14. Edmund Helka	8
15. Oschmann	800	15. Feldluftnachricht (Airmail Field Service)	70
16. Graethel	200	16. Jawers	1
17. Ahage-Zimmermann	1,000	17. Br. Balcerewicz	75
18. Felger & Co.	90	18. Schiehl A.G.	20
19. Franke-Schultz	241	19. A. Dittmann	15
20. Heeresbauamt (Army Con- struction Office)	50	20. Ostbahn (Eastern Railroad)	1,200
21. W. von Schoene	300	21. MIG	1,500
22. G. Siegmund	400		
23. Ulrich Wentland	100	Assigned to the Jewish Council	1,000
24. Schuhfabrik (shoe factory)	237		
25. Heeresunterkunftverwaltung (quartermaster's)	4,000		
	<u>23,818</u>		
	(Total—28,945)		

Remark: The above figures were subject to many fluctuations.

could lay their hands on, seeking out children and old people particularly. A part were immediately shot at the Jewish cemetery, the rest were loaded onto cars. At that time, Dr. Korczak, who did not want to part from the children of his orphanage, was deported. Most of the deported were probably gassed in Treblinka and other slaughter houses. The apartments of the victims were plundered. In two weeks some 100,000 people were deported. The action grew ever more intense. The frantic population tried to save their lives by mass registration in the workshops of Toebeans, Schultz, Doering and others. Big bribes were paid, sewing machines given away (these must have been mostly tailor shops) and people begged to be accepted. They thought that working people and their families would be left in peace. Many people tried to save their lives by escaping from the ghetto.

Some, in utter despair, driven by hunger, voluntarily came to the *Umschlagplatz**. They thought that, as the Germans had promised, families of workers would not be separated (if they would volunteer for deportation). For at that time the frightful news came that wives and children had been torn away from their husbands and fathers. Many people deluded themselves into thinking that they would be put to work.

But the majority attempted to hide. Raids and blockades raged continually. To increase the chaos, the Germans simultaneously ordered the evacuation of some streets, first in the "small," then in the "large" ghetto. On pain of being shot, the population had to leave their apartments within a few hours.

Those working in German factories were assigned homes in adjacent blocks where they were told they would be safe during raids. Working conditions in the factories were very severe. One worked for 10-12 hours and received about 1 liter (less than a quart) of watery soup, in some factories also 1/4

*Conditions at the *Umschlagplatz* are described in the following account:

"After a while, the blockade of workshops began. Not only elderly persons, but also young people were taken away from their work and deported. The Germans would announce that a certain number of workers from a given workshop were to be deported and would then drag off even the experts without examining their documents. During one such blockade I, together with others, was taken to the loading place. (Some time before, I spent a horrible night under the threat of machine guns. The workshop in which I worked was blockaded, we were accused of having shot at Germans; we were all ordered to kneel down along the wall, facing machine guns, and had to stay like that all night, without changing our positions. During that night, there were three shifts of soldiers, but we had to remain rigidly immobile. The next morning the mistake was cleared up and we were sent to work without a chance to rest.)

kilogram of bread. There was no question of wages. (In the beginning of August the price of 1 kilogram of bread in the "small" ghetto was over 100 zl. (\$20), later dropping to 50 zl.) The workers on the whole performed their duties so reluctantly that the directors were always threatening them with deportation. Around August 1, Jahn, one of the directors of the Toebbens firm, brought a few score people to the *Umschlagplatz* because they had ceased work ten minutes too early. The directors always walk around with whips and beat the workers on the slightest provocation. A prison atmosphere reigns in the workshops.

It appeared, however, that work, even under these conditions, was no insurance against deportation. SS. bands began to invade the shops and drag away the workers as well as their families from the nearby houses. It seemed as if the directors of some factories purposely cooperated with the "Vernichtungskommando" (Extermination Command), in order to get rid of their excess workers and their families. Many children and women were lost during the raids on the workshops of Toebbens, Doering, and Schultz, on August 13 and 15. The majority of workers lost their next of kin. It is understandable that output fell to a minimum, but the directors succeeded through threats in driving the miserable coolies to work again. At that time it was officially declared that unemployed persons could not remain in Warsaw. This struck particularly at children. The number of suicides increased.

