Council to Aid Jews Ż E G O T A:

with the Government Delegation for Poland and Jewish Section "ŻEGOTA" of the Internal Affairs Department of the Government Delegation for Poland

Documents from the Archives of New Records

selection and description Mariusz Olczak





Warsaw

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FOREWORD

The great, heroic effort of the Polish Underground State during World War II, which you will see described on the pages of original documents from the years 1942–1944, is not known to a wide audience in the world. Even among professional historians, that knowledge is relatively inaccessible due to the lack of translations of many of them. There were many reasons for this, including, above all, the several-decade long period of communist rule over Poland controlled by Moscow. For several decades, this fragment of Polish and Polish-Jewish history was almost completely erased from memory at first only to be retold later but in a very narrow aspect. The truth about Żegota and its activists has never been presented in Europe and worldwide in a way it deserves to be told. The communist state prevented independent historical research on Żegota. If historical texts were published at all, it was not due to the activities of the official structures of the independent state or official scientific structures, but rather an effort of independent researchers such as Teresa Prekerowa, or even former "Żegota" activists writing books about it, such as Władysław Bartoszewski, For many years, knowledge about the activities of Żegota has never been presented at conferences, symposia, or immortalized by exhibitions. It has not been dealt with scientifically as it should have been given the fact that many witnesses to the events are still alive. The Żegota activists and those helping Jews often died in oblivion, without the honors due to them and without leaving any testimony of their activity.

Let us emphasize that as very little was said and written in the world about Żegota and its heroes as was about the Polish Underground State in general, which had been the only state structure in occupied Europe operating in conspiracy. Polish emigration centers in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and other countries have recalled its history. However, these efforts were limited to a narrow circle of stakeholders.

Many of the "Righteous", nameless rescuers, and "Żegota" activists were imprisoned by the communist security police after the war. Such was the fate of the Vice-President of "Żegota", Tadeusz Rek, dit Różycki, of the aforementioned young "Żegota" activist, Władysław Bartoszewski, dit Theophilus. What did the name ŻEGOTA mean? This was the code name used by the Council to Aid Jews and the Jewish Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Polish Government Delegation for Poland, an underground structure subordinate to the Polish Government in Exile. It is worth emphasizing again that the Council itself was supported by the Polish Government in Exile, while the Żegota Department itself was an underground, conspiratorial part of the Polish State apparatus. Among the countries occupied by the Germans, only in Poland did such a structure form and function. The documentation presented below constitutes the evidence of the scope and magnitude of the Department's activities. It describes in detail the tragic events taking place in occupied Poland. It is the primary information source describing specific activities of "Żegota" and its members.

It is worth noting that the living conditions in occupied Poland differed significantly from those experienced by other European nations and countries conquered by the German occupiers. The legal system, the enforcement thereof, and the type and extent of repressions were much harsher in Poland than in France or the Netherlands. It was in occupied Poland that a law was imposed punishing anyone who helped Jews in hiding with death. It is an extraordinary phenomenon that in such difficult conditions of conspiracy, lack of food and supplies, constant German terror, and practically daily threat to life, it was possible to establish and formally expand an aid apparatus subordinate to the structures of the underground state. On the other hand, the Home Army, within its capabilities, carried out liquidation operations against 'shmaltsovniks' and others extortionists who blackmailed the hiding Jewish population.

In Poland, more and more memorial institutions are being established to tell the story of "Żegota" and its activities, such as the Polin Museum, the World War 2 Museum, or the Warsaw Ghetto Museum. Jan Karski and the Żegota activists are also present in museums around the world. This is the place where they belong because they are part of the history of helping victims of the Holocaust organized and carried out by the German Third Reich. Many of the "Żegota" members were awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations by the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem. This is the best evidence that the structures of the Polish underground state proved their worth in these dramatic times of war. A number of institutions are still conducting a documentation campaign, which helps to discover further testimonies of the heroic attitude of hitherto unknown people. It is worth noting that the documentation of "Żegota's" activities began already during the war. More importantly, it was already in February 1944 that the "Żegota" structures, thinking about the future plans and guided by the desire to leave a testimony about its activity, started to prepare

a "Golden" book of Poles who distinguished themselves in the operations of "Żegota". Adolf Berman, dit Borowski to Witold Bienkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland, wrote about that effort. This source publication follows the activities of these men faced with extreme choices and situations. The original documents created during their struggle are the best and most reliable testimony of their heroism.

PhD Mariusz Olczak

Michał Góras Marcin Zarzecki

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AS A SOCIAL DISCOURSE. SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ZEGOTA RECONSTITUTION PROJECT

The contemporary culture is said to be a culture of consumption, popcultural aestheticisation of the universe of meanings, a world of iconographic or audiovisual values. The media hold a monopoly on shaping the imagination of the masses, in a way pushing out the socialisation effects of other agendas as the primary groups. At least in the post-industrial societies, the mediatic culture has dominated the world of values, too, reducing or transforming the collective memory understood as a source of social identity. The greatest paradox in the mediatisation of the world is that reality is replaced by a facade of simulated notions. This revolutionary thesis, showing the cultural impact of the contemporary discourse, is conveyed by the terms 'simulacrum' and 'hyperreality' coined by Jean Baudrillard, a French philosopher and sociologist. The cultural and social phenomena of growing consumption and consumerism seem to be the perfect exemplifications of institutionalisation of the system of values and norms in the social discourse, values and norms which, in turn, are a foundation of "a real without origin or reality"¹. The framework set by the media reduces the social discourse, considerably narrowing the scope of available issues, topics or interpretations of historical research areas, and therefore their presence in the social discourse. When entire exploration areas are excluded from the discourse, the social identity arising from the consensus between ideas and values constitutes a system of narrow-in-scope discourse horizons instead of establishing an actual agreement as to the foundations of collective memory.

In order to comprehend the sociological intent behind the Żegota project, sociology of knowledge is a particularly intriguing proposal. The origins of sociology of knowledge date back to 19th-century philosophy sources, but it is appropriate to agree with Max Scheler, who coined

¹ J. Baudrillard, (2005), Symulakry i symulacja, PWN: Warsaw, p. 6.

the name of this subdiscipline of sociology, that Karl Mannheim's idea of 'social origin of knowledge' expressed in his "Ideology and Utopia" was a turning point for the sociology of knowledge². For Mannheim, identities in the particular sense are mental structures encompassing the consciousness of the epoch or the consciousness conditioned by participation in a community of historical and social experiences. Social identity includes ontological, logical and subconscious layers, and it includes the entire axionormative system of a society or community. The philosopher believed that the period when Western civilisations gained their autonomy coincided with the development of trends in subjectivity philosophy. In his analyses, subjectivity was not equated to individualism, as it pertained to individuals as well as to humanity, nation or a social class. Hence the ideology of humanity, nation and class. In Mannheim's concept there is a remarkable presence of historicism, and relativism arises directly from pinpointing historical processes as the main driver of consciousness changes. Mannheim designed a typology of historical ideological forms, and further he juxtaposed the ideological forms with utopias, including the chiliastic, liberal-humanist, conservative and social-communist utopias. According to the author of "Ideology and Utopia", every idea is rooted in the society, and the main purpose of scientific research is to identify historical epistemologies. Historical research, and especially desktop research, follows the trend of contemporary historical policies based on specific historical epistemologies, conditioned by collective memory as a component of social discourses, and consequently the basis for the collective identity of a territorial and civilisational community.

In a modern society or, according to Jürgen Habermas, late modernist society, memory gains in significance as a framework vision of the world. From the perspective of daily life, collective memory takes the form of a reference protecting us, *inter alia*, from a lack of social identity. The choice of the system of values itself is not a volitional or fully egalitarian process, instead it is rather a network of influences, institutional processes and, obviously, individual experiences, which are of social origin, too. From the sociology perspective, the starting point for the analysis was also the recognition of collective memory as a component of the process underlying the construct termed the society. A network of interactions constituting social life enables the transmission of patterns used across all fields of culture, reconstituting and reinforcing the collective identity.

As a third sector entity, the Polish National Foundation pursues its civic mission by engaging in a varied portfolio of activities whose headline goal in contemporary social analysis is defined as the policy of memory and heritage or contemporary historical culture. The collective memory

² See D. Kettler, V. Meja, (1993), *Karl Mannheim and the Crisis of Liberalism: The Secret of These New Times*, Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick and London.

of a national community, consolidation of both martyrdom and the triumph of an independent nation by means of intergenerational transfer ensures the necessary continuity and consistency of community-forming values. The Polish National Foundation was established not only to promote Polish culture and national heritage abroad and to support Polish economy sectors on external markets, but above all to take measures that should result in promoting Polishness as a value and reinforce the national identity by educating and mobilising people to engage in the cultural and social phenomenon of a community of memory.

Poland played an exceptional role in the 20th-century history of the struggle against sinister totalitarian systems as an undisputed victim. In the recent months, there have been more and more attempts to falsely claim Poland's shared responsibility for the crimes committed during World War II. This shows that the contemporary historical culture is being intentionally distorted to achieve short-term goals of superpower politics, and in the field of historical policy, there is a need for international solidarity and participation in the social discourse. The Polish National Foundation is actively engaged in education and teaching projects, as well as historic and national-themed cinematographic productions. It supports Polish Olympic athletes in the framework of the PFN Team 100 project, it promotes the Polish economy and carries out a wide array of activities in accordance with its statutory objectives and its overarching mission to sustain Poland's collective memory and historical culture.

The Żegota project was originally initiated as a measure entitled "Maintenance of the Council to Aid Jews archives from the collection of the Central Archives of Modern Records". The translation of the book "Żegota, Dokumenty 1942–1944" into English meets the following statutory objectives of the Foundation:

- 1. To support and promulgate the national tradition, to nurture Polishness and development of the national consciousness, and in particular:
 - a. to disseminate knowledge of the history of the Republic of Poland within the country and abroad, with particular regards to the most recent history, as well as to popularise the martyrdom and heroic deeds of the Polish Nation,
 - b. to foster and promote patriotic attitudes,
 - c. to promote the Republic of Poland abroad, including the protection of its image and prevention of the dissemination in Poland and abroad of any information and publications with inaccurate historical content harming or defaming the Republic of Poland or the Polish Nation,
 - d. to protect and promote cultural goods and national heritage,
 - e. to promote the Polish diaspora and the Poles abroad.

"Żegota, Dokumenty 1942–1944" is a unique collection of references that have not been published so far, even in the Polish language. The Żegota Council to Aid Jews was a branch of the Government Delegation for Poland, and therefore it was an authority of the legitimate Polish government in exile. Żegota was the only governmental organisation in occupied Europe dedicated solely to aiding and rescuing the Jews. The documents presented in the book are a unique historical testimony of the commitment of the Poles in the country and abroad to helping the Jews. The initiative to publish the original source in English has the potential of providing a strong stimulus to the ongoing research on the situation of the Jewish population in Poland. Due to the language barrier, many researchers find it difficult to access Polish sources that could complement a narrative about the positive role of the Poles in the protection of Jewish people in the period of World War II.

Historical memory is a powerful source of suggestiveness for a community, referring to cultural events, shared cultural symbols and socially important norms and values. As active participants of the world construction process, researchers rooted in the same universe of meanings and symbols use community models in their mechanisms for the construction of the social reality which allow for a communityforming justification of the dominant collective identities. For that reason, collective memory as a category of analysis is a cognitively valid model of understanding the social functions of historical research, and the Żegota project serves as an example of reconstitution of historical sources and making them available to the international research community.

CODENAMES AND NICKNAMES:

Alicja – Zofia Rudnicka Anulka – Anna Lasocka Barbara – Emilia Hiżowa Berezowski – Leon Feiner Borowski - Adolf Berman Celinka – Celina Tyszko Ciotka – Zofia Kossak Ewa – Janina Raabe-Wąsowiczowa J. Trojan – Julian Grobelny Jan – Ferdynand Arczyński Jan – Witold Bieńkowski *Jolanta* – Irena Sendler Jolanta Zakrzewska – Irena Sendler Jurkiewicz – Roman Jabłonowski Kalski – Witold Bieńkowski Lasocki – Leon Feiner Ludwik - Władysław Bartoszewski Łukowski – Ferdynand Arczyński Marek – Ferdynand Arczyński Mikołaj – Leon Feiner Piotr – Piotr Gajewski Różycki – Tadeusz Rek Sławiński – Tadeusz Rek Trojan – Julian Grobelny Tyszko – Jezierska Celina Wencki - Witold Bieńkowski

Weronika – Zofia Kossak-Szczucka

1

December 1942, Warsaw. Witold Bieńkowski's report from the activity of the Provisional Committee to Aid Jews in the period from 27 September 1942 to 4 December 1942, sent to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski).

<u>Mr. Trojanowski</u>

R E P O R T from the activity of the Konrad Żegota Provisional Committee.

- <u>Period of existence</u>: The Committee was appointed by the Government Delegation (GD) on 27 September 1942 and comprised representatives of the following org[anisations]: the Front for the Rebirth of Poland (*Front Odrodzenia Polski* FOP), the Polish Democratic Organisation (*Polska Organizacja Demokratyczna* POD), and Sprawa. Freedom, Equality, Independence (*Wolność, Równość, Niepodległość* WRN) declared that it was willing to join the Committee. On 4 December 1942, the Prov[isional] Committee was dissolved and replaced with the Council to Aid Jews, which comprised a wider range of soc[ial] and pol[itical] elements.
- <u>Area of activity</u>: Warsaw, Cracow, Brest, Lublin, Kielce, Bochnia, Izbica, Zakopane, Zamość, Biłgoraj, Kraśnik, Radom, Puławy, Kraśnik, Siedlce, Białystok.
- 3. <u>Number of persons directly affected</u>: Over 180 persons, including approx. 70% of children (precise figures cannot be provided as yet due to a member of the FOP's Exec[utive] Com[mittee] being arrested).
- 4. <u>Operating methods</u>: The objective of the Prov[isional] Committee was to prepare territorial outreach through provincial cells of the organisations being members of the Committee. This was achieved by:
 - a/ establishing contacts with the J[ewish] c[ommunity] by providing ad-hoc cash allowances,
 - b/ providing housing and temporary accommodation,
 - c/ providing clothing, food, and jobs,
 - d/ enabling legalisation.
- 5. <u>I m p l e m e n t a t i o n</u>: In Warsaw, the direct campaign covered over 90 persons /the number of persons covered by the indirect campaign is unknown/, 3 hotel spots were established, and the persons were provided

with help in obtaining accommodation (families), with documents, clothing, means of subsistence, and were supported in finding a job and were provided with ad-hoc cash allowances. In Cracow, a Committee branch was established, a dozen or so people were provided with help, and three children were brought to Warsaw for permanent placement (two other children are waiting to be collected). Two persons were extracted from the ghetto and taken to safety.

In Brest, a permanent branch was established, one family was provided with help, one person was brought to Warsaw for permanent placement, several ad-hoc cash allowances were provided.

In Lublin, Kielce, Białystok, Radom, Bochnia and other towns, contacts were established and the means necessary to provide help were delivered.

In Siedlee, a branch was established and two persons were brought to Warsaw for permanent placement.

One person was taken to Zakopane for permanent placement and any help necessary was provided, including a job (unfortunately, the person was arrested).

- 6. <u>O r g a n i s a t i o n</u>: the ad-hoc campaign was conducted through a number of organisations and persons who were provided with financial means. The receipts for the sums expended are held by the FOP. The entire sums received /500 plus 200 zlotys/ were spent in full.
- 7. <u>Establishmentof the Council to A[id] J[ews]</u>: The Council to Aid J[ews] was established on 4 December. The leadership of the Prov[isional] Committee d i d n ot become part of the Council, except for a polit[ical] representative of the FOP, who took on the task of acting in the capacity of a provisional liaison with the GD.
- 8. <u>Reasons for dissolving the Pro[visional]Committee</u>: Most [impo]rtantly, the lack of adequate financial means, which has resulted in an unclear situation for the organisations and persons being members of the Prov[isional] Com[mittee]. Additionally, the propaganda among the J[ewish] c[ommunity], undertaken by entities close to offic[ial] elements (GD [Executive Division], Ref. for J[ewish] affairs within the Bureau of Information and Propaganda [BIP]), which was disproportionate to the means provided. Deciding that cooperation with the representation of J[ewish] political org[anisations] was impossible (including political issues in work of purely charitable character).
- 9. <u>R e q u e s t s:</u> Persons being members of the Prov[isional] Com[mittee] [i n] s i s t on receiving regular, monthly allowances from the GD [in the am] ount of 250 zlotys for the subsistence of persons under permanent care.

If no allowances are rec[eived], the consequences may be tragic. In most cases, direct delivery [...] to the [Co]uncil to A[id] J[ews] is impossible due to personal [...] [...] secret links.

On behalf of the Konrad Żegota Prov[isional] Com[mittee]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 1. Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 941–942.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 359–361.

2

December 1942, Warsaw. Letter of "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), on the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews.

<u>Mr. Trojanowski</u>

Under the powers vested in me by the Council to A[id] J[ews], I inform as follows:

On 4 December 1942, the Council to A[id] J[ews] was established, comprising representatives of the following organisations: WRN, Str[onnictwo] Dem[okratyczne] (*the Alliance of Democrats*), POD, Sprawa, the Bund, a repres[entatative] of other J[ewish] org[anisations], and FOP.

At the first full meeting of the Council, it was resolved to:

- 1. acknowledge the Council's competences with respect to accepting funds and disposing of them for the purposes of domestic and foreign propaganda,
- 2. appoint a Polish-J[ewish] exec[utive] committee,
- 3. operate through the exec[utive] committees of particular organisations.

On behalf of the Council to A[id] J[ews], I request the GD to:

- 1. appoint a permanent GD representative in the Council, with official powers in the areas of control and propaganda,
- 2. set a fixed budget,

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

- 3. notify L[ondon] of the existence of the Council,
- 4. establish a corresponding institution in L[ondon],

5. always officially d e t e r m i n e the purpose of any sums sent from L[ondon] to J[ewish] org[anisations] in the country.

Jan /FOP/.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 2. Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 2, 1969, pp. 942–943.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 361–362.

3

27 December 1942, Warsaw. Letter of "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), on the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews.

<u>Mr. Trojanowski</u>

Dear Director,

I enclose two versions of the requested telegram to Lon[don], if the Government Pleni[potentiary] issues an appointment decree in my name, appointing me a GD representative to the Council, I propose the second version, which renders most appropriately the links between the Council and the social component.

Please be so kind as to hasten the decision on the appointment of a permanent GD component to the Council.

As for your gratifying proposal concerning my cooperation with the GD also in another area /as passed to me by Andrzej/ – I declare my full readiness for service, with the reservation that as the political leader of FOP, I can accept such a share of work for which I can take full responsibility, both personal and related to my work on the front. This means that I am unable to take on a role that could not be officially revealed both within the GD structure and to social and political components. As I sincerely wish to prove useful in any of the GD divisions, I heartily ask you to kindly understand my position, which cannot be different due to the nature of my principles and my duties.

With all due and deep respect, Jan.

27 December 1942.

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

- I. GD hereby notifies the Polish Government of the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews, composed of representatives of the following organisations: WRN, All. of Democrats (*Stronnictwo Demokratyczne*), POD, Sprawa, the Bund, a representative of the Jewish population, and FOP, acting as a temporary liaison agent with the GD. The Council requests the Polish Government to establish a corresponding unit in exile, to initiate a fund-raising campaign to help Jews in the country, to deliver those funds to the Council, and to determine the purpose of the sums provided directly to Jewish organisations in the country. The Council asks for financial aid, as prompt as possible, that will enable the correct operation of the executive mechanism.
- [II.] As a result of a social initiative of /FOP, POD/, the Council to Aid Jews has been established [to help Jews] in the country, composed of representatives of the following organisations: FOP, [...] D., Stron. Demokr., WRN, Sprawa, the Bund, a representative of the [...]ish population. As the official GD representative to the Council to Aid Jews [...] the Polish Government to enable the Council to operate by: establishing a correspon[...] [...]it in exile, initiating a fund-raising campaign to [...] Jews in the country, delivering those funds to the Council, and to alw[...] [...]ermine the purpose of any sums provided directly to [Je]wish organisa[tions] in the country. On behalf of the Council, I ask you to provide, as promptly as possible, the [finan]cial aid necessary for the correct operation of the Council]'s executive mechanism [...] [J]an /FOP/

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 3.

4

28 December 1942, Warsaw. Letter of "Andrzej" (...) to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), informing about a letter from "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland (FOP) of 27 December 1942 (see No. 3)

I am sending Jan's (FOP) reply.

The reply contains:

- 1. a note for London on the Jew. Council, as requested by you,
- 2. a precise statement on Jan's attitude towards the cooperation that you proposed to him through myself.

Yours sincerely, Andrzej

28.XII.42

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party] Original, manuscript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 4. **29 December 1942, Warsaw.** Letter of the Temporary Presidium of the Council to Aid Jews, composed of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Plenipotentiary of the Government Delegation for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on the objectives and tasks of the Council and on its composition.

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland.

In accordance with the Council's request, the undersigned Provisional Presidium of the Council submits the following letter to the Government Plenipotentiary:

The letter contains the Council's decisions resulting from debates concerning its form and the Council's conclusions as requests which, as the Council believes, must necessarily be granted to enable it to fulfil its objectives and tasks.

The Council's structure, the scope of its activity, etc. are as follows:

- I. The Council to Aid J[ews] is established to provide organised help to Jews as victims of the occupant's atrocious extermination campaign.
- II. The name of the Council is: The Council to Aid J[ews] <u>attached to the Govern-</u> <u>ment Plenipotentiary in Poland.</u>
- III. Council composition. The Council is composed of a representative of the Authoritative Component and representatives of social elements.

On behalf of the latter, representatives of WRN, FOP, All. of Dem., and Sprawa participate in the Council. Members of the peasant movement also declared their participation, but as yet they have sent no delegate.

Apart from groups originating from the Polish society, a representation of the Jewish population participates in the Council, comprising 2 individuals – one Bund delegate and one delegate of other Jew[ish] organisations /ŻKN [Ży-dowski Komitet Narodowy – the Jewish National Committee] and others/.

Other Polish organisations that wish to cooperate to reach the Council's objectives and to perform its tasks may also join the Council.

IV. Scope of activity of the Council: The objective of the Council is to provide help to Jews as victims of the occupant's extermination campaign, to save them from death, legalise them, provide them with accommodation and material allowances, as well as, where appropriate, to find them gainful work

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as the basic means of subsistence, and to manage and distribute funds, in short, to pursue activities by means of which help may be offered directly or indirectly. Furthermore – to set forth the general rules and guidelines for handling the matters indicated above, to communicate with the Authoritative Component and local Councils, and to provide them with relevant instructions. Finally, to oversee funds and the execution of aid campaigns.

- V. The Council's help shall be offered to the Jewish population within the meaning of the occupant's racist regulations.
- VI. The Council has a dual nature: central and local.

On the one hand – in relation to local Councils, yet to be established – the Council is a central body, on the other hand – it is a local organisation in relation to the Warsaw territory and its vicinity.

VII. Local Councils shall be established at different locations throughout the country, as necessary. They shall be established based on instructions from the Government Plenipotentiary, directed to Regional Delegations with the participation of the Council itself and the organisations represented in the Council and having their organisational cells at the specific location throughout the country.

The composition and the scope of activity of those Councils shall be the same as of the Central Council, with the reservation that they shall pursue their activity within the territory for which they are responsible and that they shall also provide the Central Council with reports from their activities, shall accept its instructions for performance, and shall submit their requests to it.

VIII. Funds. Due to the huge needs, the funding should be based on:

- a/ budget funds, to be allocated by the Government in London,
- b/ another source a supplementary one <u>should be raised funds !!</u>¹, collected in the country and abroad for this purpose.

The fund-raising campaign in Poland will also have a moral meaning, and it may also contribute significantly to the help campaign itself, in other areas – e.g. as far as the provision shelter to victims is concerned, etc.

IX. The Council's Executive Office. In order to facilitate the Council's activities, the Council establishes its Executive Office, working as the secretariat, performing administrative tasks, etc.; the office shall be subordinated to the Council's Presidium. The Council has already started its activities, and as the Office's operations expand – other offices will be added.

The Council believes that also the organisations represented therein should send their representatives to work in the field, as soon as possible, so that

¹ The underline and the two exclamation marks were added in blue ink.

they can cooperate on establishing local Councils and on initiating aid campaigns without delay. $^{\rm 2}$

X. The Council shall be incorporated in the nearest future, when the Government Plenipotentiary has appointed his permanent representative to the Council and when other representatives of the organisations already represented in the Council have appeared. To make sure that the initiation of its operations is not delayed, the Council has already elected its Provisional Presidium, composed of the undersigned, which shall act in this capacity until the formal constitution of the Council.

The Council shall meet once a month or, in emergencies, as convened by the Presidium. The Presidium shall perform the tasks it has been entrusted with by the Council and shall handle urgent Council matters in the periods between its meetings. The Presidium shall submit a report on its activities at the first next Council meeting and shall obtain the Council's approval.

In order to control the finances and the aid operations themselves, the Council shall establish the Controlling Committee, which shall submit reports on its activities to the Council, from time to time.

- XI. The Council has adopted the following resolutions: To request the G[overnment] Plenipotentiary to issue:
- 1/ an appeal to the people. The appeal is to be addressed to all citizens of Poland, irrespective of their religion and nationality, and should contain, among other things:
 - a/ a notification that in order to provide help to victims of the unprecedented campaign of biological extermination of the Jewish population, the Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary has been established, and
 - b/ an appeal to society to support the objectives and tasks of the Council and to offer help to victims by providing them with accommodation, shelter, material aid and moral support, gainful work, etc., as well as an appeal to raise funds for the Council and to fight any criminals blackmailing victims.
- 2/ a special pronouncement on counteracting blackmailing, a pronouncement in which the Government Plenipotentiary extends his order /concerning severe criminal prosecution of all those who collaborate with the occupant to the detriment of the Polish State and its citizens/, as well as all those who commit acts of extortion against Jews or participate in such acts in any way. It is essential to counteract this phenomenon due to its widespread character and due to the fact that fighting it will contribute to increased effective-

² This paragraph was included on a small piece of paper enclosed with the document.

ness of the aid operations, and finally due to the need to contain the moral disorganisation within the society.

- 3/ instructions for Regional Delegations as to the establishment of local Councils and the initiation of immediate aid operations due to the need to provide immediate help in various places in the country where the extermination campaign is under way.
- 4/ to request the Government Plenipotentiary:
 - a/ to request the Government in London to allocate greater amounts from the State budget to fund the Council's aid operations and
 - b/ to initiate, via the Government in London, the establishment of a general Aid Committee abroad, in order to collect special funds for the purposes of the Council's aid operations.

The prompt granting of the requests adopted by the Council is in the interest of, or in fact determines, the proper and prompt fulfilment of the Council's tasks.

Thus, the Council asks that they be granted.

On behalf of the Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary

Warsaw, 29 December 1942

Temporary Presidium Mikołaj – Chairman Borowski – Secretary Marek – Treasurer

ref. Ż. 6.2.43

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, p. 6–6a. Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 84–86. [copy]

Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 943–945.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 361–366.

6

12 January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Protect Jews attached to the Polish Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Polish Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on the Memorandum to the Polish Government in London.

To the Chief Government Delegate in Poland

The Council to Protect Jews, submitting to the Chief Delegate a letter addressed to the Polish Government in London, asks that it be sent to the Government³ by courier, and due to the extremely urgent nature of the issue, that it also be communicated [...] by radiogram.

At the same time, due to:

- the motives presented in the letter to the Polish Government,
- the fact that in the last days, 30 Jewish families from the Lublin region were handed over to the Council to be taken care of and are already in Warsaw, and 300 more such persons remain in the Lublin region,
- the need to perform more extensive and costly legalisation- and accommodation-related efforts concerning those in hiding,

the Council has decided to request the Chief Delegate to kindly allocate an additional subsidy in the amount of 150,000 zlotys – an amount that is essential to meet those urgent and pressing needs. If this ad-hoc aid is not received, the Council's efforts will come to a standstill, especially that the fund-raising campaign among the Polish and Jewish populations – [...] due to the nature of the problem – is only in the organisation stages.

As the organisational status of the Council is sufficient for full stabilisation, the Council takes the liberty to request the Chief Government Delegate to definitively appoint a permanent representative of the Government Delegation to the Council, in the person of Jan from FOP, who, by fulfilling these duties provisionally, and formerly as a member of the Committee to Protect Jews, has earned the absolute trust of the Council's members and has displayed the ability to cooperate with the Council, so important to perform this function.

> The Council to Protect Jews operating with the support of the Polish Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Warsaw, 12 January 1943

Trojan Mikołaj Borowski

ref. Ż 6.2.43

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 7.

³ On the margin – a v mark in pencil.

7

End of January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the Polish Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on liquidation operations in the Warsaw Ghetto.

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in situ.

We take the liberty to enclose authentic information on a new German liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto that took place in the second half of January of this year, and on the active resistance mounted by the Jewish community.

The operation was undoubtedly a signal that the Germans were embarking on the final liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto, on the murderous annihilation of the scarce remains of the Jewish population in Warsaw. Over a few days, they transported 5–6 thousand people to the death camp in Treblinka. Among the deported, there were most of the *gmina* personnel that remained alive, four hundred people from the supply unit, about three hundred doctors and employees of the health department, and many prominent social activists and intellectuals.

For the time being, the "displacement" operation has ceased, probably due to the armed resistance put up by the ghetto residents. However, the fate of the remaining population of the ghetto has already been determined. A total liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto is to be expected in the nearest future.

Taking advantage of the temporary suspension of the operation, mass escapes from the ghetto have start[...] to take place, the wave of people for whom getting out [...] is the only way to survive is growing every day. At the moment, it is an urgent task to ta[ke] [...] [c]are of them. Providing them with [...], with documents, financial means, clothing – this must be [...] [or]ganised on a large scale.

In the Warsaw Ghetto, there are still man[...] eq[...]y valuable figures from the worlds of society, culture, [...], and art – that need to be saved as soon as possible. There are still several thousand children there who escaped the previous massacre, particularly cruel and merciless for children; those few children that are still alive need to be taken out of the ghetto and saved.

These tasks are so enormous and require such large resources that we have no choice but to turn to the Government Plenipotentiary with a desperate appeal to allocate a special amount for these purposes, equalling at least 500,000 zlotys. Please treat our appeal as a matter of the utmost urgency. Each day may bring the total annihilation of the ghetto in [...], who fight for their lives and their [...] with weapons in their hands.

[...] 1943

The Council to Aid Jews supported by the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

[ref. Ż.] [...]2.43

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 8.

8

January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid, delivered via "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski).

Enclosure No. 1

The pogrom of the Jewish population, committed by the occupant, is an unprecedented historical event. About 2,000,000 people have been murdered. Others, who are still in ghettos and labour camps or are hiding in forests and districts outside ghettos, are living in constant fear of death and are suffering from hunger and cold. To save those survivors from death is absolutely necessary, and this requires considerable funds. The scale of the financial means required can be illustrated by the fact that in order to maintain only 10,000 children remaining in the Warsaw ghetto, with the unbelievably small amount of 500 zlotys for each child, at least 5,000,000 zlotys is required each month. And we are talking here about help for several hundred thousand people throughout the entire country. Thus, in view of the enormous needs, the monthly subsidy in the amount of 50,000 zlotys, allocated to the Council by the Delegation, should be regarded only as symbolic only. For this reason, the Council to Aid Jews, established by the Government Delegate, requests the Government of the Republic of Poland to allocate an adequate amount for the purposes of the aid operations.

