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Jews and Communists in Occupied Warsaw

Żydzi i komuniści w okupowanej Warszawie

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Abstract
This article deals with hiding Jewish communists who were affiliated with the illegal Polish Workers' Party (*Polska Partia Robotnicza*, PPR) in Warsaw under the German occupation. The communists created an exclusive help network, which had substantial assets: opportunities for obtaining false papers, livelihoods, and accommodations. It also gave one a chance to engage in the struggle against the Germans and a sense of meaning. The help network was not established for the purpose of helping Jews – the Jews and their families were aided as party members, somewhat incidentally.

Keywords
Holocaust, Jews, PPR, hiding, Warsaw

Introduction

On January 2, 1943, Tadek Gąsiorowski and Janek Tarłowski were setting issue 12 of *Głos Warszawy* in Warsaw's Dolny Mokotów neighborhood, in a room rented from a Mr. Miętkiewicz. Attached to the newspaper was a leaflet with information about the killing center in Treblinka: "first accounts of eyewitnesses, escapees, and people living in the vicinity of Treblinka about the local death camp and the extermination conducted there."[1] The two youths from the Polish Workers' Party (*Polska Partia Robotnicza*, PPR) were unaware that in the adjacent room a Jewish woman was hiding and that *szmalcowniks* used to visit her to collect ransom. On that day she was out so those *szmalcowniks* entered the printers' room. One of these visitors had a hat with a feather and a leather coat. The two men spoke Polish. The filled typecases on the table didn't escape their attention for the cases were not entirely covered by a tray cloth. This caught their interest

[1] Archiwum Akt Nowych [The Central Archives of Modern Records] (hereafter: AAN), 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR [PPR Warsaw technical suport] 1942–1944, Testimony of Jan Tarłowski, p. 27.

– You do printing here? What are you setting?
– We set what they give us.
– How much do they pay you?
– Pay us? They pay us peanuts, sir…[2]

The visitor wanted to see what they had just set. He read the leaflet about Treblinka and concluded:

– My wife is Polish. I understand. I have nothing against the underground, but the most important thing is to get rid of these lice […] these Jews. And if you help us, we won't bother you and you'll be able to carry on setting. [...] Just set aside a copy of each issue for us to take. We'll visit you here.
– Why, of course. We'll make sure to always set aside the best copy for you, sir.
[…] They parted like friends.[3]

That day the newspaper's print operation was moved to a different location. It remains unknown what happened with the woman in hiding. This anecdote brings us to the very center of events described in this article: Jews in hiding and their contacts with or involvement in the PPR underground. Another important aspect the anecdote reveals is the atmosphere of Warsaw during that period, in which Jews faced more difficulty surviving than activists of the anti-German underground.

During the German occupation thousands of Jews were hiding on the 'Aryan' side of Warsaw.[4] Some received help from underground organizations, others coped on their own, but they were all in danger of being denounced or blackmailed. While in hiding they used their contacts and acquaintances as well as financial and social resources. Their survivals could be decided by chance, their deaths by human evil or an unfortunate coincidence. Through their various connections and contacts almost all of them created a clandestine network, or actually one among many underground networks that enmeshed the city. These networks can be looked at from various perspectives. They can be examined using the criteria of network analysis or from the structural perspective (organized help, individual help, Jewish self-help, or the destructive network). Inspired by description of social bonds, one can also divide the help networks into natural ones (common origin, kinship), established ones (imposed by law or by society, or organized), or ones based on association (formed voluntarily

[2] Ibidem.

[3] Ibidem, p. 28.

[4] Emanuel Ringelblum and Israel Gutman estimated the number of Jews hiding on Warsaw's 'Aryan' side after the uprising in the ghetto to be 15,000 and 15,000 to 20,000, respectively. According to Havi Dreifuss, their number before the Warsaw Uprising was around 10,000 (Havi Dreifuss, *Changing Perspectives on Polish-Jewish Relations during the Holocaust* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2012], p. 47). A much larger figure (28,000) can be found in Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

by people belonging to social organizations). From this perspective natural networks are formed by members of families, friends, and local inhabitants who helped one another. The established networks were those co-organized by the 'Żegota' Council for Aid to Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom „Żegota"*), the Jewish National Committee (*Żydowski Komitet Narodowy*, ŻKN), and the Bund. Finally, the network based on association was formed by people who shared a worldview or ideology and voluntarily cooperated with one another to provide aid to Jews.

In this article,[5] I focus on one such networks: the communist network helping Jews in Warsaw during the occupation. It was an exclusive help network formed by people sharing the same ideals, though providing help to Jews was not their primary objective. They provided help to those who were indirectly or directly associated with the communists. They gave such individuals access to the network's resources: false documents, weapons, apartments, partisan units, and also or perhaps predominantly the feeling of sense and community.

Taking up a topic connected with the PPR is difficult due to its twofold mystification. For in Communist Poland the history of that party would be distorted by propaganda and ideology, while after 1989 it became unacceptable to talk about communists in positive terms. I am interested exclusively in the episode of the party's functioning during the occupation in the context of its connections with Jews in Warsaw. I do not take up many of the threads regarding communists in general. Nor do I delve into the topic of the intelligence services, the party's infiltration, and the NKVD spy ring. To me what is of importance are not moral, political, or ideological evaluations but Jews who were in the PPR's orbit. Similarly, in this relatively short article I do not intend to take up matters of a more general nature, for instance, the issue of the PPR leadership's attitude to the 'Jewish issue' or the identity of the party members and leaders. Nor shall I elaborate on the communists' aid to the Warsaw ghetto fighters, for that issue has been explored many times and from various angles.

I am interested in the everyday life, work, and livelihood sources of the Jews in hiding. I reconstruct these predominantly by using testimonies given by participants in those events: the recorded or written interviews with those who were in the communist network's sphere of influence or actively co-created it. These are mainly testimonies from Yad Vashem and the Jewish Historical Institute and recordings from the Visual History Archive, kept by the Shoah Foundation of the University of Southern California. I also used – perhaps for the first time in the Holocaust context – recordings and testimonies from the Party History Institute (*Zakład Historii Partii*), now stored at the Central Archives of Modern Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*, AAN).

[5] This article has been written within the framework of the National Science Center's research project no. 2016/21/B/HS3/00577 devoted to Jews hiding on the 'Aryan' side of Warsaw during 1940–1945. A database of all information from all available sources about Jews in hiding is also being prepared within the project's framework.

The main heroes of this article are a dozen individuals who are certainly not representative of that milieu, for they not only survived but also left their testimonies. The background heroes used the communist network only once. One of them was Mieczysław Kowadło,[6] who as a schoolboy had been in love with Hanka Rozenberg and because of her attended meetings of left-wing circles. Hanka and her husband Jerzy Morawski helped Mietek Kowadło and his family leave the ghetto in August 1942 and supplied them with false papers and a first address. From then on the Kowadłos fended for themselves: they rented a room and Mietek supported himself and his wife through tutoring and by selling home-baked cakes in cafes. Other Jews contacted the communist underground somewhat by chance. For instance, Ryszard Raps (Nazarewicz)[7] remembered that after arriving in Warsaw in 1941 his mother rented a room in an apartment where her neighbor was the prewar communist Krystyna Hejman (Arciuch).[8] That woman gave Ryszard the first underground periodicals and introduced him to the PPR.

Most of the Jews in the orbit of the communist help network did not enter it by chance, for they had earlier prewar ties with the left wing. Some of them did not move into the ghetto at all and had stayed on the 'Aryan' side since the beginning of the occupation, for instance, prewar activists of the Communist Party of Poland (*Komunistyczna Partia Polski*, KPP) including Krystyna Hejman (Arciuch), who is mentioned above, and Bela Frisz (Helena Kozłowska) and of youth organizations including Hanka Szapiro (Sawicka)[9] and Hanna Rozenberg (Morawska).[10] Other Jewish women connected with youth left-wing

[6] University of Southern California Shoah Foundation, Visual History Archive (hereafter: USC, VHA), 17181, Interview with Mieczysław Kowalik-Kowadło.

[7] USC, VHA, 29246, Interview with Ryszard Nazarewicz.

[8] During the occupation she was on the staff of the People's Guard (*Gwardia Ludowa*, GL) and the People's Army (*Armia Ludowa*, AL). She was also a messenger for Lt. Teodor Naumienko (USC, VHA, 29014, Interview with Krystyna Arciuch). She was arrested in 1949 without a warrant, in connection with Naumienko's case, and imprisoned for five years, three of which she spent in solitary confinement. See Robert Spałek, *Komuniści przeciwko komunistom. Poszukiwanie wroga wewnętrznego w kierownictwie partii komunistycznej w Polsce w latach 1948–1956* [Communists against communists. The search for the internal enemy in the leadership of the Communist Party in Poland 1948–1956] (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka, 2014), pp. 190–194.

[9] See her biographical note in *Konspiracyjny Związek Walki Młodych w Warszawie* [Conspiratorial Union of Youth Struggle in Warsaw], in consultation with Bogdan Hillebrandt (Warsaw: Warszawska Komisja Historyczna Stowarzyszenia „Pokolenia" [Warsaw Historical Commission of the 'Generations' Association], 2008), notebook 1, pp. 138–140; cf. the recollections of Halina Balicka-Kozłowska, at whose place Hanka Szapiro lived for a time (USC, VHA, 25555).

[10] In October 1942, she became the chairperson of the Board of the Union of Youth Struggle (*Związek Walki Młodych*, ZWM). During the Warsaw Uprising she fought in the '*Czwartacy*' AL Battalion in the Old Town, from where she reached the Żoliborz quarter through the sewer

organizations who left the ghetto and crossed to the 'Aryan' side and acted in the communist underground included Anna Duracz (known as Anula), Henia Mączkowska (Anita Duracz), Henia Krakowska (Halina Jarosławska), Fajga Danielak (Helena Wolińska 'Lena'), and Stefa Szochur.[11] In the summer and autumn of 1941, Warsaw absorbed an influx of Jews who had initially resided in the Soviet occupation zone. They included prewar left-wing activists and communists, for instance, Klara Kaufman (Wacława Grudzińska), Pola Goldwag (Maria Krych), Necha Zalcman (Stanisława Sowińska), Ignacy Rotfarb (Robb-Narbutt), and Henryk Kotlicki. In describing their interconnections I will focus on the stories of selected individuals. This will enable me to present the daily life of Jews in occupied Warsaw who were in the PPR network's orbit. This network was based on party members, connections, and opportunities, with its scope encompassing Jewish party members and also their families, friends, and acquaintances.

Communists in the Warsaw Ghetto

Before the war the communist movement in Poland had several about a dozen thousand of members and sympathizers.[12] The entire leadership of the KPP and at least a few thousand activists died during the great purge in the USSR during 1937–1938. By order of the Comintern, the KPP was dissolved in 1938, with its members prohibited from engaging in political activity. At the begining of the German occupation the communist movement in Poland was practically

system. In September she swam across the Vistula River and reached the Polish Committee of National Liberation (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*, PKWN, in Lublin carrying a message from the AL command (*Konspiracyjny Związek Walki Młodych w Warszawie*, p. 42).

[11] Stefa Szochur was a Spartakus and PPR activist. She was to command a group of five armed fighters during the uprising in the ghetto but as a result of a coincidence she was captured by Germans on April 19 and sent to Poniatowa. She escaped and returned to Warsaw but did not contact the party. She went to great lengths to find the only person she believed could help her, Klima Fuswerk, a Jewish woman in hiding. Szochur was proved right as she obtained help from 'Żegota' through the agency of Klima and her contacts. She survived and stayed in Poland after the war. An actress, she performed in a number of companies, including the Jewish theater. During her interview recorded in 1995, Szochur said she regretted her naiveté and having believed in socialism and communism. She also stated that those who emigrated from Poland immediately after the war made the best choice (USC, VHA, 4286, Interview with Stefania Staszewska-Balbin).