Around August 17, the deportation "action" slackened for a while. Over 200,000 people had already been deported from the ghetto, not counting the few thousand killed in Warsaw. Thus, some 150,000 remained. For a few days only, the militia carried on in Warsaw, while the Germans were busy at a pogrom in Otwock (resort near Warsaw) and vicinity, also conducted with the assistance of militia. Despite all promises

"Although what I had gone through for many weeks was sufficiently dreadful—hunger, homelessness, eleven hours of heavy work, the constant threat of death—the hell of the loading place topped everything. Man there ceases to be man, is not even an animal, just waste to be burned. The crowd is constantly berated by the Germans and the police; there are children, sick and old people trampled to death; one wades up to one's ankles in human excrement. The Germans take many old and sick people to the Jewish cemetery and shoot them over previously prepared ditches. Intermittently a terrible panic arises, the Germans shoot at the crowd, killing and wounding people. Some escape from this hell through big bribes to Germans or the police, only to return there after a few days, stripped of money and valuables. I know many such cases among my acquaintances and relatives."

to the Jewish policemen, many of their next of kin were also deported. Around August 28, an unsuccessful attack on Szerynski was made. The deportation continued. It is expected that in the fall, when the factories will have filled their winter orders, part of the workers will be discharged and deported.

The subsequent history of the Warsaw ghetto is related as follows in a later report, of November 15, 1942:

In the second part of August, the first signs of resistance to the Warsaw massacre were noticed. About 100 warehouses were set afire, there was an unsuccessful raid on the staff of Umsiedlungsamt (Office for Resettlement) at 103 Zelazna Street, and the attack upon Szerynski. What is even more important—quiet but intensive work of explaining to the masses the real meaning of deportation began. A number of publications appeared dealing with the Warsaw events and the slaughter house of Treblinka, and exhorting the ghetto to take an active stand against the Germans. These efforts were in the face of terrific difficulties of a technical nature, particularly the restrictions of communication and movement. Going from one house to another was a problem, not to mention going from one street to another. These were the conditions and atmosphere in which the underground work had to be conducted.

The last days of August passed in relative quiet; it was clear, however, that the last act was about to be played.

On Thursday and Friday, September 3 and 4, a campaign of blockades of workshops took place in the Warsaw ghetto; SS.-men, assisted by the Junaks (Ukrainians, Lithuanians), took a few hundred persons to the *Umschlagplatz* regardless of their occupational qualifications. The SS.-men came for a previously fixed "quota" of deportees from the given workshop; they did the selection at their own whim. It must be stressed that at that time the workshops were almost the sole reservoir of the victims for slaughter. Except for the workshops, life still glimmered only in the cellars and catacombs of the ghetto. After this new "selection," the number of Jews employed in the given shop shrank by 25-30%.

Saturday, September 5, saw a continuation of shop blockades. The workers of the B. Hallman and W. Toeibbens factories suffered a particularly severe cut.

Sunday morning, at 2 A.M., the Command of the ghetto militia received an order from the Umsiedlungsamt—popu-

THE EXTENT OF THE MASSACRES IN WARSAW
FROM THE NOVEMBER 15, 1942 REPORT
PEOPLE "DEPORTED" IN JULY

Date	"Deported"	Directed to Dulag (for labor)	Considered unfit	Total
July 22	6,250	17	22	6,289
July 23	7,300	490	25	7,815
July 24	7,400	.....	44	7,444
July 25	7,350	130	50	7,530
July 26	6,400	250	41	6,691
July 27	6,220	130	74	6,424
July 28	5,080	91	70	5,241
July 29	5,480	225	17	5,722
July 30	6,430	181	40	6,651
July 31	6,796	98	.....	6,894
Total	64,706	1,612	383	66,701

IN AUGUST

Date	"Deported"	Directed to Dulag	Total
August 1	6,220	45	6,265
August 2	6,278	49	6,327
August 3	6,458	99	6,557
August 4	6,588	140	6,728
August 5	6,623	160	6,783
August 6	10,085	1,369	11,454
August 7	10,672	154	10,826
August 8	7,304	351	7,655
August 9	6,292	1,920	8,212
August 10	2,148	1,531	3,679
August 11	7,725	452	8,177
August 12	4,688	.....	4,688
August 13	4,513	.....	4,513
August 14	5,148	331	5,479
August 15	3,683	174	3,857
August 16	4,095	408	4,503
August 17	4,160	.....	4,160
August 18	3,976	220	4,196
August 19-24 probably	20,000	.....	20,000
August 25	3,002	.....	3,002
August 26	3,000	.....	3,000
August 27	2,464	.....	2,464
August 28-31 Pause			
Total	135,122	7,403	142,525