As the matter is extremely urgent, the Council requests the Polish Government to immediately reach a decision and to immediately deliver the sums for the Council to the Government Delegate.

Warsaw, January 1943

Trojan Mikołaj Borowski

The Council requests an express radiogram to be sent to London Jan (FOP)

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 10.

9

16 January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the President of the Council to Aid Jews, "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, with information on the constitution of the Council.

To the Chief Government Delegate in Poland

At the meeting of the Council to Aid Jews held on 12 January 1943, the Council was constituted with the following make-up:

Chairman :	Trojan /WRN/
Deputy Chairm	en: Różycki /SL/
	Mikołaj /the Bund/
Secretary :	Borowski /ŻKN/

Treasurer and second member of the secretariat: SD and "Sprawa".

Warsaw, 16 January 1943

Trojan

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

Ref. Ż. 6.2.43

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 5. Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 945–946.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 366-367.

10

31 January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, requesting the provision of arms to the Jewish community

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

Chief Government Delegate in Poland in situ

The Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, having heard a report on the 4-day liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto in the second half of January 1943 and on the corresponding widespread resistance on the part of the Jewish community,

- 1. Welcomes, with deep respect, the acts of widespread, active resistance of the Jewish community against the occupant's extermination operation, considering that resistance to be of immense importance, positive for the Jewish community itself and the Polish community and foreign countries on the one hand, and negative for the occupant, on the other hand.
- 2. Taking into account the events described above and the fact that the lack of arms during the liquidation operation in the summer of 1942 was one of the most commonly invoked reasons for the absence of widespread, active resistance of the Jewish community and that their insufficient quantity during the last liquidation operation was the reason why the resistance counter-attacked on a much smaller scale than it would have been possible if there had been more, the Council deems it necessary to equip the Jewish community with sufficient quantities of weapons.
- 3. Hence, the Council, deeming this to be a form of aid, finds it appropriate to urgently request the Military Component to provide sufficient quantities of these tools of resistance, essential to the protection of the Jewish community, thus supporting the fully justified requests of the Jewish combat organisation to this effect.
- 4. The Council also makes an appeal to the organisations represented therein to offer assistance to the Jewish combat organisation, by providing it with weapons and thus expressing [...]res[...]t on account of the resistance operations, and in this way showing [th]eir solidarity with it.
- 5. The Council requests the organisations represen[...] therei[...] [...] to include in their papers information relating to [...] [...] due to the immense propaganda significance for the idea of [...] [...] in [...] the Jew Polish community and lifting the fighting [...]ods of the Jewish combat organisation.

Warsaw, 31 January 1943

Ref. Ż. 6.2.43

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 9.

11

1 February 1943, Warsaw. Draft proposals for resolving current organisational issues of the Jewish community, sent by the Director of the Jewish Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland, to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski).

<u>Mr. Trojanowski</u>

DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR RESOLVING CURRENT ORGANISATIONAL ISSUES OF THE JEW[ISH] COM[MUNITY]

Being sufficiently familiar with the current situation of the Jewish community and keeping regular contact with representatives of all Jewish organisations in the country /the Bund and associated Jewish organisations in the Jewish National Committee/ – I hereby present to the Government Delegation a scheme for stabilising the relationships between the organised Jewish community and the official components in the country.

Based on direct cooperation with the former Provisional Committee to Aid Jews and with the Council to Aid Jews that is active currently, being familiar with the situation of Jews in the country and the aid efforts expended by representatives of the organised Jewish community, with the participation of certain Polish social and political components – I ascertain as follows:

- 1. The scope of interests of representatives of the organised Jewish community as the only social and political components of the Jewish minority in the country goes far beyond taking care of Jews.
- 2. This scope of interests includes, naturally, inter alia the following:
 - a/ the issue of prestige /official recognition of the Jewish representation as a representative of the organised portion of Polish citizens/
 - b/ the issue of organising active resistance in ghettos
 - c/ planning issues /[conc]erning e.g. post-Jewish property/
 - d/ current issues /e.g. [get]ting from the RGO (*Rada Główna Opiekuńcza* Central Care Council) – the Cracow Headquarters – the clothing and food of American origin that are stored there, intended for Jews in Poland/
- The above issues, although they do not fall within the competences of the [Coun]cil to Aid Jew[s] as a charitable social component, are introduc[...]
 [...] as there is no [...] area to pass them on.
- 4. Representatives of the organised Jewish community are looking for links with official components, for matters of interest, by way of personal con-

tacts, and for interorganisational links that may lead, in effect, to an improper positioning of the Council to Aid Jews within the organised community life /e.g. the possibility of linking the Council with several departments and the Executive Division/.

The easiness of establishing interorganisational links and having effective personal contacts adds attractiveness to the Jewish question, both due to the tragic situation of the Jewish community and due to London's strong response to these issues.

In light of the above statements, to facilitate a resolution to this unclear situation, I propose:

- 1. To establish a Division /or an office/ for Jewish affairs in the General Administration Department.
- 2. To define the scope of competence of the Division /or office/ with respect to the following:
 - a/ representation issues /the only way for establishing links with representatives of the organised Jew. comm./
 - b/ information issues /both for the Government and the GD and from the GD for the J. comm./
 - c/ charity issues /in connection with GD budget sums/

The establishment of a Division /or an office/ for Jewish affairs may contribute to the proper handling of the issue in terms of the duties of National Government Components towards the Jewish minority in the country and may prevent the formation of a Jewish discretionary components active in the charitable-social area.

1 February 1943

Jan /FOP/

[Seal of the Central Archives of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/1, b. 11.

12

6 April 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "A. Borowski" (Adolf Berman), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek), to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid, delivered via the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski).

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland.

Again, we are bringing up an extremely urgent and pressing issue concerning <u>the combating of blackmail.</u>⁴. This is because blackmailing is spreading on a terrifying scale – both in size and form. Not a day passes without many acts of blackmail being committed, without someone getting robbed of all their property. There is hardly a family, a person that has not suffered from this hideous crime. Frequently – very frequently, the same families or persons fall victim of two, three and multiple acts of blackmail.

Some cases end in death – either suicide or murder by the authorities who capture the victims as a result of blackmailing.

These commonplace crimes shatter and prevent any aid operations by the Council, and on the other hand, they signal the spreading depravity.

Hence, for both these reasons, combat against blackmail, carried out in a systematic, organised, and unconditionally consistent manner, is becoming a vital necessity – both from a social point of view and from the point of view of state interests.

To execute a blackmailer and to make it publicly known through posters would be not only an act of justice for crimes against the victim, society, and the state, but also an act of social and state self-defence, deterring criminal imitators and, finally, an act clearing the moral atmosphere. This is why we constantly go back to this pressing issue, this is why we are bringing it up today, again. Finally, this is why today – in connection with this issue – we are putting in urgent requests requiring immediate implementation. These include the following:

- 1. The need to simplify, and most importantly <u>speed up the procedure</u> for establishing the facts of an act of blackmail and for carrying out the relevant sentences;
- 2. The need to immediately put up posters announcing the executed sentences;
- If such sentences are not issued or have not been executed yet to put up posters for at least some <u>fictitious</u> sentences;

The fact that the Council has decided to submit the last of the requests presented above shows that it attaches great importance to the issue of publishing such death sentences. If no such sentence has been passed and executed so far, if the social advantages listed above, resulting from such executions, have not followed – such advantages may at least originate from announcing a number of <u>fictitious</u> death sentences, and from informing the public about such

⁴ The underlines in this document were made in red pencil and in black ink with which the document is signed.

sentences through posters. And this requires does not require any major effort or much time, so it can be implemented quickly.

While stressing all of the above requests, we place a particular emphasis on the last request, as it is the easiest to carry out implement quickly.

Irrespective of the above, we ask for information on the number of open proceedings concerning blackmail, on how many have been closed and with what result and, finally, on how many sentences in such cases have been carried out.

The Council to Aid J[ews] attached to the Government Delegate in Poland

Warsaw, 6 April 1943.	J. Trojan
	A. Borowski
	Mikołaj
	Różycki
[On the reverse:]	
K.W.C. [Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej – Directorate of Civi	l Resistance]
Confirmation	
of acts of blackmail	
1) Iew.	

2) Pol. ...Oświęcim

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, b. 300.

13

7 April 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Government Delegate for Poland, presenting the planned budget of the Council for March and April 1943 and its implementation. Letter addressed to "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski)

Grab[owiecki]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland. To be returned

The subsidies that have been granted so far to aid Żegota, disproportionately small in relation to the actual needs, have prompted the Council to present to the Government Plenipotentiary the planned expenses for March and April of this year, illustrating the situation of the Council in terms of its ability to fulfil at least some of the duties the performance of which it has been entrusted with. The figures, compared to the subsidies received, are as follows:

March 1933

	March 1	733	
Planned expenditure:	administration		50.001
	legalisation		200.00
	accommodation, "hotels" subsidies for the provinces aid for the ghetto		250.00
			500.00
			2,500.00
	allowances		2,500.00
	Ir	n total	6,000.00
Subsidy received for March		2,500.00	
Deficit			3,500.00
	April 19) 33	
Planned expenditure:	administration		60.00
	legalisation		300.00
	accommodation,	"hotels"	1,000.00
	subsidies for the	provinces	500.00
	aid for the ghetto		3,500.00
	aid for Cath[olic] families		100.00
	allowances		4,750.00
	Ir	n total	10,210.00
Subsidy received for April		2,500.00	
Deficit			7,710.00
Thus, the total deficit [for] March and April is			11,250.00

Thus, out of necessity, the Council is forced to leave huge numbers of persons who need protection outside its operation, let alone the operation for bringing aid to the ghetto and organising accommodation, "hotels", and similar shelters for those who escaped from the ghetto or who are flowing in from the provinces, who, due to the lack of safe accommodation, are falling directly into the hands of gangs of blackmailers which are growing every day. The Council is also forced to abandon many other, equally important operations, such as aid for the provinces, where hunger and poverty are rampant, aid for Catholic families, the first victims of their charitable activity in this area, etc. It is clear that even if the full demand for cash is met, this continues to be only symbolic help, which stems from the huge scale of tasks, growing every day. It must be stated that the planned budget for April, although large, does not reflect the actual needs. It only reflects the expanding operations and the expanding reach of the Council's activities, which will continue to grow as a result of natural developments, and so will the Council's needs. In this situation, in a meeting held on the 6th of this month, the Council decided to present the issue

to the Government Plenipotentiary, and to request the amounts budgeted for March and April to be provided before the end of this month, and to request that the sums for May be planned in at least equal amounts, if the Council is to fulfil its tasks, if it is to be a social component actually fulfilling its duties towards the most tormented victims of Nazi terror. The provision of the amounts necessary to meet the planned expenses before the end of this month <u>is an</u> <u>urgent issue of primary importance</u>.

A copy of the above shall be provided to representatives in the PKP [*Polityczny Komitet Porozumiewawczy* – Political Consultative Committee] for information purposes.

MarekJ. Trojan/-/ Marek, Prostokąt/-/ J. Trojan, WRNWarsaw, 7 April 1933

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 301. T. Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945]*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 371–373.

14

21 April 1943, Warsaw. Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto, along with enclosures.

Mr. Grabo[wiecki]

Żeg[ota] Off[ice] T./IV. Spec. 21/4/1943.

Ghetto liquidation operation

The ghetto liquidation operation, launched on the night of the 18th/19th of this month, was preceded by a serious conflict between the management of the Többens plant and the Jewish community. The conflict was an external expression of the long-lasting differences in views on the methods of liquidating the Warsaw ghetto between German military and political authorities. The army wanted to use the Jewish labour force, the political components wanted to liquidate the ghetto quickly. A compromise was reached under which 10,000 qualified Jewish workers were to be lodged in barracks in Powązki, the rest were to be liquidated.

The Többens operation was aimed at selecting groups of qualified workers. His appeals to the Jewish community were met with a boycott of the ordinances issued.

Having failed to win the "favour" of the Jewish community, German authorities started exerting pressure on the Jewish *gmina*.

The *gmina* convened a meeting to which representatives of the ŻKN (Jewish National Committee) were invited. Schiper, a historian, acted as an intermediary.

The *gmina* sought to reach an agreement with ZKN and at the same time tried to influence the Jewish Combat Organisation.

Unofficial representatives of ŻKN did not agree to any cooperation with the *gmina* and firmly declared the absence of any liaison between the Jewish community and the *gmina*. Schiper's arguments, referring to the historic existence of two national representations: one fighting against the oppressor, the other cooperating with the oppressor, were no[t] taken into account by ŻKN.

At a subsequent meeting of the Jewish Coordination Commission with the Command of the Jew[ish] Combat Org[anisation], it was resolved that attempts to forcefully accommodate Jews in barracks should be counteracted with arms.

After a two-day "relief" period /17–18 April/, on the night of 18th/19th, at 2 a.m., the Germans launched a displacement operation. An alarm issued by the Jew[ish] Combat Org[anisation] was the signal to fight.

According to accounts of eye witnesses from the ghetto:

19 April. On the ghetto walls, alongside death sentences for informers acting against Jews, there appeared appeals reading more or less as follows /quoted from memory/:

"Jews! Now is the time to act and to retaliate against the occupant. Every person capable of carrying arms should join the combatants! The elderly and women should help by offering money! Have your weapons ready!

As of today, I abolish the Friday system. Everyone is to report to musters.

/signed/:

Captain Józef Łącki Commandant of ZWŻ"

In Nalewki Street by Muranowski Square, there are tables with huge site plans, diagrams and field telephones on them. A number of high-ranked SS officers are holding debat[es], protected by tanks and armoured vehicles standing nearby. Many members of the Waffen-SS, the police, and the German gendarmerie /about 3 battalions/ are concentrated in the streets. Tanks and armoured vehicles are driving around. Since morning, there has been very intense shooting from firearms and machine guns in the vicinity of Nalewki Street, as well as diverse explosions and detonations. Besides Germans, Ukrainians and /not determined/ Latvians or Lithuanians are participating in the operation. All Germans within the ghetto are equipped with hand grenades /stuck in bootlegs and behind belts/, two revolvers and a carbine; very many carry light machine guns. Before noon, major fires were reported, e.g. in Gesia Street, Nalewki Street /house No. 37/, Miła street and Zamenhoffa Street. The Germans are taking house after house by assault. A house to be taken is usually shot at from HMGs and LMGs /starting from the 20th, also field artillery/, and the defendants' morale is tormented with attacks from tanks and armoured vehicles. Then, the house is usually attacked, in many cases, as has been irrefutably determined – by the Jewish militia, armed with axes for hacking away at gates and barricades. If, after this initial attack, the appeal to surrender has no effect - Ukrainians and Latvians /Lithuanians?/ make their attack, all openings in the house are sprayed with hand grenades and shot at from LMGs and automatic guns from, at close range. After this preparation, the SS steps in, murdering any survivors and carrying out the final "clean-up" operation.

A striking thing is that the Germans present a generally fearful attitude and are not eager to go inside a house, even if there is no sign of life from a building that's been under fire for a long time. Jews are watching the situation from the inside, through lower parts of windows, in many houses painted white, with only a small area left clear. They respond to German attacks by throwing powerful hand grenades /the explosions leave craters with an area of 2 sq. m. in the road pavement/, by shooting with LMGs /in some cases also HMGs/, short and long firearms.

In the provisional Jewish hospital at Franciszkańska Street, Germans shot all patients with revolvers. According to an eye witness, all bodies were left in the beds with wounds in their heads. Several hours after the murder, the building was damaged and partially destroyed by explosions from Jewish grenades.

On 20 April at 6 a.m., the German authorities gave the Jewish *gmina* an ultimatum – that the Jews must cease their resistance by 3 p.m. at the latest. At the same time, representatives of the *gmina* at the *Befehlstelle*, which had been moved from Nalewki Street to the square at the intersection of Dzika, Dzielna, and Gęsia Streets, were arrested.

The Germans gave an order to empty the houses between Żelazna, Leszno and Karmelicka Streets and ordered Jews in that area to move to Franciszkańs-

ka Street. Some residents whose morale had been broken, but mainly women and children, obeyed the order.

In the early morning, an SS unit walking along Leszno Street was suddenly attacked with hand grenades. The offensive attitude of many Jews generally has a disheartening effect on the Germans.

As the ultimatum was ignored, after a few hours' break, at about 3 p.m., the combat operation was resumed by Germans with an increased momentum.

A major attack by the field artillery set up, inter alia, in Franciszkańska Street was reported, for instance. In the afternoon, Bonifraterska Street on the Polish side was closed to trams and pedestrians. Big fires were reported e.g. in Zamenhoffa, Nalewki and Gęsia Streets.

A Jewish attack temporarily pushed the Germans back from the previously assumed positions in Zamenhoffa Street, and the Jews secured the entire street.

The Germans backed the operation up with an additional Wehrmacht battalion and with artillery reinforcements. About 300 members of the SS left the ghetto by trams from Narutowicza Square at about 5 p.m.

The Germans mounted a fierce attack, inter alia on the house at 39 Nalewki Street, which managed to keep defending throughout the morning.

The Jewish losses caused by the two days of the SA operation are very severe, but difficult to estimate. German losses can be deduced from the major activity of ambulances and trucks carrying the wounded. Additionally, around noon, passengers were taken from rows of tram cars in Chłodna Street, and the wounded were transported to hospitals /inter alia the Soc. Secur. hospital/.

In the afternoon of the 20th, big fires were still observed.

The combat activity is generally less intense at night, and Jews armed with revolvers move about the ghetto with more freedom, liquidating informers, militia officers, in several cases surprising Germans with sudden forays. /E.g. on the night of 19th/20th in Bonifraterska Street, opposite Sapieżyńska Street, grenades were thrown from the Jewish side, killing a gendarme and a Blue Policeman and damaging the wall and the corner of the John of God hospital/.

21 April. The ghetto has been teeming with activity since the morning. Stray bullets are flying on the Polish side, inter alia in Bonifraterska Street. There is still no tram service and Żoliborz cannot be accessed directly. Numerous shots and detonations in the area of Kurakowski Square. Smoke from fires can be seen in the inner parts of the ghetto.

> Enclosed – communications of the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] and a situation report from the Bund.

Enclosure No. 1

Contents of ŻKN communications.

Communication No 1.

19 April 1943.

Today, on Monday, 19th of April, a new murderous German operation has been launched in the Warsaw ghetto. Already at 4 a.m., fierce shooting from hand and machine guns and grenade explosions could be heard near the ghetto walls. Armoured vehicles and tanks entered the ghetto. The operation is carried out by the German gendarmerie under the supervision of the SS. The Polish police was withdrawn from the ghetto and ordered to guard the ghetto walls from the outside. The ghetto gives the impression of a fortress under siege. The ghetto walls are guarded by many gendarmes wearing combat gear, with guns pointed at the walls, and by Polish police officers.

The operation covers the area of the so-called central ghetto.

The Jewish combat organisation, bringing together all active members of the Jewish community, has mounted active resistance in many houses. There is regular fighting between Jewish combatants and Germans.

At noon, a line of Ger[man] Red Cr[oss] cars left the ghetto with dead and wounded gendarmes and SS-men. The Jewish resistance is much fiercer and stronger than in January of this year.

In some houses, fires broke out as a result of shooting on both sides. There are clouds of smoke over the ghetto.

The German operation is aimed at the definitive annihilation and liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto serving as the centre of resistance of the fighting Jewish community.

While we are airing this broadcast – the fighting is going on with all fierceness.

Communication No. 2.

20 April 1943.

The fight of the Jewish Combat Org[anisation] against the Germans in the Warsaw ghetto is fully underway. In the afternoon of Monday 19th April, there was regular fighting between the Jewish combatants and the SS and the gendarmerie. The cannonade lasted well into the night. The ceaseless rumble of explosions and grenades and the hammering of machine guns could be heard in nearly the whole city. Each house in the ghetto has turned into a fortress, besieged by the Germans and taken only by force. There are piles of dead bodies in the streets of the ghetto.

In the morning of Tuesday 20th April, the Germans issued an ultimatum to the Jew[ish] Combat Org[anisation] through the Presidium of the Jewish Council /*Gmina*/, demanding that the arms be laid down by 10 a.m.

Latvian units entered the ghetto as reinforcements. The combatants welcomed them with grenades. The ghetto walls are guarded by many SS-men and gendarmes, carrying grenades, in full combat gear. The fighting is continuing.

Communication No. 3.

Tuesday, 20 April 1943.

The Jewish Combat Org[anisation] leading the fight of the Warsaw ghetto rejected the German ultimatum to lay down arms on Tuesday by 10 a.m.

After several hours of relative peace, the combat operation was resumed. The Germans ordered many military units to continue the fight, supported by artillery, tanks and armoured units. On Tuesday afternoon and evening, there was a ceaseless cannonade. The streets bordering the ghetto, in particular the vicinity of Bonifraterska, Franciszkańska, and Świętojerska Streets, were sealed off by the army and the SS. The Germans set up field cannons and placed heavy machine guns on rooftops. At about 5-6, a hurricane-like bombardment of the ghetto was launched from that side. Explosions could be heard from tens of kilometres away. Numerous fires are breaking out and nobody is putting them out. There are clouds of smoke over the ghetto.

The tram and pedestrian traffic through the streets bordering the ghetto was blocked in the afternoon, the tram connection between Warsaw and Żoliborz and Marymont has been broken. The whole of Warsaw is impressed by the heroic defence of the Warsaw Ghetto. The siege of the ghetto and the fight put up by the Jewish combatants is almost the only topic of conversation for the million of the city's residents. The informed social circles are welcoming this fight with enthusiasm.

Jewish combatants have hung 2 banners over a house at 2 Muranowska Street: a white-and-amaranth one and a white-and-blue one. On another house, a banner with a combat slogan was displayed. Near the end of Sapieżyńska Street, combatants climbed the ghetto wall and threw some grenades: several SS-men, gendarmes, and Blue Policemen were torn to pieces on the spot.

On Tuesday afternoon, the Germans intensified the siege of the ghetto, they cut the electricity, water and gas supply to all streets of the ghetto. In order to track down shelters and hiding places in the ghetto /"Jewish bunkers"/, the Germans introduced packs of police dogs to the operation. We already know the results of the Jewish combat on the 1st day of the operation /Monday/: over 100 Germans were killed or wounded. Several dozen Germans had their arms taken away. Several tanks were burnt with petrol grenades. Enclosure No. 2.

Situation report from the Bund.

20 April 1943.

1. On the night of 18th/19th of April 1943, in the early morning, units of the SS, Sonderdienst and gendarmerie came in. A German order for the Jews to appear at the *Umschlagplatz* was not obeyed and served as the signal to engage in armed combat.

The ŻOB [Jewish Combat Organization] promptly manned designated points, planting themselves especially firmly in corner tenement houses. So far, the Germans have been storming houses and non-factory flats.

The ghetto community has been obeying ZOB orders and actively cooperating in resisting the enemy with absolute determination and courage of death.

2. The operation was started on the 19th of April in the morning, mainly in the northern part of the ghetto, especially in Nalewki Street. There, the combatants set fire to several factories working for the Germans, including a mattress factory. Then, they prevented the fire brigade from putting those fires out. On the 19th of April, in the afternoon, the "German offensive" moved towards the south of the ghetto. From the very beginning of the operation, the Germans, armed "to the teeth", found themselves under a shower of revolver bullets, bottles and cans with explosives, and hand grenades, thrown from windows, gates, and roofs.

The losses on the Jewish side are, of course, very severe. At the moment, they cannot be determined.

But the losses on the German side are also estimated at 60–70 dead and nearly 100 wounded, taken on a dozen trucks to city hospitals, especially the Social Secur. Hospital.

3. The Blue Police hardly participates in the ghetto operation. It guards gateways around the ghetto walls, but even here the main offensive role is also played by Germans, who are often firing at the windows of ghetto houses from outside the ghetto. The combatants, vigilant in their positions, are aiming guns and throwing hand grenades at patrolling Germans, bravely and with perfect composure. They have killed several Germans in Muranowska and Franciszkańska Streets and one Blue Policeman at Bonifraterska Street, and they have wounded a number of Germans.

Reportedly, today, i.e. on 20^{th} April, at some points adjoining the ghetto walls, there were also some combatants with machine g[uns], most likely taken from Germans.

4. Today, i.e. on 20th of April, at noon, a message was received that 2 of the 5 tanks participating in an attack against the Jews on 19th of April had been
burnt. On the 20th, in the afternoon, planes started circling over the area covered by the operation. There are also tanks, ready for action, at several locations around the ghetto.

On the 20th of this month, field guns were set up near Krasińskich Square, from which the brave German knights started bombarding the "fortress" of the Warsaw ghetto.

5. The sounds of the German might clashing with the tormented Jews, and the shocking view of the heroes, bravely holding on to their redoubts, surrounded by Germans on all sides and yet firing at them relentlessly, compels deep admiration and the desire to come to their help.

There are banners hanging here and there, among them – a Polish banner, and another one with the slogan: "We shall fight till the end", and they raise the temperature of compassion and solidarity on the part of Warsaw residents, especially the working class.

6. In the morning of the 20th of this month, the Germans led the first groups of "captives" – several hundred women and children, weary, exhausted, with deathly fear in their eyes. On the afternoon of the 20th, several companies of Ukrainians, Latvians, and Mongolian-Russian Nazi janissaries entered the ghetto. We have just received reports that the called-in murderers have commenced a mass massacre of the ghetto. Heavy bombardment is going on.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 303–306.

15

23 April 1943, Warsaw. Special report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland on the liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto, along with enclosures.

Ref. Żeg. T/V Spec. 23 April 1943 Pan Grabowiecki

II Special report on the liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto

On the night of $21^{st}/22^{nd}$ of April, the fighting within the ghetto became less intense, and on 22^{nd} of April, the ghetto was peaceful, except for a fire raging over houses in the quarter delineated by Świętojerska, Bonifraterska, Franciszkańska, and Nalewki Streets. According to German accounts, the resistance in the ghetto has been crushed. There are 96 killed and 420 wounded on the German side, on the Jewish side - 18,000 killed. German sources inform that 1,500 combatants participated actively in the fighting, on the German side – 5,000 members of Waffen SS, gendarmerie and Wehrmacht. On the Jewish side, apart from the 1,500 combatants who fought finely and ambitiously, as the Germans state, the rest of the Jewish community, about 40,000, adopted a definitely passive attitude. The proof is to be found in the example of the Többens shops, where in a group of houses having a natural defensive location /as they are surrounded by an empty space/, there were about 15,000 Jews, and among them – a unit of combatants equipped with weapons, and where no resistance was mounted. According to the same accounts, Jewish combatants had impressive weapons. The weapons were of German origin: revolvers, LMGs, and HMGs /e.g. at the main point of resistance, at the intersection of Franciszkańska and Nalewki Streets, the HMGs were positioned on concrete mounts/. On 22nd of April, having destroyed all nests of resistance, the Germans ordered the remaining Jews to assemble at a designated place. The order was mostly obeyed /also by the Többens shops/, with the exception of brush-makers, who put up resistance, quickly crushed. The Jews who assembled on the designated spot are gradually loaded into wagons and transported to Treblinka.

Apart from the above accounts, drawn up based on information of German origin, which seems highly probable and is supported by the meaningful silence of 22nd of April – there are other versions and suppositions, built based on observations and "local inspections" and based on the comments of Jews on this and that side of the ghetto walls.

A wall built on the night of $21^{st}/22^{nd}$ of April along Franciszkańska Street /in the middle of the road/ hints at a special German method consisting in dividing the ghetto into sections that can be liquidated more easily. For this reason, it is possible that after nests of resistance have been liquidated, some combatants are now within the northern section of the ghetto (...) section not covered by any fire and so far left in peace as other sections are now being cleared up. If this supposition is correct, the resistance may be resumed. However, it seems impossible to organise sufficiently strong nests of resistance. It should be assumed that the liquidation operation will continue for a longer time, with much less military action in comparison with what has been happening so far. Apart from that part, in percentage terms – a huge share of the Jewish community that decided to obey the order to go to Treblinka's steam chambe[rs], there are Jews in the cellars of probably every house in the ghetto, waiting to be rescued. Thus, the liquidation operation may entail, with (...) means of aid, a longer list of victims fallen within the Warsaw ghetto.

As a general conclusion on the current situation, it should be assumed that a pacification phase has opened, in which, doubtless, blood is still going to be

spilled, and more than once. The night of $22^{nd}/23^{rd}$ prove[s] that resistance has stiffened in particular new points of resistance. It should be expected that the combatants, whose numbers have been depleted by relatively little, will still act as an element of strong resistance until conditions arise that are most favourable to the saving of the combatants.

The attitude of the Polish population /especially in the districts adjoining the ghetto/ is uniform. The atmosphere is definitely hostile towards the Germans, with sympathy and admiration for the Jewish resistance. The unbelievable German atrocities, such as setting fire to houses and not letting out women and children, escalate this atmosphere to such a degree that rad[io] reports on the massacre near Smoleńsk, so far eagerly listened to, are currently attributed by the gullible residents of the suburbs – to the Germans. The resistance of the handful of Jewish combatants, lasting for three days, is drawing particular admiration. An opinion is forming that with this fierce act of resistance, the Jews have entirely saved the honour of their nation, fighting for freedom in the same way as others.

Enclosure No. 1.

Communications and situation reports of the Jew[ish] Coordination Com[mittee] /Jew[ish] National Com[mittee] and the Bund/

Communication No. 4.

Wednesday, 21 April 1943

There was ceaseless shooting throughout the night from Tuesday to Wednesday. The German artillery fired at the ghetto from several directions. Numerous fires broke out. On Wednesday, on the third day of the combat operation, the fighting raged with all fierceness. Numerous tanks entered the ghetto. Jewish combatants threw petrol bombs at them. The fierce artillery fire lasted until noon. The ghetto continued its heroic defence. During the first two days of fighting, the Jewish combatants carried out a number of offensive operations. A foray of a unit of combatants to Zamenhoffa Street liquidated a group of SS-men, after a short fight, the Germans retreated, leaving their killed and wounded behind. The combatants threw some grenades at an SS unit walking along Leszno Street. There was fierce fighting in Miła and Niska Streets. The Germans launched an assault on a few houses in Nalewki Street; the assault lasted for several hours, the houses caught fire. Women actively participate in the operations of the Jew[ish] Combat Org[anisation], showing tremendous courage. On Tuesday, a woman in a helmet appeared in the window of a house bordering the ghetto wall and she fired a series of shots from a revolver in the direction of the SS-men surrounding the wall. On Wednesday

afternoon, a huge fire broke out in several houses in Świętojerska Street. As nobody attempted to put it out, it quickly spread to the nearby houses. A huge column of smoke rose over Warsaw, visible from many kilometres away. The flames, shooting from the burning group of houses, get through to Krasińskich Square, where thousands of people from outside the wall watch a depiction of the raging Nazi barbarism. The tram connections between Warsaw and Żoliborz and Marymont districts are still out of service, and the connections running through Leszno Street have been discontinued as well. On Wednesday, at 9 p.m., the following telegram was received from the ŻOB Commandant over the telephone: "The Combatants are fighting splendidly. Combat divisions are in perfect spirits. Our human losses are relatively small. We are short of ammunition (...). We will keep fighting to the last breath".

Communication No. 5.

Thursday, 22 April 1943.