[12] According to Ryszard Nazarewicz, in January 1936 the KPP had 17,302 members, of whom 3,817 were in the USSR. After Stalinist purges no more than 100 remained alive, with no members of the leadership among them. See Ryszard Nazarewicz, *Armii Ludowej dylematy i dramaty* [People's Army dilemmas and dramas] (Warsaw: Oficyna Drukarska, 1998), p. 13. According to Zbigniew Szczygielski's estimates, in 1936 the KPP had 13,900 members. See Zbigniew Szczygielski, *Członkowie KPP 1918–1939 w świetle badań ankietowych* [KPP members 1918–1939 in the light of surveys] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1989), p. 21.

nonexistent and communists were extremely unpopular, particularly after the Soviet invasion of Poland on September 17, 1939. "During that period Polish communists were largely isolated and it was only after some time that the anti-Soviet sentiments began to change,"[13] an activist admitted years later. Another one added: "There was a political gap in the country as most of the communist activists were in the Soviet Union, and those feeble groups which remained in the country were completely disorganized."[14] One of these "feeble groups" was the Spartakus organization, which I shall use as an example to reveal how during the occupation earlier connections would transform into help networks. They can be recreated owing to several surviving testimonies given by Jewish activists of Spartakus, who describe their personal fates and the history of the organization in occupied Warsaw.

Spartakus was an illegal (unregistered) school organization of socialist youth in Warsaw. Established in 1935 at the initiative of the Union of Independent Socialist Youth and the Red Scouts, it was informally linked with the Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*, PPS). It had been headed by Ładysław Buczyński ('Kazik Dębiak') since 1937 and had issued the periodical *Strzały* since February 1938. Spartakus was active in the intelligentsia milieu and in Warsaw high schools: boys' schools, including Reytan, Staszic, Rey, and Batory (the poet Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński was a Spartakus member and published in *Strzały*), and girls' schools, including Słowacki, Kalecka, and Warecka. In spring 1937 Spartakus had some 200 members.[15] Initially, it emphasized self-study and ideological-pedagogical work. Over time, however, particularly after the KPP's 1938 dissolution, its ranks were joined by communist youth, resulting in its gradual transformation into an increasingly political and radically left-wing organization.

In autumn 1939, Spartakus began underground operations. During meetings of the organization's circles "the young people were busy with self-study, discussing books they read,"[16] with ideological work, and with distributing

[13] AAN, 1581/R-285, "Działalność organizacji przedpepeperowskich, Grupy Inicjatywnej, powstanie PPR" [The activities of pre-PPR organizations, the Initiative Group, the formation of the PPR], Testimony of Andrzej Weber, p. 38.

[14] Ibidem, Testimony of Jerzy Albrecht, pp. 2–4.

[15] AAN, 1581/R-124, Organizacja Młodzieży Socjalistycznej „Spartakus" w latach 1935–1941 [Organization of socialist youth 'Spartacus' in 1935–1941], Testimony of Tadeusz Soltan, p. 4.

[16] Ibidem, Testimony of Anna Duracz (hereafter referred to as 'Anula'), p. 24. This Anna Duracz (born 1923), who then took her husband's surname, Walczak, was a daughter of Teodor Duracz and Romana, his second wife, née Zelcer. Anna lived in the ghetto until September 1942. On February 27, 1943 she was arrested in the PPR underground printing operation at 23/25 Grzybowska Street. She and her mother, arrested on March 12, were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau. They both survived. According to Anula Duracz, the organization's library was very well stocked, as it had received the book collections of Wiktor Alter, a Bund

Strzały, as publication had resumed in late November (around 15 issues went out, each in 100–300 copies,[17] though no copy has survived). Spartakus continued to operate after the ghetto was closed off, as that was where most of its members found themselves.[18] Comrades from the 'Aryan' side would visit them carrying illegal publications, books, information, and food. "For some time after the closing off of the ghetto they (Kazik Dębiak, Janek Fajge, Janek Dobrzyński) would come on agreed days to the wall separating Bankowy Square from Elektoralna Street […] and they would quickly throw bread and other food products over the wall," remembered Anula Duracz.[19]

Spartakus was dissolved in spring 1941 for ideological concerns: having in fact become a communist organization, it had to abide by the Comintern ban on organized communist activity in Poland. Its members would otherwise have risked being marked as provocateurs. From today's perspective this decision may seem weird, even somewhat absurd, however it lets us understand party-hierarchy characteristics and its subordination mechanisms. The dissolution of Spartakus came as a blow to the youth, "an incredibly painful thing. For we were connected with that organization not only with our minds, but also with our hearts. Back then Spartakus was more important to us even than family."[20] Formally, however, the dissolution of the organization had little influence on further integration of the milieu – self-learning was continued with predominant emphasis on the self-help that was crucial under ghetto conditions. Spartakus members organized a soup kitchen in Stefa Szochur's place at 11 Szczęśliwa Street. They brought food, which was stored there, and "we took shifts to ensure the kitchen's continued operation."[21]

Begining in autumn 1941, the left-wing movement in occupied Warsaw was strengthened by activists arriving from territories previously occupied by the Soviets. At the same time, the need increased for armed struggle against the

Central Committee member who had left for the East, and of Hanka Szapiro, who in August 1940 "granted [her library] to the organization when she was moving out of her apartment on 3 Maja Street" (ibidem, p. 32).

[17] Ibidem, p. 33.

[18] "In 1941, before its dissolution, the Spartakus organization had some 200 members – mostly Jewish youth," said Anna Duracz (hereafter referred to as 'Anita') in her testimony recorded for Yad Vashem in 1971. This Anna Duracz, née Henia Mączkowska, was married to Jerzy Duracz and she was a sister-in-law of Teodor Duracz (Yad Vashem Archive [hereafter: YVA], O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 5). Anita Duracz was arrested after the war in 1949, in connection to her contacts with Noel Field. She was imprisoned for two and a half years, during which she was subjected to brutal investigations (ibidem, pp. 58–61; Spałek, *Komuniści przeciwko komunistom*…, pp. 680–686).

[19] AAN, 1581/R-124, Organizacja Młodzieży Socjalistycznej „Spartakus" w latach 1935–1941 [Organization of socialist youth 'Spartacus' in 1935–1941], Testimony of Anula Duracz, p. 63. At that time the author was living at 5 Elektoralna Street.

[20] Ibidem, Testimony of Stefania Staszewska, p. 5.

[21] Ibidem, Testimony of Anula Duracz no. 2, p. 5.

Germans and for cooperation with other left-wing milieus on both sides of the wall. The Spartakus milieu established contact with Hashomer Hatzair (led by Heniek Arbuz, who arrived from Białystok) and other left-wing activists, including Kazia Kagan and Niuta Tajtelbaum, who belonged to the Union for the Struggle for Liberation (*Związek Walki Wyzwoleńczej*),[22] and Ignacy Fajl, who was a printer and trade-union activist.

The situation of small left-wing organizations[23] changed with the PPR's establishment in early January 1942. The party was stronger and it alluded to KPP traditions. It also had a better organizational and financial base and, above all, Moscow's blessing along with activists and spies sent from there. Consequently, it absorbed the smaller organizations.[24]

Establishing the PPR in the Warsaw ghetto is connected with the persons of Pinkus Kartin ('Andrzej Szmidt') and Józef Lewartowski (Aron Finkelstein 'Stary'). Kartin, a Spanish Civil War veteran, was among parachutists sent from Moscow in an initiative group on December 28, 1941. As soon as on "January 15 or 16, 1942 a meeting was held [in the ghetto], during which a group of communist activists declared their organizations' accession to the PPR."[25] Lewartowski, also a veteran of the movement and formerly of the KPP leadership, came to the ghetto from Białystok. It was not a matter of choice in his case – "he was sent to the ghetto like into exile. Among PPR activists, former Comintern members, he was the outstanding figure in the group of people the PPR had outside the ghetto."[26] Regardless of whether it was by choice or due to his habit of obedience, Lewartowski took the position of Quarter Committee chairman.

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[22] Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego [Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute] (hereafter: AŻIH), 301/2295, Testimony of Kazimiera Kagan. The Union for the Struggle for Liberation was established in Warsaw in September 1941 by merging underground communist groups (including *Życie*, *Sierp i Młot*, the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, and the Union of Youth Struggle). Its press bodies were *Biuletyn Radiowy* and the political biweekly *Zwyciężymy*. Prewar Spartakus activist Hanka Szapiro (Sawicka) was one of those associated with the new group. In 1942 it was absorbed by the PPR.

[23] "*Sierp i Młot*'s group had 700 to 800 members, while Chaim's group, that is, the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, had 400 members. […] The Working-class and Peasant Fighting Organization in the ghetto had only 250 members," estimates Jakub Józef Korc, a communist active in the ghetto. AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working-class movement members, 2366, Wacław Jabłoński [Jakub Józef Korc], Wspomnienia opowiedziane przez tow. Jabłońskiego w dniu 13 III 1947 r. [Memories recounted by comrade Jablonski on March 13, 1947].

[24] "When the party was formed we – former Spartakus members from both sides of the wall – joined its ranks as early as in January 1942," remembers Anula Duracz (AAN, 1581/R-124, Testimony no. 2, p. 8).

[25] Piotr Wróbel, "Wokół problemu rezydentury NKWD w getcie warszawskim [On the problem of NKVD residence in the Warsaw ghetto]," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 4 (2005): 206.

[26] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 10. He might have been in the ghetto due to his Semitic appearance.

He and Kartin actively organized the party and the "PPR was developing faster in the ghetto than outside it. March 1942 saw the establishment of the Ghetto Quarter Committee. The party was joined by radical members of Poale Zion and Hashomer Hatzair."[27] New cells were formed. "On April 14, 1942 an organizational meeting chaired by Janek Dreier was held at Ada Bałaban's, a TOZ nurse from Pawia Street. […] A physicians' cell was formed."[28] One member who at the same time was a combat-unit leader was Dr. Wigdor Margulies (Stanisław Sierpiński). "Soon there were as many as three sanitary platoons and we were joined by a Hashomer Hatzair sanitary platoon. Everything happened very fast. The movement grew and […] the PPR organization in the ghetto was much larger than on the 'Aryan' side."[29] As Jakub Józef Korc (Wacław Jabłoński) remembers: "in April 1942 the party had 20 cells in the ghetto, with 5 members in each one."[30]

The PPR's activity in occupied Poland, and particularly in the Warsaw ghetto, caught the eye of representatives of the Office of the Delegate of the Government-in-Exile. Their memo "Obecna sytuacja w ruchu komunistycznym (lipiec 42)" (Current situation in the communist movement [July 1942]), which was sent to London, stated:

> At present, the ghetto, which is a separate organizational unit, does not constitute an organized power due to repressions that have recently been conducted on a large scale by the German authorities. Nevertheless, it is a scene of various organizational-political efforts, for staying there are various political and military Soviet emissaries, party publications are printed there, and from there originate various political elaborations written by activists in hiding. Thus, owing to this organized network, the ghetto has constant contact with the remaining districts.[31]

Due to those contacts the ghetto received communist press and radio bulletins, with sanitary and military training conducted as well (using a single broken pistol, however). One messenger who passed information between activists on both sides of the wall was Henryk Kotlicki, a prewar communist and former Bereza Kartuska prisoner, who had been in Białystok in autumn 1939. Once the Germans invaded the Soviet Union he got stuck in Baranowicze, where he met his communist friends Wiesław Sobierajski and Jakub Dreher. They had new IDs

[27] Wróbel, "Wokół problemu rezydentury NKWD…," p. 206.

[28] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (hereafter: USHMM), 2004.331.1, Wiera Sierpinska Papers, Stanisław Sierpiński, „Pogaduszki" [Chats], typescript.

[29] YVA, O.3/3405, Testimony of Stanisław Sierpiński.

[30] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working class movement activists, 2366, Wacław Jabłoński [Jakub Józef Korc], Wspomnienia opowiedziane przez tow. Jabłońskiego w dniu 13 III 1947 r. [Memories recounted by comrade Jablonski on March 13, 1947], p. 4.