IN SEPTEMBER

Date	"Deportees"	Directed to Dulag	Total
Sept. 3	4,609	.....	4,609
Sept. 4	1,869	.....	1,869
Sept. 5	Pause	.....	.....
Sept. 6	3,634	.....	3,634
Sept. 7	6,840	.....	6,840
Sept. 8	13,596	.....	13,596
Sept. 9	6,616	.....	6,616
Sept. 10	5,199	.....	5,199
Sept. 11	5,000	.....	5,000
Sept. 12	4,806	2,100	6,906
Total	52,169	2,100	54,269

"Since all the above figures are all taken from German sources," says the report, "they are undoubtedly underestimations."

During this period many Jews died of hunger and thirst, for they had no food stocks and they were afraid to leave their hiding places lest the Ukrainians discover them.

The ghetto streets were strewn with bodies of Jews who had been shot. Two-wheel hearses, drawn by Jewish cemetery attendants continually circled through the streets and took away the slain.

This is a table of Jewish deaths during the "registration."

Date	Total			Shot			Suicides			Natural Death		
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total
6	272	223	495	216	176	392	15	12	27	41	35	76
7	346	274	620	313	248	561	3	8	11	30	18	48
8	425	360	785	392	334	726	4	4	8	29	22	51
9	275	205	480	252	189	441	—	—	—	23	16	39
10	202	124	326	174	84	258	6	3	9	22	37	59
11	109	72	181	89	56	145	2	1	3	18	15	33
12	96	64	160	76	49	125	1	1	2	19	14	33
Total	1725	1322	3047	1512	1136	2648	31	29	60	182	157	339

As shown by the above, in the period of the "registration" from September 6 to 12, out of a total of 3,047 deaths

2,648 or 85.8% were due to shooting

60 or 2.1% were due to suicide

339 or 11.1% were due to natural causes

3,047

The average number of deaths due to shooting in the above period is 378.3 daily.

larly called "extermination command"—to be ready for action at 6 A.M. At the same time the militia command was informed of the contents of the following announcement to be printed and posted on the walls of the ghetto in German and Polish:

ANNOUNCEMENT

By the order of the Delegate for Resettlement, the Jewish Council in Warsaw announces the following:

1. *By Sunday, September 6, 1942, 10 A.M., all Jews without exception, remaining within the limits of the large ghetto, are to gather*

for registration purposes

In the section bound by the streets: Smocza, Gesia, Zamenhof, Szczesliwa and Parysow Square.

2. *Jews are permitted to move at night from September 5 to 6, 1942.*
3. *Food for two days and drinking utensils are to be taken along.*
4. *It is forbidden to lock apartments.*
5. *Whosoever does not comply with this order and remains in the ghetto (outside of the above limits) later than 10 A.M. Sunday, September 6, 1942, will be shot.*

The Jewish Council in Warsaw.

As ordered, the Jewish policemen went at dawn to their new posts in the middle of the streets enumerated in the announcement. The new, much smaller territory of the ghetto was fenced in with rope. At 10 A.M., Germans, together with Ukrainians and Latvians, appeared at the Jewish post guarding the new limits of the ghetto. The area was simply an enlarged *Umschlagplatz*. Frequent gun shots could be heard on the other side of the border; these were Germans who made good their threat and shot everyone who failed to move up before 10 A.M. Around 11 A.M. the SS-men began the "registration" which lasted for a whole week, from Sunday, September 6, to Saturday, September 12, inclusive. The purpose of the "registration" was to comb the workshop workers and the unemployed masses for a new contingent of victims for Treblinka.

During that week the Germans sent to Treblinka 50,000 Jews: men, women and children. According to news which arrived during that period from Treblinka, the slaughter-house there was running almost 24 hours a day; for transports from Warsaw were arriving *en masse*.