Thursday was marked by huge fires that covered the following streets: Świętojerska, Franciszkańska, Wałowa, and Nalewki, in the afternoon – also Zamenhoffa Street. The fires were caused by blast and incendiary shells of the German artillery. Throughout the day, there were clouds of smoke hanging above the entire ghetto, growing by the hour. The fires gutting the houses bordering the walls in Franciszkańska and Świętojerska Streets raged with unparalleled fierceness. The streets of the ghetto are filled with dense, acrid smoke. It is evident that the Germans have applied the atrocious tactic of setting the ghetto on fire. Seeing that they cannot break the resistance of the Jewish combatants by armed fighting, they decided to destroy them with fire. Thousands of women and children are burning alive inside the houses. Terrible screams and calls for help can be heard from the burning houses. People engulfed in flames, live torches, appeared in the windows of many houses. The fires did not break the spirits of the Jew[ish] combatants, who continue to put up heroic resistance against the Germans. The Germans, trying to prevent Jews from escaping or contacting the combatants through sewers, ordered the city authorities to plug sewer outlets - some outlets are being guarded by gendarmes - and the Germans have fired at some sewers several times. According to preliminary estimates, the German losses during the first three days of the combat are: about 200 killed, over 400 wounded.

Situation report of 21 April.

1. Units of the German infantry and their foreign satellites, having suffered defeat in direct combat during the storming of the ghetto houses, left it completely for the night. The number of helpless old people, women and children murdered by the occupant is huge, however, losses among the

combatants are not much greater than those among Germans. Sewer outlets are being guarded by armed German posts. The siege is led by the Wehrmacht.

- 2. Starting from early morning, anti-tank or possibly anti-aircraft guns started to be set up around the ghetto walls, and in the afternoon also heavy howitzers. Surrounded by guns, the ghetto was subjected to fierce bombarding /intensifying especially in the afternoon and in the evening/. This immense pressure exerted by the German power did not dampen the spirits of the fighting Jews. So far, the attitude, discipline, and organisation of the defenders have remained perfect. The shortage of ammunition explains the sparse firing.
- 3. The combatants continue to set fire to German factories and warehouses, including a large tannery in Świętojerska Street. There are also losses among gun operators, who are attacked by the combatants with rifles and machine guns, set up in some houses at the outskirts of the ghetto. So far, the Germans have been tolerating the assembling of Poles at a relatively short distance from the guns, as they assume, and rightly so, that this inclines the combatants to open fire carefully, and thus more sparsely and more rarely.
- 4. According to persistent rumours, the Germans are supposed to have evacuated inmates from the Pawiak prison today, fearing that the combatants might attempt to capture it from outside.
- 5. It is said that some combatants were observed wearing Polish military uniforms /especially officers/.

Situation report of 22 April.

- This morning, the ghetto, especially Świętojerska Street and partially Franciszkańska Street, was subjected to another hurricane bombardment from all types of guns. At the same time, the Germans set many houses on fire probably by means of flame-throwers and they did not allow any fire brigades in to put the fires out. However, the enemy did send fire brigades to factory plants and German warehouses set on fire by the combatants, especially those located in large buildings. Besides, the fire service are keeping watch to make sure that the fires do not spread outside the ghetto. An effort in which, it is said, they are not always successful. The enemy interrupted water supply to some sections of the ghetto.
- 2. At about noon, German infantry units managed to reach some bombarded and burnt-out northern parts of the ghetto. Amid fierce direct fighting and a massacre of the defenceless, the Germans captured alive some small groups of combatants, exhausted from the long-lasting tensions of combat.

The view of small groups /men and women/ led through the crowd by Germans, armed to the teeth, was something diametrically different from the nearly everyday scenes of the gloomy and tragic days of August and September 1942, when only a handful of bandits led a crowd of Jews, disgracefully and cynically deceived, to death.

- 3. Actual fighting is still going on in the area not covered by the shops. In the latter, life is said to be hardly different from the "norm" experienced so far. The German posts have only been reinforced slightly. In the areas in which fighting takes place, the actual authority is held by the ŻOB. Some groups that actively support the ŻOB have published leaflets appealing to the people to endure.
- 4. According to unconfirmed, unofficial data, the German losses include more than 200 killed, while the number of killed combatants is low. The number of victims among the defenceless people in the ghetto /especially women and children/ is huge. Today, a few Germans – SS-men – were killed outside the ghetto. It is said that 5 German soldiers keeping watch around the ghetto walls were disarmed yesterday.

Just now, some certain, though fragmentary, data have been received directly from the ŻOB Command. They indicate that the combatants have lost two to three percent of their people, and that their mood and attitude are great. They ask for support and for further ammunition supplies.

Due to the lengthy siege of the ghetto, the myth of the unconquerable power of Germany can be seen fading in the consciousness of the Polish society, while admiration and respect for the outstanding bravery and heroism of the desperate combatants are growing.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 309–311.

16

27 April 1943, Warsaw. Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto.

Mr. Grabowiecki

Reg. Żeg. T/VI. Spec. 27 April 1943.

The ninth day of the Jewish-German war going on in Warsaw is of special significance to the prestige and propaganda of the occupant. This situation bears all features of a catastrophe, if we take into account the major influence "of the war to change the attitudes of Warsaw residents towards the power

of the paralysing methods of terror employed by the Germans to intimidate the Polish population.

Today, the loss 5 of the most important trump card against the Polish population – the trump card of fear caused by terror – as observed recently in the Brühl Palace – has actually been confirmed very clearly.

The resistance mounted by the ŻOB for nine days, in regular combat, first in the form of "trench" warfare and presently – guerrilla warfare, against the German military forces, was bound to make an understandable impression on the Polish residents of Warsaw observing the "war", and due to the emerging legend of the "Ghetto-fortress" spreading across the country, it will be a decisive factor in the willingness to pay back for terror with terror.

The above point of view renders the resistance of the Warsaw ghetto an event of nation-wide importance, at least in psychological and moral terms. The Germans are already becoming aware of the situation. This is evidenced by rumours that are being spread in a persistent manner /origin: Szucha Avenue/ that the ghetto resistance is led by German deserters. The German attitude is best characterised by these authentic words of a Gestapo officer from Szucha Avenue: "Only Germans are able to organise such resistance and lead it so effectively". There are also open and quite commonly expressed concerns that the operation will spread outside the ghetto walls, which definitively compromise the possibility of crushing resistance in such or similar circumstances.

The information of German origin that we provided in the communication of 23 April 1943 and that described the situation in the ghetto as resolved, was merely a recognition of the fact that the "trench" warfare is transforming into long-lasting combat of a "pacification period", paralysing the prestige of the German power. The displacement of the Jews who did not participate in the combat has freed the ŻOB of any inhibiting factors. The attitude of the ŻOB, full of determination, that of people "who have nothing to lose", writes beautiful chapters of heroism in this last phase of the existence of the Warsaw ghetto.

The German pacification methods consist primarily in using aerial incendiary bombs that are destroying literally all buildings in the ghetto. The activity of the ŻOB is not weakening, and the small losses of the combatants promise long-lasting resistance. A letter of the ŻOB Commandant confirms this supposition. The combatants display an attitude of desperate courage. After the points of resistance have been destroyed, the defensive, but also the aggressive activity has taken the form of guerrilla warfare. The offensive attitude related to this combat system has been expressed by the capture of 26 Germans /including 3 officers/. After the Germans rejected the proposal to exchange them

⁵ The word was added in black ink.

for Jewish combatants, all of them were killed by being thrown on the pavement from the fourth floor.

In conclusion, if the nine days of combat are to be assessed synthetically, once again, it is important to stress the psychological and propaganda significance of the events. It has been contributing significantly to the final overcoming of the fear instilled in the entire Polish population by any, even the most severe, systems of terror.

The combat in the Warsaw ghetto continues.

Situation report

of 23 April 1943.

- 1. After the enemy had overpowered the central and peripheral parts of the northern ghetto, the fighting moved further to the north. The fires raging over that section, the rumbling of heavier and anti-aircraft guns, more intensive in the evening and particularly at night, the dense rattle of machine guns, and the frequent sounds of detonations, probably coming from mines used by the enemy to blow up "persistent" points, all indicate that the combatants are still perfectly willing to defend themselves in the ghetto. Többens has had the majority of equipment at his plants disassembled and sent to Poniatowa together with 22 thousand /from the overall number of 8 thousand/ Jewish workers. The resistance on the premises of the brush-making shop is continuing.
- On 22 April 1943, one of the bravest ŻOB leaders died on the ghetto front

 Michał /engineer Klepfisz/, a member of the "Bund", former defender
 of Warsaw in September 1939, a tireless activist among young people.
- 3. An announcement of the ŻOB Command appeared in the city, ensuring the Polish nation about the steadfast decision to continue fighting the invader till the end.
- 4. The recent German operation to "displace" the ghetto in Białystok has also been met with armed resistance on the part of the Jewish population. Over 100 Germans died in the heavy fights.

Bund and ŻKN Coordination Commission.⁶

Situation report of 24 April 1943.

Today – on the 6th day of the fierce fighting – the ghetto still remains unconquered. The peripheral areas taken by the enemy are still being cleared up. However, even in those areas, or streets, the combatants engage in fierce guerrilla warfare against the enemy – at particular focal points of resistance,

⁶ Added in black ink on particular reports.

especially within blocks of buildings. The Germans blow up such houses by planting mines.

1. Consolidated ŻOB units, maintaining communication with one another, are concentrating in the remaining areas of the ghetto, still quite large. As yet, these areas, located nearer Okopowa Street and next to the Powąz-ki cemetery, have not come under a general assault by the enemy. Apart from minor, ineffective clashes between German units and combatants, this part of the ghetto had been relatively peaceful until the evening. Only in the evening did planes drop a series of incendiary bombs that caused fires in different parts of the ghetto /especially in the vicinity of Muranowska, Gęsia, Nalewki, and Okopowa Streets/. The ghetto is on fire. The combatants are setting fire to German factories and warehouses, inter alia large uniform-making plants have burnt down. Detonations, the rattle of LMGs, and the rumble of guns, sparser during the day, become more frequent and lively between 9 and 11 p.m.

B. C. C. and ŻKN.

Situation report of 25 April 1943.

- 1. This afternoon, planes dropped incendiary bombs, again. A dozen or so fires were reported. In the evening, the entire ghetto was bathed in the glow of fires. The Germans are still not letting the fire brigades in. The ominous silence reigning on this side is interrupted by shots from heavy howitzers and explosions of mines, planted by the Germans under the house they capture.
- According to accounts of the residents of Powązki, a n area which is relatively close to the north-western part of the ghetto, the sounds of frequent firing from rifles, revolvers and machine guns can be heard in that area, which means that the ŻOB must still be fighting fiercely against the invader there.
- 3. Rumours, so far unconfirmed, are circulating in the entire city about a defamatory note in a Berlin paper, stating that Poles, moved deeply by the Katyń massacre, attacked the ghetto and set it on fire. Today, leaflets of various bodies of the Polish Underground State have appeared, condemning the atrocious German bestiality committed before the eyes of entire Warsaw and expressing admiration and reverence for the outstanding bravery and the unbroken spirit of the heroic combatants.

B. C. C. and ŻKN.

x sending brotherly regards from the front positions, gutted by fires

Letter of the Jewish Combat Organisation Commandant to his deputy outside the ghetto

Our experiences cannot be described in words. We are aware of only one thing: what has happened has surpassed even our wildest dreams. The Germans have fled the ghetto twice. One of our units held on to its positions for 40 minutes, and another combat unit – for 6 hours! A mine that we planted on the premises of the brush-making shop went off. Some of our units attacked and scattered the Germans. We have lost very few people. This is a success as well. J. has fallen, he died a heroic death of a soldier operating a machine gun. I have a feeling that great things are happening, that what we have dared to do is of profound significance.

General situation: all shops inside and outside the ghetto have been shut down, except for "Werterfassung", "Transavia", and the Dering shop. The brush-making shop has been on fire for three days now. We have no contact with the combat groups among the brush-makers. Numerous fires have broken out in the ghetto. Entire blocks of buildings are burning. Yesterday, a hospital burnt down. The Jewish police has been dissolved, except for a unit at "Werterfassung". That scoundrel Szmerling has emerged again. The Germans released Lichtenbaum from the *Umschlagsplatz*. They did not get many people from the central ghetto. The situation is different in the shops. Thousands were taken from there.

Starting from this evening, we are switching to guerrilla tactics. This night three combat units are going out into the field. They have two tasks: gathering intelligence and getting weapons. Remember that handguns are of no use to us. We rarely use them. We desperately need: grenades, rifles, machine guns, explosives.

It is impossible to describe the living conditions currently prevailing in the ghetto. Only a few will be able to survive it. All others will die, sooner or later. They are doomed. In nearly all shelters where thousands of people are hiding, no candle can be lit due to lack of air!

Through our receiver, we heard the beautiful broadcast of the "Świt" station on our combat. The fact that those outside the ghetto walls remember about us gives us an uplift in our fight.

Take care, my dear: perhaps we'll meet again. The dream of my life has come true. Jewish self-defence in the Warsaw ghetto has become a fact. Jewish armed resistance and retaliation has become real. I witnessed the glorious, heroic fight of Jewish combatants.

Warsaw, – ghetto, 23 April 1943.

Account of the liquidation operation on the premises of the Többens shop

On Sunday 18th April, late in the evening, Többens called a meeting of workshop managers /Jews/ and announced that a "displacement" operation was "being launched" in the ghetto on the next day, however, the operation was not to cover his shop. Those working in his shop would be able to voluntarily go to the Poniatowa camp, together with their families. After this announcement, Többens had those participating in the meeting closed in a room so that they would be unable to inform the ghetto about the planned operation. Next morning, an announcement signed by Többens appeared in the workshops and residential buildings, emphasising that the operation in the ghetto was retaliatory in nature, that it was a response to the "riotous" operation of the Jewish Combat Organisation and that it did not concern the peaceful workers of his shop. The announcement called on the workers not to yield to the persuasion of rebellious individuals, to refrain from resistance. Monday was generally peaceful. On Tuesday, early in the morning, the entire area /Leszno Street/ was manned by the gendarmerie and šauliai, who started firing chaotically at windows. On that day, Többens called a second meeting of managers and announced that everyone had to leave for Poniatowa the next morning. Due to an atmosphere of panic and as a result of a skilful propaganda campaign, a considerable number of people volunteered to leave, about 2¹/₂ thousand. Those who were to be displaced were to appear in front of their houses. They were allowed to take 15 kg of luggage. On Wednesday morning, a large number of SS-men, in full combat gear and with grenades at their belts, entered the area. The displaced people were loaded into cars and sent directly to rail wagons at the "Umschagplatz". They were probably taken to Treblinka. In the same area, there are about 5 thousand people who are hiding in shelters. However, they are in such low spirits that if Többens enabled them to leave "voluntarily", another several thousand would willingly do so. People in shelters are afraid that the water supply will be cut off. Someone kind offered advice by telephone on how to draw water even if the supply is cut off. However, this information did not calm the people. On Wednesday, a tight blockade was imposed by the SS, but it had hardly any effect. The Germans generally failed to reach the shelters. They only murdered a dozen or so people in their flats. Within the Többens area, no resistance was mounted as the attitude of a considerable number of the people who assembled there had been influenced by false propaganda for quite a time. In that shop, delusions affected the workers' attitude to a greater extent than elsewhere. It is possible that when the Germans start reaching the shelters, resistance will be mounted here, too. Active resistance was put up by workers of the neighbouring shop, K. G. Szulc. No-

body volunteered to leave, nearly everyone has hidden in shelters. No details available.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 312–315.

17

29 April 1943, Warsaw. Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto, along with enclosures.

Ghetto

Ref. Żeg. T/VII Spec. 29 April 1943

The liquidation of the ghetto should be deemed completed. The recently heard detonations result from the "clearing up" of particular blocks of buildings /performed, systematically, at each and every house, without exceptions/, consisting in setting fire and then using mines to blow up cellars, regardless of whether they are empty or whether people are still inside.

However, resistance should be expected in some places. Such acts, however, will be sporadic.

We enclose an account of a man who managed to get out of that hell alive. Also: further communications from the Bund and ŻKN Coord. Com.

Grabowiecki, Esq.

EXPERIENCES OF ONE OF MANY

19-24 April 1943

/Account of an activist of the Jew[ish] National Committee/

On the night from Sunday to Monday nobody slept. Sentries from combat groups kept guard. Civilians hid in shelters, either in cellars or on higher floors. Flats became empty. The first reports from observers went as follows: the ghetto walls are manned with German soldiers. The day had come, then. In the morning, the air filled with the rumble of fire from rifles, revolvers and machine guns, and with explosions of grenades, firecrackers and missiles. The fighting flared up. The area where I was staying /Heeresstandortverwaltung, Wałowa, Świętojerska, Bonifraterska, Franciszkańska Streets/ was not covered by the German operation on that day /i.e. Monday 19 April/. The defenders were ordered to provoke no incidents. The atmosphere was serious and we all felt the sense of responsibility. Everyone was aware that something important

was happening. At about noon, we received a letter from the commissioner for the relocation of enterprises from the Jewish district in Warsaw, W. C. Többens, in which he informed that the operation concerned <u>only</u> the central ghetto, where it would have the character of retaliation for failure to obey the orders of the authorities, and that our area would not be affected by any means. Then Többens called on workshop managers and workers to keep calm and to carry on with their normal work and duties. In the late afternoon, a Ger[man] manager, Heeresst. verw Dr. Laus, came and together with a German Werkschutz manager – a non-commissioned officer – they visited all military posts set up around our block and asked not to fire in the direction of our area.

There was still tension and anxiety. News coming from the centr[al] ghetto – a theatre of war – although scarce, cast bright light on the methods of Ger[man] criminals and on the nature of the operation. It became clear that as opposed to any previous operations, in which the peaceful, civilian ghetto population was forced to embark on a life or misery and most frequently found death, conducted by means of fear and terror, with only a slight military help – in this case, the Germans adopted a frontal tactic. Early in the morning, the Blue Police alarmed on the previous day was withdrawn as unsuitable for the new tasks at hand. It was replaced by heavy vehicles that entered the ghetto carrying hundreds of Waffen-SS soldiers armed from head to foot, as well as 6 tanks, dozens of heavy machine guns, dozens of ammunition vehicles, and artillery. A group of desperate combatants started their fight defending their honour and human dignity of the Jews of the ghetto. The operation was commanded by the experienced arch-butchers of the SS, Hantke and Michelsen. With the ample help of the Umsiedlungsamt and "junaks" – Ukrainian pawns. On the first day, the Germans started a fire at the corner of 31–33 Nalewki Street, 2–4 Gesia Street. The Polish fire brigade did not extinguish the fire. The Germans ran in[to] unexpectedly strong resistance. Only to their absolute superiority in terms of human and material resources and to the ample help of motorised units and air force do the Germans owe the fact that they were able to retreat from the fighting area for the night, even if only with considerable losses / about three hundred killed and wounded/. The defenders show an excellent attitude. From our observation points, there are many killed and wounded. On Monday evening and throughout the night from Monday to Tuesday, there was a powerful cannonade from guns. On Tuesday morning, doctor Laus came and immediately called a conference of workshop managers. He said that due to the events taking place in the ghetto, we needed to leave for Poniatowa the next day. The Germans have suffered quite meaningful losses / ganz beträchtliche/. We all felt that we would have to pay appropriate compensation for the German defeats, in blood and lives. Doctor Laus still ensured us that there would be no operations within our area.

On Tuesday, we received further news from the central ghetto – the fighting was continuing, the defenders were shooting from their improvised posts and they were shooting accurately. On many houses /on Monday, on the roofs of the houses at 35–37 Nalewki Street, on Tuesday – in Franciszkańska Street/, fully functional machine guns were set up. There were many German ambulances driving around.

In the evening, our block was alarmed by the news that nests had been set up along the walls, along Franciszkańska Street, and in the ruins of the house at 29 Franciszkańska Street. Nests with machine guns had been set up, with the barrels directed at our area. It was clear that we would not avoid the catastrophe, either. Civilians went down to shelters and the defenders took their positions. At about 6 p.[m.], a German unit rushed into our block. A mine planted by the defenders at the gate at 6 Wałowa Street went off. 15 Germans were torn to pieces and dozens got wounded. The German attack, lasting for half an hour, ended in their complete defeat. The number of German victims, killed and wounded, is estimated at one hundred. Throughout the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, our area was bombarded with cannon shells.

On Wednesday 21st April, an outright attack was launched on our block. From the early morning, the houses at 32 and 34 Świętojerska Street were attacked with guns, HMGs, and <u>planes.</u> The defenders thwarted the German plans. 7 defence groups – fearless young men and girls – kept the Germans in check. Only in the evening did the Germans manage to set the houses at 32 and 34 Świętojerska Street on fire, using firecrackers and incendiary bombs dropped from the air. I was hiding in a cellar shelter /32 Świętojerska Street/ - at 11 p.[m.] we caught a strong smell of smoke – the shelter was filling with carbon dioxide. Electricity and water had already been cut off by the Germans - the candle was hardly burning. The cellar neighbouring our bunker was on fire. We got out through a big widening in the vent and we reached the backyard of the burning house. One woman stayed in the shelter forever. We were asphyxiated. I was staggering. At the last moment, at about midnight, I found a way to the attic of the house at 30 Świętojerska Street. Groups of young people were walking fire victims to makeshift emergency outposts. Volunteers were extinguishing fire in the attic of that house.

I got soup, meat, and tea at the emergency outpost. I recovered some of my strength.

On that night, a group of defenders (40 men) broke through into the central ghetto. They were wearing German uniforms and helmets. They all had hand weapons. They killed several gendarmes at 20 and 21 Franciszkańska Street. They had accomplished their goal.

On Thursday, 22nd April, I was in a shelter built under the third gate of the house at 28 Świetojerska Street. There were about 80 children in the shelter. At 10 a.m., we detected smoke in the shelter. After we had left the shelter, we saw that the houses at 30 and 28 Świetojerska Street and 21 Franciszkańska Street were on fire. The people were on the brink of insanity. Some people started dancing, shouting, throwing themselves on the Germans surrounding the burning houses. They went mad. A sharp smell of burning human meat was hanging in the air. People were saying prayers for the dead. I got into the house at 23 Franciszkańska Street through a hole – that house was also on fire – I rushed on. I got into the house at 27 Franciszkańska Street through the roof. It was on fire. Half-naked, fire victims were sitting in the middle of the backyard. Bullets were flying around us all the time. I learned that in the morning, the defenders attacked a German unit searching the house at 32 Świętojerska Street. Together with about 30 persons, I got to the ruins of the house at 39 Franciszkańska Street through a hole in the wall; there, we found a shelter. In the shelter, we met two men poisoned with smoke bombs that the Germans had thrown into their shelter the previous day. They were both lying and moaning continuously. At 5 p.m., our shelter was discovered by the Germans. Everyone left the bunker. I stayed there with four women. We hid in a small corridor. After everyone had left, the Germans threw a handful of grenades and a smoke bomb into our bunker. We started suffocating. With a superhuman effort, I managed to open a flap closed by the Germans. The smoke was slowly escaping. At 7 p. [m.], our bunker was searched again. I heard a German officer persuading Ukrainians not to be afraid, to boldly lower into the shelter. 10 Ukrainians commanded by an officer captured us – 1 man, 2 women and 2 children: we were made to stand with our faces towards the wall. They were looking for arms, but they took literally everything – even a small mirror and a comb. War booty! I told the German that if he was to shoot me dead, he should do it as soon as possible and that he might as well do it by shooting me in the temple. He answered that they had something better in store for us. Umschlagplatz. With our hands up in the air, escorted by 3 Ukrainians, our group /5 souls/ went towards Stawki Street, to the Umschlagplatz. What did we see on our way there? The house at 24/26 Franciszkańska Street was on fire. Each gate was guarded by Germans and Ukrainians. In Nalewki Street, at the corner of Gesia Street, there were Waffen-SS members in full gear. The hospital at 6 Gęsia Street was on fire. The streets were covered with gun cartridges. We turn at the Zamenhoffa-Gęsia guard post. We are now within the central ghetto. A row of charred houses. 32, 38 Zamenhoffa Street. A group of captured Jews /mostly women and children/ are kneeling at the corner of Kupiecka and Zamenhoffa Streets. We pass lifeless streets and lifeless houses. The sun is setting wonderfully. The sky is covered with a cloud of smoke. The house at 21 /?/ Muranowska Street is burning. From time to time, a German car drives by through the streets. And then, again, a deadly silence falls. We went by the Zamenhoffa-Dzika guard post. We turned right to the Umschlagplatz. Another search. Hitting with gun stocks. They drive people inside the Umschlagplatz building /before the war - a very good primary school/. We are now in the kingdom of death. We are made to kneel. In the middle of the room – a makeshift latrine. A terrible stench. Children are crying. Those who were burnt are moaning. Outside, rifle shooting can be heard all the time. The room is filled with smoke. A Ukrainian is hitting random people with the gun stock. Then he demands 500 zlotys for a glass of water. At 9, some people were moved to another toilet on the ground floor. Every five minutes an alarm and a search. The Germans are taking even 10 zlotys. I have lost my hat, coat, and jacket. During the night, the guards are shooting at the windows – many are wounded. We get no water. People pay 20 and more zlotys for a sip of water. I learn that the captured Jews have received no piece of bread and no drop of water since Monday. Then it's probably Treblinka – to be turned into soap! People are lying breathless. And children, children???

On Friday 23rd, I get to the second floor. Same hell. Before the noon, a group from the Jewish Council appears at the entrance to the Umschlagplatz. Without ceremony, everyone was driven into the building, only the President of the Jew. Coun., eng. M. Lichtenbaum, the Deputy President, att. Wielikowski, the councillor A. Sztolcman, and eng. St. Szereszewski were left outside. After 10 minutes, some revolver shots could be heard and the bodies of the above-mentioned were lying on the Umschlagplatz dump. During the day, Werterfassung workers are taken away, about 3 thousand people. Merely 200 people were left and taken to the Többens area, to Prosta Street. We spend the day desperately looking for a way to escape. Unfortunately – all efforts go to waste. The Umschlagplatz looks like a fortified camp. Tens of soldiers with machine guns are manning all exits. On the night from Friday to Saturday, about 100 people tried to escape. It seems that nobody broke through the German cordon. There was shooting throughout the night. A friend of mine, Mr R., was hit in the heart. On Friday, the house at 3 Niska Street and a number of other houses at Niska Street were set on fire. The explosions make it impossible to sleep.

When will they send us away?

On Saturday, 24th April, a rumour went around that they would send us away on that day. In the meantime, people look for bread and water, but in vain. At about 10 a.m., we were informed that we would get bread and water. People came back to life. In a room containing 150 people, 3 to 5 1-kg <u>loaves</u> were thrown, as if for dogs. Water was provided in a similar proportion. At 11.30, all captured people, about 3,500, were taken to the yard, where W.C. Többens made a selection with the help of SS beasts. I noticed that the SS-men were cruel not only towards Jews, but also towards Ukrainians whom they whipped on the heads.

The selection was performed completely chaotically, with only one principle – to divide families, to separate men from women. Groups were taken to wagons. I was loaded to a wagon which, according to Többens, was to go to Poniatowa. The women – to Trawniki. At 12, at noon, they closed our freight wagons. The manoeuvers at the Warszawa Gdańska station [*Dworzec Gdański*] started at 11.30 p.m. We had no water. The ghetto was burning in the distance. Finally, we set off. Just beyond the Otwock station, I jumped out of the wagon. Ignoring the severe pain in my leg, I started walking in the dark. At 5 a.m., I arrived in Karczew. I met Polish railwaymen. I told them about my experiences. They took great care of me. With their generous help, I got to Warsaw.

Enclosure No. 1.

Communication No. 6. of the Coord[ination] Com[mission] of the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] and the Bund.

Tuesday, 27 April 1943.

Over the last few days, starting from Friday, 23^{rd} April, to Monday, 26^{th} April, inclusive, the Jewish combatants followed the tactic of night guerrilla warfare. At night, a number of combat groups left their hiding places with three tasks: to liquidate Germans, to obtain weapons, and to gather intelligence on the current situation. Due to the new tactic of the combatants, fights between them and Germans took place mainly by night. While there was relative peace during the day, at night, fierce shooting could be heard over long distances. Particularly heavy fire, both from field artillery and from HMGs and LMGs, as well as grenade detonations, could be heard on the night from Friday to Saturday $/23^{rd}/24^{th}$ of this month/ and from Saturday to Sunday $/24^{th}/25^{th}$ /. The fights were long and difficult. Salvos lasted throughout the nights, nearly without stopping.

By day, fires were raging all the time. A huge glow over the ghetto has become an everyday phenomenon. Clouds of smoke are continuously floating over Warsaw. The Germans are systematically implementing their plan to set the ghetto on fire on all sides and to burn all its defiant residents alive. So far, several dozen buildings have burnt down, including a hospital, buildings at the Umschlagsplatz, a number of factory buildings. On Monday, 26th April, a dozen or so houses were burning at the same time in these streets: Nowolipie, Kar-

melicka, Leszno, Niska, Murawska. Bearing in mind that there are over 400 occupied houses /over 200 in the central ghetto and about 200 within the shop area/ in the ghetto, this method, seeking to burn the ghetto to the ground, will not give the Germans a quick "victory", either. In many houses, there are still shelters that have not been reached by the Germans. Combat units in the houses and larger shops are ready for further fighting and they won't give up soon.

Despite the fact that a considerable number of people from the shop area have been taken away /including, as has been reported, 2 thousand people from the Többens area/, despite the fact that several thousand people have been murdered during the ghetto operation. In shelters and hiding places. They are facing the prospect of being burnt alive or murdered by the Germans in the nearest future.

All ghetto residents that are <u>currently</u> remaining within the ghetto will not surrender voluntarily. Under the command of the ZOB, they will keep fighting to the last breath.

Situation report of 28 April 1943.7

- 1. For a few days, the fighting has had a highly guerrilla-like and fragmentary character. Particular resistance groups, very often completely isolated from each other in the same street, are fighting against the Germans, attacking in concentric and wedge formations. Such individual resistance points often find it easier to contact the world outside the ghetto than each other. More coordinated operations are carried out by the combatants in the central parts of the north-eastern section of the ghetto, still hated by the enemy. Operations of the combatants, usually uncoordinated, although preordained to end tragically, continue to engage similarly large enemy forces, and the enemy keeps sending considerable numbers of soldiers to the specific areas. The size of the German army operating here is estimated at 6,000 soldiers.
- 2. Two facts are significantly contributing to the dismembering and crushing of the ghetto resistance by the Germans /apart from the enemy's fire power, of course/. First of all, the quick depletion of the limited ammunition resources is taking its toll. In the brush-making shop, for instance, where the defence was organised well, where there was quite a lot of equipment /1 HMG, according to other accounts 2 HMGs, each combatant armed with 2 revolvers and a haversack with ammunition, a mine planted in advance/, where the crew were in excellent spirits, the ŻOB kept up defence for a whole day. In the morning of 22nd of April, although the Germans brought a cannon, the ŻOB forced them to retreat by means of suppres-

⁷ Vide previous reports

sive fire and by setting off a mine by the gate. However, the very next day, the resistance was broken and the combatants, having no ammunition, hid in "bunkers" – shelters, waiting for a better opportunity and for ammunition, while the rest of the brush-makers were taken away. The other thing that is quickly disintegrating the ghetto resistance – are the fires. For several days now, the enemy has been using incendiary bombs, and especially flame-throwers, to set fire to a large number of houses, e.g. to systematically block the building blocks from which particularly intense defence is expected. The acrid smoke and fire drive residents out of the safest, it might seem, shelters, right towards the barrels of German rifles and guns. Even the few comfortable and modern shelters of wealthy people, very well concealed, with wells and ventilation systems, although more resistant to fire, are unsuitable for a longer stay, especially due to the minimum air capacity. Very many people - mainly among the weakest - especially children - are dying and suffocating in flames. Many people, tormented by the fires, shooting, and sleeplessness for days, are in a state of utmost collapse. So far, the spirits of the defenders have remained unbroken.