[31] Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London, PRM 76/1, Homeland, Reports and communiques, Folder 76/1/42, Obecna sytuacja w ruchu komunistycznym (lipiec 1942) [The current situation in the communist movement (July 1942)], p. 72.

issued ("back then you needed only two witnesses to obtain documents, so we confirmed one another's words and that was how we obtained our *Ausweises*"[32]) and found jobs in a German company working for the Luftwaffe. In late 1942 the men went to Warsaw on leave and did not return to Baranowicze. They contacted the PPR. Kotlicki remembers: "We met with Franciszek Wawrzyniak 'Faja' and Marian Spychalski. Spychalski dragged Sobierajski into the 'military,' and I was dragged by 'Faja' into civilian party activity. My first task was be the Warsaw Committee's liaison with the quarter [committee] in the ghetto."[33] Kotlicki supplemented his pass with his own "handwritten annotation that he was authorized to enter the closed ghetto. Consequently, he easily went in and out using his pass. He went through the guarded ghetto gates […] several times a week carrying various party instructions."[34]

Despite preaching equality and brotherhood, many of the communists were anti-Semites or felt tempted to take advantage of the situation. One will not find information about this in testimonies by former PPR members collected after the war by the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (*Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce*, CKŻP). It is also absent from testimonies by left-wing Jewish activists recorded by the Party History Institute.[35] Fortunately there are the testimonies given outside Poland, particularly the exceptional recollections of Henia Mączkowska (Anita Duracz) and her husband, Jerzy Duracz, recorded in 1971 in Jerusalem. These constitute an important supplement to often-uncritical testimonies provided to the Party History Institute and what are at times highly general recollections recorded in the 1990s for the Visual History Archive. The Duraczs speak critically of the party also, which helps recreate a more realistic picture of PPR actions in the Polish-Jewish context. Anita Duracz remembers:

> The attitude towards the party in the ghetto was burdened on the part of the party outside of it with a kind of conservative thinking about certain antisemitic premises. That manifested itself […] in the conviction that some Jewish plutocracy was still left in the ghetto and that […] the ghetto should have given the party money.[36]

[32] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working-class movement activists, 3018, Henryk Kotlicki, Z dokumentem dla „nicht Deutsche" w kieszeni [With a document for 'nicht Deutsche' in the pocket], typescript, p. 5.

[33] Ibidem.

[34] Ibidem, p. 6.

[35] This interesting thread should be a topic in a separate study discussing the historical-political context of Holocaust testimonies and mechanisms of memory and conformism (perhaps fear?) along with ideological disillusionment. This phenomenon, probably much broader, does not pertain exclusively to Jews with left-wing associations. Scholars should also carry out further research on the observation that testimonies given in Poland, particularly during 1944–1989, are generally less critical of Poland and Poles than testimonies given later or given outside Poland.

[36] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 10.

These expectations seem absurd in the context of what we know about activists' lives in the ghetto, at the verge of dying of starvation.[37] Nevertheless, they say much about stereotypes and the mentality of those times. Some activists traded with the ghetto, perhaps using party contacts, but likely cared not only about collective interests but also their own profits. One of them was the secretary of the PRR's Warsaw Committee, Franciszek Wawrzyniak 'Faja', who has been mentioned above. He was arrested by the Germans in summer 1942 in connection with his dealing in gold.[38]

The People's Guard (*Gwardia Ludowa*, GL) established five-person combat units in the ghetto[39] though initially they had no weapons at their disposal. In May 1942, there were purportedly ten such groups of five.[40] At the same time, PPR operations in the ghetto practically ceased – on May 20 the Gestapo arrested and murdered three communist activists as they were transferring a printing press to the 'Aryan' side: Samuel Meretik 'Adam', Pinkus Kartin 'Adam Szmidt', and Dawid Włoska.[41] The begining of the deportation – July 22, 1942 – "caught the PPR members disorganized, in a mess, often without of any party contacts whatsoever."[42] Party ties between the ghetto and the 'Aryan' side were weakened by arrests in the ghetto on one hand, while on the other by 'Faja''s capture and murder on the 'Aryan' side. One PPR member reminisced: "In the summer and autumn [1942] the Warsaw organization was shaken by mass arrests. That resulted in the destruction of the central apparatus and partial severing of the organization's networks."[43]

Consequently, during the great deportation campaign the communists could not count on organized help on the 'Aryan' side. Some arranged their crossing to

[37] "My mother and I did not die of hunger but we were on the verge of it," said Stefania Szochur (Staszewska-Balbin) during her interview; see USC, VHA, 4286.

[38] AAN, 1582, Collection of the working-class movement members' personal files, 2002, Irena Szczypiorska's Files. "At first he would bring various valuables for his wife from her parents in the ghetto, and later he began to trade on a larger scale and hang out with some shady characters," remembers Irena Szczypiorska (ibidem, Z pamiętnika okupacyjnego [From the occupation diary], p. 106).

[39] "Every member of the Polish Workers' Party to become a soldier in the People's Guard" – this resolution was adopted "at the PPR's foundation meeting held on January 5, 1942 at comrade Juliusz Rydygier's [place] at 18 Krasiński Street," remembers Franciszek Łęczycki (idem, "W szeregach walki o niepodległą i sprawiedliwą [In the ranks of the struggle for the independent and just (Poland)]," in *Wspomnienia warszawskich peperowców 1939–1944* [Memoirs of Warsaw PPR members1939–1944] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1963), p. 47.

[40] After Piotr Wróbel, who quotes Bernard Mark, Wacław Poterański, and Wacław Jabłoński (Wróbel, "Wokół problemu rezydentury NKWD…,", p. 207).

[41] Władysław Bartoszewski, *1859 dni Warszawy* [1859 days of Warsaw] (Cracow: Znak, 1984), pp. 296–297.

[42] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 13.

[43] Izolda Kowalska-Kiryluk 'Krystyna', "W warszawskiej organizacji [In the Warsaw organization]," in *Wspomnienia warszawskich peperowców*…, p. 371.

the 'Aryan' side on their own, utilizing private acquaintances from outside the party. For instance, Wigdor Margulies (Stanisław Sierpiński) was brought out of the ghetto on August 17, by Emma Fiebig, a nurse who before the war had worked with him in the Zofiówka hospital in Otwock.[44] Ignacy Rotfarb (Robb-Narbutt), who in summer 1942 worked at the Toebbens workshop, was brought out by Mrs. Komornicka. Rotfarb remembered:

> A traditionalist, the professor's wife devoted her energy to rescuing Jews. She escorted me to the other side of the wall and let me stay in her home. She then returned for my mother, wife, and brother. My mother refused to cross for the time being. My wife crossed to the other side. When Mrs. Komornicka returned to the ghetto once again my brother was already gone and my mother was dead.[45]

After losing their families, some of the communist youth formed a commune at 23 Nowolipie Street, while others worked just across in Schultz's workshop. They were trying to contact their comrades on the other side. Two messengers were sent outside the ghetto but neither returned. One might have been Henia Krakowska (Halina Jarosławska), who remembered: "I live because I was ordered by the party to leave the ghetto and establish contact with the 'Aryan' side – if I had not left, I would have been deported with everybody else. I did not even bid proper farewell to my family when I was leaving the ghetto. I did not know that I would never return."[46] She then said that on August 26, 1942 her brother[47] and Józef Lewartowski escorted her to the gate of the cemetery, through which she was to leave the ghetto. The latter gave her 50 zlotys and three addresses on the 'Aryan' side, to which she was to go. Unfortunately, "there was nobody on the 'Aryan' side. It was the period of 'Faja''s capture and murder. The apartments were sealed. I was left with nothing, no addresses, no contacts. All I had was the

[44] YVA, O.3/3405, Testimony of Stanisław Sierpiński. He says more about Emma in „Pogaduszki". Emma Fiebig (Fibich) was an extraordinary person. Of German origin, during the war she signed the *Volksliste* and saved a number of Jews in the ghetto; she brought them to the 'Aryan' side and obtained 'Aryan' papers for them. She was arrested in 1943 for falsifying documents and helping Jews. She was sentenced to five years in a maximum-security prison. When after the war an investigation was launched in connection with her signing of the *Volksliste*, many witnesses emphasized Emma's selflessness and courage. The investigation was discontinued (see Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej [Archive of the Institute for National Remebrance, hereafter: AIPN], GK 453/235). In 1986, Fiebig was awarded the Righteous Among the Nations medal.

[45] AIPN, 0298/929, Dot. Narbutta Ignacego [Concerning Narbutt Ignacy], Testimony of Ignacy Robb-Narbutt, p. 69.

[46] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[47] Daniel Krakowski: musician, who before the war played viola in the orchestra of the Warsaw Philharmonic, then in the ghetto – in the orchestra giving concerts at the Femina Theater; he did not survive.

dress I was wearing."[48] Henia did not return to the ghetto. She did not manage to carry out the order.

In late August, the PPR sent three more female messengers to an old party address in the Wola district hoping that they would manage to contact partisans. Unfortunately, in early September the PPR learned about the dramatic finale of that expedition. Anita Duracz remembers:

> we received a letter smuggled from Elza 'Długa Krysia', who later became Mołojec's messenger, Małgosia Zalcstejn, and Zosia Jamajka. […] After reaching the apartment the young women were escorted to a park in Wola, purportedly to meet with some contact. All three of them were raped and left to fend for themselves. […] That was tragic. It was a heaviest blow – that was the first time we fully realized that we were cut off, paralyzed, and left to our own devices, or actually to our own complete helplessness. […] Nevertheless, we could not explain to ourselves why the party on the outside could not find any way to reach us through some channels and transfer some [information?] to us. The telephones in the ghetto were still operative, Josif Lewartowski still had a telephone, and other people outside still had some contact channels which could have been used.[49]

As all Jews in the ghetto, PPR leaders and those of other underground sections were depressed and devastated by the situation. Some fell into the German hands (including Josef Kapłan and others from the ŻOB command, captured on September 3, 1942), many died in Treblinka, others committed suicide (including PPR member Zygmunt Gotlib 'Zyga' and his wife). The PPR did not provide help even to Lewartowski:

> In danger of being captured by the Germans and escorted to the Umschlagplatz, Josif Lewartowski, who was already in hiding, called the last number of the party's Central Committee which he had. It had been given to him in case of some emergency. He asked the leadership outside the ghetto what to do and […] asked for [...] help with his escape so that he could carry on his activity – as we know he was lame, a cripple. And he was purportedly told from the other side: "You have to try to find personal contacts using personal channels." The next day Josif Lewartowski was taken to the Umschlagplatz.[50]

Despite the sense of abandonment, and disillusion about and disappointment with comrades across the wall, PPR activists in the ghetto decided to send more messengers. The person to leave and establish some contact was randomly selected – Henia Mączkowska (Anita Duracz) left the ghetto on September 24.

[48] USC, VHA, 4011, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[49] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, pp. 16–17, 25.

[50] Ibidem, p. 35. According to the testimony given by Anita Duracz's husband, Jerzy, Lewartowski purportedly called straight from the Umschlagplatz and committed suicide after that conversation (YVA, O.3/3587, p. 53).

On the 'Aryan' Side

Leaving the ghetto was not technically difficult but one had to have somewhere to go to and establishing contact with people from the underground – in hiding, often changing their accommodations – wasn't easy. And it wasn't only Jews who'd left the ghetto in summer 1942 who sought contact with the party. The same held true for other activists, old communists also seeking access to the newly established PPR. Stanisława Sowińska (Necha Zalcman) remembered the time she came to Warsaw from Baranowicze in early 1942, equipped with an address in the Grochów neighborhood from Henryk Kotlicki, where she was to wait for contact with the organization. Time dragged on. Having no source of livelihood, she and her husband were starving. One day on a tram they came across a prewar comrade from Łódź, Czesława Szymańska (Celka Libhaber 'Celina'), who had a good job as a maid. She first fed them and then escorted them to the smuggler 'Stacha', a woman who had the right contacts. 'Stacha' also had a big heart and held to no conspiratorial rules. Her apartment in the Marymont neighborhood turned out to be a:

> true haven, a real home to every GL soldier coming to Warsaw with a report, every messenger, Soviet partisan, escapee from German captivity, and Jewish ghetto escapee who was seeking contact with a combat organization. Her home was an archive, arsenal, printing shop, hotel, and inn. All those who were looking for shelter found a haven and protection at 'Stacha''s.[51]

There Sowińska managed to establish contact with the party. She and her husband rented a small room at 31 Nowogrodzka Street.