During the "registration," Jewish apartments located outside the new ghetto area had to be left unlocked, according to point 4 of the registration order. The same was true with respect to the homes within the new ghetto because during the "registration" the tenants had to be either in their workshops or in their hiding places. Thus, all Jewish homes, without exception, stood open with no one to take care of them, and were consequently looted. Those returning to their homes usually found them empty.

The lack of food was intensified, and prices soared: 1 kilogram of bread cost 100 zlotys.

The last act of the mass murder and extermination of Warsaw Jewry was over on September 21, the day of Yom Kippur. On that day, the Germans carried out a blockade of the houses occupied by the ghetto militia at Ostrowska and Wołyńska Streets. Jewish policemen who had not been accepted into the ghetto militia after the reduction (the number of ghetto militia having been cut to 380 persons) were then taken away.

IN THE RUINS OF JEWISH WARSAW

As already mentioned, the last blockades and assembly at the *Umschlagplatz* took place on September 21, the day of Yom Kippur. On that day, 2,196 persons were "deported."

From that time on, mass raids and deportations did not recur. The *Umschlagplatz* was still there, but its name was changed to "Sammelstelle" (assembly point) on September 28. Jewish Warsaw lost everything of value in all branches of work, scholarship and art. Among writers and poets the following perished: Izrael Szttern, Szlome Gilbert, Jechiel Lerer, Lejb Skalow (Pluskalowski), Luba Slupak, Henryka Lazewart, Hilel Cejtlin and many others. Among journalists: Bencjan Chilinowicz, Samuel Hirschhorn, Aron Einhorn, Gawze, Stupnicki, L. Bunin, Izrael Winnik. Among painters and sculptors: Feliks Frydman, Wajntraub, Cyna, Rabinowicz, Ostrzega, Rozental. Among actors: Chana Braz, Maks Bryn, Aneta Rajzer, Marysia Ajzensztat, the director Ajzensztat. Among historians: Rabbi Szymon Huberband. Among educators: Janusz Korczak, Stefa Wilczynski, Aron Koninski, Mostkow, Dr. Harkin (woman), Docent Stawski (woman), Chaim Aron Kaplan, Cytrynowski, director Barginiski, Dr. W. Tauber and almost all members of the

teaching staff of secondary and elementary schools. Among cooperative workers: Lejb Michelson, Dr. Szalman, Goldfarb and many others. Among social leaders: Szachna Sagan, Rachel Stajn, Sonja Nowogrodzki, Jozef Lewartowski-Finkelsztajn, Segal, Abram Bortensztajn, Rabbi Icchok Mysenbaum. Among the leaders of the youth movements: Samuel Brejlsaw, Jozef Kaplan, S. Kaplan, Laufer, Sz. Koziobrodzki.

The above list embraces only a part of the Warsaw victims.

According to the final German orders concerning the limits of the Warsaw ghetto, the border line runs along the following streets: Smocza, Gesia, Franciszkanska, Bonifraterska, Muranowska, Pokerna, Stawki, Dzika, Szczesliwa, Parysow Square.

In connection with the changes most of the enterprises and institutions previously located outside the new ghetto had to be transferred together with their workers and employees. Among others, the offices and houses occupied by some of the Departments of the Jewish Council (those not located at the 19 Zamenhof Street Building) and the houses occupied by the workers and employees of the Jewish Council (located in the block Lubecki-Gesia-Zamenhof Streets) had to be transferred. The office, workers, and employees have been housed within the new ghetto.

These transfers were concluded on September 27 at 4 P.M., according to the following order of the authorities:

1. *The last day for moving is September 27 at 4 P.M. Anyone who has not moved by that time will lose his property.*
2. *Beginning September 27 the guard at the exit of the Jewish Quarter at Nalewki and Leszno Streets is to check the labor columns arriving from the "Aryan" part of the city, and accompany them in closed formations to their housing blocks.*
3. *Beginning September 27, the militia is to send patrols to the part of the large ghetto located south of Gesia and Franciszkanska Streets. Their task is to keep order and to see to it that nobody is on the streets who has not the right to be there.*
4. *Beginning September 27, the militia will post guards at the sewer exits in the large ghetto so as to make illegal trade impossible.*
5. *Beginning September 28, the militia will post guards along the walls of the future Jewish Quarter—that is, along Smocza, Gesia and Franciszkanska Streets.*

6. The militia will regulate traffic within the limits of the new Quarter.
7. The walls along the Jewish Quarter shall be built, in the first period of construction, to the height of $1\frac{1}{2}$ meters (about 5 feet) and after this height is reached, they are to be raised all around to 3 meters.