3. A factor weakening the paralysing effect of the two activities described above is the "migration" of people from burning districts and houses to less dangerous areas under the cover of the night, as well as the outmanoeuvering the enemy and making night forays against Germans who usually retreat from the areas covered by the operations for the night.

The relentless defence of the ŻOB under these truly apocalyptic conditions, which has been continuing for over 9 days now, raises the qualities of the defenders to levels rarely encountered in the history of soldierly virtues.

- 4. In the recent days, there have been significant changes in the treatment of people in the areas pacified by the invader. The ruthless murdering of all encountered Jews by the advancing Germans, observed in the first phase of the fighting, has yielded to a certain differentiation in the enemy's attitude towards victims. People holding arms are executed instantly. But other people, as long as they obey German orders /meldet euch frei ri[...]/, are driven onto the Umschlagplatz, from where wagons packed with victims leave in the direction of Lublin. At the Umschlagplatz, particularly great brutality towards the exhausted Jews is displayed by Ukrainians. Those escaping from wagons amid gunfire attract the sympathy of local residents, who kindly provide them with help.
- 5. On 27 April, vast fires broke out in Pokorna, Niska, and Stawki Streets. Near the Muranów fire station, a division of combatants made a foray on Germans. The Germans, in a loose formation, were observed shooting at the ghetto defenders.

Enclosure No. 2

Communication No. 7 of the ŻKN and Bund Coordination Commission

Thursday, 29 April 1943.

Based on accounts of eyewitnesses, we inform that on Friday, 23rd of this month, members of the Presidium of the Jew[ish] Council /*Gmina*/ were brought to the Umschlagplatz; they had been held hostage in the Befehlstelle jail at 103 Żelazna Street since the beginning of the liquidation operation / since Monday 19th April/. Driven into the yard of the Umschlagplatz near the main building, after a short scuffle, they were shot by SS-men. Their bodies were thrown to the dump. This is how they died: the *Gmina* President, eng. Marek Lichtenbaum, Deputy Pres[ident]s, Dr Gustaw Wielikowski and eng. Alfred Sztolcman, and a councillor, eng. Stanisław. Szereszewski.

4 large consignments of the "displaced" have already been sent from the Umschlagplatz to Poniatowa and Trawniki. On Monday, 26th of this month, 30 wagons full of victims left the Umschlagplatz. It has been established that all trains are travelling in the direction of Lublin and not to Małkinia /Treblinka/, as before. At the Umschlagplatz, the Germans are making their famous "selections": children, mothers with children, and elderly people are not loaded into wagons. They are divided into groups and taken to the *Gmina* yard or to the cemetery and shot immediately. Wagons are mostly loaded with younger people of working age. Are they taken to "labour" camps in Poniatowa and Trawniki, those last staging posts before the place of massacre, or directly to death camps /Bełżec/ - so far, we have been unable to establish this. According to rough calculations, about 13-14 thousand people have been taken away so far, 2 to 3 thousand people were burnt alive, about 2 thousand were murdered by the Germans in flats, shelters or in the streets. Thus, they have "liquidated" a total of about 20 thousand Jews in the current operation. Just as many, about 20 thousand people, are still alive and are hiding in shelters.

Over the last few days, the liquidation operation in the 2 largest shops, Többens's and Sohultz's, has intensified. The liquidation of the Többens shop has been proceeding without any resistance. As a result of an "amnesty" for those who did not volunteer to leave on the first date, the second call was answered by a considerable number of workers and their families. They are now being taken to the Umschlagplatz. Some better-connected workers were moved on Tuesday and Wednesday, 27th and 28th of this month, from the central shop area in Leszno Street to the branch of the Többens shop in Prosta Street. A considerable number of workers did not report for leaving and are still hiding in shelters, offering stiff passive resistance.

The liquidation operation in the huge Schulz et Co. shop looks quite different. There, combatants and workers mounted active, armed resistance. A fierce, bloody fight took place in which over 30 Germans fell, with 3 combatants killed and 5 wounded. On Wednesday, 28th of this month, strong SS and Wehrmacht formations entered the Schulz premises. The fighting is continuing. On Wednesday afternoon, the Germans set fire to a number of houses in different areas of the ghetto. Huge fires broke out. The ghetto was bathed in the glow of fire.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 316–322.

18

30 April 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via Jan (Witold Bieńkowski) to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski). Letter regarding the issuance by the Polish Government of a manifesto concerning the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

for Friday Thurs[day] Mr. Grab[owiecki]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

The Council to A. J. believes that it is its honourable duty to address the Government Plenipotentiary with regard to a wholly exceptional issue and states as follows:

The final act of the Jewish tragedy is taking place within the Warsaw ghetto. The Polish nation, and with it the entire civilised world, is deeply agitated by the unprecedented barbarity and cruelty in which the degradation of the German nation is finding its fullest expression.

The heroism of the handful of determined Jews, surrounded by the fire of burning houses, their faithfulness to the Polish state and the Polish nation, and their manifestation of their feelings towards them, expressed in the face of death in a very romantic form, by hanging a banner of the Republic of Poland on barricades, impose on the Polish nation and its Government the duty to adopt a proper position towards that remainder of Jews – Polish citizens, who are dying with honour.

In a moment of such dread and responsibility, which are growing literally hour by hour, it is unthinkable that our capital might not speak with a voice of indignation that would deeply move the hearts and consciences of the entire world.

There is a pressing need to issue an act that would rank as a historical document and that would express not only the formal position of the Polish Government on this terrible crime, but also, most importantly, the feelings of the Polish nation towards the Jewish martyrdom.

Such an address of a Representative of the Polish Government would be a signal for the Polish underground press to set a proper tone for the Polish opinion, partially misled by the enemy's propaganda, and would thwart the rotten Nazi tricks, but would also create an atmosphere that would be favourable to the striving remainder of Jewish survivors and would break down the blackmailing practices prevalent among scum.

Based on these assumptions, the Council to Aid Jews decided at a meeting of 28^{th} of this month⁸ to request the Polish Government Plenipotentiary to issue, in connection with this matter:

- 1. a letter of protest addressed to the entire world,
- 2. a manifesto to the Polish nation in accordance with the above assumptions.

The Council believes that the most proper form of publishing such a manifesto would be an official communication on posters exhibited on the walls and distributed across the country as soon as possible.

At the same time, this will be a farewell salute from the Polish nation to the heroic defenders of the ghetto, inevitably doomed to death.

(–) Trojan (–) Marek

Warsaw, 30 April 91943.

Director Trojanowski, Esq.

I submit a resolution of the Żegota Council of 28th April. Respectfully, 30 April 1943

Jan

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 302.

Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 946–947. The author published only a part of the document. He also informed that the original document was stored in the ZHP [*Polish Scouting and Guiding Association*] Archive under ref. No. 202/XV/ v. 1.

⁸ Date added in pen by Witold Bieńkowski.

⁹ Date added in pen by Witold Bieńkowski.

T. Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie* 1942–1945 [*The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw* 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 373–374. The author published the document in a slightly shorter version in comparison with W. Bartoszewski's version. She informed that the document was stored in the CA PZPR [*Central Archives of the Polish United Workers' Party*] under ref. No. 202/XV/2.

19

17 May 1943, Cracow. Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski). Concerning increasing the financial assistance for provincial councils, along with enclosures containing reports of the Cracow and Lviv branches of the Council.

Dir[ector] Trojanowski, Esq. *I increase a subsidy for Żeg[ota] from June – 5500 zlotys – 4th June, K.*

I provide you with reports from <u>Cracow</u> and <u>Lviv</u>, describing the situation of Jews in those areas. The reports were drawn up the <u>Council branches</u> whose financial needs cannot be met by the Central Council.

Having become familiar with the needs of the Cracow and Lviv Councils, I ask politely for a special monthly budget addition for provincial Councils. At present /the Lublin Council is being established/I anticipate a minimum budget addition in the amount of 1,500 zlotys per month. I request your favourable consideration of this request.

Respectfully, Jan

17 May 1943.

Mr. Grabowiecki – asking to present this to the Government Delegate T2

[enclosure No. 1]

То

Government Plenipotentiary in Poland /: via Jan : /

Enclosing two copies of reports from Regional Żegota Protection Councils, from Cracow and Lviv, the Central Council, pointing out the need to save the lives of the remainder of Jews in those Regions where this is still practicable,

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return

takes the liberty of asking the Government Plenipotentiary to kindly assign to those Regions additional subsidies in the amount of <u>250,000 zlotys</u> per month and to provide them through Regional Delegations or through the Central Żegota Protection Council.

The amounts of financial aid received by the Central Council are insufficient to provide the assistance requested by the Regions as the current <u>permanent</u> <u>expenses</u> of the Central Council exceed by about 40% the monthly subsidy received so far.

On this occasion, the Council explains that under the special allowance received in April, it provided these two Regions with about 80,000 zlotys in cash and effective legalisation means.

Bearing in mind the important matters brought up in the requests of these Regions, the Central Council asks that this letter be considered favourably and as soon as possible.

Warsaw, 10 May 1933.

/–/ Trojan /–/ Marek

[enclosure No. 2]

То

return

Central Żegota Protection Council [Główna Rada Opieki Żegoty] in Warsaw

Report from the activity of Żegota in Cracow.

On the initiative of the Rectangle [*Prostokąt*] and the WRN, in the first days of March of this year, the Cracow Committee for the Protection of Jews was established with the following members: WRN [Freedom, Equality, Independence], SL [the People's Party], and SD [the Alliance of Democrats].

The Żegota Protection Council (Rada Opieki Żegoty – ROŻ) was established at a tragic time, when the ghetto in Cracow was being definitively liquidated. The operation was launched on 15th March; up to 1,000 victims were murdered on the spot, about 6,000 were moved to bunkhouses in a suburb of Cracow, Płaszów, and the rest, about just as many, were taken away in 100 cars towards Oświęcim, with half of this consignment liquidated in forests near Skawina.

The ROŻ, just established and having at its disposal an allowance of only 10 thousand zlotys, managed to conduct only a small number of individual rescue operations, leading escapees through sewers.

In April, the ROŻ received only 5,000 zlotys – this small amount prevented any real development of the activity, except for a preparatory operation that aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- a/ organising a supply of Aryan documents /some sets of documents, provided by the organis[ations] being members of the Council, have already been distributed/
- b/ preparing the collection of bags with Americ[an] clothes, to be delivered to Councils across Poland,
- c/ launching a press campaign aimed at counteracting the venom of the occupant's propaganda in the area of antisemitism, condemning black-mailing, and preparing the ground for WC [Walka Cywilna Civil Resistance] operations,
- d/ rescuing Jewish children and placing them in the care of trusted persons,
- e/ collecting materials concerning the <u>occupant's cruelties</u>, <u>transgressions</u> <u>of members of our society</u> /especially the Blue Police/.

Moreover, two extremely pressing issues have arisen, namely: the issue of accommodation, both temporary – which is all the more urgent due to the fact that at the moment the issueof escaping from the bunkhouses is not very difficult, but the Jews may be taken to Bochnia or the vicinity of Krosno – and permanent, and the issue of placing locals in the care of other centres. This is absolutely necessary as there are special hunters in Cracow, recruiting from local scum /at this point we ask that such individuals be liquidated by the WC [*Walka Cywilna* – Civil Resistance]/. Both these issues cannot go anywhere beyond planning without major allowances, and thus the ROŻ in Cracow outlines the situation as above, emphasising that the good will of certain social entities is not enough, that funds are also required to save what is left to save.

Thus, the ROŻ requests a <u>permanent month[ly]</u> allowance in the amount <u>of min. 100,000 zlotys</u>.

For the Żegota Protection

Council, Cracow

Stanisław

Cracow, 7 May 1943.

Notes – We would also like to draw the attention of the Central Council to the fact that an aid operation needs to be organised for approx. several thousand J[ews] in the Dąbr[owa] Basin [*Zagłębie Dąbrowskie*], where a lot can still be saved. It is said that the liquidation operation is still in its earliest phase mainly thanks to the agility, money, and personal connections of the Jewish attorney Meryn. The local authorities are only setting up open ghettos and Jews are still able to move around the Basin quite freely /even by tram/. At present, the situation is getting more dangerous with every passing hour and the total liquidation may come as a bolt from out of the blue, as it happened recently in Chrzanów, where, ironically, the food rations were increased /close to the

German rations/ and several days later everyone was liquidated /displaced near Oświęcim/.

Moreover, there are still some labour camps for Jews, especially in the area of the Polish-Czech border.

[enclosure No. 3]

To Central Żegota Protection Council in Warsaw Report on the situation in Lviv.

During my last stay in Lviv, I met in person with the Regional Żegota Protection Council, whose members include representatives of the WRN and the All[iance] of Dem[ocrats], to be joined by representatives of the SL.–

The Council claims that the present living conditions of Jews in Lviv /relative freedom and tolerable treatment by Germans/ enable escaping from the labour units without a major risk. This process is currently taking place on a small scale, as there are no funds to organise temporary and permanent shelters, to organise travel, supplies, etc. This prevents a larger-scale operation. The two subsidies received so far, in the amount of several thousand zlotys, cannot be seriously treated as aid. However, Lviv has received positive help from Warsaw in the form of a legalisation mechanism that has been providing valuable services.

The ROŻ in Lviv, wishing to live up to expectations and mark its establishment with positive results, informs that without major allowances, it is unable to achieve anything and will miss the exceptionally favourable situation for rescuing numerous threatened persons. Lviv requests a subsidy in the amount of at least <u>100,000 zlotys</u> per month.

Finally, I wish to inform that I have communicated issues concerning a potential active self-defence operation to the PZP.

Warsaw, 4 May 1943.

Marek

return

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 332–335. Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 947–948. The author published enclosure No. 2 – report from the Council branch in Cracow.

20

30 May 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wancki", "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski), to "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski) regarding a letter addressed to the Government Delegate in Poland by "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) from the Central Committee of Jewish Working Masses in Poland concerning financial aid received from London.

Grabowiecki, Esq.

Ar[chive]

My Office has received the following letter from the Bund:

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

At the beginning of February of this year, Mr. Gr[abowiecki] informed me that Zyg[elb]aum had given us 5 and 10 t[housand]. I had only received 10. Despite numerous requests and a special letter regarding this matter, the issue has not been resolved yet. I sent several messages to Zyg[elbojm] asking him to explain this.

On 22nd April of this year, Mr. Gr[abowiecki] delivered to me a letter from Zyg[elbojm] of 6th March of this year and a message from April of this year. In the letter of 6th March, Zyg[elbojm] informed us that from September to December of the previous year a total amount of 45 thousand, of which a considerable part was intended also for other groups.– In the previously mentioned message of April of this year, Zyg[elbojm] informs us that he sent us another 13 thousand in April, instructing us to pay 3 thousand from this sum to other groups.

This means that so far Z. has provided us, through the Del[egation], from last September to April of this year inclusive, with the total of 58 thousand. In a message sent by Zyg[elbojm] on 6th May of this year /in reply to my request for explanations/ and received here on 19th May, and delivered to me on 26th May, Zyg[elbojm] clearly informs me /to quote the message literally/: "... Since September, I have sent you 58. Have you received that, do you need more and how much..."

However, we have received from the Deleg[ation] 33 thousand in total, i.e.: last Oct[ober] - 5 t, last December – 5 t, in February – 10 t, and on 23^{rd} April – 13 t.

Thus, we still have not received 25 t.

At the request of Mr. Gr., I submitted to him on 23^{rd} April – at the time when I received from him the above-mentioned 13 t. – the above summary, which clearly indicated that another 25 t. was due to us. At the same time, I asked him

to immediately provide the outstanding sums. Mr. Gr[abowiecki] promised to investigate this issue and to pay the due amount right after Easter. However, no steps have been taken so far.

The amounts listed by Zyg[elbojm] in the letter of 6th March were sent – according to that letter and the messages – every month. The fact that they were not paid has had major harmful consequences. Again, I urgently request that an order be issued without delay to immediately pay us that 25 t., outstanding for several months now.

Warsaw, 28 May 1943.

For the C[entral] C[ommittee] of J[ewish] W[orking] M[asses] in P[oland] /-/ Mikołaj

I politely ask you to respond to the questions brought up above.

Please meet me to discuss issues concerning my office. Please select the time and place at your convenience, however, please take into account the rather slow operation of messengers. To arrange everything faster, I provide my box details: [cut out]

Ask for Basia, between 12 and 2 p.m. As Mikołaj complains about the slow functioning of radiogram communication, please provide the details of your box so that we do not need to use "Ład" services.

Respectfully, Wencki /formerly Jan/

30 May 1943.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 339.

21

16 June 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Central Committee of Jewish Working Masses in Poland, signed by "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial aid.

return Ar[chive]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland.

In connection with a conversation that I held a few weeks ago with Mr. Wencki, I believe that I should again bring up issues that I have already raised – also with Mr. Wencki – many times:

- 1. The members of our group have never used and are not using the Council's funds intended for those under our protection. The amounts paid by the Council on my hands are distributed only among persons not being members of our group.
- 2. In strict compliance with the instructions received from our friend Zyg[elbojm], we have paid considerable amounts several thousand from the sums sent by Zyg[elbojm] to other Jewish political organisations.
- 3. We handed considerable amounts to the ŻOB Coordination Commission in Warsaw.
- 4. We have been using our funds also to help members of other groups and persons not belonging to any political organisations.

The obligation to submit financial reports applies only to those who provide money, however – if I am mentioning the above issues /falling – I wish to emphasise – within the exclusive competence of the authorities of our organisation/ – I am doing this for the sake of moral public health, to stop various rumours that cause harmful confusion and have no foundation in reality. Thus, I politely ask – in accordance with the above statements 1.-4. and the information held by the Delegation on the amounts sent and their intended purpose, as well as on our activity in the Council – to correct persistent mistaken views wherever necessary, and especially among official components.

And now – again – as for the sums sent by our friend Zyg[elbojm], but still not paid to us.

As the issue is very urgent, as the relevant receipts were undoubtedly sent to us from London every month /since Zyg[elbojm] notified us that he had sent the money and requested us to confirm its receipt/, we ask politely, again, to expedite the settlement of those outstanding amounts.

Irrespective, however, of the issue of those sums, sent from Lond[on] every month and yet not paid to us, I repeat my request that I have submitted many times, including, recently, to Mr. Wencki – namely:

At the beginning of February of this year, I was notified by Mr. Grab[owiecki] that two sums – 5 and 10 thousand dollars – had been delivered for us and that he would pay them to us. We have received only 10 thousand. Only several weeks later did Mr. Grab[owiecki] explain to me that he was unable to pay that 5 t. dollars, as the payment was intended for Mr. Berez[owski]. I explained to Mr. Grab[owiecki] that this must have referred to our representative /Berezowski/ whose name had been misspelt or possibly shortened. Mr. Grab. replied that he could make the payment only after he had received an explanation as to whether the payment order actually concerned our representative. That was the end of February. On 23rd April, Mr. Gr[abowiecki] handed

me messages and a letter from Zyg[elbojm] that clearly indicated that a total of 38 t. dollars was due to us, and after 13 thousand dollars were paid on the next day – the outstanding 25 t. dollars. Mr. Grab[owiecki] told me that the Delegation was obliged to execute payment orders coming from L[ondon] and that he would demand explanations concerning this issue. As for that 5 thousand dollars – claimed Mr. Grab[owiecki] – that was to have been paid at the beginning of February, it would be handed to me right after Easter, as there was no doubt that that amount was due to us. Unfortunately, that amount – five thousand dollars /to have been paid to Berez[owski] at the beginning of February/ – that Mr. Grab[owiecki] promised to pay at the end of April has still not been paid, despite the fact that even the Gov[ernment] Del[egation] itself has no more doubts about it being due to us.

Thus, I ask politely and urgently that the five t. dollars be paid to us without delay – without waiting for the explanation, expected to arrive from L[ondon], concerning other amounts of 10 t. dollars, sent every month, still not paid by the Deleg[ation].

For the C[entral] C[ommittee] of J[ewish] W[orking] M[asses] in Poland Mikołaj

Warsaw, 16 June 1943.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 340.

22

30 June 1943, Warsaw. Weekly information of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, sent via the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski).

Ref. Żeg. / IX. 30 June 1943.

Romecki, Esq. return

Weekly information

Warsaw:

The liquidation of the surviving remainder of ghetto residents, hiding in cellars, ruins of burnt houses, and other shelters – seems to have been completed. Units made up only of Latvians and Ukrainians searched the ruins thoroughly and some of the non-burnt cellars, and in a dozen or so cases they discovered concealed stairs. For instance, about 150 Jews were found in the bricked-up cellar of a burnt house at 71 Leszno Street,

and they were killed on the spot. Only in the first week of June, 5 larger shelters were discovered /from twenty to several dozen people in each/.

The moment the combat operation in the ghetto was over, the Jews hiding outside the ghetto started to be tracked and captured with increased intensity. This operation is continuing to this day, with the same momentum. It is difficult to establish the exact number of captured people as: 1. some of those who get tracked down are liquidated on the spot, 2. those taken to the Pawiak jail are not subjected to a transitional period /before the execution/ and are generally not listed in any jail records. From among people arrested in the city, usually several dozen are executed every day because of their origin.

Cracow:

There are about 7,600 people in a camp located at a former Jewish cemetery. The huge majority of them are men of working age. However, there are also several dozen children and some very old people there. This fact can be explained by isolated and increasingly frequent cases in which orders of higher authorities are distorted. Very many of those staying in the camp are working outside the bunkhouses, usually in larger teams, fulfilling military orders, either in factories /e.g. "Kabel"/ or in private firms exploiting the Jewish labour force, such as Zentral für Handelslieferungen /ZFH/ and Julius Madrich, active especially within the Cracow district.

The conditions in the bunkhouses are terrible. The commandant, a sadist, does not allow any hygienic devices. The "guilty" are being executed all the time. The working conditions, in turn, are very different. Some employers even "take care" of their labour force, offering them the subsistence of half-naked wretches. However, there are actual cases where a group is not let out into the city because they have no trousers or other basic clothing items.

Cracow region:

In the Cracow *Poviat*, there are 3 camps in which the total of about 3,000 people are held. The conditions are noticeably better thanks to the more humane management, better hygienic facilities, and even better provisioning.

There are about 4,000 people in the camp in <u>Bochnia</u> and about 5,000 people in <u>Tarnów</u>. Both those camps are to be moved to Cracow.

In <u>Przemyśl</u>, about 3,000 Jews are kept isolated in a camp, in <u>Mielec</u> – about 300, in <u>Trzeb[i]nia</u> near Jasło – about 150, in <u>Stalowa Wola</u> – about 700 /the camp is being liquidated/.

Vilnius:

So far, 15,000 Vilnius Jews have been living peacefully in the ghetto and moving quite freely around the city. News about the Warsaw events and the closer, in terms of distance, fact that Jews brought from Belarus were shot in Ponary two months ago, in terrifying circumstances, have significantly dampened the spirits and have caused concern about the ghetto's near future.

Łuków:

After a week-long massacre, the ghetto in Łuków was finally liquidated in the first days of June. 1,000 people were taken to the Treblinka camp, a small number of Jews escaped, 2,000 were murdered on the spot.

Camps:

Majdanek:

In the first days of June, Jews to be liquidated in Majdanek were brought to Lublin. Day after day, groups of Jews, including women and children, were driven through the streets of the city completely naked. Half-dead bodies were trudging on, surrounded by guards and police dogs, begging for a drop of water. However, it is impossible to access them. Shortly after a consignment arrives, characteristic smoke can be observed over the camp crematorium.

Trawniki:

In the Trawniki camp, selections are performed every few days, and the selected ones are sent either to Sobibór or to a peat mine, 6 km away from the camp. The mine or its vicinity is a place of massacre for people deemed unable to work.

The camp and its vicinity are guarded by Ukrainians, the same ones who participated in the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto. There is a training camp for Ukrainians in Trawniki.

Poniatowa:

According to the reports that have been received so far, the life of the Jews kept in the camp in Poniatowa has been – so far – tolerable. The conditions in the camp are so distinctly different, in a positive way, from the conditions in other camps that they invite serious suspicions as to the future fate of the prisoners. Some people kept in the camp and working there in "higher positions" /engineers "vorarbeiters", doctors/ are living in a housing estate located outside the wire, in quite cultural conditions, they have relatively good provisioning conditions and they are enjoying considerable freedom.

The relations between the captives and the Ukrainian guards have been – so far – very good. For instance, during the Easter time, Jews played a football match with the Ukrainians.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 341–342.

23

30 June – 1 July 1943, Warsaw. Copies of reports from the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski) and the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski" affair.

Ar[chive]

COPIES

Dir[ector] Trojanowski, Esq.

I also wish to report on the issue of the "Jewish hotel" in Długa Street that I have probably worked out.....

Best regards /-/ Wencki

30 June

Mr. Romecki "Ul" ("Beehive")

If the message of Dir. Guzik concerning Palestinian certificates has not been sent yet, I ask insistently and as an e m e r g e n c y that it be stopped altogether. The issue is v. i m p o r t a n t.

Yours sincerely, Wencki

1.VII/-/

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 157.

24

5 July 1943, Warsaw. Strictly confidential report from the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), the

Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), and the Director of the Security Cell of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Hübner" (Eugeniusz Gitterman), discussing the issue of the so-called "Hotel Polski" affair.

> <u>Copy</u> Ar[chive]

Ref. Żeg. Spec. 5 July 1943. Internal affairs

Strictly confidential!!!

At the beginning of this year, name-bearing certificates concerning journeys to Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina and addressed to Jews – "citizens" of those states – were sent to the Directorate of the German Police. The certificates, of which there were about 380, were not handed over to the addressees both due to the German extermination policy towards Jews and due to the liquidation or delegalisation of the addressees.

However, the issue of the certificates saw the light over the last two months in the form of a larger-scale affair, whose vivid details lead to the conclusion that the affair clearly collides with Polish state interests. A lengthy investigation into the affair, encountering many major obstacles, has made it possible to cast light on its three aspects:

- 1 verifiable facts,
- 2 links with interests of the Jewish population,
- 3 determination of the "price" for which German authorities agree to and help with the existence and further planned development of the action affair.

1. Verifiable facts

The business is run by six Jews – Gestapo members, directly subordinated to the command of the German Secret State Police, and a number /over 20 – the exact number has not been established/ of Jewish swindlers, officially operating for the price of intermediary services rendered to the police. On behalf of Jews, the operation of suggesting particularly valuable Jewish individuals that Jews wish to "save" is run by Dr. Guzik, the former financial director of a branch of the American-International Joint, a US citizen, staying at Hotel Polski at 29 Długa Street. Officially, the business is based on major financial benefits enjoyed by members of the German police /the price of documents that are officially "adapted" to personal certificates is 200–250 thousand zlotys per person/.

At first, the "found" addressees of certificates were placed at Hotel Royal in Chmielna Street, at present, they are staying at Hotel Polski in Długa Street

/ at the moment there are 82 Jews at Hotel Polski who are "citizens" of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina/. The "foreigners", usually in small groups /from 5 to 20 people/, are then transported to the Pawiak jail, to cells for "foreigners", from where, after 2 or 3 weeks /first-rate tr[eat]ment and board/, they are transported by passenger trains to the internment camp for foreigners in Vit[t]el (Alsace). The camp is under the protection of the Geneva Red Cross. The interned "citizens" of S[outh] American countries [...] being at war with Germany have been given the promise /I do not know if [...] fulfilled/ that they will leave for their "home" countries.

2. Links with interests of the Jewish population.

The operation has been appreciated by representatives of Jewish organ[...] [...]tives of the Bund and the ŻKN issued a very favourable opinion [...] [...] hard and asking in their own names /ŻKN/ to facilit[...] [...] radiogram [com] munications with Constantinople via London concerning [...]. The position of representatives of Jewish organisations is [...] [...] opens up possibilities for rescuing a numbe[...] of members of the Jewish population. The fact that [...] does not contribute to the positive assessment of the operation. [...] limits of "high-mindedness" and "purity" [...] Gestapo members wish to [...] An impartial assessment makes one admit that [...] to save lives destroyed [...] [...]lso point out the huge discrepan[...] state [...]. 17. VII. 43¹⁰

3. Assessment of the Germ[...]

The clear proof of the un[...] [...] points Jewi[...] for briber[...] the fact of the existence of [...] Moreover, the f[...] of which I am aware [...] for very small su[...]

[...] by Germans of a favourable climate for the operation among delegalised and hiding Jews. It is certain that not only money plays a role here. With the help of Szaniec's intelligence and based on my own investigation, I established that the "foreigners" who are taken away include Jewish Gestapo members, specially trained for propaganda purposes, whitewashing Germans in their liquidation operation against Jews and attributing responsibility to the Polish nation. Those Jews /there are also Aryans/ have appropriate forged "documents" and even photographs. At present, there are 82 temporary residents at Hotel Polski, and it is said that as many as 24 are persons with appropriate training. /I provide this list based on my own investigation, however, I do not take responsibility for its accuracy/.

4. Conclusions.

In the light of the above findings concerning this issue and due to the allegations that Jewish organisations have their own /or "external"/ ways of com-

¹⁰ Added in blue pencil.

municating with foreign countries /the certificates have been "running out" already for 6 weeks/, I ask the civil and military intelligence to investigate this issue in a dedicated, professional, military fashion, based on the scarce information provided above.

If the facts are determined to correspond with my findings – please provide special instructions as to the presentation of the results to representatives of Jewish organisations in the country.

Until other instructions are issued, I will treat this report of mine as a <u>strictly</u> <u>confidential</u> document that may serve Polish interests if any Jewish operation illegal towards the Polish State becomes visible in the international arena or internally.

I ask politely that the letter be destroyed.

/-/ Wencki.

Drawn up in four copies:

1. Dir[ector] Trojanowski, 2. Dir[ector] Stencel, 3. Mr. Hübner, 4. Żegota Office files.

* As the delivered certificates are running out, Dir. Guzik has been trying to arrange for a new tranche of documents to be sent both from South America and Palestine, via Constantinople. Dir. Guzik is looking for both legal /Germ./ and illegal /Government Delegation, message via London/ ways to obtain blank certificates "facilitating" /making cheaper/ the operation aimed at saving prominent members of the Jewish population.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 159-160.

25

15–17 July 1943, Warsaw. Copies of reports from "Ludwik" (Władysław Bartoszewski) from the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland to "Borowski" (Adolf Berman) and "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski Affair".

<u>COPY</u>

To Borowski and Mikołaj

confidentially

I inform you privately about the following fact, unsuitable, for essential reasons, to be communicated in the Weekly Information. On 13th July /Tuesday/, a larger group of Jewish men, women, and children were brought to the Pawiak
jail from the hotel in Długa Street. Several hundred people, in total. Being taken to the Pawiak jail, to a special wing, is part of the normal procedure preceding the supposed journey abroad. During a careful inspection of documents, false documents were found with 7 women /including these names: Dywluk, Tarnowska, Futterman, Prywińska/ and with a non-established number of men. These persons were taken to ordinary prison cells. Their valuables and money were confiscated on the spot. Once again, I ask you to treat this message discreetly.

Respectfully /-/ Ludwik

15 July

Strictly confidential.

To Borowski and Mikołaj.