This was one of two addresses Rachela Kleiner received when she and Lola Hocherman from her prewar cell left the ghetto in autumn 1942. They came to Sowińska ('Natalia') unexpectedly, apparently to her dissatisfaction. Let me quote from Rachela Kleiner's memoir including the parts from the typescript that are crossed out, which describe her actual feelings. Rachela writes:

> When [Sowińska] saw the suspicious faces of her guests she ~~simply~~ could not ~~contain her anger~~ get control of her anxiousness. […] The apartment was strewn with illegal publications and amidst all that appeared guests ~~with doom gazing out from their eyes~~. […] Making matters worse, during that conversation came two Jewish comrades – a married couple from Otwock, who were asking for help. ~~The amount of anger directed against that couple was double.~~ […] They accused Natalia of lack of compassion and simple cruelty, because when they came safe and sound to the only place where they expected help from their party comrades ~~they were thrown out onto the street like dogs~~. And they were tragically right too.[52]

[51] Stanisława Sowińska 'Barbara', *Lata walki* [Years of struggle] (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1962), p. 21.

[52] AŻIH, 302/201, Pamiętnik Racheli Kleiner [Diary of Rachel Kleiner], pp. 55–56.

Contacting the party was not easy, particularly after the period of discoveries and arrests, that is, from summer to autumn 1942, when this was of vital importance to many activists then leaving the ghetto. Sent to the other side of the wall, Henia Mączkowska (Anita Duracz) was attacked immediately past the gate by a group of *szmalcowniks*:

> they told me to undress, they stripped me of everything. […] I had left with a briefcase and I had two sweaters on and a coat. They pushed me into a toilet in the tenement courtyard and told me to take off my clothes. They wanted to take away my coat too and leave me in my shirt. I begged them into leaving me my coat.[53]

Henia found shelter at first at her father's friends, the Markowskis, in the Wola neighborhood, and immediately sought contact with the party. "I had several old addresses and telephone numbers. Whatever doors I knocked on or telephone number I tried to call I got no response. The doors were locked […] I found the apartments sealed by the Gestapo."[54] That had to do with 'Faja''s having been exposed, which I have already discussed, after which the PPR had to liquidate a number of clandestine apartments and change addresses. Three weeks later Henia found Kazik Dębiak through the agency of her Spartakus friends and then met, through his initiative, with Franciszek Jóźwiak 'Witold', a GL commander. He "forbade [her] to return to the ghetto and tasked her with organizing contact with the ghetto and a supply of weapons when that would become feasible. She was also to carry out Main Staff orders – after Faja's arrest the party outside the ghetto was in dire need of new members."[55]

Several days later, Henia (Anita) came across Halina Jarosławska (Henia Krakowska) at a tram stop at the corner of Marszałkowska Street and Jerozolimskie Avenue. She, having left the ghetto a month before Henia (Anita), was still desperately seeking contact with the party. She was living at a friend of her brother's place, a Polish woman married to a Jewish violinist, where Halina's younger brother, Samek, was also hiding. As he had been leaving the ghetto some *szmalcowniks* robbed him of everything including the saxophone that was his source of livelihood. Samek reached his sister in the apartment on Hipoteczna Street only in his long johns.[56] In spite of contacting Sowińska, Rachela Kleiner did not manage to contact partisan units: "This is not easy for those whose 'crime'

[53] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 22.

[54] Ibidem, p. 23.

[55] Ibidem, p. 29. The party's "dire need of new members" indicates how few the PPR members must have been at that time. Estimating the number of communist activists in occupied Warsaw is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Piotr Gontarczyk writes that "the party's central apparatus associated between 50 and 100 people, depending on the period." See idem, *Polska Partia Robotnicza. Droga do władzy (1941–1944)* [Polish Workers' Party. The road to power (1941–1944)] (Warsaw: Fronda, 2006), p. 99.

[56] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

is written out on their faces."[57] She and Lola Hocherman left for the ghetto in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski; from there they fled during deportations and survived the war as forced laborers in Germany.

I do not intend to commit much space here to PPR aid to Jews during the uprising in the ghetto, for this topic is relatively well researched and has been described in numerous articles, memoirs, and recollections.[58] Contacts with the communists are also discussed in detail by Yitzhak Zuckerman (Icchak Cukierman), a ŻOB representative on the 'Aryan' side.[59] Let me reemphasize only that the ŻOB maintained contact with the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*, AK) and with the GL, and that both those organizations were helping the ghetto fighters from the outside by attacking German posts and trying to tear the wall down in certain spots.[60] Jerzy Duracz, GL task-force member, recalls that while they couldn't deliver weapons to the ghetto, having almost none, once they learned on April 19, 1943 that the "ŻOB leadership was requesting liquidation of the machine gun on Bonifraterska Street," they all volunteered. The operation was carried out by five people, including 'Jacek' (unit leader Franciszek Bartoszek), 'Tadek' (Zygmunt Bobowski), Niuta Tajtelbaum ('Wanda Witwicka'), and Duracz. While 'Jacek' threw grenades at the machine-gun nest, the others were fireing, killing or wounding the Germans operating the machine gun and the blue policemen providing them cover.[61] Communists also helped evacuate ghetto insurgents – they led two groups out, on April 24 and May 10. Franciszek Łęczycki took part in the latter operation and remembers:

> On May 10 in the morning we liquidated a German gendarme and the blue policeman who had their post by the hatch to the sewer on Prosta Street. That way we were able to remove from the sewer a group of ghetto

[57] AŻIH, 302/201, Pamiętnik Racheli Kleiner, p. 55.

[58] See, for instance, Bernard Mark, *Powstanie w getcie warszawskim* [Warsaw Ghetto uprising] (editions from 1953–1959); Anka Grupińska, *Odczytanie listy. Opowieści o powstańcach żydowskich* [Reading the list. Stories about Jewish insurgents] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2003); Dariusz Libionka, Laurence Weinbaum, *Bohaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze. Wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego* [Heroes, hoaxers, descriptors. Around the Jewish Military Union] (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Marek Edelman, *Getto walczy. Udział Bundu w obronie getta warszawskiego* [Ghetto fights. The Bund's participation in the defense of the Warsaw ghetto] (Łódź: CK Bund, 1945); Cywia Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt*, trans. Ishai Tubbin (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Am Oved Publishing Houses, 1981); Leon Najberg, *Ostatni powstańcy getta* [The last ghetto insurgents] (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1993). Yehuda Bauer mentions this in his anniversary text: "Powstanie w getcie warszawskim. Nowe spojrzenie [The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. A new perspective]," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 14 (2018): 25–42.

[59] See Yitzhak ('Antek') Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, trans. Barbara Harshav (Berkeley: California University Press, 1993).

[60] See, for instance, Tomasz Strzembosz, *Akcje zbrojne podziemnej Warszawy 1939–1945* [Armed actions of underground Warsaw 1939–1945] (Warsaw: PIW, 1983).

[61] YVA, O.3/3587, Testimony of Anita Duracz, pp. 36–38.

> fighters, who had been escorted underground by our fellow GL members. The fighters were utterly exhausted and swaying, intoxicated by the fresh air. We put them into the car we had waiting, covered with a tarpaulin. It took them to the Kampinos Forest.[62]

Most of the insurgents died later, denounced by Poles or in partisan combat.

Daily Life in the Network

Having described the genesis of the Warsaw Jewish communist milieu and the fates of some of its leaders, let me take a look at everyday functions in the party network, the resources and help of which were used by Jews in hiding. As I have mentioned, this was an exclusive network with certain unique characteristics.

First of all, many of the Jews in its sphere of influence weren't in hiding only because they were Jewish. They were also hiding as conspirators, as were the others. They belonged to a persecuted minority – a political one, not an ethnic one. That had psychological significance, for they did not feel excluded, isolated, or cut off from their milieu. Quite the opposite: they operated in a group united by a strong sense of community and shared viewpoints. It was bound by ideological ties, a similar worldview, tested friendships, and often also partner relations or marriages.

Second, within this framework of the communist network, the Jews actively participated in the struggle against the Germans, which was of great importance for many of them. The need to avenge one's family and friends in the face of mass extermination often provided additional motivation to fight. Most all of the young Jews in ghettos dreamed of joining partisan forces.

Third, the communist milieu had been experienced at conspiracy since 1919. Władysław Bieńkowski remembered that:

> the communists were born conspirers – they were also operating in secret from Polish society. […] The communists were generally much better at conspiracy than AK members, [who] almost paraded around, manifesting their organizational affiliation through clothing, for instance, as an AK officer would typically wear high boots.[63]

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[62] AAN, 2795/411, Ryszard Nazarewicz's files, „Sprawy żydowskie" [Jewish affairs]. This file includes a newspaper clipping, "'People from the other side of the wall were not alone,' says Franciszek Łęczycki." Unfortunately, it remains unknown what newspaper ran it and when it was published. I will neither go into the details of the evacuation nor assert to what extent bringing insurgents out of the ghetto was financially motivated. Once familiar with the reality of the occupation period, one should assume those fighters weren't brought out by the sewermen for free.

[63] Władysław Bieńkowski's conversation with his son Andrzej. I am grateful to Professor Bieńkowski for making this recording available to me. Anula Duracz's recollections maintain a similar vein: "taking into consideration conspiratorial conditions, our milieu was relatively tightly knit. We had been relatively accustomed to keeping our activity secret – of course

Daily life in the communist network's scope consisted of several matters central to its functioning, such as the roof over communists' heads, documents, and livelihoods. Let's take a closer look at those issues.

A p a r t m e n t s, often allocated by the organization or rented privately (for instance, through a classified ad), frequently served as storehouses for illegal publications, places of illegal meetings, and places spend the night for activists in danger or those who had been denounced. To best maintain secrecy, multiple activities could not be undertaken in one place. Thus communists were to divide dangers instead of accumulating them, yet in practice that often proved impossible. Kleopatra Pawłowska, a Polish woman associated with communists helping Jews, remembers: "I had trouble combining two very different forms of activity. Those activities – providing shelter to Jews, and meetings of left-wing activists from the underground movement – were both highly illegal. They did not match well, so I had to maneuver to reconcile them."[64] Others managed to "maneuver," too. Memoirs and testimonies discuss accumulating various forms of activity in one place, for example, at the home of Stanisława Sowińska – or 'Stasia' – in the Marymont neighborhood, and at Henryk Kotlicki's place. "The apartment where he [Henryk] lived with his wife[65] at 27 Chocimska Street was a hideout through which numerous ghetto escapees passed, and comrades operating outside it who were in hiding."[66] As Jerzy Duracz added in his testimony recorded for Yad Vashem in 1972:

> the Kotlickis' was a safe haven for those who were in danger because of both their national origin and involvement in the resistance movement. […] Along with Niuta [Tajtelbaum] in that apartment, there were often people from the ghetto who were staying on the 'Aryan' side. They spent the night or paid social visits […]; that home was the only place where after curfew […] one could have an illusion of a friendly, peaceful haven, normal life under conspiracy conditions. Nevertheless, everybody was aware that we were sitting on a volcano. […] That home made you feel the atmosphere of brotherhood. […] We slept on the floor side by side, we ate from one bowl, and we were a community that was practically like family. A community of people united by a common goal, one cause, and a sense of internal solidarity.[67]

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not to the extent the situation at that time demanded, but that fact was not neglected. We had developed our organizational forms, distribution practices, and systems of exchange of materials and information" (AAN, 1581/R-124, Organizacja Młodzieży Socjalistycznej „Spartakus" w latach 1935–1941 [Organisation of Socialist Youth 'Spartacus' 1935–1941], Testimony of Anula Duracz, p. 30).

[64] YVA, O.3/2515, Testimony of Kleopatra Pawłowska. She helped numerous Jews and in 1964 was awarded the Righteous Among the Nations medal.

[65] According to Jerzy Duracz, Halina Kotlicka, Henryk's wife, had fled the Warsaw ghetto but stayed indoors due to her 'bad' appearance (YVA, O.3/3587, p. 20).

[66] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 40.

[67] YVA, O.3./3587, Testimony of Anita Duracz, pp. 21–22.