The commandant of the militia is responsible for the execution of the above orders.

Among others, the following workshops remaining outside the Jewish Quarter were ordered enclosed by walls: the Quartermaster's shops—with walls along the Walowa, Franciszkan-ska, Bonifraterska, Swietojska Streets; those of W. J. Toebbens, Schultz & Co., Curt Roehrich, W. Hoffman, Schilling—along Leszno, Karmelicka, Nowolipki, Smocza, Nowolipie, Zelazna Streets; those of S. Hallman — across Nowolipki Street; those of W. C. Toebbens — along Ciepla, Twarda, Prosta, Ceglana Streets.

A housing block was set aside for each shop or working unit; the Jews who lived there had to go to work daily in groups and return in the evening. The housing blocks are generally separated from each other and from the street by a wooden fence or a brick wall.

A Shopguard (*Werkschutz*) maintained order in the block and workshop; it consisted mostly of former ghetto policemen who thus succeeded in avoiding deportation. In "Aryan" workshops the guards were local Germans or Ukrainians.

The remaining Jews were the property of the Resettlement Bureau which could arbitrarily decide their fate. During the "stabilization" period a head-tax was imposed upon each Jewish worker. Although not receiving any pay for their work, the Jews had to pay 3 zlotys daily as head-tax and 2 zlotys for their food. Like true slaves, the Jewish workers in Warsaw had to display a serial number and sometimes a sign on their chests as proof that they belonged to a legal workshop. Those without such identification were either sent to the *Umschlagplatz* or shot on the spot. The September table of deaths indicates that of a total of 4244 there were 3158 deaths by shooting, 69 suicides, and 1017 natural deaths.

The percentage of deaths due to shooting was:

94.2% from September 1 to 15

5.72% from September 16 to 30

The daily average number of deaths due to shooting was:
 198.5 from September 1 to 15
 12.0 from September 16 to 30

TOTAL 105.2 from September 1 to 30

For the whole period of the action, German sources give the following statistical summary:

Number of deaths during the period between July 22 and September 30, 1942—

Total number of deaths10,380

Of this number—

Deaths due to shooting 5,961

Total number of "deportees," according to German data:

Month	"Deportees"	Sent to Dulag
July 22-31	65,089	1,612
Aug. 1-31	135,120	7,403
Sept. 1-12	51,969	2,100
Sept. 21	2,196	465
July 22-Sept. 21, 1942	254,374	11,580

Out of a total of 423 deaths in the period from October 1 to 31, there were 58 due to shooting.

According to official statistics 26,000 persons, or 80% of the entire population, worked in shops while the remaining were employed by the Jewish Council (2797) and by various German agencies outside the ghetto.

The German authorities still retained the Jewish Council with all its activities but in a severely restricted form. The legal status of the Jewish Council and the ghetto was not yet determined for a new "deportation"—such as took place from November 9 to 12, when the tailoring and shoemaker shops had to deliver contingents of men—was to be expected momentarily. There was very little contact between the German authorities and the Jewish Council. There had been none at all in the period of "deportation," when the Jewish civil authorities along with the ghetto commissar Auerswald had to stand aside. It has even been said lately that the SS men became interested in the various branches of the Council's activities, particularly in that of child-care; one of them (Brand) is said to have ordered the Council to establish an asylum for homeless Jewish children. ("One must care for the Jews' future," were the perfidious words of that "dignitary".) Almost daily the SS men presented the Council with very heavy demands for supplies of such luxuries as coffee, chocolate and other groceries in large amounts. Recently, the Council's treasury had to pay 800,000 zlotys out of its funds for that purpose.

This is the time-table of the ghetto:

From 6 to 8 A.M. there is considerable traffic in the streets: groups of Jews working in various shops gather in triple rows to march off to their working places. This is done at a nervous pace, accompanied by the constant whistles and shouts of the group leaders and by beatings at the hands of the German *Werkschutz*. Everybody hastens in the direction of the sole ghetto exit at the crossing of Gesia and Zamenhof Street, there to separate and go under escort of the *Werkschutz* and German soldiers to their working places. After 8 A.M. deathly silence descends on the ghetto. The streets are deserted, no one is seen about. Only SS men passing in cars or motorcycles enliven this ghetto cemetery for a while. During lunch hour, shop wagons appear in the streets carrying kettles of soup for the workers in each block. At 6 P.M. the dead city slowly comes to life. Groups of sweating Jews return from their shops and working units. This lasts a short time, dusk descends quickly, and the people hide in their homes for fear of German patrols.