As a supplement to the information from the Pawiak jail sent yesterday, I inform you that the issue of the Jews brought from the hotel in Długa Street to the Pawiak on 13th July seems v. suspicious. The total number of people brought to the Pawiak jail is, judging by the number of cars driving around and by the hotel's numbers – several hundred people. However, only 85 people have been taken to the wing for the interned over two days. Others are kept in ordinary prison cells. It is possible that some of them have still not had their documents checked. However - taking into account the statements of Gestapo officers that large numbers of "false" documents have been identified - there is a strong possibility that very many, if not a majority of the people transported to the Pawiak on 13th of July, are kept there just like other captured Jews, i.e. – awaiting execution. Under Mr. Wencki's instructions, I inform you that there are quite many Jewish Gestapo members among the Jews-foreigners staying at the hotel in Długa Street and transported to the Pawiak jail. They are to be sent to S[outh] America to run a special propaganda campaign. Due to the above, verified, data, Mr. Wencki has instructed me to tell you that Dr. Guzik's operation has the character of an unpleasant /and certainly detrimental to the Polish State/ affair.

Yours sincerely /-/ Ludwik

Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 17.7.

16.7.

Strictly confidential

Borowski and Mikołaj, Esq.

I am sorry to inform you that my predictions as to the fate of the Jews brought from [...] to the Pawiak jail, described in the letter of 16th July, have sadly turned out to be correct. [...] about 2 p.m. all Polish prison guards were

removed from the Pawiak, all work [...] [...] was stopped, everyone was locked in the cells, and only Polish and German guards remained on the prison premises. However, it has been confirmed with all certainty that a [lar]ge number [...] and children/Jews brought from Długa Street/ were tak[en] to the yard of a burnt house of D[...] [...], subsequen[...] [...] a larger number of men, including, possibly, a small number freshly from [...] [...] [...], however, most of them must have been Jews. At 2.15 p.m., the liquidation started [...] [...] and lasted over 1.5 hours, and this indicates [...] [...].

/-/ Ludwik

I have just been informed that [...] children were kille[d]. The definite number of people staying in the wing for [...] Gestapo members and Ukrainians stole huge sums in cash and [...] accused of holding "false" foreign and [...]

Inf. St. Kw. 17 July 194311

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 158.

26

17 July 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski).

7 Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 17 July 1943.

Mr. Romecki "Ul" ("Beehive")

I am sending you a letter from Mikołaj, addressed to the Doctor, requesting a loan from the GD funds. My opinion is generally positive, however, I leave this issue at your discretion. I also enclose a <u>message to Szerer</u> /3 messages that I gathered/, asking that you consider sending it. This is about funds that, if received, would considerably relieve the difficult current situation. The enclosed message from the Żegota Council to the Government of the Republic of Poland requires special consideration. I am against sending it due to the suggestions contained in it, and the signatures of the WRN and SL members give the issue a political dimension. I leave the proper classification of the message at the discretion of the political components of the Executive Division.

> Best regards, /-/ Wencki

¹¹ Added in crayon.

I enclose a copy of my letter to the Żegota Council.

Mes[sage] to Szerer – sent \ Mes[sage] to the Government – sent / Loan – declined

[Enclosure No. 1]¹²

<u>copy</u>

ar[chive]

Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 17 July 1943.

To the Żegota Council in situ

Ż 10

In response to your letter of 12th July, I inform:

- 1. The entity competent to issue permits for hanging posters is the Underground Resistance Command. Please send an appropriate letter to my office. I will pass it on to the competent authority.
- 2. I shall pass the Council's request concerning the provision of a report on the activity of the Special Court to the competent entities. As for the possible reply, I would like to emphasise that this sort of request has never been submitted before and that I am unable to predict the response.
- 3. I passed the Council's message to the Polish Government to the Executive Division in the GD, along with my personal negative assessment of that message.

This is because it seems to me that Polish citizens of Jewish nationality are not any special, privileged group for which international conversations might be held differently than for Polish citizens of Polish nationality. The issue of a potential exchange of Polish citizens for German citizens remaining within territories of the Allies may be taken into account only in the case of a normal exchange procedure. In the case of Polish citizens, this is pointless because the Polish homeland is being occupied, and Polish emigrants have no ethnographic or political position, as they take advantage of the hospitality of befriended states.

/-/ Wencki

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 201–202.

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ Only one of the three listed enclosures was found with Wencki's letter.

27

21 July 1943, Warsaw. Report from the Security Cell of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, codename: "Stożek", signed by "Hübner" (Eugeniusz Gitterman), the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), and by the Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski Affair".

St[ożek] Spec[ial] Rep[ort]

return Warsaw, 21 July 1943.

The issue of Jews,

actual and supposed citizens of S[outh] Amer[ican] countries, leaving abroad

This issue, brought up by the Żegota Office in the letter of 5th of this month, is drawing particular attention in its present phase, which is accompanied by circumstances in striking contrast with the occupant's attitude and policy towards Jews.

Due to the vast, newly collected material, we present the description in the form of a chronicle of subsequent events and verifiable facts.

- 1. At the end of 1942 and in January of 1943, consignments of Jews, authentic South-Americans, left for the Vittel camp, a total of about 200 people. The next consignment was sent in May of this year; it was about 380 people, also headed for Vittel. In all these cases, the Jews were placed at Hotel Royal. In the meantime, a large-scale operation of the Jewish Council and private persons was organised within the ghetto in order to obtain citizenships of foreign states for Jews. The following were considered, mainly: Paraguay, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Argentina.
- 2. As a result of these attempts, which lasted for several months, documents proving citizenship, so-called promises, started flowing in during the first months of this year, i.e. at a time when the ghetto had been largely liquidated and thus the addresses, already dead or delegalised, were unable to collect their longed-for documents. About 380 such promises arrived, and each was issued for a number of people /families/.
- 3. The way it was, when the promises, as "undeliverable mail", fell into the hands of the Gestapo, they attracted attention of the Jewish Gestapo members, or mainly their leader, Leon Skosowski, and a certain Adam Żuraw-

in / we will described these two figures later/, who concluded that the promises could be put to good use and initiated a bold operation. In consultation with the directors of the Gestapo's Jewish division /Brandt, Grischa, Orff/, Skosowski and Żurawin started organising transportation based on the above-mentioned promises, and they made a clever move by detaining 22 people, authentic foreigners, from the May consignment, which they did just in case, to have "fry" for the further consignment operation. It has now turned out that their calculations were right. The organisation of a group of "foreigners" was not an easy thing at that time, as they could be found only among hiding Jews. Thus, in order to earn trust and underline the legality of the operation – they turned for assistance to Dr. Guzik, the director of the Polish Joint branch, who has been, in a way, an endorser of the operation. The basis of the enterprise are fees for promises, from several dozen to several hundred thousand zlotys per person – although it needs to be emphasised that the organisers distribute some promises free of charge, undoubtedly for the poor and their protégés, and to underline that this is not about making money. They collect the fees to "cover the costs" and they require wealthier Jews to pay more, to cover the expenses for those who are unable to pay.

4. At the same time, Żurawin went to Berlin and there, for 25 thousand dollars in cash, he obtained approval for the undertaking and an order to provide a special train for the transport.

Under such circumstances, and with perfect security provided by the Gestapo, the recruitment was very successful, as 2,000 people enrolled and were placed at Hotel Polski in Długa Street.

5. On the 5th of this month, the 1st consignment left as part of this operation, with 1,200 people. Stropp, Hahn, a number of Gestapo officers, and a gendarmerie escort were present at the train station. By the way, it should be added that Stropp, who was one of those who besieged and destroyed the ghetto, admonished the gendarmes for treating the Jews taking seats on the train too harshly. The consignment was sent not to Vittel, but near Hanover, to a former Oflag.

On the date of departure, Żurawin and Skosowski received a thank-you letter – we enclose a copy. [See below]

6. On the day following the departure, a letter signed by Ribbentrop arrived in Warsaw, in which he orders to organise the next consignment as soon as possible and emphasises that the Jewish question does not apply to Jews being foreigners, and guarantees absolute security.

As a result, another consignment was hastily organised, which took place on Tuesday, 11^{th} of this month. 600 Jews left. According the hotel version,

the rush consignment stemmed from the need to promptly organise an exchange of Jews for German captives from Stalingrad.

7. The Jews who remained at the hotel, about 400, were unexpectedly moved to the Pawiak jail, where a room in Unit 5 had been prepared for them / as reported by the Żegota Office/. In the Pawiak, documents were checked and the Jews were segregated, with only 94 people sent to the room for the interned and the rest locked in cells referred to as liquidation cells. Indeed, the Jews /314 people/ were liquidated as retaliation for a grenade explosion in Ujazdowskie Avenue on 15th July¹³.

The next and – as it is said – the last consignment is to leave on Friday, $23^{\rm rd}$ of this month.

This is it as for the course of the operation itself. Now we need to describe some persons involved and some significant circumstances.

- 1. The main actor and manager of the entire enterprise was Adam Żurawin. He is a talented and clever man of only 24–26 years of age, a Jew, although he is very good at hiding this fact, he is so unlike that he is believed to be an Aryan by the Gestapo. He owes his influence to his high-ranking contacts in the Wehrmacht. His right-hand man and the other person involved in this operation is Leon Skosowski, generally known as Lolek. At present, he heads a group of Jewish Gestapo members /4–5 people/. He is also very clever and resourceful. Both of them sent their families to Vittel in the consignment that left in May of this year.
- 2. The consignment that left on 5th of this month included Gestapo informers: the Włodawski spouses, Manówna, Marecki, and Romanowski. They left permanently, having been compromised in this area and thus hardly useful, and additionally threatened by Polish components. Their departure was a sort of a gesture on the part of the Gestapo, which saved their lives.
- 3. During the recruitment for the first consignment /on 5th of this month/, the organisers accepted, free of charge, a number of Communist combatants, including 2 Aryans, which facts have been authoritatively confirmed. Skosowski and Żurawin, as well as Dr. Guzik, knew very well who those people were, as when they came to the hotel, they handed over their arms. There are grounds for suspecting that Guzik has some links with the PPR [*the Polish Workers' Party*].

The above circumstances make the whole operation interesting and make it is necessary to investigate if the price on the part of the Germans was only money /big money, in this case/ or whether there are some other underlying reasons behind this operation. It seems, however, based on simple reasoning and

¹³ Part of the sentence crossed out and words added in pen.

fact analysis /the strict anti-bribery course taken recently within the Gestapo, the Ribbentropp letter/, that no operation of even the cleverest Jewish swindlers could be successful without some deeper causes. It is impossible to make concrete claims about these causes, however, we can list a number of very probable hypotheses which, if taken into account, may cast proper light on the whole issue and poten[tially] prevent some harmful consequences.

The hypotheses are as follows:

- 1. The desire to produce, at a low price /a minimum number of "the saved"/, evidence for propaganda purposes, concerning special treatment of foreigners, even those of Jewish origin /as suggested in Ribbentrop's letter/,
- 2. An attempt to exchange Jews for captives from Stalingrad /the version prevailing at Hotel Polski/,
- 3. The fulfilment of certain obligations or the implementation of an information and exchange operation aimed at saving certain individuals linked to the PPR /the fact that Guzik and other PPR members have rescued Jews and a suspicion, still not adequately documented, of cooperation between the Gestapo and the NKVD/,

4. Attempts at sending a well-trained propaganda crew to foreign territories in order to create anti-Polish sentiment with respect to the liquidation of Jews in Poland /the departure of valuable Gestapo members from Poland – Włodawski with his wife, Marecki, Romanowski, and Manówna, and existing, although not confirmed, data concerning anti-Polish propaganda materials in the possession of the leaving Jewish Gestapo members/.

All the above hypotheses deserve to be presented, both due to the potential threats to Polish interests, if they are correct, and due to the easiness with which the Polish government can prevent their potential harmful effects.

/–/ Wencki /–/ Hübner

,

Stencel

[Enclosure No. 1]

<u>C o p y</u>

To our saviours:

Mr. Adam Żurawin and Mr. Lolw Lolek Skosowski,

on the day of departure for the camp for interned citizens of foreign warring states, we would like to express, on behalf of thousands of Jews, our eternal gratitude and thanks:

for their effort and sacrifice, for their moral and material assistance, for keeping up the spirit in the Jewish faith.

This selfless and extremely bold deed will never be forgotten by us and by the next generations and will be passed down to our children. Your names have joined the ranks of our distinguished national heroes.

You have had the honour of living in the world's most horrendous turmoil.

Warsaw, 4 July 1943.

Several dozen signatures.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 344–347.

28

5 August 1943, Warsaw. Letter of "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to.

30)

Ar[chive] 6

Dir[ector] Trojanowski, Esq.

In response to your letter concerning money for my "acquaintances", I politely inform that I will try to have those sums earmarked for charitable purposes. At the same time, I claim that it is necessary to appoint a military commission /as I have personally advised/ that would gain an insight into and would exercise control over the sums expended on these purposes. This is in the general interest. I believe that the withholding of payments would cause too much of a stir and would make it impossible to understand the situation. I believe that my "acquaintances" would get money from anywhere and their operation would get out of our control.

Best regards,	
/-/ Wencki	

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 200.

29

5 August 1943.

16 August 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning allowances granted to the Żegota.

[word smeared]

For Thurs[day]

Ar[chive]

To The Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Each month, the subsidy that has been granted to the Żegota for several months now, in the unchanged amount of 4,000 zlotys for Warsaw and 1,500 zlotys for the provinces, turns out to be insufficient to cover even some of its needs, which are growing every day.

The fact that Jewish organisations donate 1,000 zlotys a month from their own funds hardly changes anything, as the need for material assistance is growing rapidly and the rates of subsidies are reduced every month, not to mention the fact that a considerable number of registered persons have not been covered by the material assistance through lack of funds. Moreover, the funds that have so far been earmarked only for subsidies are now being used to cover additional expenses involved in the organisation of field help units and a newly-created Żegota child care centre, which requires major investments. Both these additional expenses have not been planned for in the Council's budget.

The subsidies for the provinces have so far been used by Cracow, Lviv, Siedlee, Ostrowiec, etc. At present, after a new, major Council branch has been organised in Łódź and due to the fact that a similar branch is to be set up in Lublin, the amount that has been granted to the provinces is entirely insufficient and cannot be regarded even as symbolic help, if it is borne in mind that Cracow or Lviv need funds exceeding the entire monthly allowance that the Council receives.

Thus, the ROŻ, seeking to accomplish its tasks at least partially, requests the Government Plenipotentiary to increase the monthly subsidy as soon as next month, to 7,500 zlotys for Warsaw and 2,500 zlotys for the provinces, and to grant an additional allowance of 1,000 zlotys for this month, to cover the current needs.

If the above request of the Council cannot be granted through lack of funds available for this purpose, the ROŻ requests the Government Plenipotentiary to pass this issue to the Polish Government in London, asking to assign the Council a special budget in an amount adequate to the needs.

Warsaw, 16 August 1943.

For the Żegota Protection Council *Trojan* /-/ Trojan WRN *Marek* /-/ Marek SPD

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 349.

30

23 August 1943, Warsaw. Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning a message to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Jan Stańczyk.

Ar[chive]

Mr. Wencki

Berezowski's message to Minister Stańczyk shall not be sent¹⁴, as right before I received it, I had sent a mes[sage] concerning those sums from Zygelbojm. No loan can be granted because of the lack of funds. However, I have ordered our financial cell to pay 10 thousand dollars, according to the message that I received.

23 August 1943

/Romecki/

5

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 196.

31

24 August 1943, Warsaw. Letter of "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning the deportation of Jews from Będzin and Sosnowiec.

Romecki, Esq.

I politely inform that I have come back from my leave $/10^{th}-25^{th}$ of this month/. During my absence, your questions concerning the date of the deportation of Jews from Będzin and the number of Jews in Poland were received.

¹⁴ I am referring to the message of 9th August 1943: Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Jan Stańczyk, London. The local Delegation has not paid us about half of the sums notified by Artur due to the absence of a government instruction to do so. I have not received any money from Szerer, either, nor any news. I am very concerned. Due to the complete lack of cash, a great number of people may die. As a representative of the Bund and your friend, I urgently ask you to cause the competent person to send to the local Delegation an instruction to pay me those outstanding amounts immediately. In any case, I ask you to respond by radiogram. Thank you in advance. Regards, /-/ Berezowski. 9 August 1943. Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 195.

Data on the deportation from Będzin and Sosnowiec were provided to you accurately by my deputy. As for the number of Jews in Poland, he based the data only on Jewish information. According to information of Polish social groups, verified and closest to reality, the number of Jews in Poland is as follows: Jews holding so-called "Aryan papers" – about 250 thousand, in labour camps and ghettos – about 150 thousand, in "Warthegau" and "Ostland" – about 200 thousand, emigrants in nearby countries /Baltic States, Romania, Hungary, Slova-kia, Russia/ – about 200 thousand, in total – about 800 thousand.

1.8.

/-/ Wencki.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 199.

32

6 September 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski), concerning the legalisation cell cooperating with the Council.

for Thurs[day] 9/09

Żegota Protection Council

To the GD, to the hands of Mr. Grabowiecki.

A superbly organised document issuance office, the so-called "Interorganisational Documentation Office", has been operating in Warsaw, and it has been cooperating with the Council for <u>8</u> months, rendering invaluable services to the Council. The cell was recommended to the Council at some point by Mr. Grabowiecki and Mr. Różycki. The office employs about 10 people, organisationally disciplined and with a very idealistic attitude. The work is excellently organised, as *Marek*¹⁵ found out personally, for which purpose he was invited by that office. The value of the office's property is about 750,000 zlotys. Fees are charged based on the office's own expenses, so prices for the great variety of documents range from 35 to 80 zlotys. The office provides services to a number of organisations and official cells, irrespective of their political associations /except for the aliens/, with the Council being its biggest client.

At present, the dir[ector] of that office requests through us the GD that the office be <u>subordinated to the state authorities</u> and thus provided with <u>official</u> <u>protection</u>; so far, although it has been an apolitical team involved in social

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¹⁵ Added in handwriting.

activity, it has had a semi-private character, which is very unfair to this valuable team of people and which affects its performance.

At a meeting on the 4^{th} of this month, the Council decided to send this request to the GD and to support it as strongly as possible, based on the previous cooperation with this team.

More detailed information in this regard can be provided by Marek from *SPD*¹⁶, who directly cooperates with that Office.

Warsaw 6 September 1943	For the Żegota Protection Council.
	/–/ Trojan
	/–/ Borowski

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 203.

33

3–15 September 1943, Warsaw. Copies of letters concerning the position of secret Jewish organisations towards the JUS (Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle), sent by the Żegota Office to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), the Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), and the Director of the Security Cell of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Hübner" (Eugeniusz Gitterman).

Ar[chive] COPIES

On assuming a position on the JUS.

At the meeting of 14th August of this year, the Coordination Commission of the Bund and the ŻKN decided unanimously:

- 1. to adopt a negative position towards the JUS and to establish no relations with it,
- 2. make public opinion, especially foreign opinion, aware of the nature and objectives of the JUS and the negative position of secr[et] Jewish components towards this organisation,
- 3. warn any interested parties abroad against sending any donations for that institution, and

¹⁶ Added in handwriting.

4. to request the Council to Aid J[ews] by the Government Plen[ipotentiary] in Poland to adopt the same position towards the JUS.

----- 000 -----

The above decision was taken based on essential considerations, on the need to fight against the occupant and to continue supporting the attitude adopted from the very beginning by secr[et] Jew[ish] components towards the Germans, as well as by the Polish Underground State, which was expressed most beautifully in the armed combat of the Warsaw ghetto and in other towns and cities of the Republic of Poland.

The occupant established the JUS for its own purposes, to:

- 1. demonstrate, to foreign countries, the falsehood of information on the mass liquidation carried out by the occupant and to prevent foreign opinion from being shaped based on this information,
- 2. demonstrate to foreign countries the occupant's "humanity" in general and even towards Jews,
- 3. to foster the tragic illusions among the Jewish population and thus facilitate the liquidation of their remainder in camps,
- 4. finally, to appropriate things sent from abroad.

The secret elements of the Jew[ish] pop[ulation] are obliged to fight hard against this deception and to condemn those few elements of the Jew[ish] population that have followed a misguided policy towards the occupant.

But even real practical considerations justify the above resolution.

Items sent from abroad fail to reach their addressees – the Jewish population, and anyway, Jews in the camps do not really need medicines but rather bread and humane working and living conditions. The occupant will take those things for themselves, obtaining medicines that they lack. This would make it easier for them to carry out some sanitary and military tasks. Thus, funds coming from [abr]oad go to waste, while funds sent by other – secret – ways could be of real help to those in need.

The Coordination Comm[ission] believes that the same considerations that caused it to adopt the above position should also persuade the Ż. P. Council to take the same position towards the JUS. The Council is a general institution, a cell of the Polish Underground State, whose attitude towards the occupant is definitively negative. We ou[...] not to [...]iate from this traditional – and common to all of us – course of fighting against the occupant at any point, even when it comes to helping the dying.

Thus, the Coord[ination] Com[mission] submits, via representatives of the Jew[ish] pop[ulation] in the Council, the following request.

The Council resolves to:

- 1. accept the position of the Coord. Com. and establish no relations with the JUS,
- 2. notify the Government Delegation for Poland of this fact, with a copy of this resolution enclosed.

Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 15 September 1943.

Dir[ector] Trojanowski, Romecki, Stencel, Hübner

I submit a resolution of the Jew[ish] Coord[ination] Com[mission] and the Żegota Council on the JUS [...] is an authoritative assessment of the social component of any [...].

To the GD /via the Żegota Office/

At the meeting of 4th of this month, the Żegota Council, agreeing entirely with the position of the Coord[ination] Comm[ission] towards (...) /JUS/ in Cracow, decid[...] JUS proposition addressed to the Council [...] month, to refuse the offer of cooperation [...].

We send a copy of the resolution of the Coordination Commission [...]

Warsaw, 3 September 1943

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 164.

34

8 September 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Coordination Commission of the Jewish National Committee and the Bund, signed by "Borowski" (Adolf Berman) and "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), sent to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, via "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.

Warsaw, 8 September 1943

<u>Ar[chive]</u> 17/IX

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Memorandum

Most recently, a representative of the Government Delegation informed representatives of the Jew[ish] National Committee and the Bund, when paying to them the amounts sent to these organisations by their political representations in London, that official components of the Government Delegation had stipulated that these sums should not be spent on purchasing weapons.

As this reservation also applies to the Coordination Commission as the body coordinating the operations of active resistance, the Coordination Commission believes that it is authorised and obliged to voice its opinion on this important issue.

The reservation implies that the Jewish population should not engage in armed combat against the occupant. Although this thesis sounds unbelievable, it is the only possible conclusion that can be drawn from this reservation.

When in the first phase of the "liquidation" operation, the enemy murdered multitudes of Jews without any organised resistance on their part, numerous accusations against the Jewish pop[ulation] were circulated, coming from various directions, including the official underground press. When, in a later phase of the operation, armed resistance was mounted, whose climax came in the form of the heroic defence of the Warsaw ghetto, organised by the ŻOB as the combat body of the Coordination Commission – the combat met with universal praise and admiration, also on the part of official components. The Commandant of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Reg[ion] sent a soldierly salute to the fighting ghetto. The Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Sikorski, and the Govern[ment] Plenipotentiary in Poland, expressed their solidarity with the fighting Jews.

Not only that combat, but also all other operations undertaken by the ZOB, aimed at organising points of resistance and guerrilla and revolutionary groups in Poland, have been carried out with the knowledge of and in consultation with the KSZ [*Komendant Sił Zbrojnych* – Commander of the Armed Forces].

Further acts of Jewish resistance against the Germans followed in the footsteps of the fighting Warsaw ghetto, as fruit of the ŻOB's activity: in Częstochowa, in Będzin, and especially in Białystok, where heroic combat is being waged against the enemy. Also the heroic uprising of Jews in Treblinka, which destroyed the infamous place of massacre along with the German and Ukrainian personnel and freed 2,000 prisoners – is a clear expression of the atmosphere of armed combat that has been created among the Jewish masses.

The coordination of this fight against the enemy is, alongside aid and rescue operations, a major element in the activity of the Coordination Com[mission]. This is why we support all ŻOB initiatives, this is why we need to devote major funds to the purchase of weapons. This activity is in full compliance with the intentions and clearly expressed will of London representatives of the political organisations being members of the Coordination Commission and of Jew[ish] organisations abroad, sending funds to Poland also for the purposes of armed resistance.

The reservation that the sums provided shall not be spent on defence must be the result of either a tragic misunderstanding or false information.

We cannot be assigned with responsibility for the activity of wild Jew[ish] bands, just as the Government Delegation or the KSZ [Komendant Sił Zbrojnych – Commander of the Armed Forces] cannot be deemed responsible for the actions of spawning Polish gangs, wild or even ruffianly /e.g. in the Kielce or even in the Warsaw regions/. The spontaneous formation of Jewish bands, here and there, without any involvement on the part of the organisation – is essentially a biological process and an understandable expression of the instinct of self-preservation, still blazing in some Jew[s].

The Coordination Commission of the ŻKN and the Bund declares firmly that under no circumstances shall it renounce its right to defend Jewish lives and the honour of the Jewish nation, or the duty to defend these highest values. Especially now, when the occupant, facing the collapse of its power and the unavoidably upcoming defeat, with helpless rage, is completing its devilish work of the total annihilation of Jews, we believe that it is our fundamental, human, civil, and national duty to intensify armed combat against the occupant everywhere where there are still some scarce Jewish centres.

We want to believe that the reservation stemmed from a misunderstanding. However, if this is not the case, if this is an expression of actual intentions and a major change in the attitude of the Government Delegation or the KSZ [*Komendant Sił Zbrojnych* – Commander of the Armed Forces] towards the armed combat of Jews against the enemy – the Coordination Commission would be forced to lodge its strongest protest with the highest-ranking elements in Poland and abroad.

We are convinced that the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, having regard to the crucial importance of this issue and deeming this misunderstanding to have been cleared up, will order this reservation to be cancelled as soon as possible.

For the Coordination Commission

of the Jew[ish] National Committee	and	the Bund
(Borowski)		(Mikołaj)
/–/ Borowski		/-/ Mikołaj

Sent to the Żegota Off[ice] on 13 September 1943.

Original sent after a copy was received on 16 September 1943. Wencki Dir[ector] of the Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 16 September 43.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 353-354.

35

9 September 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Żegota Council, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via and commented upon by "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.

18/IX

The Żegota Council Warsaw, 9 September 1933.

То

The Government Plenipotentiary in Poland /via the G[overnment] D[elegation]'s Żegota Off[ice]/

Following the request sent in August of this year concerning an increase in the monthly subsidy, the Ż. P. Council sends the following report:

The Council's activity pursued so far, covering growing numbers of individuals affected by the occupant's terror, currently reaching:

various centres scattered across Poland,

territories annexed to the Reich,

concentration camps in the Reich, to Jews taken to such camps as Aryans, -

/The Council's expenses have also increased due to the establishment of: the territorial organisation office

the child care section

the medical care section, etc./

has been giving rise to an increasing demand for material means, growing every month.

These needs, urgent, often requiring immediate action, and growing every day, have been, in view of the fact that the Council has been granted subsidies in the same amount for several months, a factor that prevents the Council from fulfilling its cardinal duties, even towards the newly-registered persons who need help, let alone the field activity that was at some point reassigned by the Govern[ment] Del[egation] from the Reg[ional] Del[egation] to the Warsaw Council.

With this state of affairs, a large number of newly-registered people remain beyond the reach of the Council's activity and are deprived of material assistance, the organisations are suspending further operations aimed at reaching hiding Jews, and field branches, set up with considerable difficulty, are going to close down as they are unable to operate.

The fact that Jewish organisations, i.e. the Bund and the ŻKN, have for several months been providing the Council with subsidies of 1,000 zlotys, and recently 1,500 zlotys, as the needs are disproportionately greater than this additional aid.

For this reason, at the meeting of 9th of this month, the Ż. P. Council decided to request the Government Plenipotentiary once again to increase the subsidy, which should now amount to 10,000 zlotys, including the needs of the provinces, as the minimum amount necessary to cover the most pressing expenses involved in the Council's activity.

For the Żegota Protection Council:

/-/ Trojan WRN (*Trojan*) /-/ Marek SPD (*Marek*)

Żeg[ota] Off[ice] 17 September 1943.

I assert that the Council requests made above are justified and I ask that the requests be granted, if only this is possible.

Wencki

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 355–355a.

36

8 October 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by the President, "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), and the Secretary, "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial support and the organisation of a meeting to discuss current affairs related to the activity of the Council.

In accordance with its principles and objectives, the Council to Aid Jews has expanded and deepened its activity during the period of its existence.

The Council's activity, originally consisting only in redistributing funds allocated to the Council by the Delegation and then also covering legalisation issues, was expanded in the next months through the establishment of an housing division and a propaganda division, and recently: children's, medical, and clothing divisions. However, the fundamental task of the Council is to distribute financial allowances among those in its care.

Over the last two months /August, September/, the Council was receiving from the Delegation, <u>for Warsaw, 400 thousand zlotys</u> per month, and from the funds of Jewish organisations – 250 thousand zlotys.

The sum remaining after covering legalisation and other expenses /e.g. propaganda expenses, office expenses, etc./ is distributed between approximately one thousand people, which gives an allowance of 250–500 zlotys per month per person; only is some rare cases the allowance equals from 500 to 1,500 zlotys.

During its existence, the Council has extended its activity also in terms of territory, gradually covering, in addition to Warsaw, also the Cracow and Lviv Regions, as well as larger Jewish communities in Drobikowo, Trawniki, Ostrowiec, Będzin, and various other places – which means that the Council is no longer a local, Warsaw-based institution, but rather a central, nation-wide institution, managing Regional Councils on behalf of the Delegation.

<u>The Delegation allocates 150 thousand zlotys</u> per month for each provincial branch. Moreover, according to information obtained by the Council from representatives of Jewish organisations, the organisations have spent several hundred thousand zlotys to help the provincial branches.

Reports from the Regional Councils indicate that there are many centres and communities, scattered across the country, that desperately need more food, clothing, documents, accommodation, etc., and where individuals and groups need to be rescued from camps. If we bear in mind that there are several hundred, several thousand, and even tens of thousands of Jews in the camps in Cracow, Kolomyia, Stryi, Stanisławów, Boryslav, Drohobych, and other places, robbed of everything, cold and starving, bending under the yoke of the hardest toil and physical and moral tortures, amid executions and under continual threat of death, adequate assistance of all kinds is absolutely necessary.

If we add that there are still about 150 thousand Jews in Łódź and that despite the local liquidations, there are still quite numerous communities in Vilnius and Białystok, seeking effective help, the multitude of tasks can be seen very clearly.

Of course, with the modest funds that the Council has at its disposal for the purpose of helping Jews, even if the direct assistance of Jewish organisations is taken into account, it is impossible to fulfil all kinds of tasks mentioned above, to complete the work organised by the Council, and most importantly, there is no way that the Council can answer the calls of the more and more new people who need help, and whose numbers are growing rapidly as the resources of those who have not needed help so far are running out. The individual allowances, which are becoming illusory assistance in view of the increasing prices of basic necessities, blackmailing, high rents, etc., cannot be increased, either. As it is, the allowances are becoming more of symbolic than real help.

A large-scale aid operation corresponding to the essential needs of Warsaw and the provinces, as well as some ad hoc needs, requires that the budget of the Council to Aid Jews be considerably increased.

The issue is extremely urgent and pressing, as the occupant, in the face of the unavoidable, imminent catastrophe, is hastily completing its devilish work of total physical annihilation of the remainder of the Jewish population. If the adequate means are not obtained, all aid may turn out to be overdue and pointless. Thus, the Council to Aid Jews, which has taken upon itself the task of saving a nation suffering from persecution unprecedented in history, appeals to the Government Plenipotentiary to enable it to fulfil at least part of this multitude of tasks.