Henryk Kotlicki remembered the Chocimska Street apartment being found for him (and for Wacław Sobierajski, with whom he arrived from Baranowicze) by Maria Adamkowska, a teacher awarded in 1963 with the Righteous Among the Nations medal. Mrs. Adamkowska sheltered a few Jews in her apartment and also "provided invaluable help in every enterprise, be that finding accommodation for comrades in hiding or an apartment for a conference or party meeting."[68] And she:

> found the apartment on Chocimska Street […] through her friends. The apartment owner, Irena Pulczyńska, moved with her husband and children to her father's […]. That apartment soon became a transitional shelter for a number of comrades. Seeing ever-new faces when visiting, the owners suspected that we were making money off their apartment by accommodating other people. After some time, however, they understood the situation and accepted it.[69]

Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak reported that Kotlicki's apartment was:

> in the annex, on the third floor. It was a suite of two rooms plus a small corridor and kitchen. That apartment was strange – it was filled with blank forms; *Kennkartes*; birth, marriage, and death certificates; housing-registration slips; seals; and various sorts of papers. There was also a small arsenal of weapons – several pistols, grenades, and ammunition, which members of the central task force of the People's Guard (the Waryński detachment) used to carry out combat operations. […] 27 Chocimska Street was the scene of meetings between numerous PPR activists and partisans. The door to that truly partisan apartment was always open to GL members. All one had to do was knock in the agreed manner: three knocks in quick succession followed by a short break and two more knocks. And then the door would open.[70]

Surprisingly, there was no instance of being exposed in that apartment where all conspiratorial rules were being ignored. In late spring (or early summer) of 1944 the Germans did come there, but they must have had inexact information because they went to the neighbor, who "said nothing and, resigned, endured the beating and the vandalization of that apartment during the brutal search. In the morning she warned us about the danger."[71] At Kotlicki's then were contraband and weapons and also numerous guests: "along with my mother and wife, my

[68] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working-class movement activists, 3018, Henryk Kotlicki, Z dokumentem dla „nicht Deutsche" w kieszeni [With a document for 'nicht Deutsche' in the pocket], p. 9.

[69] Ibidem.

[70] Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak, *Gorące dni* [Hot days] (3rd edition, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo MON, 1971), pp. 8–9.

[71] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working-class movement activists, 3018, Henryk Kotlicki, Z dokumentem „nicht Deutsche" w kieszeni, p. 10.

wife's sisters, and my sister-in-law […] in our apartment also lived the Duraczs […] and several more people."[72] The apartment was vacated the next day and when Mrs. Pulczyńska "found out that we had nowhere to go to she took us to Zielonka, where her family lived."[73]

The conspiratorial rules couldn't be adhered to for three reasons. First, demand for safe apartments in Warsaw was being generated from all factions of the underground. Second, the lease market was busy, as is evident in the daily number of classified ads in *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*. Third, human organizational and scheduling capacity was limited. Time and space simply couldn't be stretched enough to follow safe rules that should have been maintained in the midst of illegal activity. Even more, moral stances proved more important than secrecy: "the Main Staff forbid us from taking in people who had nothing to do with our conspiratorial functions," writes Stanisława Sowińska. "But how could we have refused shelter to people who were fleeing death?"[74]

The Duraczs also lived for some time in a PPR apartment. Anita remembered her efforts to get help for her father and uncle:

> At that time we were living in a clandestine apartment, where weapons were stored waiting to be fixed. There was a strict ban on bringing anybody into that apartment. But it was located on the first floor and you could see everything through the windows [Siennicka Street, the Grochów neighborhood]. […] The caretaker peeked in and saw everything […]. In short, there were absolutely no conditions for sheltering my father or uncle, or anybody for that matter. In sheer desperation, my husband went to Jóźwiak and simply threatened that we would shoot each other and my father and uncle as the last resort if he wouldn't responsibly assign a liaison to take them to a partisan unit[75] into which two Jewish comrades who were willing to join the fight could be safely transferred, and if he wouldn't ensure their inclusion in such a detachment. 'Witold' promised us the matter would be taken care of.[76]

The father and uncle joined Chil Grynszpan's detachment.[77] Both survived the war.

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[72] Ibidem.

[73] Ibidem. According to Kleopatra Pawłowska's testimony, after the Chocimska Street arrangement had been exposed, Halina Kotlicka lived at her place for a time (YVA, O.3/2515).

[74] Sowińska, *Lata walki*, pp. 64–65.

[75] Two earlier attempts to join a partisan unit proved unsuccessful. For the first, the father and uncle of Henia (Anita) returned to Warsaw in their underwear after being robbed by a liaison. For the second, the GL liaison did not show up for the meeting.

[76] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 47.

[77] Chil Grynszpan: born in 1916 in Sosnowica, commander in a partisan unit subordinated to the AL, which had some 200 members, mainly Jews who fled from ghettos and camps in the Lublin region and which operated from the Parczew Forest. After the war Grynszpan worked in the People's Militia. Emigrated to Brazil in 1948. Died in 1998 in Rio de Janeiro.

Documents posed another issue fundamental for operating on the 'Aryan' side. These were sometimes issued on the basis of actual birth certificate of someone who had in fact passed away. For instance, Henia Krakowska received a birth certificate from Anita Duracz of the latter's prewar maid and she then survived the war as Natalia Wiśniewska, born in Kutno.[78] Klara Kaufman received the birth certificate of Wacława Adamkiewicz, who had died as a child. The late Wacława had been a niece of Włodzimierz Zawadzki, a communist whom Klara married before the war.[79]

Blank forms could be obtained, for instance, by an acquaintance working at town hall[80] or from partisans, which was more unusual. Wigdor Margulies (Stanisław Sierpiński) recalls partisan operations in the field: "we attacked commune offices, we destroyed lists of cattle quotas, *Kennkartes*, and other documents. I also found blank prewar IDs. […] I left several of them for myself and after my return I gave them to Wolański, who made prewar IDs for me and himself."[81]

Nevertheless, the underground's main source of documents was cells producing false papers for their own needs. Most valuable were real *Kennkartes* based on false birth certificates. Other documents were needed for this, as discussed by the director of one PPR "Passport Bureau":

> we equipped a given comrade not with one specific document but with a full set of documents, which was safer when one had to prove one's identity. […] Such a set consisted of a *Kennkarte*, work record, marriage certificate, birth certificate, even a death certificate for a family member. […] Such sets consisted of six or seven, sometimes even as many as nine individual documents issued under one surname. […] Also, we often produced ever-new documents for one comrade when he changed his name because the apartment where he stayed was no longer safe or because he changed his job, etc.[82]

The quality of papers produced this way lets us imagine how important – for safety considerations – such access was to the underground network for Jews in

[78] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[79] USC, VHA, 44561, Interview with Wacława Grudzińska. Włodzimierz's actual name was Aleksandrow, as his father was a Russian married to a Pole. A communist, he had false papers in which his surname was Zawadzki, which stuck. His mother had a sister in Skarżysko-Kamienna, whose two daughters died of difterite in their childhood. Klara's sister got one of their birth certificates and became Romana Adamkiewicz, while Klara got the other one. The brother-in-law's mother, Mrs. Aleksandrow, registered Klara retrospectively at her place near Warsaw, which helped her obtain perfectly legal false papers.

[80] USC, VHA, 29014, Interview with Krystyna Arciuch. She remembers that her cousin, the attorney Stefan Feisten, worked at town hall and provided such blank forms.

[81] USHMM, 2004.331.1, Wiera Sierpinska Papers, Stanisław Sierpiński, „Pogaduszki", p. 18.

[82] AAN, 1581/R-236, Centralna paszportówka PPR [PPR central passport bureau], Testimony of Zofia Strzelecka, p. 39.

hiding. There was a huge difference between a full set of documents falsified by the "Central Passport Bureau" and a poorly falsified *Ausweis* or a completely fake birth certificate expensively bought by a 'civilian' Jew hiding on the 'Aryan' side!

One of the individuals who worked for some time in the communist "Central Passport Bureau"[83] was Henryk Kotlicki. He wrote in detail about the great meticulousness required for the production of fake documents:

> One had to find a model in the form of a birth certificate issued in an area from which it would prove difficult to verify if the document had actually been issued or not. We managed to obtain such a document. It was from the Vilnius area […], it had been used five times, I think. Based on the original, we printed blank documents; the parish stamp and the priest's signature were forged. The remaining data were filled in depending on the need at the moment. I also obtained […] an original birth certificate written in Old Russian, issued in Siberia. Some elderly comrade needed it. […] that model was also used […] several more times. […] once or twice I was commissioned to produce not only a birth certificate, but also a marriage certificate. Apparently, the goal was a set of documents for a married woman to obtain her ID. As for work records, I managed to obtain a few [...] from a garage on Wronia Street. […] I obtained that contact through the agency of Mrs. Adamkowska.[84]

Maria Adamkowska also proved helpful when it came to housing registration, as administrator of a residential building on Wronia Street. She kept the registry, which enabled her to register extra residents (often without the tenants' knowledge). A registration document and a birth certificate were the basis for one's *Ausweis* to be issued, while to register one's residency elsewhere, a document of deregistration was necessary.[85]

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[83] "Its counterpart, at the AK, was truly extensive and had index files and a large staff. By contrast, ours was a very modest bureau. Nevertheless, at least three to four people were busy working there all day. […] That was not done for free," says Jadwiga Mijalowa. This gives us a certain impression about the scale of demand for documents, the time needed to produce them meticulously, and how much they must have cost (AAN, 1581/R-236, Centralna paszportówka PPR [PPR central passport bureau], Testimony of Jadwiga Mijalowa, p. 6).

[84] Ibidem, Testimony Henryk Kotlicki, pp. 2–3.

[85] Housing registration was relatively complicated, particularly since the autumn of 1943, when the Germans altered the registration regulations and, as Basia Temkin-Bermanowa recalled, "introduced new white forms with German-Polish printed text, identical for permanent and temporary residents. One had to fill in three such forms (providing one's personal data and *Kennkarte* number), have them stamped by the administrator, and then submit them in person to the registration bureau. After an ID check, one copy stamped by the bureau was returned to the petitioner, while the other two were sent to the central bureau. From there one was sent to the address bureau and the other to the [Polish] criminal police to verify whether or not a given person was on the wanted list. The petitioner returned to the administrator with the stamped form and on that basis his name was entered into the register of residents of the given residential building" (Basia Temkin-Bermanowa, *Dziennik*

Kotlicki also produced other types of documents – doctors' IDs and passes – for the making of which he used his own pass from Baranowicze as model. He remembered that he was ordered to make three sets of such documents. "Those documents came in very handy when it came to proving one's identity, particularly in Warsaw where they were not particularly popular."[86] When it came to fake IDs, being inadequately alert could have tragic consequences. For instance, that led to the exposure of Cesia Libhaber (Czesława Szymańska), as discussed by Jadwiga Mijalowa:

> extending certain documents often proved very complicated, for stamps were sometimes stuck on them, which differed in color depending on the month, or were printed in a different way: the print was sometimes intaglio, sometimes relief and, making matters worse, the ink color kept changing too – so one had to keep abreast of the changes.[87] […] Celina Szymańska's exposure resulted from our failure to learn in time about such a change. But Celina was smart in claiming that she had bought the pass on the Kercelak market and that she was leaving for trading reasons. And that was why this didn't end with her dead but detained in a camp.[88]

Henryk Kotlicki remembers that through the agency of his friend, the former judge Zygmunt Kaczyński, he obtained actual *Kennkartes* for people who were not party members.[89] I suspect that those were family members of other Jews not connected with the PPR. In Zofia and Czesław Strzelecki's testimony recorded for the Party History Institute, they state that some 10,000 sets of documents were produced – surely more than were needed for party members, even if some those documents were produced for partisans or commissioned from Cracow or other towns and cities.[90] Some of those false papers, as one may suppose, were sold, which might have constituted one of the party's sources of financing, as demand for them was enormous during the occupation. What's more, underground authorities were certainly unaware of this trade in documents, which provided extra income for certain individuals.

L i v e l i h o o d s constituted another everyday problem. Henryk Kotlicki, who had his own sources of income, writes: "During the occupation I did not have a job, nor did I receive a salary from the party. I dabbled in trade. Moreover, my brother who was interned in Switzerland sent me watches every month, which

z podziemia [Diary from the Underground], eds Anka Grupińska and Paweł Szapiro (Warsaw: ŻIH and Twój Styl, 2000), p. 114).

[86] AAN, 1581/R-236, Centralna paszportówka PPR [PPR central passport bureau], Testimony of Henryk Kotlicki, p. 4.