The spectre of death by starvation haunts the ghetto. With conditions as they are, one wonders how the Jews manage to survive, and why they have not died of starvation long since. The spectre of death by starvation threatens literally the entire population of the ghetto. All reserves have long since been exhausted and the people have little or no strength left.

Psychologically, the Jews are completely crushed. The dread of "deportation" to Treblinka tortures them incessantly. Conversations during the long sleepless nights revolve around the sole topic: when will it happen again?

Fantastic rumors prevail concerning the future fate of the Jews. Good news follows on the heels of bad. The whole structure of the Jewish community is corroded and crumbling. The situation can be compared only to a death house, with the condemned prisoners in a constant torment of hope and despair.

The curtain of death slowly descends on Warsaw Jewry. The remnants still breathe but all feel that their tragic destiny will soon be consummated unless something effective is done from the outside.

Thus ends, on a note of complete despair, this account of the Warsaw ghetto, as seen in the middle of November, 1942. Among those surviving, the eye-witness who wrote this account could discern no sign of the splendid last stand of the Warsaw heroes which electrified the world in April and May, 1943.

RESISTANCE!

PRELUDE

After last fall's massacres and deportations from the Warsaw ghetto, about 40,000 Jews were left there. They resided chiefly in the new, small ghetto; a part of them lived in the nearby streets of the former large ghetto. A few weeks ago, after new walls had been raised at the borders of the small ghetto, the Germans started to transfer all the Jews there, amid scenes of violence and murder. In early December, a new wave of massacres and deportations began. Rumors circulated in Warsaw that January was the deadline. On January 18, the Germans started the definitive liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. In the early morning, strong formations of SS, *Schutzpolizei*, and Latvians entered the ghetto. But they met with a great surprise. A part of the Jews, in their desperation, barricaded themselves in blocks of houses and started a bitter fight. It appeared that the Jews possessed considerable stores of arms and ammunition. In the first few days, the Germans lost a score of dead and a few score wounded. The battle still raged on Saturday, January 23. On that date tanks drove into the ghetto. A number of houses were burned down. The Germans killed all the Jews in the houses they captured; over a thousand perished in this way. The majority of the Jews submitted passively to the German terror; large transports of Jews departed daily for Treblinka. After a few days the battle ceased. The fate of the remnants in the ghetto is undecided.

A POEM BY MOTELE

A child in the Warsaw Ghetto

*From tomorrow on, I shall be sad
From tomorrow on!
Today I shall be gay.
What is the use of sadness—tell me that?
Because these evil winds begin to blow?*

*Why should I grieve for tomorrow—today?
Tomorrow may be so good, so sunny,
Tomorrow the sun may shine for us again
We will no longer need to be sad.*

*From tomorrow on, I shall be sad
From tomorrow on!
Not today; no! today I will be glad
And every day, no matter how bitter it be,
I shall say:
From tomorrow on, I shall be sad,
Not today!*

*Translation from the Ghetto paper, Gazeta Zydowska, by
courtesy of the Jewish Frontier.*

FINALE

The Germans began the final and decisive liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in March 1942. The administrators of workshops within the ghetto informed the Jews that the shops were being moved outside of Warsaw and that the Jews must offer of their own free will to move to the new location. These administrators assured the Jews that they had nothing to fear, that their work was recognized as useful, that their families would not be separated, that their baggage would not be confiscated, and that living conditions would be favorable. At the same time Jews were warned that efforts to escape or resist would lead to fatal consequences. One German administrator pointed out that frequently Jews who had escaped to the "Aryan" part of Poland came and offered to work for him, because their nerves could not stand the strain of illegal existence.

A small number of old men, women, and children, weary of the hunger and unhygienic conditions in the ghetto, asked to be sent to Trawniki. Most of the young men and women resisted these offers, because they knew that every step out of the ghetto would bring their own death closer. These Jews preferred passive or, when possible, active resistance, so long as they did not leave the ghetto which they regarded as their citadel.