Hence, at its meeting of 27/9/43.¹⁷, the Council to Aid Jews decided to send this letter to the Government Plenipotentiary and to ask him to meet a delegation of the Council's Presidium in order to discuss directly all issues involved in helping Jews.

The Council to Aid Jews asks that the meeting be arranged as soon as possible.

On behalf of the Council to Aid Jews in Poland

Secretary of the Council	President of the Council
Borowski (ŻKN)	J. Trojan WRN

Warsaw, 8 October 1943

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 356-358.18

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23 October 1943, Warsaw. Report of the Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary for Poland for the period from December 1942 to October 1943.

sent to L. on 29/XI

Żp/1.

Report

on the activity of the Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland for the period from December 1942 to October 1943 inclusive.

I. Appointment of the Council.

¹⁷ Date added in pen by the Council Secretary.

¹⁸ Page numbers 157, 158, and 159 added in crayon, centrally, on three pages of the document.

II. The Council's organisation and scope of activity.

III. The Council's activity within Warsaw.

IV. Legalisation aid.

V. Financial aid.

VI. Housing division.

VII. Anti-blackmailing operation.

VIII. Propaganda division.

IX. Children's division.

X. Medical division.

XI. Clothing division.

XII. Reserve fund.

XIII. The Council's activity in the provinces:

- 1. Cracow Regional Council.
- 2. Lviv Regional Council.
- 3. Further activity in the provinces /Field division/.

XIV. Aid-related cooperation between the Council and Jew[ish] org[anisations].

XV. The Council's contacts with the Delegation.

XVI. The Council's contacts with the Government of the Republic of Poland in London.

XVII. The Council and the armed resistance of the Warsaw ghetto.

XVIII. The Council and the Jew[ish] Support Centre /I.U.S./

Żp./2

I. Establishment of the Council.

After the first liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto in October of 1942, the Committee was set up, a committee of Polish organisations seeking to offer material assistance to Jews as victims of the cruel German terror against the Jewish population. The Committee operated for a relatively short time. The funds that it was allocated by the Delegation were originally very small /50 thousand zlotys a month/.

Its activity could not be very extensive, either. At the end of November and in December of 1942, the Committee was radically reorganised, its membership was expanded and its activity intensified. After numerous discussions with representatives of Polish organisations and the Jewish population, the Council to Aid Jews by the Government Delegation was established. The Council was composed of representatives of a number of Polish factions and organisations and 2 representatives of the Jewish population: one representing the Jewish National Committee, bringing together Zionist, burghers', and workers' organisations, and one representing the Bund.-

II. The Council's organisation and scope of activity.

The Council to Aid Jews was to be a central institution in relation to Regional Councils that were to be set up, as well as a local institution that was to operate just like all other Regional Councils – in Warsaw and the Warsaw region. The Council is comprised of a Delegation representative and representatives of the following organisations /one per each/: WRN /President/, Stronnictwo Ludowe /Deputy President/, Stronnictwo Demokratyczne /Treasurer/, Polska Organizacja Demokratyczna, and on behalf of the Jewish population: Bund / Vice-President/ and ŻKN /Secretary/. Additionally, a representative of the Catholic Front for the Rebirth of Poland sat on the Council for an extensive period of time. The Council set up an Audit Commission to control the Council's finances. The Council is apolitical in nature. The objective of the Council is to help Jews /within the meaning of racist legal acts/ as victims of the German terror. That help was to include: financial aid /allowances/, help in finding accommodation, legalisation, help in finding gainful employment, etc.

III. The Council's activity in Warsaw.

For the first few months, the Council operated only as a Warsaw institution, providing material assistance to Jews in the Ar[yan] district of Warsaw and the Warsaw ghetto, obviously on a very small scale due to the very small subsidies granted to the Council by the Delegation. – The Council has held 26 plenary meetings and the Council Presidium – 35 meet[ings]. The Audit Commission has held 15 meetings. The Council has its own office and has at its disposal some other premises where it holds its meetings and carries out its administration work.-

IV. Legalisation aid.

Jews are forbidden from staying in any areas outside ghettos or J[ewish] camps, under pain of death. Thus, they can stay in Aryan areas only if they are considered to be Aryans. Thus, one of the most important issues is the legalisation of Jews. In this regard, the Council has contacted a well-organised office that prepares the necessary documents, such as baptism certificates, marriage certificates, pers[onal] ID cards /Polish/, identification cards, and many others. The Council provides these documents to all J[ews] who ask for them /through the organisations/ and distributes them around free of charge, even though it pays the office 30–45 thousand zlotys a month.- The number of such documents delivered by the Council in the reporting period is several thousand.-

V. Financial aid.

Another important form of assistance should be material, cash assistance, as a large number of Jews are unable to earn money due to their non-Aryan appearance or for fear of being blackmailed. This sort of assistance has also been provided by the Council to anyone who has asked for such help directly or indirectly, through the organisations represented in the Council. Originally, the only source of funds used by the Council were the subsidies granted to the Council by the Delegation, and for the last three months, another source have been donations from Jewish organisations, coming from their funds received from abroad. The Delegation allocated to the Council, in the following months: January 1943 -150 thousand, February 1943 - 300 thousand, March - 250 thousand, and in the following months, starting from April up to Oct[ober] inclusive – 400 thousand a month; additionally, in April, the Delegation granted the Council an extra, oneoff subsidy of 500 thousand zlotys /in connection with the liq[uidation] operation carried out in Warsaw, in the War[saw] ghet[to], in April and May 1943/, and from June to October inclusive - a month[ly] subsidy for the provinces, in the amount of 150 thousand zlotys. The total amount allocated to the Council by the Delegation for providing aid in Warsaw and the provinces over the 10-month reporting period was 4,750,000 zlotys.^{x)} At first, the Council provided financial help to about 200–300 people; in the last months of the reporting period, this number increased to about 1,000 a month. At first, each of those in the Council's care received about 500 zlotys a month. Then, as their number started growing as a result of their own resources running out, blackmailing, etc., while the allowance from the Delegation remained the same, that individual help started decreasing and has recently been from 300 to 400 zlotys. This assistance - due to the devaluation of money and the resultant high prices of basic necessities – has been less than modest and has been more of symbolic than real help. Another source of the Council's funds are donations from Jew[ish] organisations, which provided the Council with 400,000 zlotys over the last three months, i.e. when they received funds from abroad – apart from the amounts spent directly by these org[anisations] on similar purposes - see below.

x) The Delegation allocated the Council 750 thousand zlotys for November and December, and starting from 1st January 1944 – 1 million zlotys a month.¹⁹

VI. Housing division.

The third important – or maybe the most important – sort of assistance was to have the form of assistance in finding accommodation. The survival of a person depended and still depends on whether they have a roof over their head.

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Żp.3.

¹⁹ Handwritten in pen.

The problem of accommodation is the most difficult to resolve – due to the non-Aryan appearance of Jews, due to the fear of potential consequences involved in sheltering Jews, due to blackmailing, which causes Jews to leave the places where they are staying, and due to the generally high prices of housing. Thus, the Council devoted a lot of time and relatively large funds to this problem, creating a special housing division, but unfortunately the help was only minimal. It turned out that it was impractical to purchase flats as in the case of blackmail, they became useless. Rental on a subtenancy basis was faced with obstacles that were insurmountable for the Council, as such accommodation is extremely expensive and the Council lacks the necessary funds. Thus, the relatively modest special housing fund set aside by the Council was unable to fulfil its task on the scale envisaged by the Council.

VII. Anti-blackmailing operation.

The dramatic growth of blackmail, which has affected considerable numbers of Jews staying in Aryan districts, has been a widespread epidemic, which could be referred to as social calamity. The victims are brutally robbed of everything in their possession, cash, valuables, clothes, undergarments, and other valuable things. As a result, blackmail victims lose their home and become a burden for their relatives or friends, and when they are unable to help them, they have no choice but to ask the Council for material assistance. And thus the number of those who need the Council's help is growing. Therefore, the Council has made numerous appeals to the Delegation, asking that blackmail be counteracted promptly and radically and demanding, among other things, that an official order /to be announced on posters/ be issued by the Government Plenipotentiary that would threaten blackmailers and their accomplices with the death penalty. Semi-official announcements to this effect were published by the underground press of the Delegation and other entities. Moreover, the Council itself has been publishing leaflets condemning such crimes and calling upon the public to offer help to Jews as victims of the Nazi terror, and to fight against blackmailing. Lastly, the Council reported acts of blackmail to the Special Court.

VIII. Propaganda division.

The Council established the propaganda division in order to influence the public by means of appropriate writing oriented towards helping Jews as victims of the Nazi extermination policy. The Council has published 4 editions of leaflets, including three addressed to the Polish population, a total of 25,000 leaflets, and one edition in the German language, 5,000 copies, addressed to the Germans and pretending to have been issued by Germ[an] organisations. The leaflets were distributed from door to door and attached to building walls in Warsaw and in provincial towns. They were also sent to offices, etc. Moreover, the Council has recently started issuing information communications for the undergr[ound] press, informing about German acts of extermination against the Jew[ish] pop[ulation] and about acts of Jew[ish] resistance against the Germans. Two issues have been published.

IX. Children's division.

Żp. 4.

Recently, the Council has set up a special division whose objective is to take care of orphaned children and other Jew[ish] children needing help and to place them with various institutions and private families. This activity, organised under professional management, is starting to develop successfully. The division has managed to place appropriately 20–30 children, and the future prospects are good. However, further development of this activity, of such enormous importance, depends on the allocation of larger funds, which, unfortunately, the Council is unable to provide. The monthly budget allocated by the Council to this division is about 30 thousand, so Jew[ish] organisations made a special donation for this purpose in October, in the amount of 50 thousand zlotys, which was the minimum amount that had to be provided to satisfy the division's current needs.

X. Medical division.

Due to the threat of exposure in connection with illnesses of those in the Council's care and other Jews, the Council decided to set up a medical division, which has already been organised and will start operating in the nearest future. The medical assistance will be provided by trusted doctors, well-aware of the character of this work – in various parts of the city – some of them will even work on a non-profit basis. Besides this assistance, there are also plans to provide medicines.

XI. Clothing division.

Through lack of funds, of which a huge amount is required for this purpose, this extremely important form of assistance cannot be launched, despite the fact that it is essential due to the upcoming cold weather of autumn and winter.

XII. Reserve fund.

Very often, there is a sudden need to immediately provide help and food to Jews kept in prisons. However, after distributing its monthly financial aid, the Council is usually left with no funds. Thus, the Council decided to set up a special reserve fund for such purposes. Unfortunately, this is not always possible through lack of finances, as the funds received are insufficient to cover the ever-growing needs.

XIII. The Council's activity in the provinces.

Even when the Council was forming and the scope of its activity was being defined, starting from its first meetings, the Council noticed the need to expand its aid operations also to the provinces, to the entire Republic of Poland. As a result, in December 1942, the Council decided to request the Government Plenipotentiary to issue appropriate instructions for regional delegates in order to set up, beside particular delegations, a number of Regional Councils that would provide aid similar to that offered by the Warsaw Council, within their limited territories. The Delegation responded positively to that request, at the same time informing the Council that the condition for establishing Regional Councils and for the cooperation of Regional Delegations with such councils was – the prior organisation of the social component, as it happened in Warsaw. As a result, this activity encountered major obstacles, arising from local conditions. Thus, when the organisation of Regional Councils was not taking on any solid shape, the initiative was taken over by the Central Council, with a positive outcome.

1. Cracow Regional Council.

In April 1943, on the initiative of the Centr[al] Council, a Regional Council was successfully established in Cracow, with active representatives of the WRN, the People's Party, and the Alliance of Democrats, and recently the Council was joined by a Jewish representative. At first, through lack of funds, the Cracow Council could only make very modest plans, as the funds allocated to the Cracow Council were, for well-known reasons, minimal, not exceeding a dozen or so thousand zlotys, and were used to help about 100 people staying in the Aryan district of Cracow. Moreover, the Cracow Council provided those people with legalisation aid, using materials delivered by the Central Council. Through its agents, the Cracow Council collected information necessary to help the ghettos and Jewish camps within the Cracow region. /Tarnów, Bochnia, Przemyśl, Stalowa Wola, Mielec, and Trzebnia near Jasło/. It passed the data to the Centr[al] Council, demanding a major increase in the subsidy, which, however, the Centr[al] Council was unable to grant. When the Delegation increased the subsidy for the Council in June of this year, and in particular granted a special subsidy for the provinces, the Centr[al] Council increased the subsidy for the Cracow Council to 50 thousand zlotys a month, which amount is, of course, absolutely insufficient, as in its report for May, the Cracow Council demanded a minimum amount of 320 thousand for June, and only for Cracow itself, without the provinces. At present, the Cracow Council provides a financial allowance to about 100 people.

2. Lviv Regional Council.

The Lviv Regional Council was established a little later than the Cracow Council. Just like the Cracow Council, the Lviv Council is also made up of representa-

tives of the WRN, the Peop[le's] Par[ty], and the All[iance] of Dem[ocrats]. The information on the character and activity of the Cracow Council, its problems and financial demands, apply also to the Lviv Council, except that the territory of the Council's activity is much larger, with many more Jew[ish] camps, which stems from the fact that the Jewish population in those areas is much larger than in Western Lesser Poland and the bordering Silesia and the former Congress Poland. An information-gathering tour was organised to collect the necessary data and to establish contact with the ghettos, possibly also Jew[ish] camps, within the Lviv Region. The tour, made by an agent of the Lviv Council, provided certain information on Stryi, Kolomyia, Brody, Boryslav, Drohobych, and Przemyśl and on the possibility of offering individual help in some of these places.- However, the entirety of that work, if it is to bring any real – even if only for local groups – effects, depends on the provision of considerable funds, which the Centr[al] Council is unable to provide. Recently, the Lviv Council has been receiving from the Centr[al] Council 60,000 zlotys per month, which is used to provide financial allowances to several dozen people staying within the Aryan district. It needs to be pointed out that in September of this year, the allowance for Lviv did not – unfortunately – reach the Lviv Council, as the agent of the Lviv Council that collected the money from the Centr[al] Council was arrested on her way, along with a set of legalisation documents for Lviv.

3. Further activity in the provinces /Field division/.

In order to offer assistance in other provinces /outside the territories of the Crac[ow] and Lviv Councils/, the Council has set up, over the last three months, a field division. Three persons travelled on behalf of this division, establishing as yet very loose – contacts with Łódź, where about 150,000 Jews are working in the ghetto, of whom about 30,000 are citizens of Łódź, and the rest are Jews from West[ern] Europe. Additionally, contact has been established with the Jewish camps in Piotrków, Radom, Kielce, and others, consisting mainly in collecting information on the situation in the camps, on the living and working conditions, and in preparing aid operations.- The information obtained so far indicates that considerable funds are required to provide food, clothing, etc., as the living conditions in those camps are appalling, and most importantly, to save people by getting them out of those death centers. In order to explain with all accuracy the need to obtain considerable sums from the Delegation, sums that would be sufficient to satisfy the ever-growing needs in this area, as well as in other areas, such as increasing individual allowances in Warsaw, Cracow, and Lviv, allowances for the children's home, etc., the Council sent a long letter to the Plenipotentiary last month, asking him to directly support its requests.

XIV. Cooperation between the Council and Jew[ish] organisations in the area of aid. Zp. 6.

The Council has been cooperating with Jew[ish] org[anisations] mainly because there are 8 representatives of the Jew[ish] com[munity] in the Council, one from the ŻKN and the other from the Bund, and of course, their active participation has contributed to the positive results of the Council's operation. Through these representatives of the Jew[ish] com[munity], the Council has been obtaining information on the situation of Jews, relevant to its tasks. Moreover, the above-mentioned Jew[ish] org[anisations] – by means of their work in the field of aid - have significantly unburdened the Council, complementing the entirety of aid operations carried out among the remainder of the [ew[ish] pop[ulation]. Finally, since these org[anisations] started receiving larger sums from abroad, from their foreign representations, they have been providing the Council with substantial sums, thus facilitating the Council's operation and filling its budget gaps, at least partially. Starting from August, Jew[ish] org[anisations] have been donating money to the Council every month – and over the last 3 months, they provided the Council with 400,000 zlotys. Moreover, by providing material assistance in Warsaw /in Aryan districts/ or by sending larger sums, a total of several hundred thousand zlotys a month, to the provinces /to the camps in Trawniki, Poniatowa, Piotrków, Ostrowiec, Kielce, Radom, Starachowice, Skarżysko-Kamienna/, the [ew[ish] org[anisations] have also been performing tasks that fall within the scope of the Council's activity, both in material terms and by sending people out /recently - to Białystok and Vilnius/ to collect information and establish contacts. When providing mat[erial] assistance, the Jew[ish] org[anisations] have not confined themselves to helping only those within their org[anisational] and ideological domains, but have also offered help to many other people outside their domains.

XV. The Council has been maintaining constant and regular contact with the Delegation, mainly through:

- A representative of the Delegation, participating in the Council's meetings

 the Director of the Jewish Office of the Government Delegation. The same
 Delegation representative has been presenting the Council's requests and
 appeals addressed to the Government Plenipotentiary and has been in forming the Council about the position taken by the Plenipotentiary on any
 issues falling within the scope of the Council's tasks.
- 2. Moreover, the Council has been contacting the Plenipotentiary by sending letters and memorandums mainly concerning financial issues, asking for the subsidy to be increased, indicating the growing needs and the need to immediately satisfy them, but also concerning the need to counteract blackmailing and to issue official pronouncements for this purpose, to be displayed publicly, and concerning the punishment of criminals black-

mailers, and finally, by providing the Delegate with reports from its activity, in particular with financial reports.

3. Finally, upon the Council's request for a meeting between the Council's Delegation and the Government Plenipotentiary concerning direct support for the Council's requests, a conference was held at the end of last April, to which the Plenipotentiary invited the Council's Deputy Chairman, with whom he discussed, with a positive outcome, the current issues brought up by the Council.

XVI. The Council's contacts with the Government of the Republic of Poland in London.

These were established on two occasions.

- 1. The Council requested the Polish Government to allocate larger government sums to its aid initiatives due to the fact that a large-scale aid operation requires colossal sums and the amount allocated by the Delegation is obviously insufficient. The Council sent, to the Government, via the Delegation, a message and a letter concerning this issue.
- 2. Moreover, the Council sent a message to the Polish Government in London requesting that an international scheme be initiated under which the remainder of the Jewish population could be saved from inevitable annihilation, by means of exchange or otherwise. The Council had decided that all aid measures were only-half measures that would not last long and would not save people in the long term in view of the steadfast implementation by the German authorities of the plan for the total annihilation of the remaining Jews.

XVII. The Council and the armed resistance of the Warsaw ghetto.

When Warsaw was alerted in the second half of April of this year that the Warsaw ghetto had mounted heroic armed resistance, commanded by the ŻOB /Jewish Combat Organisation/ – the Council adopted a pronouncement on this issue, paying tribute to the heroism of the Warsaw ghetto and appealing to the Government Plenipotentiary to ensure that relevant components support that heroic fight by providing sufficient weapons to the defenders of the ghetto. The pronouncement was sent to the Government Plenipotentiary without delay.

XVIII. The Council and the Jew[ish] Support Centre /I.U.S./ Żp 7.

Several months ago – after the Cracow ghetto had been liquidated – the central occupant authorities established the Jew[ish] Support Cen[tre] /IUS – Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle/, appointing the former President of the liquidated centr[al] Jew[ish] social self-help, Dr. W[eichert], as its head. Large amounts of valuable medicines, as well as provisions and money from foreign Jews, were

sent to the address of that centre from abroad, via the international Red Cross. The head of that centre wished to establish contact with representatives of the Jewish population, i.e. the Bund, the ŻKN, and the Council to Aid Jews. The representation of the Jewish population decided against that and proposed that the Council should also reject any offers of cooperation with the IUS, informing the Council that the representation of the ŻKN and the Bund had already communicated its negative position on this issue to foreign states and had called on them to stop sending any parcels to the IUS, stating that this was only a German propaganda initiative. The Council spoke against the IUS and sent that decision to the Government Plenipotentiary, enclosing the pronouncement of the Jewish representation.

The Council to Aid Jews by the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Warsaw, 23 October 1943.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, pp. 365-370.²⁰

38

28 October 1943, Warsaw. Minutes from the meeting of representatives of the Council to Aid Jews with "Dr. Klonowski" (Jan Stanisław Jankowski), Government Delegate in Poland, taken by the Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski).

Dr. Klonowski

28 October 43. re AA

Minutes from the meeting with representatives of the Council to A. J.

Attended by:	Dr. Klonowski	AA
	Director Trojanowski	Κ
	Mr. Wencki	
	Mr. Różycki /SL/ – Deputy President of the Council to A. J.	
	Mr. Borowski /ŻKN/ – Secretary of the Council to A. J.	
Mr. Romecki /in the final phase of the meeting/.		

I. In response to Dr. Klonowski's question concerning the attitude of the Jew[ish] Coord[ination] Commission to the Council to Aid Jews and drawing a line be-

²⁰ Page numbers from 165 to 171 added in pencil, centrally.

tween the areas of charity work of these two institutions, Mr. Borowski said that the J. C. C. and the Council to A. J. generally cooperated with each other and that the J.C.C had two objectives: to offer charitable help and to organise resistance in Jewish communities. Mr. Różycki noted the separate operation of the J.C.C in terms of the non-provision by the J.C.C to the Council of any detailed explanations concerning its charitable activity. "We only feel that the Coordination Commission is working in this direction." Mr. Wencki said that the demarcation line between the activity of the J.C.C. and the Council to A. J. is quite clear as the J.C.C of the Jewish National Com[mittee] and the Bund mostly seeks to support members of Jew[ish] political org[anisations] and uses the GD budget funds allocated to the Council to help the "unaffiliated". Mr. Borowski explained that this state of affairs existed after the Jew[ish] organisations received the first sums from abroad, and currently the J.C.C is supporting the Council to A. J. /a total of 4,000 zlotys over the last months/. The GD expressed a wish that separate activity domains should be established for the J.C.C and the Council, in territorial or other terms. Mr. Borowski promised to bring this wish up at the next J.C.C meeting.

- II. Dr. Klonowski asked another question, concerning the organisational structure of the Council to Aid Jews with respect to the links between the Central Council and the Regional Councils. The Council representatives explained that the Regional Councils were subordinated to the Central Council in terms of budget, whereas the issue of the organisational structure has not been considered as yet.
- III. In the next phase of the meeting, Mr. Różycki presented the Council's requests. He expressed the view that Council members did not see any possibility of fulfilling their duties adequately in view of the expanding needs and the growing numbers of people in the Council's care, with the rigid GD budget paid to the Council. Through lack of funds, it had been impossible to implement the Council's plans /the housing, medical, clothing divisions/ responding to the actual needs of the Jewish population. Additionally, Mr. Borowski supported Mr. Różycki's request concerning press pronouncements, asking the Doctor to issue a special pronouncement right at that moment, when "it may be that Jewish camps are only weeks away from total liquidation". Responding to Dr. Klonowski's question as to the estimated number of surviving Jews, Mr. Borowski said that there were about 250-300 thousand living Jews in Poland /Łódź - 150 thousand, Poniatowa - 14 thousand, Trawniki - 8 thousand/. Mr. Borowski was particularly concerned about the possibility of reaching out to Łódź and to 3 camps in Lublin /Koncentrationslager, the camp in Lipowa Street, and the Flugplatz camp/. Responding to the explanations of the Council representatives,

Dr. Klonowski took an absolutely favourable position on the issues brought up by the Council. As for the creation of an atmosphere favourable to aid Jews, the crucial factor was the resistance of Jews themselves. This evoked sympathy for those dying with weapons in their hands and made it easier to offer help to the survivors. Some important factors that have led to the insufficiency of financial means include the following: improvidence of the Jewish population at the right time, when it was possible to collect money among wealthy Jews, and the absence of a proper response on the part of the international Jewish community. In its financial management, based on an indefinite inflow of funds, the GD needed to follow an extremely provident policy. However, after the actual needs of the Council had been established, it was decided that the funds available were sufficient to increase the GD budget for the Council to 7,500 zlotys for November and December. From January, the subsidy would be 10,000 zlotys. Additionally, in order to satisfy the Council's current needs, Dr. Klonowski provided the Council with 23 thousand dollars that had recently been received from England for the purpose of helping Jews. Dr. Klonowski instructed Mr. Romecki, who had just arrived, to pay that amount to the Council via Mr. Wencki. Mr. Romecki informed Mr. Borowski about a received notification of 5 thousand pounds for the ŻKN and 1.000 dollars for "Antoni".

At this point, the meeting was concluded.

/-/ Wencki

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 117

39

9 November 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), addressed to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the liquidation of Jewish camps.

PKP [Polityczny Komitet Porozumiewawczy – Political Consultative Committee]

Mr. Romecki

Nat[ional] Min[ority] Off[ice]

9 November 1943.

Liquidation of Jewish camps.

Just as expected for some time, the mass liquidation of the remainder of Jewish camps has been launched.

On Wednesday, 3rd November of this year, strong SS and gendarmerie units arrived at the Jewish labour camp in Trawniki. All men were ordered to dig anti-aircraft trenches. Two hours later, they were surrounded, HMGs were set up around them, and they were all shot dead. In the meantime, 50 vehicles arrived at the camp and all women and children were piled into them and taken to the same place, undressed and shot from the HMGs. It total, about 8,000 people died.

The German deception had worked. Over the last few days, the atmosphere in the Trawniki camp was quite good and the Germans behaved properly. The commandant of the Trawniki camp is a Silesian, Barteczko, and besides him, Napierała and Nosek, formerly a blue policeman in Silesia.

On the day preceding the massacre, the German personnel had a drinking bout. During the slaughter, dance music played from megaphones, drowning the shouting of the victims. It is said that 3 thousand Italian Jews were brought to the camp in place of the murdered. Of all prisoners of the camp, only some prisoners of war from the Polish army /Jews/, who were the camp personnel, have been kept alive. A similar slaughter took place in the Lublin camps on 5th November. All Lublin camps were massacred. It is known with certainty that a massacre took place in the camp in Lipowa Street /about 2,000 people/.

Alarming news has come in from Poniatowa. That site has been massacred, too. Details will be provided.

/-/ Wencki

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 360.

40

12 November 1943, Warsaw. Settlement of pass-on sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, distributed by "Ul" ["Beehive"] – the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland – and provided to the Żegota in the period from September to October 1943.

Ar[chive]

PASS-ON SUMS OF "SIEĆ" [NET]

FOR THE PERIOD OF OCTOBER - NOVEMBER 33

UL [BEEHIVE] – THE ŻEGOTA COMMITTEE

 Received.
 Passed on.

 9.IX. Rec[eived] for the Ż[egota] C[ommittee].
 IX 5,500.00 zlotys | 9.IX. Paid. Żeg[ota] C. IX 2,500.00 zlotys

 7X.
 "
 X * 5,500.00 |"
 "
 "
 /balance/3,000.00

 |
 8.X.
 "
 X * 5,500.00
 zlotys.
 11,000.00

 |
 11,000.00 zlotys |
 zlotys.
 11,000.00

Note:

The original receipts are kept at the "Sieć" [*Net*], at the "Izba's" [*Chamber*] disposal.

Warsaw, 12th November.

For conformity with the original: Jolanta Zakrzewska

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, 202/XV/2, p. 359.²¹

41

2 January 1944, Warsaw. Copy of a letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the National Minority Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the composition of the Regional Councils in Lviv and Cracow, drawn up by "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński) and sent to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), via "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.

To the GD National	Minorities Office
in situ	

<u>Copy</u>

In response to the letter asking about the composition of the Żegota Regional Councils, the Council provides the following data:

Cracow Region:

Chairman	Stanisław	WRN
Secretary	Żegociński	WRN
Treasurer	Michalska	SPD
Members:	Władysław	SPD
"	Mariańska	WRN /in care/
GD Representative	Socha	SZ

²¹ Page number 160 added in pencil, centrally.

Lviv Region:		
Cairman	Dionizy	SPD
Treasurer	Stanisław	WRN
Board Member	Wiktor	SPD
63	Andrzej	/non-affil[iated]/
Secretary	Justyna	WRN

For the Council: /-/ Marek

Warsaw, 2 January 1944.

Nat[ional] Min[orities] Off[ice] 11 January 44. <u>Mr. Romecki "Ul" ("Beehive")</u> I send the above for your information.

Wencki

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 136.

42

2–8 February 1944, Warsaw. Letter of "Wencki", "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the enclosed letter of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) to the Government Delegate.

hand[led] 8/2/34 R[omecki]

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Again, I politely ask for information on the sums in dollars that have been donated to us from abroad, on the persons or organisations that provided them and, finally, on the dates of the receipt of those funds and the messages or letters based on which the amounts have been delivered or notified.

This issue is very urgent and important to us due to the need to close our books and to have an audit carried out by our audit bodies in connection with reminders from our organisational instances in Lond[on], demanding that we confirm the sums received.

At the same time, I politely ask you to send a list of the amounts paid to us from 16 October 1943 to 23 December 1943, inc[luding] information on the applicable exchange rates.

Finally, in accordance with a decision of the Council to Aid J[ews] made in connection with the incident concerning Mr. Borow., and in accordance with our request, at some point agreed to by the Government Del[egation], I politely ask you to send letters concerning our organisation, as well as any messages, in sealed and appropriately initialled envelopes. The objective is to make sure that information concerning our organisation, and in particular any financial matters, remains strictly confidential to everyone outside our organisation, which applies both to any sums provided to us and to the persons to whom they are passed.

Warsaw, 28 January 1943

For the Central Committee of the Jewish Working Masses' Movement in Poland *Mikołaj /-/* Mikołaj

Mr. Romecki "Ul" ("Beehive")

I send the above for your information, asking you politely to respond to the first part of the letter. I am unable to handle the issue myself as I have not received from you the explanations requested by Mikołaj. I can send the required list of the sums paid from 16 October 1943 to 23 December 1943, as the data is in my possession. Please respond as soon as possible.

Wencki Kal[ski]

2 February 1944

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, b. 137.

43

То

7 February 1944, **Warsaw**. Letter of the Żegota Protection Council, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), among others, to the Government Delegate in Poland, concerning the subsidy for the Żegota and asking for a meeting; delivered via and commented upon by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.

18 FEBRUARY 1944

<u>Request for an audience</u>

Dr

The Government Plenipotentiary in Poland.

Referring to the letters and detailed information submitted to the Government Delegation during the private audience, concerning the financial situ-
ation of the remainder of the "Żegota" community, as well as the fact of the constant, massive increase in the number of persons desperately needing help, the ROŻ informs that over the last period, it managed to fulfil its duties only thanks to extraordinary allowances beyond the fixed state budget, i.e. the 230 II amount, and the enhanced help from the Coordination Commission, amounting to 9,000 zlotys.

At present, after the extraordinary subsidies have been exhausted /II/, the Council's funds have decreased by about 35%, while the number of those in the Council's care has increased, both in Warsaw and in the provinces. Thus, the allowances for February of this year have been reduced, both in terms of individual rates and in terms of the number of recipients. This is because the subsidies from the Government Delegation, currently amounting to 10,000 zlotys, plus 4,000 zlotys from the C.C., currently correspond only to 70% of the current needs, and there are also 1,000 people who are waiting in vain to be put on the aid list. The Council's operations cover about 3,500 people, including the provinces, and according to the C.C. representative, the C.C.'s operations cover nearly as many, and yet – as mentioned above – over 1,000 people are still waiting for help.