[87] Zofia Strzelecka remembered at least 17 people who regularly informed them about changes being introduced (ibidem, Testimony of Zofia Strzelecka, p. 14).

[88] Ibidem, Testimony of Jadwiga Mijalowa, pp. 18–19.

[89] Ibidem, Testimony of Henryk Kotlicki, p. 5.

[90] Ibidem, Testimony of Zofia Strzelecka and Czesław Strzelecki.

I sold. For I was looking after his wife and our mother."[91] He must have been faring quite well, or at least that was how he was seen by his comrades living hand to mouth. "Some of our wealthier friends, usually Heniek Kotlicki, would sometimes share their money with us," remembers Stanisława Sowińska. "And then we would go to the soup kitchen on the fourth floor at 5 Nowogrodzka Street, which was run by nuns, probably Sisters of Charity. Lunches were relatively cheap there. You could buy a half-portion of soup and a slice of bread."[92]

Dr. Wigdor Margulies (Stanisław Sierpiński) was involved in various income-generating activities – after leaving the ghetto in the autumn of 1942, he began to trade "'I used to buy the old stuff from the Szwarcs. Our partnership did not last long, because we drank the money we earned. […] In December I met Borys Szereszewski, a storeman from Zofiówka."[93] This man recruited Margulies into the bread trade, which continued for several months. They transported bread from Miedzeszyn to Warsaw. In March 1943, Dr. Margulies was sent to the partisans to provide medical training.

Mieczysław Kowalik-Kowadło, whom I have mentioned, supported himself on tutoring and cake peddling. Janina Neudingowa[94] also peddled cakes, supported by a small occupational-help network of psychologists and pedagogues, students of Prof. Stefan Baley. "To support her family during the occupation [Romana Duraczowa] had to peddle bread to shops."[95] Krystyna Arciuch traded gingerbread from a baby carriage when out on walks with her daughter: "the gingerbread was on top and underneath was a large basket with a whole lot more gingerbread. And she had her child in there too. She wasn't afraid of roundups so later she distributed gingerbread full time and traveled the city far and wide."[96]

Wacława Grudzińska, who returned to Warsaw in autumn 1941, found a job as a maid in the home of a somewhat antisemitic family who lived in the Żoliborz quarter and read *Biuletyn Informacyjny*.[97] She quit that job when she became active in the party – she became a PPR secretary in the Bródno quarter and then in Wola. During our conversation she said that those who were able to support themselves received no money from the party though it did aid those who needed a source of livelihood. Grudzińska earned her living rolling cigarettes at her neighbor's after curfew. For 100 cigarettes she received 50 groszys and a large plate of soup. Busy taking care of party business during the day, she would not have been able to take up any other form of employment. The PPR

[91] Ibidem, Testimony of Henryk Kotlicki, p. 11.

[92] Sowińska, *Lata walki*, p. 27.

[93] USHMM, 2004.331.1, Wiera Sierpinska Papers, Stanisław Sierpiński, „Pogaduszki", p. 20.

[94] USC, VHA, 25565, Interview with Janina Neuding.

[95] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working class movement activists, 1350, [Romana Duraczowa's files], p. 5.

[96] AAN, 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR [PPR Warsaw technique] 1942–1944, Testimony of Jan Tarłowski, p. 19.

[97] USC, VHA, 44561, Interview with Wacława Grudzińska.

used to buy her a monthly ticket.[98] Another activist, Halina Jarosławska, had no source of livelihood. Beginning in autumn 1942 she received "pay in the amount of 800 zlotys per month on which one could subsist on beetroot marmalade."[99] Stanisława Sowińska received 600 zlotys per month, "which seemed an exorbitant sum,"[100] while Jerzy Duracz and his wife received 500 zlotys each.[101] The party aided activists who could not support themselves and it also gave some money for their loved ones who were in hiding, for instance, for Anita Duracz's father and uncle, who were hiding in Warsaw for some time before they could be sent off to join the partisan forces.[102] Jews also received help from other sources: "the aid to the Jewish comrades was organized in the PPR by, for instance, Anatol Matywiecki 'Nastek', an officer of the AL main staff, Teodor Duracz's former apprentice who had contact with Dawid Guzik, from whom he received money to that end coming from some unspecified Jewish organizations (the Joint?)."[103]

The PPR financial affairs constitute a separate thread, which interests me only as much as it is connected with Jews on the 'Aryan' side. Money for the party was obtained by special task forces (*specgrupy*), which conducted expropriations 'exes').[104] Besides generating funds for the organization's activity, 'exes' constituted a source of moral corruption and a temptation to get rich. One GL report reads:

> Recruiting comrades Baśka, Edward, and Hubert to the task force was done by tempting them with brilliant images of well-being or even luxurious extravagance. They were assured that with little effort (some four hours per day) they would earn much more than they would with a normal job. They were promised 1,000 to 1,500 zlotys per month and a lot of new and beautiful clothes, too.[105]

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[98] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

[99] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[100] Sowińska, *Lata walki*, p. 94.

[101] YVA, O.3/3587, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 48.

[102] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

[103] Handwritten memo with the following annotation: "Ignacy Loga-Sowiński's testimony, February 15, 1983," in AAN, 2795/411, Akta Ryszarda Nazarewicza [Ryszard Nazarewicz's Files], „Sprawy żydowskie" [Jewish affairs], no pagination. I was unable to establish where the testimony is stored.

[104] According to the Free Dictionary, 'ex' (expropriation) means "taking property for public use." It is a euphemism for robbery and extortion. The 'task forces' also dealt with carrying out "death sentences on Gestapo functionaries and individuals collaborating with the occupation apparatus as well as internal sentences passed on our members who broke our organization's laws. One such criminal act subjected to capital punishment was independent robberies and getting money of one's own accord. […] For instance, I know that one such sentence was carried out […] on […] Mietek Góra. Sentences were also carried out on those who blackmailed citizens of Jewish origin," remembers Jerzy Duracz in his testimony (YVA, O.3/3587, p. 12).

[105] AAN, 191/XXI-1, Gwardia Ludowa, Obwód I Warszawski [People's Guard, Warsaw 1st Region], Raport w sprawie aresztowania tow. Huberta [Report on the arrest of comrade Hubert], p. 39.

The initially difficult financial situation of the PPR's Warsaw Committee improved after November 30, 1942, when a major 'ex' was pulled off at the Warsaw bank *Komunalna Kasa Oszczędnościowa* (Communal Savings bank). One member of the task force that staged the robbery was Stanisława Sowińska. Around a million zlotys was stolen on that occasion: "everybody in Warsaw is talking about that daring robbery. All Warsaw is happy, laughing at the Germans who collected a million zlotys and had to give it away to an underground organization."[106] Jerzy Duracz and Janina Forbert also participated in the task force's actions. The latter remembered that she took part in interesting events such as robbing a rich German and two banks as well as the murder of a dangerous German. She also asked her fellow underground activists to finish off the *szmalcownik* who was harassing her mother and those activists liquidated him.[107]

Another thread connected with daily life is the question of what Jews in the PPR actually dealt with. What did p a r t y w o r k consist of? Party activists in fact did many different things: they were transferred from one place to another, from one task to another, to where there was an employee shortage or urgent tasks needed to be performed. Of course, that contradicted conspiratorial rules,[108] but the number of PPR activists was too small to fulfill the party's ambitions and needs. I have already mentioned work in the "Passport Bureau," where Henryk Kotlicki was employed for some time. Later on, he organized the PPR's information division (its intelligence): "I collected information and transferred it to comrade Loga-Sowiński. […] He told me to organize the intelligence so I did."[109]

Stanisława Sowińska wrote more about working in the intelligence, and in a more critical vein:

> In September 1942, I was assigned by the chief of the GL main staff, Jóźwiak, to Zygmunt Mołojec as a secretary in the Information Division

[106] Sowińska, *Lata walki*, p. 102.

[107] USC, VHA, 33926, Interview with Janina Wierzbicki. Named Janina Forbert before the war, Wierzbicki joined the communists by accident. At some point while hiding on the 'Aryan' side, a few Jews hid behind the wardrobe in the apartment she lived openly in with her mother. One was Edward Lanota, a Warsaw Region officer in the People's Army (AL), who had been arrested and tortured by the Gestapo but managed to escape from a train headed for a camp. Upon his encouragement, she became an AL messenger, with the codename 'Jasia'.

[108] "PPR and GL rank-and-file members often did not abide by basic conspiratorial rules. Due to workforce shortages the most active units performed several functions at the same time, which facilitated infiltration of the PPR and GL ranks," observed Oskar Borzęcki in his article "Brygada Korwina w szeregach ZWZ–AK w latach 1941–1943 [Korwin's brigade in the ranks of the Union of Armed Struggle–Home Army (ZWZ-AK) in 1941–1943]," *Dzieje Najnowsze* 3 (2015): 55.

[109] AAN, 1581/R-236, Centralna paszportówka PPR [PPR central passport bureau], Testimony of Henryk Kotlicki, p. 10.

> of which he was director. That division had only a handful of informers whom I knew only by their codenames. Their reports, the number of which was small and which they delivered directly to Zygmunt, were not particularly important. I typed them out in four copies.[110]

Zofia Kestelman (Szyszko-Bardach)[111] and Krystyna Arciuch[112] also worked in the GL staff, while Lena Wolińska and Wacława Grudzińska worked with Jóźwiak. They began to work as "supervisors of messengers – the girls were sent off (usually three or four of them): they departed either carrying oral messages or cyphers."[113] Many of those messengers perished. Though they too belonged to the communist network, they remain in the background, often anonymous. Some, Jacheta Binsztok ('Janina Królikowska'), for example, are mentioned at times in memoirs.

> In the ghetto Binsztok was a member of all left-wing groups […] deliver[ing] documents for Jews on behalf of the PPR. […] After the ghetto was liquidated, she actively cooperated with the GL as messenger. […] A provocateur handed her over to the Gestapo […] at the Kielce railway station, where weapons and coded correspondence were found on her. She was murdered by the Gestapo in June 1943.[114]

It seems that the largest number of Jews associated with the communist network were in the party's technical support, that is, they dealt with printing and distribution of underground press. Underground left-wing press had been published by various factions since the beginning of the German occupation of Warsaw. Engaged in its organization, publication, and distribution (*Biuletyn Radiowy*, *Zwyciężymy*, *Trybuna Wolności*, *Głos Warszawy*) were Hanka Szapiro and Bela Frisz (Helena Kozłowska),[115] while Zosia Jamajka worked in printing *Gwardzista* in autumn 1942 and after being exposed was incarcerated in the

[110] AAN, 1582, Collection of personal files of working-class movement activists, 10696, Stanisława Sowińska, „Czy cel uświęca środki?" [Does the end justify the means?]. This letter was written to Władysław Machejek in Paris in May 1989, after Sowińska's departure from Poland. Nowhere else in her earlier recollections published in Poland was she as critical of the party, even though she spent five years in prison for "right-wing deviations" (1949–1954). In the letter she wrote in Paris, she responded to Marian Nowiński's article in *Życie Literackie* 3 of January 22, 1989, which concerned her knowledge of the assassinations of Marceli Nowotko and the brothers Bolesław and Zygmunt Mołojec.

[111] USC, VHA, 43325, Interview with Zofia Szyszko-Bardach. Unfortunately, Szyszko-Bardach provided no details and only mentioned that she was an AL lieutenant and staff officer.

[112] USC, VHA, 29014, Interview with Krystyna Arciuch.

[113] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

[114] AŻIH, 301/5043, Testimony of Wacław Jabłoński.

[115] Her fate, milieu, and family history were described in a very interesting way by her granddaughter Aleksandra Domańska in *Ulica cioci Oli. Z dziejów rewolucjonistki* [Aunt Ola's street. From the history of a revolutionary] (Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna, 2013).

Pawiak prison.[116] That was among several major exposures of PPR printing operations, the most disastrous of which took place on February 18, 1943, when at 23/25 Grzybowska Street about a dozen people were arrested (two took cyanide on the spot).[117] On November 26 the Gestapo "liquidated the *Reflektor* printers at 14 Nowiniarska Street and arrested its director, Ludomir Marczak, along with 14 Jewish employees of the printers."[118] Their surnames remain unknown.