The Germans recognized the danger of keeping tens of thousands of determined young men and women in an enclosed part of Warsaw. When they realized that their efforts to clear the ghetto with the consent of the Jews had failed, they decided to liquidate the ghetto by force.

The liquidation of the ghetto began suddenly at dawn on April 19, 1943, shortly before Passover. The formal reason was that only 200 Jews had answered a call for workers to be sent to Trawniki, after the Germans had set a definite quota. The large ghetto bounded by Deszno, Nowolipie, Bonifraterska, the forts of the Citadel, and Smocza Street was surrounded by SS men, German police, and Latvians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians. In the morning, units of the German police, heavily armed with machine guns, grenades, and armored trucks, entered through the Zamen-

hof Street gate to the ghetto. The manner of the German attack showed that they expected armed resistance. The struggle began and the Germans suffered relatively large losses. There was talk of several killed, a large number of wounded, and the loss of ammunition and military equipment. A number of ambulances were seen riding through the streets of Warsaw carrying wounded and killed Germans.

The first German attack was repulsed within a few hours. The Germans retreated to the borders of the ghetto and brought reinforcements of tanks and artillery, which began to break through the first defense line. Heavy artillery attacked the corner of Bonifraterska and Nowolipie Street and Francizkanska. The defenders fought back with machine gun fire, causing further losses to the Germans. In the first attacks, the defense had great success: the tanks were recalled, two are said to have been burned, the inner part of the ghetto was cleared of the enemy, and the Germans were forced to use more powerful means—*e.g.* artillery directed by airplane observation, setting fire to houses,—and they were compelled to manoeuvre only in the ruined and burned parts of the ghetto. The Germans therefore changed their tactics. They did not attack by day, using this time only for observation. At the same time, they started a merciless barrage at night and burned block after block of houses in the outer streets of the ghetto. The Germans were counting on a gradual reduction of the area of the struggle, and on starving out the Jews. Particularly heavy firing occurred during the nights of April 23, 24, and 25. Beginning with April 25, the resistance weakened. The defense was sporadic. The ghetto was terrorized by tremendous fires. The ghetto was cut through by attacking German groups. The defenders had to retreat to the northern part of the city. Groups of Jews, presumably those who had not participated in the struggle, were seized by the Germans and transported toward the station.

The German attack was very cowardly. After their first discouraging experience on the night of April 23, the Germans restricted their use of arms to long range artillery, otherwise confining themselves to burning street after street, and making the

escape of the defenders of this flaming inferno impossible. The soldiers on guard shot every person within range whom they noticed at large in the ghetto. There were cases of the wounding or murder of Poles, too. The Germans destroyed the vents of sewers on Plac Krasinsich, Leszno, and Bonifraterska Street, through which the Jews attempted to escape. The Germans also patrolled the neighboring streets in the "Aryan" quarter in order to catch the escaping Jews. Captured Jews were murdered on the spot. About 3,000 Jews were killed in this manner from April 19 until May 5. At the same time, the Germans posted placards announcing that the ghetto was being liquidated, and those who sheltered Jews would be heavily penalized. A few days later, that is in May, an announcement of the German police commander declared that because the Jews and communists made a point of resistance in the ghetto, the ghetto had to be liquidated. The announcement also called upon the population to give up any Jews who were in hiding.

The struggle in the ghetto stopped suddenly, and it is hard to tell when it was over. Jewish resistance was broken chiefly by the heavy fires which the Germans started. These fires destroyed hundreds of houses. The following streets were completely destroyed: Nalewki, Nowolipie, Nowolipki, Franciszkanska, Karnelicka, Mila, Niska, Plac Muranowski, Smocza, Gesia and others. Not one house on all these streets was saved and the ruins of the houses were later dynamited by the Germans. The material loss due to these fires was greater than that which occurred during the bombing of 1939. More than 100,000 rooms were destroyed. These fires lasted ten to fifteen days after the actual "conquest" of the ghetto and included areas which were not objectives of the struggle. Among other edifices, the Germans dynamited the Great Synagogue on Tlomackie street which was situated half a kilometer outside the ghetto. The smoke of these fires pervaded all of Warsaw and their light could be seen for several kilometers. No fire fighters were admitted to the ghetto.