Impoverishment grows with every day of this lengthy war, even among the wealthier classes, which undoubtedly causes the inflow of new registrations, and on the other hand, it needs to be borne in mind that the amount paid as an allowance, ranging from 4 to 5 zlotys a month, is just enough to pay the rent. Under such conditions, taking into account the growing cost of living, we should also seek to increase the allowances by at least 100%.

The Council's field activity, i.e.: in Cracow, Lviv, Radom, Kielce, Częstochowa, Skarżysko, etc., consumes major funds. Only the Cracow and Lviv Reg[ions] absorb over 3,000 zlotys a month, which, with such a relatively small budget, constitutes a considerable expense. The development of the costly child care division and the provision of medical assistance would require separate subsidies.

Thus, the ROŻ decided to request the Government Plenipotentiary to:

- 1. increase the monthly subsidy to 20,000 zlotys and
- 2. grant an additional allowance for February, in the amount of <u>3,500</u> zlotys, to cover the current expenses.

As not all important arguments for increasing the aid funds have been presented in this letter, the ROŻ asks the Government Plenipotentiary to hold a meeting with the Council's delegation, who will justify the above request more exhaustively.

> For the Council to P.J. /-/ T[rojan] /-/ [...]

Dr. Klonowski, Esq. (attn. of Dir[ector] Muszyński).

I send the above emphasising that as the subsidy cannot be increased, it would be very advisable to <u>meet</u> the Council's representatives. I would prefer to meet the <u>Council Chairman</u> and Berezowski [...] Council Head. To accept this [...] would be [illegible] [Kalski]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 140.

44

7 February 1944, Warsaw. Financial report of the Council to Aid Jews for the 4th quarter of 1943, approved by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.

return

Financial report for the 4th quarter of 1933, ROŻ.

A. Proceeds

X/33	Balance as of IX/33			4.17	
	Subsidies	GD		5,500	
	"	C.C.		<u>1,030</u>	6,534.17
XI/33	Balance as of	X/33		6.27	
	Subsidy	GD		7,500	
	"	C.C.		1,500	
	Equiv. for	50/II		4,225	
	Sale	55/II		4,587	
	Borowski – ret	urn of c	oll[ected]		
	pers[onal] allo	wances	in the year 33	90	17,908.27
XII/33	Balance as of	XI/33	negative		
	Subsidies	GD		7,500	
	22	C.C.		3,000	
	Equiv. for 50/I	Ι		4,910	15,410
				In total	39,852.44

B. Expenses

1. Administration and premises		297	
2. Legalisation		1,345	
3. Children's home		2.380	
4. Field div[ision] and field-relat		7,677.44	
5. Local allowances		28,000.22	
6. Medical help division		100	
7. Losses		<u>115</u>	
Ι	n total	39,914.66	39,914.66

A. Total proceeds	39,852.44
B. " Expenses	39,914.66
Debit	62.22

The debit will be covered from the funds for I/34.

Explanation for the expense items.

- Re 1. This item includes the costs of the secretariat and communication, premises, business trips, etc.
- Re 2. This item includes expenses related to the maintenance of the legalisation office and the costs of legalisation outside the office.
- Re 3. Child care as a separate division provides for 99 children.
- Re 4. The aid operation outside Warsaw covers the following towns and cities: Cracow, Lviv, Skarżysko, Piotrków, Kielce, etc.
- Re 5. Allowances are distributed among Jews according to the system used so far, i.e. by means of an organisational network; the allowance rate is from 4 to 5 zlotys a month, and in November 1933, exceptionally, some allowances reached 7 zlotys.
- Re 6. The medical division as a separate cell was established in the summer of 1933 and is represented by doctors from all specialty fields.

Re 7. This item incl[udes] [...] [...]sonal audi[t] [...] officially [...].

The Audi[t] Committee [...] whether the [...] [...] concerning [...]

Appendix to the quarterly report. Settlement from 230 /:II:/

I. Proceeds.

II. Expenses

a) c	ash		80	a) own sale	55
b) e	equivalent	XI/33	50	b) sent into the field	25
c)	"	XII/33	50	c) equivalent from GD	150
d)	"	I/34	<u>50</u>		
			230		<u>230</u>

For the Ż. P. C o u n c i l /-/ M a r e k Treasurer

Warsaw, 7 February 1934

Received 14 February 1944 Kalski

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 138–139.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 410–411.

45

7 March 1944, Warsaw. Report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, concerning the lack of response to correspondence addressed to "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek) from the Council to Aid Jews, along with copies of correspondence between "Kalski" and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, from 21 February 1944 to 4 March 1944.

7 MAR[CH] 1944

Dir[ector] Muszyński

I send to you copies of my recent correspondence with Mr. Romecki. As I have received n o t a s i n g l e response to the issues raised – I politely ask for an intervention. The issues brought up in my correspondence are very important to the situation of J. I need to give them an answer, but I have no data, and such could only be provided by Mr. Romecki.

6 March 1944.

/.../ Kalski.

[Enclosure No. 1]

7 MAR[CH] 1944 COPY

Kalski, Esq.

Only on Saturday did I learn that my letter that I had sent at the end of the last week had still not reached you /due to the illness of our colleague, Ms. Kazia/. Hence, I wish to repeat our urgent request that you intervene with the appropriate components concerning the provision of our deposit of 15 thousand pounds as soon as possible. This is a matter of life and death for thousands of our customers in Warsaw and the provinces. With the scope of our activity constantly growing, we are simply drowning in needs. We already have a huge deficit for February and we have nothing to eliminate it with, and yet we need to, as this is about living people. All our links /and we have over 40 of them: about 20 Pol. and about 20 Jew./ are informing us about the growing needs. The primary cause is the increasing impoverishment of our customers. According to my estimates, our needs are already exceeding the needs of the Żegota company. Of course, I still maintain close contact with the Żegota company and I am interested in every detail of its operations, even though I am still unable to go back to work personally. – I am currently writing a draft on the establishment and growth of that company. /I have also set out to prepare a "Golden" paper of Poles who have rendered valuable services to that company /obviously, I am writing anonymously//. I believe the "Paper" to be important for many reasons, especially future-related ones.

Kindest regards. /-/ Borowski

21 February 44

Mr. Romecki, "Wieża" ("Tower")

I send to you a letter from Borowski, sent to me privately. I am unable to give him any answer <u>concerning the sum of 15 thousand pounds</u>, of which he was notified at some point. All money orders, *both* for the Bund and the ŻKN, have been paid in full.

I politely ask for the information if there have been any deliveries and if they can count on them in the nearest future.

/–/ Kalski

22 February 1944.

Dear Mr. Kalski,

I politely ask you to:

- 1. notify me if and when further sums will be paid to us, as based on a letter that I received from L[ondon] last November, a considerable amount remains due, and the letter also mentions another amount that was to be provided to us soon. Moreover, I ask you to explain definitively the issue of the sum of 25 thousand dollars, agreed upon and yet not paid to us by the Del[egation] by the end of last August.
- 2. provide me with a list of amounts / in for. curr./ sent to us, along with the respective dates of their sending and an indication of who provided them to us, from the end of last August to this day inclusive.
- 3. provide us with a list of amounts paid to us by the Del[egation] until today, with an indication of the exchange rate.
- 4. pay us further amounts, in response to the important arguments that we have advanced and that have been accepted.

The issue raised in point 1 is v. urgent, hence I ask you again, v. insistently, to handle it as promptly as possible.

The issues raised in points 2, 3, and 4 were also discussed by us personally and as a result of that conversation, you promised to expedite the handling of those issues. At this point, once again, I request you v. urgently to handle them definitively, as every day of delay causes us problems and unpleasantness.

Please be so kind as to treat any poten[tial] written explanations as strictly confidential and please deliver them in an appropriate manner that guarantees discretion.

With a hearty handshake /-/ Mikołaj

February 1944.

Mr. Romecki, "Wieża" ("Tower")

I provide you with a letter from the Bund, as I have received no reply to the first letter. I need to handle this issue, so I politely ask you to kindly respond as soon as possible.

3 March 1944

/-/ Kalski

Mr. Hulski

I am sending a letter from Mikołaj from the Bund with a note from the person handling these issues, and I ask for a prompt response to the questions asked.

/-/ Romecki

4 March 1944

[On the reverse:]

Mr. Romecki

I sent you the above letter on 3 March 1944, asking you for answers concerning financial issues, as I do not have the data concerned. I am returning this and asking for a response.

/-/ Kalski

6 March 1944.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 390–392.

46

8 March 1944, Warsaw. Report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, concerning correspondence between "Lasocki" (Leon Feiner), President of the Bund, and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland.

Dir[ector] Muszyński, Esq.

I am sending to you a letter from the Bund President. Being unable to elicit any response from Mr. Romecki, I am taking the liberty of bothering you with these issues.

I kindly ask you for a prompt reply.

/-/ Kalski

9 MAR[CH] 1944

8 March 1944.

<u>COPY</u>

Mr. Kalski

- 1. Thank you very much for your message of 3 March I am expecting further details.
- 2. The Cracow Coun[cil] has signalled that it is possible to save <u>200 children</u> <u>not listed in the register</u> from the Cracow camp, however, <u>about 1 million</u> <u>zlotys is required</u> for this purpose.

3. Moreover, we have established contact with the camp in Skarżysko, where 8 thousand J[ews] are kept who could be <u>provided with the necessary help</u>.

As our funds have already run out and considerable sums are required for the above purposes – and especially the purpose re 2/ – I urgently ask for an <u>advance payment of 10 t[housand] dol[lars]</u> that will be spent for the above purposes.

Such an opportunity to save 200 children must not be missed. That would fill us with bitter remorse.

Once again, I ask v. politely that this issue be handled as promptly as possible, which I have no doubt it will. Finally, I wish to inform that we have already exhausted all our funds for the last month and for this month, allocating them to various needs involved in the activity of the Council and the ŻKN, and if we do not receive more funds this month – that will be a catastrophe, affecting not only our or[ganisational] centre, but also all areas dependent on the funds that we provide.

Periculum in mora²². Once again, I ask you very much and v[ery] urgently for help in obtaining larger sums, sums that could satisfy the rapidly, dramatically growing needs in all areas, as soon as possible.

I hope that we will receive a prompt positive reply. I thank you in advance for your efforts.

With a hearty handshake, /-/ Lasocki /form[erly] Mikołaj/

8 March 1944.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 204.

47

10–17 March 1944, Warsaw. Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, confirming the catastrophic financial situation of organisations providing aid to Jews, along with a copy of a message of the Government Delegate in Poland to the Prime Minister.

²² Periculum in mora – Danger in delay (Latin)

ŻEG[OTA] OFF[ICE] 16 March 1944

17 MAR[CH] 1944

/-/ Kalski

Dir[ector] Muszyński, "Rój" ["Swarm"]

I take the liberty of sending you two letters, from the Ż. P. Council and from the Bund.

11 MAR[CH] 1944

Dir[ector] Muszyński, "Rój" ["Swarm"]

Jew[ish] organisations are alerting me more and more frequently and heavily about the catastrophic situation arising from the failure to provide them with funds. According to the presidents of those organisations, at present, in Warsaw, there are over 5 thousand people in their care who are deprived of any necessities. There are three times as many in the provinces. Of course, they are referring to registered people who receive regular assistance from Jew[ish] organisations and the Council to Aid J[ews]. The sums provided so far have been completely exhausted. I believe that the GD should alert London²³, as failure to send any sums that must have been accumulated may severely affect also the political aspect of a given area. In the present situation, so far alleviated only with considerable effort, I believe that it is advisable and desirable that you kindly hold a meeting with representatives of the Jew[ish] Coord[ination] <u>Com[mission]²⁴</u> or representatives of the Council. The meeting should lighten the atmosphere for some time, until the expected funds have been received. I also ask for your consent and instruction to immediately send a message to London.²⁵ I enclose the draft contents of the message.

/–/ Kalski

10 March 1944.

Prime Minister, the Polish Government in London.

The situation of hiding Jews in Poland is tragic. Thousands need help. Their personal reserves have been completely exhausted. The received sums have been completely spent by the Bund and Zionists on charitable help. V[ery] large funds from American, English, and Palestinian Jews must be sent. Failure to provide funds involves a risk of political complications. So far, relations have

²³ Underlined in pencil.

²⁴ Underlined in pencil.

²⁵ Underlined in pencil.

been very good in this area. The number of living Jews within the area of the General Government estimated at a quarter million.

G[overnment] D[elegate]

[On the reverse:]

Messages from Berezow[ski] from the Bund concerning 5 thousand dollars. This is about a message from the GD.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 141–143.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 152 – the document bears a chancellery stamp with the date of 23^{rd} March 1944.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 412–413.

48

12 March 1944, Warsaw. Copy of a letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning increasing the subsidy for the Żegota and asking for a meeting to be arranged.

[...] MAR[CH] 1944

То

The Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

Less than a month ago, the Ż. P. Council submitted to the Government Plenipotentiary a request for increasing the monthly subsidy for the Żegota, with a detailed statement of reasons. The request resulted from the exceptionally difficult situation of the Council in the face of the magnitude of tasks and new needs, growing every day and significantly exceeding the Council's financial capacity.

However, such dramatic changes have occurred in the Council's operations since the above request was sent, changes aggravating this situation even more, that the Council is forced to raise this issue again and to ask for immediate help.

The financial situation of the Żegota organisations, which have been generously financing the Council and a number of similar institutions, is – according to those organisations – catastrophic, and thus the ŻKN has withheld the nor-

mal subsidy for the Council /2,000 zlotys/ already this month, and the Bund, whose current funds and reserves are running out, has stated that this is the last time it will provide funds either for the Council and for other similar purposes, unless it receives some new donations.

Thus, the Council's budget, recently ranging from 15,000 to 20,000 zlotys per month, is going to drop to 10,000 zlotys starting from 1st April of this year and, at the same time, the number of people in its care will be growing and new tasks will be arising. It needs to be mentioned that this February and March, the allowance rates were reduced twice by 20%, and still over 600 people, already checked and accepted, are waiting for help in vain.

Recently the Council has received a report from the Reg[ional] Council in Cracow on the need to provide immediate material assistance to about 8,000 J[ews] kept in the labour camps in Skarżysko, where the technical aspects have already been organised. Other alarming news from that Region concerns the need to get 200 J[ewish] children, still not registered by the Germans in the K.L., out of the Płaszów camp, and this operation requires about 10,000 zlotys. The Cracow Region emphasises that this issue is so urgent and pressing that other Żegota operations should be abandoned and this operation should be carried out in the first instance, and the Central Council completely agrees.

The above-mentioned short report states that both the Council and the C[oordination] Com[mitte] no longer have such financial capabilities and they believe that the only way to successfully complete these urgent tasks is to intervene with you.

Thus, describing the current state of affairs, the Ż. P. Council once again urgently requests the Government Plenipotentiary to use all resources at his disposal to satisfy these overriding needs.

Finally, the Ż. P. Council asks the Government Plenipotentiary to hold another special meeting with the Council's delegation, who will pers[onally] present the Council's tasks and [needs] in an exhaustive manner.

Warsaw, 12 March 1944.

For the Ż.P. C o u n c i l: [/–/ Różycki /–/ Marek]²⁶

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 143. Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 154 – copy.

²⁶ Signatures known from the copy. The fragment with the signatures is missing from the original document.

49

21 March 1944, Warsaw. Letter of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) from the Central Committee of the Jewish Working Masses Movement in Poland to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial aid received from London and asking for a meeting; letter delivered to the Government Delegate by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, along with his comment.

1944

То

Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

I am writing to you in relation to the following issue:

The following message was delivered to us today:

"I am sending Szerer's mes[sage] for Ber[ezowski]. I have provided 5,000 dol. for the Bund and this sum will be sent to Ber[ezowski]. Also send Ber[ezowski]'s handwritten receipts. Ber[ezowski']s reports, receipts for previous sums expected. Unfortunately, no receipts. What about Janczyn and others. Who's saved. What about the J[ewish] Committee. Send most important news by telegraph. Emanuel Szerer. Member of the National Council. – 3 February 1944. – 57. Rec[eived] 13 March/58/."

The above message indicates that our partners abroad did not receive from us, by 3 February of this year, any news, receipts for sums provided, and reports, as mentioned and requested in the above message.

I wish to point out that over the last few months, we have sent a number of messages to our foreign partners, and on 15 November of the last year, we sent an 18-page-long report, and those materials contained all information required from us. We were assured that the messages and reports had been sent and delivered.

Moreover, the above message suggests that before 3 February of this year, a Member of the National Council, Dr. Emanuel Szerer, sent us 5,000 dollars, which we have not received to this day.

Finally, in connection with the request for receipts for the sums provided to us, we need a list of all sums sent to us from abr[oad], with an indication of the dates on which they were sent and the persons or [insti]tutions that provided them, and we need to be provided with the respective mess[ages] informing about such sums having been sent, and finally, the sums paid [...] [...] need to be

delivered so that we can [...] receipts and have a financial [...] [...] carried out by our local contr[ol] institutions.

For all the issues raised above, [...] [...] enable us, and finally, communic[ate] [...] abroad, I kindly ask for a personal meeting with the Government Plenipotentiary, and as soon as possible.

For the C[entral] C[ommittee] of J[ewish] W[orking] M[asses] in Pol[and] Lasocki (Berezowski)

21 March 1944

Dr. Klon[owski], Esq.

The above letter constitutes the Bund's appeal to the Highest Instance in Poland and stems from the Bund's dissatisfaction with the functioning of the G[overnment] D[elegation].

I find this letter v[ery] serious and on behalf of the Żegota (G[overnment] D[elegatkion]), I explain:

- 1. The Bund's report for London, addressed to Dr. Emanuel Szerer, was handed over to Mr. Romecki by the Żegota Office. As he claimed that he could take [...] report from Jew[ish] org[anisations] to be sent by courier.
- 2. I have asked Mr. Romecki for a list of transfers for the Bund many times, but I have received no definitive explanation as to the financial situation concerning sums intended to be passed to Jews.
- 3. In November, I provided Mr. Berezowski with a settlement of paid sums, along with the exchange rates, based on the sale sheets for the year [?].

I ask most politely that Mr. Romecki be instructed to [...] to my hands settlements of the sums provided for [...] in Poland. The settlements are needed due to [...] for [...].

Kalski

[...] Berezowski's report for London [...] [...] to Berezowski by the off[ice] [...]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 167–167a.

50

22 March 1944, Warsaw. Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the

Department of Internal Affairs, and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning documentation for funds paid to Jewish organisations.

23 MAR[CH] 19[44]

<u>COPY</u>

Dir[ector] Muszyński, Esq. Mr. Romecki, "Wieża" ("Tower")

As the Żegota's "customers" are showing increasing concern and interest in the payment orders for them, I am anticipating some very unpleasant situations concerning financial matters, for now, and certainly for the future. I have learned that "Źródło" ("Source") has nothing to cover the sums paid so far for Jew[ish] organisations. I am unable to provide "Źródło" with messages concerning payment orders as I do not have them – and so I ask you to have copies of payment orders for all sums paid to Jews prepared and delivered to me. The copies are essential to me as I hold the entire GD archive concerning the Żegota. The absence of the documents referred above could turn out to be disastrous in the future, whereas the availability of those orders would doubtless contribute to a proper understanding of the situation in this regard. Please grant my request or at least, please reply.

/-/ Kalski

22 March 1944

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 150.

51

22 March 1944, Warsaw. Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, on the situation of Jews.

23 MAR[CH] 1944

Halski to be returned to "Wieża" ["Tower"]

Dir[ector] Muszyński

To be delivered directly to the addressee.

Again, I am sending to you information on the current situation of Jews, which has been catastrophic due to the complete lack of funds. I also send copies of letters from the Bund and the Council to A. J. to the Doctor /I sent

the originals earlier/. I send the original of a letter from the ŻKN to the Doctor. Personally, I fervently support the request of the Jewish organisations and I believe that granting it at least partially should lighten the political mood. I would also like to remind you to arrange an audience with the Doctor for Council representatives. I believe that in the current state of affairs, this is more than desirable.

/-/ Kalski Kalski

22 March 1944.

5 enclosures.

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 151.

52

25 March 1944, Warsaw. Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials for the Bund from Headquarters.

P. Kalski.

I send enclosed materials sent for the Bund from the Headquarters, to be delivered to the addressees:

- 1/ 2 letters for the Bund /marked XV-X/
- 2/ A brochure in Hebrew 48 photo[graphic] prints
- 3/ Soviet Russia arrests H. Ehrlich and V. Alter 7 photo[graphic] prints /mark XV R/
- 4/ The Ghetto speaks 1 December 1942 8 photo[graphic] prints /mark XV S/
- 5/ The Ghetto speaks 1 January 1943 8 photo[graphic] prints /mark XV T/
- 6/ The Ghetto speaks 1 February 1943 10 photo[graphic] prints /mark XV U/
- 7/ Reqkej of the opinions of the Allied States on the news concerning the anti-Jewish terror in Poland, with 2 enclosures /mark XV AR, AJ/ (see where they are in the folder)

Please confirm receipt.

25 March 1944

/Romecki/

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 146.

53

27 March 1944, Warsaw. Letter of the Director of the Department of Information of Section VI of the Chief Command of the Home Army, "Kuncewicz", "Malicki" (Jerzy Makowiecki), to "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, and "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning the intervention of "Górnicki" (Henryk Woliński), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Information of Section VI of the Chief Command of the Home Army.

Mr. WENCKI Rój [Swarm] Wieża [Tower] rec[eived] 29/3 Ar[chive]

I submit a letter from Wacław, asking to deliver the encl[osed] messages: 1. Loker Tabenkin-Jaari Tel-Aviv. 2. Zerubawel Erm Tel-Aviv. 3. Dr. Szwarcbord London. You can re-establish the contacts that have been broken-off via Wacław /Górnicki/.

> Kuncewicz Malicki 27 March 1944

To Mr. Kuncewicz

I received the enclosed three messages from the ŻOB Commandant, Antek, and a ŻKN representative, Borowski, with the urgent request to send them without delay due to the catastrophic financial situation of both these organisations, having 2.5 thousand people in their care. Through lack of funds, both these org[anisations] paid only 300 full allowances in March and more than 2 thousand people have been left with no or hardly any allowance. This has led to numerous tragic situations, many hiding people have been forced to leave their rented shelters and there have been many cases of blackmail, ending up in the Kriminalpolizei through lack of funds.

The heads of both these organisations, as well as their closest co-workers, have extremely limited freedom of movement due to the exposure in Mokotowska Street /agent Kazik Grochowski – threat to Antek and his environment/ and the blackmail against Borowski. In particular, they have had no contact with Mr. Wencki for several weeks. The only contact that they have at the moment is with me.

1. Perceiving the financial situation of the ZOB and the ZKN as a major threat to the huge number of hiding Jews and their Polish environment, which is not of no importance to the general security.

- 2. odium for the Polish public opinion in the abounding acts of blackmail.
- 3. the moral title of the ŻOB Commandant to request our help

I ask you to have the enclosed three messages sent in the nearest future. It would be right and very favourable to us if the institutions to which the messages are addressed sent the necessary funds as soon as possible.

Górnicki 24th March

Mr. Romecki.

I am sending a copy, asking to support the efforts [...] those messages. Kunc[ewicz] 27/03

[On the reverse:] Rom[ecki]

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 147.

54

28 March 1944, Warsaw. Report of "Łukowski" (Ferdynand Arczyński) on the Cracow conference of 20, 22–23 March 1944, at which the position of the JUS on the Coordination Commission and the Council to Protect Jews was to be adopted.

Ar[chive] <u>COPY</u>

REPORT

on the conference held in Cracow on 20th, 22nd, and 23rd March concerning the position of the JUS on the C.C. and the ROŻ. In the presence of Dr. W[eichert], Dir[ector] S., members of the Cracow Council: Stanisław and Żegociński, and the undersigned as a member of the Warsaw ROŻ.

The position of the C.C. and the ROŻ on the JUS in a practical sense has currently entered the final phase and has matured to be settled definitively, as the position taken recently by Dr. W[eichert] leaves no doubt as to his tendencies and plans for the future. In order to consider the whole issue in the assessment, it should be briefly presented in chronological order. Last summer, the C.C. decided to deem the JUS an instrument of Ger[man] propaganda and thus Dr. W[eichert] ordered the liquidation of that institution by leaving the post. At the same time, the C.C. requested foreign countries to stop sending any goods for the JUS as the gifts served Germans rather than Jews. The ROŻ agreed with that decision by means of an appropriate resolution. I informed Dr W[eichert] about the contents of that resolution, mentioning that the ROŻ and the C.C. would help him implement that decision, both in financial and legalisation terms. Dr. W[eichert] acknowledged that decision and deemed that the C.C. decision was binding and that the C.C. itself was an authority which he would obey. However, he asked that the C.C. review its position due to the fact that the JUS offered tangible help to J[ews] in labour camps etc. He treated the plan of escape seriously, pointing out the need to remove dietary supplements and medicine provisions, having a considerable value, beforehand. A plan was devised in consultation with the RGO (Rada Główna Opiekuńca - Chief Care Council): the goods were to be gradually transferred to an RGO warehouse, and from there, to ROŻ warehouses, to be distributed among Jews. As more and more pressure was being exerted on the actual implementation of the entire plan, Dr. W[eichert] proposed, more and more often, plans for revising the C.C.'s position on the liquidation of the JUS, using, as it now turns out, various means to achieve that and creating various obstacles to the liquidation of h[i] s plan post, only to postpone that moment. The final decision, which I communicated to him two months ago, to the effect that neither the C.C. nor the ROŻ would change their minds and that the plan to liquidate JUS warehouses had to be implemented immediately, had a dramatic effect on Dr. W[eichert]. He must have understood that his game would not lead anywhere and so, at the recent conferences, he adopted a diametrically different position. Most importantly, Dr. W[eichert] adopted a negative position on the C.C., claiming that the C.C. was not a representation of [[ews]. And neither was London. The proof was that he was still receiving gifts from abroad /Switzerland/, despite the C.C.'s radiogram, that there were questions about his person from abroad etc. As for the transfer of goods from warehouses, he objected to that, too, claiming that [[ews] in camps needed such help more than the wealthy ones, hiding outside camps. Also, he could provide some f[unds] to the Council, taking on the role of benefactor, in a way.

At present, the objectives of Dr. W[eichert] have become crystal clear. He was planning to associate Zi[...] with illegal social components to have an alibi for the future, to postpone the [...] of liquidating the JUS, and as for the transfer of goods – to become a component helping the Ż. P. Council [...] of control. Moreover, Dr. W[eichert] stated that at present there was no threat of further liquidation of J[ews] [...] claimed that Ger[man] authorities had issued an order to suspend any liquidation until further [...]. He was convinced that his activity had only now become essential and [...] and that [...] is practical and harmful. Then I established that Dr. W[eichert] had already managed to [...] some fruits of his plan, as he invited Stanisław, Pres[ident] of the C[racow] Council [...] contr[...] of the warehouse operation and to some extent, he

had reinforced cooperation with the Coun[cil] [...] [On] the day following those statements I convened a plenary session of the Cracow Ż. P. Council [...] the GD and after the issue was described and the Council members and delegat[es] voiced [...] the following provisional decisions:

- 1. The Cracow Council shall immediately refrain from any further cooper[...] [...] sending bread to the camp in [...] legally via the JUS [...] Dr. W[eichert] for cooperation.
- 2. The Council shall cease all communication with Dr. W[eichert] concerning taki[ng] over [...] the issue completely until further instructions arrive from Warsaw.
- The Pres[ident] of the Cracow Council, Stanisław, shall deny Dr. W[eichertowi]
 [...] his JUS activity. /As it turned out, Stanisław [...] carried out [...] dictated
 by Dr. W[eichert] by means of various tricks./

The Council adopted these decisions with the reservation that in the nearest future [...]. The following day I held an official conference with the partic[ipation] [...] I informed Dr. W[eichert] about the above decision, but [...] [...] inal instructions. Dr. W[eichert] took that decision [...] his, explained [...] beginning were correctly unders[...]. As for the purchase of bre[...] for the camp in Płaszów, [...] refuse to coopera[...] however, to [...] Dr. W[eichert] receiv[...] time to time [...] of 10[...] goods [...] [...] [...] those w[...] [...] area, would be turned by Dr. W[eichert] into large-scale "cooperation".

The reasons for which I issued such firm instructions for the Cracow ROŻ and replied Dr. W[eichert] in this manner do not need to be explained, and this is also justified by the applicable resolutions of the C.C. and the ROŻ. Of course, they are provisional in character and thus, without suggesting my position, I ask for prompt decisions. As in the initial phase of the "liquidation" of the JUS warehouse, taking advantage of the fact that Ewa was staying in Cracow, one small parcel with medicines and supplements was taken from the JUS warehouse for Warsaw, and recently, on 17th of this month, in a similar way – another one, to be distributed by the ROŻ at its own discretion, I propose, of which I have already informed Dr. W[eicherti], that the Council donate from its monthly allowances, via Cracow, a sum for the purchase of flour by the JUS, for the Płaszów camp, and thus eliminate any appearances of any links with the JUS and of any help on their part. I agreed to collect, through Ewa, the parcel from 17th of this month, as that took place a few days before that serious conversation.

In the final phase of the conference, Dr. W[eichert] stated that he recognised the ROŻ as a social components and he appealed to the ROŻ to raise above the JUS-C.C. "conflict" and allow the Crac[ow] Council to cooperate with the JUS, as this is about greater causes.

As it is, I believe that any further communication with Dr. W[eichert] is undesirable, that all, and that even apparent contacts with Dr. W[eichert] should be broken off immediately as he holds to appearances and he wishes to give them the character of cooperation. The amounts sent to Płaszów through the Cracow Council and then through the JUS may still be sent that way, however, Dr. W[eichert] needs to realize that he is merely a "courtesy" box.

The above state of affairs, detachment of the Cracow Council from the JUS and Dr. W[eichert], is obligatory in nature and shall apply until further decisions are made. The GD representative agreed completely. Di[r] S. also agrees with this position, which is of special significance.

Finally, I wish to point out that the opinion of the Pres[ident] of the Crac[ow] Council on the activity of the JUS, based on information from Płaszów, from J[ews], is downright negative, first, due to its flagrant servility towards the Germans, second – due to its insignificance. According to this account, the opinions on Dr. W[eichert] in the Płaszów camp are negative, too. The bread and medicines that he provides are some sort of legend there. Cash is more needed there as some shops offering food have opened in the camp.

/-/ Łukowski

Warsaw, 28 March 1944

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 162–163.

55

30 March 1944, Warsaw. Note by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, made after a meeting with "Halski" (Wincenty Bryja), Director of the Finance and Budget Section of the Government Delegation for Poland ("Source").

Ar[chive]

Issues concerning J[ews], very important and urgent – I ask that they be handled.

1. During a conference with Mr. Halski, dir[ector] of the "Żródło" ("Source") d[epartment], I learnt that 20 thousand II had been received from Budapest, with the addressees indicated by name. The addressees of group I include

Dr. Guzik, responsible for the affair involving taking Jews abroad with the cooperation of the G[estap]o. I enclose the relevant documentation $/I/.^{27}$

The addressees of group II include Dr. Wajchert, president of the JUS, who has lost the trust of the Jew[ish] Coord[ination] Comm[ittee] and the Council to A[id] J[ews]. I enclose the documents /II/.

In light of the above, I do not think that it is possible to pay the sums to the addressees as this would cause polit[ical] complications in the J[ewish] area.