Publishing one issue of a periodical (depending on which title, a print run ranged from a few hundred to a few thousand) took two days and three nights of nonstop labor, with a team consisting of "one typesetter, one greaser, one roller operator, and one layer."[119] Printing operations often changed their location, moving from place to place. For instance, between May 1942 and September 1943, *Trybuna Wolności*'s printing operation was moved nine times.[120]

Janek Tarłowski and Tadek Gąsiorowski, who set *Głos Warszawy* on Włoska Street as I mentioned at the beginning of this article, later switched it to "a building on Belwederska Street located a few buildings away, and […] Hanka Lanota [Chana Rozenberg] and Krysia Stalińska were there. Krysia brought paper, while Hanka did not leave the apartment at all because she was Jewish."[121] In a small barrack at 12 Belwederska Street, Hanka and Krysia printed illegal press with a "roller, in a primitive manner."[122] That did not last long because the printing operation on Belwederska Street was 'burnt' or put out of operation after the one on Włoska Street. Hanka wandered from place to place without an assignment

[116] "She was released after a while. Even though she was maltreated and tortured she did not confess her party affiliation. She pretended to be a girl with somewat retarded mind who happened to be in the apartment on Nowogrodzka Street," Lena Wolińska remembers. Later, Zosia died as a partisan-detachment member in the Kielce region (AŻIH, 301/6801, Testimony of Lena Danielak-Wolińska).

[117] AAN, 1581/R-100, Centralna technika PPR [PPR central technical support], Testimony of Marian Jaworski, p. 2.

[118] AAN, Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile, 202/II-44, Kronika wydarzeń na terenie m.st. Warszawy od 1 sierpnia 1942 r. do 30 kwietnia 1943(4) r. [Chronicle of events in the city of Warsaw from August 1, 1942 to April 30, 1943(4)] It remains unknown if those were really Jews.

[119] AAN, 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR [PPR Warsaw technical support] 1942–1944, Testimony of Maria Turlejska, p. 2.

[120] "On Chełmska Street, at 22 Radomska Street, on Złota Street, at 12 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, at 10 Ceglana Street, at 23/25 Grzybowska Street, at 7 Sapieżyńska Street, at 6 Mariensztat Street, at 725 Ostrobramska Street". See Bogdan Hillebrandt, "„Trybuna Wolności" – centralny organ PPR w okresie okupacji (zarys informacyjny) [*The Freedom Tribune* – the central organ of the PPR during the occupation [informative outline]," *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego* 3 (1964): 14.

[121] AAN, 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR [PPR Warsaw technical support] 1942–1944, Testimony of Halina Gąsiorowska, p. 6.

[122] USC, VHA, 17848, Interview with Hanna Lanota.

and then left to join a partisan unit. Another woman who worked for some time in technical support was Henia Krakowska (she printed *Gwardzista*),[123] while Perla Goldwag (at that time posing as Maria Kowalewska, and later as Maria Krych) was a messenger who distributed illegal press for a short period.[124]

While collecting information about the PPR's "technical division" I encountered memories of several 'background' Jews who worked in illegal printing. This information is particularly precious because it helps broaden our outlook on the network's matter and scope by those who perhaps didn't survive and those who didn't leave testimonies. One such person was Mrs. Heler, who worked as a layer in an underground print shop and had been brought from Sambor to Warsaw by Stanisław Januszkiewicz.[125] There were also two Jewish boys who did not leave the Rakowiecka Street apartment where *Trybuna Wolności* was printed: "they did not go out at all. They had been rescued from the ghetto and because of their bad appearance they could not walk in the city. They worked in isolation. They worked beautifully."[126] A Zygmunt Gerszon lived on Grochowska Street with his mother and two Jewish children whom he had rescued from a "camp near Warsaw." Meanwhile, posters and appeals were printed there. The children, six-year-old Paweł and seven-year-old Ewa, never left the apartment. "Little Paweł learned how to set type, he dismantled the sets and put them back in their cases. The girl worked, too."[127] Maria Turlejska remembers that in early 1944 after one printing operation was exposed it moved to "15 Górczewska Street, where the comrades who had escaped from the ghetto lived. I do not know their surnames. Their codenames were 'Janek' and 'Marysia' – they both perished during the uprising. Janek was a typesetter by profession and he was the one who set the first issue of *Rada Narodowa*."[128]

Some Jewish women worked as messengers, including Henia Krakowska (Halina Jarosławska), whose first job after leaving the ghetto was maintaining contact between the main staff in Warsaw and the Lublin staff. She also

[123] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[124] USC, VHA, 5218, Interview with Maria Krych.

[125] AAN, 1581/R-100, Centralna technika PPR [PPR central technical support], Testimony of Stanisław Januszkiewicz, p. 5.

[126] AAN, 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR 1942–1944 [PPR Warsaw technical support 1942–1944], Testimony of Nina Sztuczyńska, p. 7. It remains unknown what happened with these boys. This might be a reference to *Trybuna Wolności*'s printing facility at 10 Rejtan Street, which from September 1943 "operated without obstacles in one of the apartments in the building of the Second Municipal Vocational School […] until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising" (Hillebrandt, "„Trybuna Wolności" – centralny organ PPR w okresie okupacji…," p. 15).

[127] AAN, 1581/R-126, Technika warszawska PPR [PPR Warsaw technical support] 1942–1944, Testimony of Nina Sztuczyńska, p. 12. The writer does not mention what happened with the children.

[128] Ibidem, Testimony of Maria Turlejska, p. 2.

transported escaped Russian POWs to partisan units.[129] It appears that the largest number of Jews associated with the PPR and its network survived with and fought in partisan units. I shall not discuss this issue here, though, for it is not connected with hiding in Warsaw. Only a handful of this article's heroes had contact with partisan units. In autumn 1942, Kazimiera Kagan and Lena Wolińska set out to join a unit but returned from the forest after two weeks.[130] After the exposure of the printing facility on Belwederska Street in spring 1943, Hanka Lanota also joined a partisan unit near Warsaw. She remembers that the unit, commanded by 'Biały Janek', included plenty of Jews, both men and women. They attacked Germans, derailed trains, and performed other typical partisan tasks. They also met a detachment of escaped Soviet POWs, to which an assigned education officer was Hanka's acquaintance, Irena Szenberg (Tarłowska), who had also escaped from the Warsaw ghetto. During our conversation in March 1990, Irena Tarłowska remarked: "partisan detachments are a horrible place, particularly for a girl, and especially one who 'had no assignment', that is, did not join the partisan unit with her boy."[131] As for the unit she was assigned to, she said: "Everybody, perhaps save the commander, were nothing more than ordinary bandits. They had fled from the camp, formed a unit, and plundered. […] By the way, I heard horrible stories, because they had the death of a few wealthy Jews on their conscience."[132] After the commander's death she was ordered to return to Warsaw. Similarly, Hanka Lanota returned to Warsaw after being shot in the leg in a gun accident. After her departure, the detachment was denounced to the Germans by a forester. All its members died.[133] Perla Goldwag (Maria Krych) spent 14 months in the partisan forces begining in spring 1943. She too

[129] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[130] "It was too early for women's partisan activity," comments Kazimiera Kagan (AŻIH, 301/2295). Lena Wolińska gives a more detailed account of those events. The two women and Zosia Jamajka returned because the Biała Podlaska ghetto, which was their base, was being liquidated. Lena and Kazia survived the liquidation campaign in hiding, while Zosia jumped out of the train to Treblinka (AŻIH, 301/6801, Testimony of Lena Danielak-Wolińska).

[131] "W końcu wyszłam zostawiając rodziców… [In the end, I left leaving my parents…]," conversation with Irena Tarłowska," in Barbara Engelking, *Na łące popiołów. Ocaleni z Holocaustu* [In a meadow of ashes. Survivors of the Holocaust] (Warsaw: Cyklady, 1993), p. 158. During the conversation Irena Tarłowska also mentioned an AK detachment that purportedly murdered Jewish partisans.

[132] Ibidem, p. 159.

[133] Adam Szwarcfuks ('Biały Janek') was a ŻOB member. On May 10, 1943, he managed to reach Prosta Street through sewers with a group of Jewish fighters. He fought in the GL in forests near Wyszków. The detachment consisting of 20 men and 2 women (Jews and escaped Soviet POWs) spent the night of September 2 in a barn of the forester Piotr Groszkowski, by the Krawcowizna forester's lodge. The forester informed the Germans. A 40-man detachment of gendarmerie and Wehrmacht soldiers arrived from Tłuszcz and set the lodge ablaze. "Those who were trying to get out of the burning barn were shot at. The four people who had gone to the village to buy food provisions survived," Henryk Mściwój Radziszewski reported

had very unpleasant memories of that period.[134] As Ignacy Robb-Narbutt, an operations officer in the GL staff, wrote in his letter of December 21, 1943 to the PPR Central Committee, having spent several months in a forest: "What opinion do I have of the GL? A mess on top, in the military-tactical sense. Sacrifice and heroism in the middle and lower ranks."[135]

Regardless of what the Jews' tasks were, the most important thing was their work in the communist underground, which gave them (at that time) a sense of meaning, self-esteem, and agency. More importantly, they stayed busy from morning to evening. This aspect was emphasized by Wacława Grudzińska:

> I had so much [on my plate]! I had to remember about so many things that I forgot to think about my origins – I either transported illegal publications or weapons and I had to remember about meetings. We didn't take any notes. I had to memorize everything so no room was left for fear. It seems to me that this is why I managed to survive. For I had no time to think about myself, I had party business to take care of at different hours and also had to make sure I didn't linger too long in the street. We used to meet on the street; one needed to be on time, quickly take care of business and leave. So when I went to bed in the evening I would make a schedule for the next day. Where could I fit in thinking about myself as a Jewish woman?[136]

The next issue I want to discuss is s e c u r i t y. To what extent did the communist network provide Jews with a sense of security? And to what extent did they pose a danger to the network? In my view, as far the sense of one's security is concerned, Jews were confident that the communist milieu posed no threat and that they would not be denounced as Jews by any of its members. None of the testimonies mention a situation where a comrade's Jewish origin became a reason for his or her denunciation. Of course it's possible that such things happened because the sources I based this article on present but a portion of that reality. Nevertheless, every underground network's advantage is that its members are cautious and prefer not to know too much about other members. Maria Krych said that "few people knew that I was Jewish. One did not disclose that. We were in the underground and it was better not to know such things should one fall into the Gestapo's hands."[137] Similarly, during our conversation

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on February 6, 1948. Radziszewski was former chief of AK intelligence in Radzymin county (AŻIH, 301/4146).

[134] USC, VHA, 5218, Interview with Maria Krych. She kept having health problems during her time with the partisans. She remembers that her detachment was joined by three Treblinka escapees. The writer took down the testimonies of two of them and submitted them to the Jewish Historical Institute (AŻIH, 301/6795, Testimony of Maria Krych).

[135] AIPN, 0298/415, Robb-Narbutt Ignacy, son of Jan, p. 12.

[136] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

[137] USC, VHA, 5218, Interview with Maria Krych.

Wacława Grudzińska laid emphasis on the fact that in the underground members did not want to know too much about others and they did not ask questions: "We did not talk about that [our origins]."[138]

Of course, Jews in the communist network, as with many Jews on the 'Aryan' side, used various kinds of camouflage. As Henia Krakowska reported: "I had to learn how to say my prayers and how to flutter my eyelids like Polish women who did not have such a 'cosmic' stare as I did."[139] Kazimiera Kagan remembers that after leaving the ghetto she was waiting in hiding for her *Kennkarte*: "for with my *exterieure* it was difficult to actively work without any documents."[140] In the communist milieu obtaining good papers did not pose a problem and those produced by the Passport Bureau boosted the self-confidence even of those who did not have sufficiently 'Aryan' appearance. Besides, the matter of appearance was relative, perhaps depending on one's self-image and on complex psychological processes. For instance, Wigdor Margulies thought that he looked very 'Aryan'. "Many people did not know that I was Jewish. For my appearance was 'very good'," [141] he wrote in his memoir. By contrast, Ryszard Nazarewicz, who accompanied Margulies to a partisan detachment, stated that he had very bad appearance, which was why he transported him from Warsaw to Radomsko on a night train.[142]

"It was not a matter of appearance but of how one conducted oneself,"[143] concluded Wacława Grudzińska. Apparently belonging to the communist milieu, the sense of purpose, and – perhaps predominantly – being very busy were the reasons that the number of instances of blackmail was relatively small. It is also possible that due to the specificity of the group whose testimonies I have access to I am simply unaware of the actual number of such situations in that milieu. I encountered just a few mentions of blackmail. For instance, Irena Szenberg (Tarłowska) was mugged while leaving the ghetto (as was Henia Mączkowska). Later, she had contact with *szmalcowniks* on two other occasions. One apprehended her on a tram (she bought herself out for 500 zlotys, which "she carried just in case"). The third time, "two policemen came to the apartment [where many Jews were hiding] and because we had nothing to give them they agreed to return in a few days for a meeting we arranged. And when they did

[138] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

[139] USC, VHA, 40114, Interview with Halina Jarosławski.