In the small ghetto, Zelazna, Ceglana, Prosta, the Germans did not follow the same tactics as they did in the large. They contented themselves with seizing Jews from the workshops (the shop of

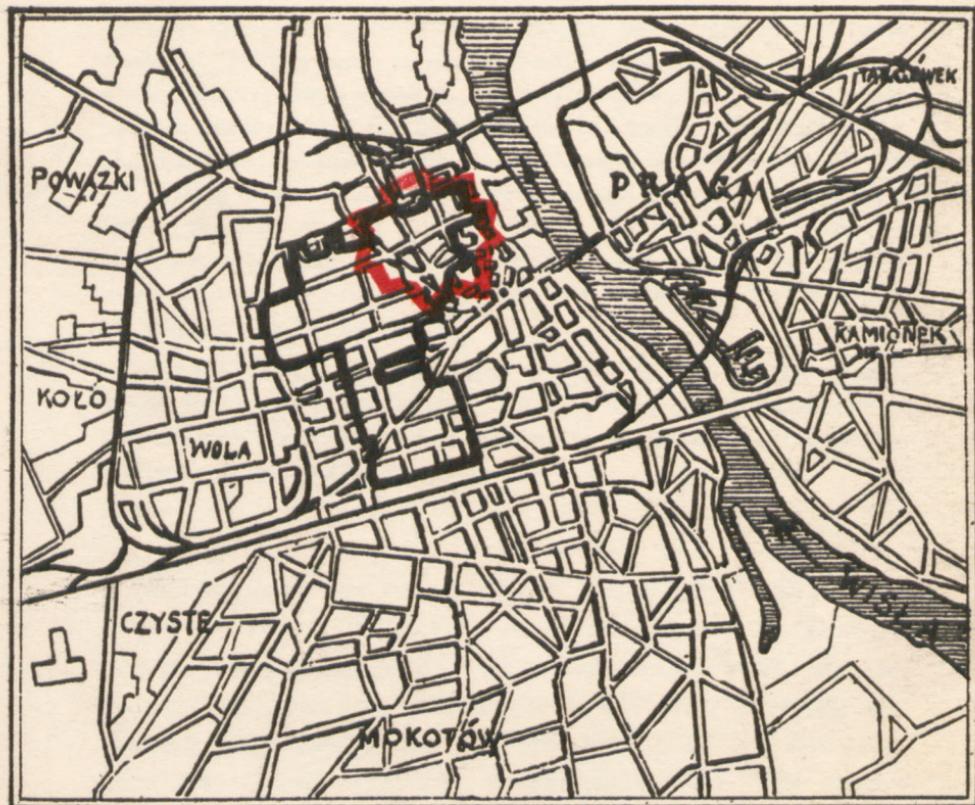
Toebbens on Leszno street, Schultz, and others). Through the early part of May, the Germans succeeded in killing and deporting 12,000 Jews. The liquidation of the small ghetto occurred, without struggle, on May 15-18. The Germans deported and killed all the Jews and burned a number of houses.

Today the Warsaw ghetto consists only of the remains of hundreds of burned and ruined houses. The number of Jewish victims has not been counted and will probably never be counted, because the bodies of fighters were burned along with the houses. Hundreds of suffocated and burned bodies are to be found in the cellars of these houses. It is estimated that 5,000 Jews died within the iron ring of fire and shell. The rest were left to the Germans, and were tortured to death in execution camps. Only those who escaped from the ghetto and hid in the "Aryan" part of Warsaw are left in the city.

A Jewish fighting organization led the defense in the ghetto. Their forces were small, they did not have much ammunition. Nevertheless they fought for four weeks to better effect than the Germans in this tragic struggle.

MAY 1943

The ghosts of the heroes of the ghetto battle will forever honor the streets Nalewki, Nowolipie, Nowolipki, Franciszkanska, Karnelicka, Mila, Niska, Plac Muranowski, Smocza, Gesia, et al. But persistent reports in the press in spring and summer 1943 indicate that not only their spirit but also their successors survive and carry on the fight there. The curtain may not yet have been rung down.



MAP OF WARSAW

Original "large" ghetto outlined in black.

The Battle of the Ghetto was fought in the northeast quarter, outlined in red.