[140] AŻIH, 301/2295, Testimony of Kazimiera Kagan. The writer of the testimony eventually did not engage in underground activity. On October 21, 1942, in the party's clandestine apartment in Warsaw's Praga quarter, she was arrested as Kazimiera Pawłowska, a Polish woman suspected of communist activity. She was taken to Daniłowiczowska Street. "The next stages were the Pawiak prison, Majdanek, Ravensbrück, and the nearby camps" (ibidem).

[141] YVA, O.3/3405, Testimony of Stanisław Sierpiński, p. 4.

[142] USC, VHA, 29246, Interview with Ryszard Nazarewicz.

[143] Conversation with Wacława Grudzińska, August 20, 2018, in the author's collection.

the AL boys were waiting for them."[144] Sometimes a quick reaction and self-confidence were enough. I'll use the example of Cesia Libhaber, who was "a real daredevil and when a *szmalcownik* stopped her in Warsaw with a typical question – 'I think you're a little Jewess, aren't you?' – she replied: 'Possibly, because my father's not known.'" Cesia looked people straight in the eye, she was brash and "did not cover her face although her appearance was not particularly good."[145]

The fact that *szmalcowniks* often stopped people randomly, including those who weren't Jewish, testifies to the extent to which they were guided exclusively by people's appearances. Zofia Strzelecka, the Passport Bureau director, was stopped three times, including twice while walking down the street accompanied by Pola Milska (Jewish and Henryk Kotlicki's sister-in-law). The first time happened on Emilia Plater Street – the *szmalcownik* let Pola walk off without even suspecting her but forced Zofia to show him her ID. The second time, the two women were surrounded on Żelazna Street by an aggressive "band of brats, boys aged eight to twelve," who also suspected only Zofia of being Jewish. The third incident took place on Ogrodowa Street, when Zofia was stopped by a plainclothes policeman who, after checking her ID, stated that "one doesn't walk the street with a face like that."[146]

Jews in the party network probably felt safer than many Jews hiding in Warsaw in different circumstances. Yet those Jews also posed an external danger to the party's underground network. According to Jerzy Duracz, there was a discussion in the party about the fact that all of 'Witold's messengers were Jewish, which was potentially dangerous.[147] His wife remembers one such dangerous situation – in autumn 1942, she was followed by *szmalcowniks* to a meeting with Franciszek Jóźwiak and Janek Wyszyński.[148] A blue policeman

[144] "W końcu wyszłam zostawiając rodziców…," conversation with Irena Tarłowska, in Engelking, *Na łące popiołów*, p. 158.

[145] USC, VHA, 44561, Interview with Wacława Grudzińska.

[146] AAN, 1581/R-236, Centralna paszportówka PPR [PPR central passport bureau], Testimony of Zofia Strzelecka, p. 47.

[147] USC, VHA, 31207, Interview with Jerzy Duracz. This referred to Niuta Tajtelbaum ('Wanda Witwicka'), Lena Wolińska, and Wacława Grudzińska. At some point, Stanisława Sowińska was also "Witold's messenger."

[148] Jan Wyszyński 'Wyga' used papers where he appeared as Gliński, a Hashomer Hatzair member; "he left the ghetto and organized aid for the ghetto on behalf of the Shomer organization; he served as messenger between the Warsaw and Częstochowa ghettos." He was murdered in autumn 1943 on Kozia Street in unclear circumstances. According to Duracz, Wyszyński used to mug people on his own initiative. "He explained to me that by taking money from the party he was a burden to it, while when he got money on his own he could relieve not only the party but also himself, because he would have more than the party could provide him with" (YVA, O.3/3587, Testimony of Jerzy Duracz, pp. 18, 48). Wyszyński escorted Lucyna Rozenberg to the 'Aryan' side, helped her find accommodations, and involved her in underground PPR activity. Lucyna took him for a Pole (USC, VHA, 43658, Interview with Łucja Stasiak).

with the group of *szmalcowniks* stormed into the Żelazna Street apartment. "They didn't take Janek Wyszyński for a Jew, but they wanted to take me to the Gestapo," Anita remembers. "I was determined to die. I felt responsible for the fate of the Main Staff's chief, whom I personally put in danger." Anita stayed in the apartment as a hostage and Jóźwiak brought money after an hour and bought her out. The *szmalcowniks* left, leaving the policeman, "whom Janek Wyszyński got completely drunk on some vodka […] later that policeman escorted us [home?] before the curfew to keep us safe."[149]

There were also instances of exposures that threatened operations of the printing facilities – the one on Ceglana Street had to be moved after two weeks. "The reason was the arrest of the layer 'Zosia'. She was of Jewish origin and due to her Semitic appearance was ordered not to leave the apartment. However, she did not strictly obey the order and one time she was stopped and arrested on the street by blue policemen. […] In connection with 'Zosia' being arrested we concluded that the printing facility be 'burnt'."[150] Czesław Mankiewicz adds that "later 'Zosia' was released for a substantial sum of money taken directly from an expropriation."[151] Her surname remains unknown. It is no wonder that, as Anita Duracz remembers, some communists were reluctant to help Jews.[152] "There was the conviction that little help should be provided to fleeing Jewish comrades trying to survive. The reason was that they posed a threat to the party's clandestine apartments, and because sending them to join partisan forces would lead to the units' 'Jewization,' that is, their unpopularity with the local peasant population."[153] Jerzy Duracz emphasized that during the uprising in the ghetto:

> Gomułka had a relatively negative approach to extricating comrades from the ghetto to the 'Aryan' side. He justified his point of view by claiming that a larger number of Jewish comrades in the party and the People's Guard would double the risk from the occupier. […] 'Witold' was of the mind that Jewish comrades had to be rescued on a larger scale. He believed that those who had a more Semitic appearance and fewer opportunities of moving about should be transferred to forest-partisan units, while comrades who looked sufficiently 'Aryan' to move about Warsaw should be retained on the spot.[154]

[149] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, pp. 35–36.

[150] AAN, 1581/R-100, Centralna technika PPR [PPR central technical support], Testimony of Marian Jaworski, p. 2.

[151] Ibidem, Testimony of Czesław Mankiewicz, p. 25.

[152] I shall not delve into the topic of antisemitism in the PPR here, for that is the subject for a separate comprehensive study. There is no doubt that antisemitism did exist. Here I shall limit myself to the context of the actual danger that Jews in hiding might have posed.

[153] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 33.

[154] YVA, O.3/3587, Testimony of Anita Duracz, pp. 52–53.

Anita Duracz is critical of the PPR's actions undertaken with regard to rescuing Jews, claiming that more could have been done and more people could have been taken from the ghetto. As a matter of fact, most (perhaps all?) of those brought to the 'Aryan' side were needed to perform party work:

> since my crossing to the 'Aryan' side, except for one instance, I had not managed to convince [party leadership] to bring anybody out, even when it was very purposeful and pragmatic to get a comrade out for him to be able to act and fight outside the ghetto. When we were short of a printer I was able to facilitate this for Ignac Fajl, who was a printer by profession. But in a number of other cases I didn't manage to save any comrades through the party's agency.[155]

Comrades' views that Duracz quotes are sad confirmation that the activists were fully aware of the high level of antisemitism in Polish society. Consequently, they acted pragmatically from the viewpoint of party interests, even if today we would call that approach inhuman.

Conclusion

The communist help network effectively concluded its operations during the Warsaw Uprising. More than a hundred AL members, including the entire leadership, died on August 26, 1944 in the New Town, in the rubble of the bombed building at 16 Freta Street. Nine hours later, three survivors, including Janina Forbert, were rescued from under the debris.[156] Communists and Jews during the uprising are a topic for an entirely different article[157] and I won't delve into this issue here.

This article presents actions of the communist underground in the context of aid provided to Jews in occupied Warsaw. I have described the exclusive associative network to help Jews formed in occupied Warsaw by communist activists, both Polish and Jewish. However, the word "formed" is inadequate here, for this network was not created for the purpose of rescuing Jews, unlike the 'Żegota' network, for instance. It was a secret network to which Jews belonged along with prewar members of the Polish Communist Party and its sympathizers, and communists from the younger generation. As members of the resistance movement they were in hiding to the same extent (or perhaps greater) as Jews were. Other Jews – the activists' families, their close or more distant friends – also used the assets of that underground network. The picture I have painted is certainly incomplete and not representative of the entire communist milieu: this depiction of that network is based predominantly on

[155] YVA, O.3/3586, Testimony of Anita Duracz, p. 34.

[156] USC, VHA, 33926, Interview with Janina Wierzbicki.

[157] See Barbara Engelking, Dariusz Libionka, *Żydzi w powstańczej Warszawie* [Jews in insurgent Warsaw] (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2009).

survivor testimonies. What is more, in their vast majority they represented the intelligentsia though party associates were laborers, too.[158] Moreover, as far as Jewish survivors are concerned, almost all of them were members of the assimilated intelligentsia.

Let us bear in mind the network's unique features: as with their comrades, Jewish network members were in hiding predominantly in connection with their illegal activities, not their origins; they took part in the struggle against the enemy; and that milieu was skilled in operating in secret. That was of paramount importance in occupied Warsaw, where numerous different underground movements operated and vast numbers of people were hiding for various reasons. But this does not mean that the communists who knew the rules formed a competent airtight underground movement. There were instances of denunciations and exposures due to a lack of cadres, bravado, stupidity, or agents' actions. But some Jews who fell into German hands on such occasions managed – owing to good papers they had, as well – to then survive concentration camps by posing as Poles.

Along with its positive aspects, the PPR network had significant limitations. One was its elite character – only a small number of people could utilize its help. The communist underground help was not so much for Jews as for Jewish comrades. Of course, its capacity (human and financial resources) was incomparably smaller than that of the ŻKN, the Bund, and 'Żegota'.[159] I cannot answer the question about the number of Jews in the communist network. How many of them survived? My completely intuitive answer would be that there were a few hundred Jews in its reach. I hope that further research will bring new information and help establish more precise data. Another kind of barrier in the PPR network was that it was accessible mostly to young assimilated Jews who could be useful to the party in some way.

Based on people united by common ideology and worldview, that associative network aided a certain number of Jews on Warsaw's 'Aryan' side. Most Jews engaged in that network took active part in anti-German conspiracies, fighting occupation forces in various ways. Their energy, involvement, courage, and creativity contradict the stereotype of the active Pole helping a Jew sitting

[158] The popularity in the ghetto of the left wing and of the PPR among tailors, shoemakers, printers, and other working-class representatives is discussed by Józef (Gitler) Barski (AŻIH, 301/5022) and Michał Jaworski (AŻIH, 301/5016), among others.

[159] Marcin Urynowicz estimates that before the Warsaw Uprising some 12,000 Jews in the city received financial aid, including 6,500 from the ŻKN, and 3,000 each from the Bund and 'Żegota'. See Marcin Urynowicz, "Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej [Organized and individual assistance of Poles to the Jewish population exterminated by the German occupiers during the Second World War]," in *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945. Studia i materiały* [Poles and Jews under German occupation 1939–1945. Studies and materials], ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: IPN, 2006), p. 238.

passively behind a wardrobe. "I owe my survival to the party," said Irena Tarłowska during our conversation."It got me out of the ghetto, gave me something to do, a job that kept me sane. I was able to fight the enemy. I felt useful."[160]

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[160] "W końcu wyszłam zostawiając rodziców…," conversation with Irena Tarłowska, in Engelking, *Na łące popiołów*, p. 161.

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