- 2. I have letters for Dr. Guzik and Dr. Wajchert. I do not know if they should be sent. I wish to discuss this issue with the President of the Jew[ish] Coord[ination] Com[mission].
- 3. It is possible to free 200 Jew[ish] children from the camp in Płaszów / Kraków/ /this is technically feasible/ for the price of about 1 million zl. Due to the complete lack of money /both the Jewish organisations and the ROŻ/, Jewish organisations have been sending alerting letters to the Doctor. I believe that this issue should be handled very quickly, as this might be an incontestable polit[ical] trump card for Jews.
- 4. There are big orders for the payment of large sums for Jews /100 thousand II and 20 thousand II/. The orders ask that the Delegate should supervise the distribution. I propose that the sums be paid to the Council to P[rotect] J[ews].
- 5. In his communication with the president of the Bund, Mr. Romecki revealed the inflow of "fantastic" /as Berezowski described it/ money for Jews. He also informed him about a letter addressed to him /in fact, the letter is addressed to Wajchert and Guzik/. Moreover, Mr. Rom[ecki] has informed the Council that they will be offered an opportunity to meet with the Doctor, but only after the Doctor has become familiar with the entirety of the Jew[ish] issue, which he is doing now. This causes major complications for me as I am learning about the contacts of Mr. Romecki and about the contents of his conversations from Jews who keep asking for money that the "Source" does not have. Similarly, the Jews surprised me with Mr. Romecki's statement on the meeting with the Doctor. This significantly hampering operation and makes it impossible to pursue a peaceful "policy" in this area gently and effectively. I ask that Mr. Romecki should kindly consult me before contacting anyone as I am entirely familiar with this area.

30 March 1944

/-/ Kalski Kalski

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 156.

²⁷ No enclosures accompanying this copy.

56

End of March 1944, Warsaw. List of payments for the Żegota in the period from August 1942 to March 1944.

List of payments for the Żegot[a] In the period from August 1932 to March 1934 inclusive.

Roman							Luc	lwik
Paid VIII, IX	K. 32. zł.	150,-		Messag	ge for	150-	No. 12	5 of 12
- XI, XII	32	1,000,-				100-	15	of 28/
- I.	33	1,500,-				130-	68	of 15
- II.		3,000,-				100-	165	of 22
- III.		2,500,-				150-	195	of 20
- IV.		2,500,-	1		Total	<u>630-</u>		
		1,500,-	additi	ion.				
- 30.IV.		5,000,-	}					
- V.		4,000,-)	*/Mess	sage for	600- of	21/VII.	33
- VI.		5,500,-				?		
- VII.		5,500,-						
- VIII.		5,500,-						
- IX.		5,500,-						
- X.		5,500,-						
- XI.		7,500,-						
- XII.		7,500,-						
- I.	34	10,000	,-					
- II.		10,000	,-					
- III.		10,000	,-					
IN	ГОТАL zl	<u>93,650</u>	ŗ					
Message No	o. XVI for	II/ 230	-, Paid 9	9/11/19	33.	80-		
			13/XI			50-		
			9/XI			50-		
			27/XI			50-		
						<u>230-</u>		

Paweł

Mess	age for 100 x 4	400-	No. 921
-	of 21/	V 100-	96
-	50 x 4	200-	XII
-		10-	
-	90 x 4	360-	977
	T 1	1 0 7 0	

In total 1,070-

*/ The message of 21 July 33 was paid initially by mistake

Halski

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 166.

57

15 April 1944, Warsaw. Resolution of the Council to Aid Jews adopted in connection with the first anniversary of the fighting in the Warsaw ghetto.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL TO A[ID] J[EWS] ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIGHTING IN THE WARSAW GHETTO

In 1943

At a meeting of 12 April of this year, the Council to A[id] J[ews], representing 5 Polish and Jewish organisations, i.e. the WRN, Str[onnictwo] Ludowe, Str[onnictwo] Polskiej Demokracji, the Bund, and the ŻKN, decided, in connection with the first anniversary of the armed resistance of the Warsaw ghetto in April–May of 1943, to:

- Pay tribute to fallen combatants of the Jewish population, who fought an uneven fight against the occupant in defence of life and human and national dignity – in retaliation for the mass murdering of the Jewish population in Poland, unprecedented in history.
- 2. The fight fought by the Warsaw ghetto against the powerful enemy, under command of the Jewish Combat Organisation, as well as subsequent heroic acts of armed combat in other towns and camps in Poland (Białystok, Vilnius, Lviv, Częstochowa, Borysław, Tarnów, Treblinka, Trawniki), can take a noble place beside the heroic defence of Warsaw, which earned undying fame, and many other sacrificial fights fought by the Polish Underground State for freedom and independence for Poland.

3. The most appropriate way to celebrate the first anniversary of the fighting in the Warsaw ghetto, as well as to honour the memory of the combatants who died with weapons in their hands, and of the murdered millions of Polish Jews, is to provide comprehensive care to the remaining Jews and to enable them to survive the terrifying racist persecutions – as a continuing struggle for the common liberation.

The Council to Aid Jews

Document in the collections of M. Arczyński.

Edition in: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969 (extract).

58

18 April 1944, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Sławiński" (Tadeusz Rek) and "Łukowski" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Coordination Commission of the Jewish National Committee and the Bund, announcing the intention to request the state authorities to name Warsaw streets after the ghetto heroes.

Warsaw, 18 April 1944 r.

To the Coordination Commission in situ

On the first painful anniversary of the heroic struggle waged by the Jewish nation and supported by the whole civilised world, we are honoured to address the Coordination Commission, as a representation of the entire Jewish population, to pay tribute and respect to the memory of the heroes of the Jewish Combat Organisation, who fell in an uneven fight against the greatest criminal in the history of mankind – the Nazi oppressor.

We are also honoured to address you, on behalf of the Polish Democracy, to pay tribute to the memory of the millions of defenceless Jews who have been bestially murdered in Poland by the German barbarians.

On this occasion, we wish to emphasise that the cooperation between the Council to Aid Jews and the Coordination Commission, initiated as an expression of [feelings] arising from the most noble Christian and human motives and established at a moment most tragic for both nations, constitutes an everlasting value that will serve as the cornerstone of the future mutual relations in the liberated Poland.

At the same time, the Council to Aid Jews is honoured to notify you that in the nearest future, it is going to submit a formal request to the state authorities to name – even now, i.e. during the occupation – the streets of Warsaw that witnessed the glorious fights of the Jewish Combat Organisation after the leaders of that armed resistance and heroic struggle.

> For the Council to A[id] J[ews] (-) Sławiński (-) Łukowski1

Document in the collections of M. Arczyński.

Edition: M. Arczyński and W. Balcerak, Kryptonim "Żegota" [Codename: "Żegota"], 1979.

59

5 May 1944, Warsaw. Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials from Headquarters.

P. Kalski.

2 May 1944

I send enclosed materials from XX sent from the Headquarters, to be delivered to the addressees.

- 1. Letter marked XX-EK 1
- 2. Letter to the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] mark[ed] XX EL1 -
- 3. Letter to the Bund mark[ed] XX EG /1-7/
- 4. Letter to the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] of 17 February 1944
- 5. " do to the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] of 18 February 1944
- 6. For the Bund mark[ed] XX EG /8-25/
- 7. Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of the Jewish Labour Movement of America mark[ed] XX FA /1-2/
- 8. 24 photo[graphic] prints for the Bund mark[ed] XX EG /25 45/
- 9. A brochure in Hebrew for the Bund (see where they are in the folder)

Please confirm the receipt.

/Romecki/

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 169.

60

5 May 1944, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to "Felicja" (Maurycy Herling-Grudziński), head of an independent cell for the preparation of materials for the Audit Commission.

To Felicja

In the second half of May or at the beginning of June, the Audit Com[mission] of the Council to Aid Jews will start its works in order to audit the expenses incurred by P.T. in the last months, using the sums intended for aid.

Thus, I ask you to prepare the relevant reports. P.T. will be notified of the date and the location later.

In exceptional cases, the Council allows the submission of a report without making a personal appearance, however, the report must be produced accurately, so that the Audit Commission does not need any assistance from the person submitting the report.

For the Council to A[id] J[ews] (Marek)

Photocopy of a document in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, ref. Materials of the Underground, items 114–120, v. 5.

Edition: T. Prekerowa, Komórka "Felicji". Nieznane archiwum działacza Rady Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie [The "Felicja" Cell. An Unknown Archive of an Activist in the Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw], Warsaw Annals XV, 1979, p. 521.

61

22 May 1944, Warsaw. Letter of the Director of the General Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "510/W – A. Syski" (Franciszek Stemler), to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), on letters concerning financial support for the Żegota.

<u>Ar[chive]</u>

Mr. Romecki 500/P

I am sending 2 letters from the Żegota. At the same time I wish to explain that Mr. Halski, who received a copy of this letter from Mr. Kalski, replied to the Żegota, two days ago, with regard to the 1,200 twos. Mr. Halski informed

the Żegota that they will receive 600 twos in May and the rest will be paid to them in instalments, 150 twos a month.

<u>encl. 2.</u> 22nd May 510/W – A. Syski

To the Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

The Coordination Commission of the ŻKN and the Bund submits – in accordance with your request – the following plan for the distribution of the 120 thousand dollars received from the "Joint" (100 t[housand] d[ollars]) and from the Jew[ish] Congress (20 t[housand] d[ollars]):

1. Subsidy for the Council to A[id] J[ews] – about – 10 t[housand] d[ollars]

2.	Aid for J[ews] in the provinces with particular emphasis on the following camps: (Płaszów-Kraków, Skarżysko, Pionki, Starachowice, (), Budzyń, Kraśnik, Piotrków, Częstochowa, Radom, Kielce, Stalowa Wola, Mielec, Pustków, and other) and for J[ews] scattered around Aryan districts and other provincial towns – " – 40 t[housand] d[ollar	urs]
3.	Aid for J[ews] in Warsaw covered by the care operation of the Coord[ination] Com[mission] (outside the Council to A[id] J[ews]) for about 6 th. people – " – 58 t[housand] d[olla	rs]
4.	 Subsidy for the ŻOB a) for combat groups stationed in villages in the Warsaw and Częstoch[owa] Regions b) for the purchase of arms for camps (for active defence), with the help of the Com[mand] of the Armed For[ces]. " 	[]
5.	Aid for victims of the fight of the Polish Underground State against the occupant, irrespective of their political affiliation – at the disposal of the Government Plenipotentiary	[]

To Government Plenipotentiary in Poland

We hereby urgently request the Government Plenipotentiary to kindly pay the sum of 120 t[housand] d[ollars], donated by the "Joint" and the Jew[ish] Congress, <u>on a one-off basis</u>, for the following reasons:

- The aid provided hitherto to J[ews] in camps and in the provinces has not been satisfying the basic needs through lack of funds and for this reason has been disproportionately limited in comparison with the aid for J[ews] in Warsaw and other cities, and thus we would like to send major funds to the camps, especially that we have recently established many new contacts,
- 2) In Warsaw, the number of people in our care has increased dramatically,
- For several months, the ŻKN did not receive any [...] for its operation (...) and at present both the ŻKN and [...] have <u>no</u> reserves, [...],
- 4) As the receipt of sums from abr[oad] has been notified [...] [...] that sum larger amounts, which [...] in the nearest future, it is not [...] from the above sum any [...].

We are convinced [...] the above arguments [...] request.

Warsaw, [...]

Original, manuscript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, pp. 170–172.

62

25 May 1944, Warsaw. *Message of the Council to Aid Jews to the Council for Rescuing the Jewish Population in Poland, set up by the National Council in London.*

No. 57

Orkan — I am sending the message below, Sobol.

То

The Council to Aid Jews attached to the Polish Government <u>in London</u>

We welcome the establishment of the emigrants' Council to Aid Jews, being the fruit of our appeal from half a year ago, very enthusiastically, *as*²⁸ and the statement that our joint efforts will contribute more effectively to the work

²⁸ Added in pencil on the margin.

saving of the dying remainder of the Jewish population. Now we are counting on prompter and greater aid, in particular financial aid, which so far is still far from able to satisfy the essential needs.

Both institutions of the Council to Aid Jews were established at a moment most tragic for both communities, and as they arise from the most noble human motives and mutual social and political aspirations, they will provide secure and solid foundations for the future peaceful and harmonious coexistence in the free and independent Republic of Poland.

> On behalf of the Council to Aid Jews in Poland / Sławiński/ / Łukowski Łukowski

Warsaw, 25 May 1944.

Gr. K

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 173; p. ... copy

Edition: *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej [This One Is from My Homeland]*, W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna (eds.), 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 969–970.

T. Prekerowa, Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [The Secret Council to Aid Jews in Warsaw 1942–1945], Warsaw 1982, pp. 415–416.

63

22 June 1944, Warsaw. Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials from Headquarters.

P. Kalski.

I am sending, enclosed, materials sent from Headquarters, to be delivered to the addressees:

- 1. Letter to ŻKN, ŻOB and the Council to Aid Jews of 4 April 1944 / mark[ed] XXI 124/
- Letter to the Jew[ish] Nat[ional] Com[mittee] of 3 April 1944 / mark[ed] XXI – 124/
- 3. Letter to Cywia Icchak of 3 April 1944 / mark[ed] XXI 124/

- 4. Letter to the Bund/mark[ed] XXI 088/
- 5. 22 photo[graphic] prints mark[ed] XXI 089 /from 16 to 40/(see where they are in the folder)

Further materials will be sent later.

Please confirm receipt.

22/6.

/-/ Romecki 500/P

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XV/2, p. 169.

64

10 July 1944, Warsaw. Settlement of pass-on sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, distributed by "Ul" ["Beehive"] – the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland – and provided to the Żegota in the period from May to June 1944.

PASS-ON SUMS OF 510/W for the period of May-June. 34

Received 500/P - Roma	an Żegota Passed on
1.V for 30,000.00 zl	2.V. for 30,000.00 zl
for R.Ż. zl 6,000.00	for Ż.C. 6,000.00 zl
", for V " 10,000.00	" " for V " 10,000.00
9.VI. for VI " 9,800.00	9.VI. for VI " 8,800.00
15. " balance for VI " 1,200.00	15." balance for VI " 1,200.00
" " " from subsidy for	" " " from subsid for
R.Ż. 30,000.00 zl " <u>10,000.00</u>	R.Ż. 30,000.00 zl " <u>10,000.00</u>
<u>36,000.00 zl</u>	<u>36,000.00 zl</u>
Miscellaneous – R.I.P. Żegota in II.	
Received	Passed on
16.V. for the Coord. Coord. /P. i. L./	16.V. for P. i L. Ż. /Com. Com./
in kind II 400.00	in kind II 400.00
""", Ludw. Ż. " 50.00	" " " Ludw. Ż. " 50.00
30.V. " Coord. Com. /P. i. L./ " <u>300.00</u>	30.V. " Coord. Com. /P. i. L./" <u>300.00</u>
<u>II 750.00</u>	<u>II 750.00</u>

Miscellaneous – R.I.P. Żegota in zl.

Received	Passed on
17.V. for the Coord. Com. /P. i. L./	17.V. for the Coord. Com. /P. i. L./equiv.
equiv. II 200.00. 28,000.00 zl	II 200.00. 28,000.00 zl
25. " " " " 80.00 " 11,040.00	25. " " " 80.00 " 11,040.00
3.VI " " " 88.90 " 12,606.60	3.VI " " 88.90 " 12,606.60
12. " " " "35.40 " 4,956.60	12. " " " 35.40 " 4,956.60
16. " " " "25.70 " <u>4,065.15</u>	6. """"25.70 " <u>4,065.15</u>
<u>60,668.35 zl</u>	<u>60,668.35 zl</u>

General note:

The original receipts are kept at 510/W, at the disposal of 710.

Warsaw, 10th July.

For conformity with the original Jolanta Zak[rzewska] 510/W

Original, typescript, AAN, Government Delegation for Poland, Ref. No. 202/XVII/2, p. 106.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS:

- 1. **December 1942, Warsaw.** Witold Bieńkowski's report from the activity of the Provisional Committee to Aid Jews in the period from 27 September 1942 to 4 December 1942, sent to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski).
- 2. **December 1942, Warsaw.** Letter of "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), on the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews.
- 3. **27 December 1942, Warsaw.** Letter of "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), on the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews.
- 4. **28 December 1942, Warsaw.** Letter of "Andrzej" (...) to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), informing about a letter from "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland (FOP) of 27 December 1942 (see No. 3)
- 5. **29 December 1942, Warsaw.** Letter of the Temporary Presidium of the Council to Aid Jews, composed of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Plenipotentiary of the Government Delegation for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on the objectives and tasks of the Council and on its composition.
- 6. **12 January 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Protect Jews attached to the Polish Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Polish Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on the Memorandum to the Polish Government in London.
- 7. End of January 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the Polish Government Plenipotentiary in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, on liquidation operations in the Warsaw Ghetto.
- 8. **January 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid, delivered via "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski).
- 9. **16 January 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the President of the Council to Aid Jews, "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, with information on the constitution of the Council.

- 10. **31 January 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, requesting the provision of arms to the Jewish community.
- 11. **1 February 1943, Warsaw.** Draft proposals for resolving current organisational issues of the Jewish community, sent by the Director of the Jewish Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski) from the Front for the Rebirth of Poland, to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski).
- 12. 6 April 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), "A. Borowski" (Adolf Berman), "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), and "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek), to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid, delivered via the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski).
- 13. **7 April 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Government Delegate for Poland, presenting the planned budget of the Council for March and April 1943 and its implementation. Letter addressed to "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski)
- 14. **21 April 1943, Warsaw.** Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto, along with enclosures.
- 15. **23 April 1943, Warsaw.** Special report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland on the liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto, along with enclosures.
- 16. **27 April 1943, Warsaw.** Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw ghetto.
- 17. **29 April 1943, Warsaw.** Report of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland concerning the liquidation operation in the Warsaw Ghetto, along with enclosures.
- 18. **30** April 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via Jan (Witold Bieńkowski) to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski). Letter regarding the issuance by the Polish Government of a manifesto concerning the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.
- 19. **17 May 1943, Cracow.** Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski). Concerning increasing the

financial assistance for provincial councils, along with enclosures containing reports of the Cracow and Lviv branches of the Council.

- 20. **30 May 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki", "Jan" (Witold Bieńkowski), to "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski) regarding a letter addressed to the Government Delegate in Poland by "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) from the Central Committee of Jewish Working Masses in Poland concerning financial aid received from London.
- 21. **16 June 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Central Committee of Jewish Working Masses in Poland, signed by "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial aid.
- 22. **30 June 1943, Warsaw.** Weekly information of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, sent via the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski).
- 23. **30 June 1 July 1943, Warsaw.** Copies of reports from the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski) and the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski" affair.
- 24. **5 July 1943, Warsaw.** Strictly confidential report from the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), the Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), and the Director of the Security Cell of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Hübner" (Eugeniusz Gitterman), discussing the issue of the so-called "Hotel Polski" affair.
- 25. **15–17 July 1943, Warsaw.** Copies of reports from "Ludwik" (Władysław Bartoszewski) from the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland to "Borowski" (Adolf Berman) and "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski Affair".
- 26. **17 July 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski).
- 27. **21 July 1943, Warsaw.** Report from the Security Cell of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, codename: "Stożek", signed by "Hübner"

(Eugeniusz Gitterman), the Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), and by the Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), concerning the so-called "Hotel Polski Affair".

- 28. **5 August 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to.
- 29. **16 August 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning allowances granted to the Żegota.
- 30. **23 August 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning a message to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Jan Stańczyk.
- 31. **24 August 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning the deportation of Jews from Będzin and Sosnowiec.
- 32. **6 September 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via "Grabowiecki" (Stanisław Pawłowski), concerning the legalisation cell cooperating with the Council.
- 33. **3–15 September 1943, Warsaw.** Copies of letters concerning the position of secret Jewish organisations towards the JUS (Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle), sent by the Żegota Office to the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Trojanowski" (Witold Rutkowski), the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), the Director of the Security Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Stencel" (Tadeusz Miklaszewski), and the Director of the Security Cell of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Hübner" (Eugeniusz Gitterman).
- 34. 8 September 1943, Warsaw. Letter of the Coordination Commission of the Jewish National Committee and the Bund, signed by "Borowski" (Adolf Berman) and "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner), sent to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, via "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 35. **9 September 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Żegota Council, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Polish Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delivered via and commented upon by "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 36. **8 October 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by the President, "J. Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), and the Secretary, "Borowski" (Adolf Berman), to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial support and the organisation of a meeting to discuss current affairs related to the activity of the Council.
- 37. **23 October 1943, Warsaw.** Report of the Council to Aid Jews attached to the Government Plenipotentiary for Poland for the period from December 1942 to October 1943.
- 38. **28 October 1943, Warsaw.** Minutes from the meeting of representatives of the Council to Aid Jews with "Dr. Klonowski" (Jan Stanisław Jankowski), Government Delegate in Poland, taken by the Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski).
- 39. **9 November 1943, Warsaw.** Letter of the Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), addressed to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the liquidation of Jewish camps.
- 40. **12 November 1943, Warsaw.** Settlement of pass-on sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, distributed by "Ul" ["Beehive"] the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland and provided to the Żegota in the period from September to October 1943.
- 41. **2 January 1944, Warsaw.** Copy of a letter of the Council to Aid Jews to the National Minority Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the composition of the Regional Councils in Lviv and Cracow, drawn up by "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński) and sent to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), via "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 42. **2–8 February 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of "Wencki", "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), concerning the enclosed letter of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) to the Government Delegate.

- 43. **7 February 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of the Żegota Protection Council, signed by "Trojan" (Julian Grobelny), among others, to the Government Delegate in Poland, concerning the subsidy for the Żegota and asking for a meeting; delivered via and commented upon by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Żegota Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 44. **7 February 1944, Warsaw.** Financial report of the Council to Aid Jews for the 4th quarter of 1943, approved by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 45. **7 March 1944, Warsaw.** Report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, concerning the lack of response to correspondence addressed to "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek) from the Council to Aid Jews, along with copies of correspondence between "Kalski" and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, from 21 February 1944 to 4 March 1944.
- 46. 8 March 1944, Warsaw. Report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, concerning correspondence between "Lasocki" (Leon Feiner), President of the Bund, and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland.
- 47. **10–17 March 1944, Warsaw.** Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, confirming the catastrophic financial situation of organisations providing aid to Jews, along with a copy of a message of the Government Delegate in Poland to the Prime Minister.
- 48. **12 March 1944, Warsaw.** Copy of a letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek) and "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning increasing the subsidy for the Żegota and asking for a meeting to be arranged.
- 49. **21 March 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of "Mikołaj" (Leon Feiner) from the Central Committee of the Jewish Working Masses Movement in Poland to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning financial aid received from London and asking for a meeting; letter delivered to the Government Delegate by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, along with his comment.
- 50. **22 March 1944, Warsaw.** Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government

Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, and "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning documentation for funds paid to Jewish organisations.

- 51. **22 March 1944, Warsaw.** Copy of a report from "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Muszyński" (Leopold Rutkowski), Director of the Department of Internal Affairs, on the situation of Jews.
- 52. **25 March 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials for the Bund from Headquarters.
- 53. **27 March 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of the Director of the Department of Information of Section VI of the Chief Command of the Home Army, "Kuncewicz", "Malicki" (Jerzy Makowiecki), to "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, and "Wencki" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, concerning the intervention of "Górnicki" (Henryk Woliński), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Information of Section VI of the Chief Command of the Home Army.
- 54. **28 March 1944, Warsaw.** Report of "Łukowski" (Ferdynand Arczyński) on the Cracow conference of 20, 22–23 March 1944, at which the position of the JUS on the Coordination Commission and the Council to Protect Jews was to be adopted.
- 55. **30 March 1944, Warsaw.** Note by "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office at the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, to the Government Delegate in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, made after a meeting with "Halski" (Wincenty Bryja), Director of the Finance and Budget Section of the Government Delegation for Poland ("Source").
- 56. End of March 1944, Warsaw. List of payments for the Żegota in the period from August 1942 to March 1944.
- 57. **15 April 1944, Warsaw.** Resolution of the Council to Aid Jews adopted in connection with the first anniversary of the fighting in the Warsaw ghetto.
- 58. **18 April 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Sławiński" (Tadeusz Rek) and "Łukowski" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to the Coordination Commission of the Jewish National Committee and the Bund, announcing the intention to request the state authorities to name Warsaw streets after the ghetto heroes.
- 59. **5 May 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold

Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials from Headquarters.

- 60. **5 May 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of the Council to Aid Jews, signed by "Marek" (Ferdynand Arczyński), to "Felicja" (Maurycy Herling-Grudziński), head of an independent cell for the preparation of materials for the Audit Commission.
- 61. **22 May 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of the Director of the General Department of the Government Delegation for Poland, "510/W A. Syski" (Franciszek Stemler), to the Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), on letters concerning financial support for the Żegota.
- 62. **25 May 1944, Warsaw.** Message of the Council to Aid Jews to the Council for Rescuing the Jewish Population in Poland, set up by the National Council in London.
- 63. **22 June 1944, Warsaw.** Letter of "Romecki" (Stefan Pawłowski), Director of the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland, to "Kalski" (Witold Bieńkowski), Director of the Jewish Office of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, informing about the dispatch of materials from Headquarters.
- 64. **10 July 1944, Warsaw.** Settlement of pass-on sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, distributed by "Ul" ["Beehive"] the Executive Office of the Government Delegation for Poland and provided to the Żegota in the period from May to June 1944.

SPRAWOZDANIE

działalności Tymczasowego komitetu im.Konrada Zegoty.

1.6 z a s t r w a n i a: Komitet został powołany przez DR dnia 27.9.42 w składzie przedstawicieli org.:F.O.P., oraz P.O.D. i Sprawa.Do komitetu zgłosiła akces org.W.R.N. Dnia 4.12.42 Tymcz.Komitet rozwiązał się na rzecz stworzonej w rozdzerzonym składzie czynników społ.i pol.R a d y P. 2.

2,<u>Teren działania:</u> Warszawa, Kraków, Brześć, Lublin, Kielce, Bochnia, Izbica, Zakopane; Zamość, Biłgoraj, Kraśnik, Radom, Puławy, **Kraśnik**, Siedlce, Białystok.

3.<u>I l o ś ć o s ó b o b jętych bez p o średnim dzi zł a n i e m:</u> Ponad 180 osób,w tym dzieci około 70% /podanie dokładnych cy.r narazie niemożliwe z powodu areszt.członka Kom.Wyk.F.O.P.-u/

S p o s ó b d z i a ł a n i a: Celem Tymcz.Komitetu było pr:ygotowar zasięgu terenowego poprzez komórki prowincjonalne organizacyj wzhodzących w skład Komitetu.Zamierzenia te osiągano przez:

a/nawiązywanie kontaktów ze społ.ż.drogą udzielania doraźnych zasiłków pieniężnych.

b/dostarczanie mieszkań i noclegów czasowych. c/zaopatrzenie w odzież,żywność i pracę. d/umożliwienie legalizacji.

5.<u>W y k o n a n i e:</u>W Warszawie objęto akcją bezpośrednią ponad 90 osób /liczba objętych akcją pośrednią nieznana/,utworzono 3 punkty hotelowe,udzielono pomocy do samodzielnego uzyskania pomieszczeń/rodziny/,udzielono dokumentów,odzieży,utrzymania,pomocy w uzyskaniu pracy i doraźnych zasiłków ieniężnych.

W Krakowie utworzono punkt Komitetu, udzielono pomocy kilkunastu osobo viezie 10 do W-wy 1 umiesiczono na state troje dzieci /dwoje oczekuje zaw-"wnie/ Dwie osoby wydostano z geta i zabezpieczono.

W Brześciu utworzono stały punkt,udzielono pomocy jednej rodzinie, dną osobę przywiezi no na stałe do W-wy,udzielono kilka doraźnych zasiłkow. W Lublinie,Kielczch,Białymstoku,Radomiu,Bochni i pozostałych miejscowościach nawiązano kontakty dostarczając środków na pomoc doraźną.

nawiązano kontakty dostarczając srodkow na pomoc dorazną. W Siedloach utworzono punkt,przywieziono do W+wy dwie osoby i umieszczono na stałe.

W Zał panem umieszczono na stałe jedną osobę dostarczając wszelkiej pomocy łącznie z pracą /niestety arcsztowana/.

6.0 r g a n i z a c j a:akcję ty: czasową proeprowadzano za pośrednictwem kilku organizacji oraz osób dostarczając im środków pieniężnych.Kwity z wydatkowanych sum znajdują się w posiadaniu F.O.P..Otrzymane sumy /500 plus 200 zł/ zostały całkowicie wydatkowane.

7.Powstanie Rady Pom. Z.; Dnia 4 grudnia została utworzona Radu Pomocy 2. Kierownictwo Tymcz.Komitetu nie weszło do Rady, otrócz polit.przedstawiciela F.O.P.,który podjął się tymczasowego łącznictwa z DR.

Z DR. 8.P o w o d y r o z w i ą z a n i a T y m c z. Kmitetu: Przede i stkim j odpowiednich środków finansowych,który wywołał niejasną sytuar ę dla organizacyj i osób,wchodzących w skład Tymcz.Kom.Pozatem nieproporcjonalna dc "dzielanych środków propaganda wśród społ.Z. czyniona przez ośrodki zbliżone do czymików ofiej./Wydział Prezyd.DR.Ref.dla spraw Z.w biepie/.Siwierdzeni niemoźności wspołdziałania z przedstawicielstwem ".or..pol./wniesienie; tów pol.do pracy wyłącznie charytatywnej/.

9.<u>F o s t u l a t y</u>:Osoby wchodzące w skład Tymcz.Kom./nie organi i i n i e proszą o stałe miesięczne udzielanie przez DR zasiłków zokości 250 zł.na utrzymanie osób, podlegających stałej opiece.Nieotrz zasiłków grozi tragicznymi konsekwencjami.Bezpośrednie przekazanie sp dzie Pom. Z. jest w większości wyradków niemożliwe z racji osobisty cie dyskrecjonalny, i powiązań. W imieniu Tymcz.Kom.Konrada żegot

December 1942. Report on the activities of the Provisional Committee to Aid Jews from 27 September 1942 to 4 December 1942 sent to the Director of the Department of the Interior of the GD Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski. No. 1.



December 1942. A letter from Witold Bienkowski dit Jan from FOP to Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the GD about the establishing of the Council to Aid Jews. No. 2.

pour your (F. O. P./. i) Equances quer Pours synchtone as apienie Rady Zigt. strouber p. quie la proposo ramien Andre Xn . 42

28 Dec. 1942. A letter from unk. dit Andrzej to Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the GD, announcing a letter from Witold Bienkowski dit Jan of FOP dated 27 Dec. 1942. No. 4.



27 Dec. 1942. Letter from Witold Bienkowski dit Jan from FOP to Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the GD about the establishment of the Council to Aid Jews. No. 3.



29 Dec. 1942 A letter from the Provisional Executive Committee of the Council to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, concerning the aims, tasks and composition of the Council. No. 5 (obverse).



29 Dec. 1942 A letter from the Provisional Executive Committee of the Council to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, concerning the aims, tasks and composition of the Council. No. 5 (reverse).

lo Pana Głównego Delegata Rządu R.P. w Kraju Rada Opieki nad Lydami przedkiadając Panu Głównesu Delegatowi memoriał skierowany do łasdu R.P. w Londynie do isskawej wisdomości, prosi o przekazanie go Rzsduwi drogą kurierszą, a nadto, s uwagi na niecierpi,cy zwioki cnarakter spwawy o zakomunikowanie dowicz tegoz również drogą iskrową. Jednocześnie z uwagi : - na motywy zawarte w memoriale do Rządu R.P. - że w ostatnich dniach przekazano Radke jako podopiecznych z Lu-belszczyzny 30 rodzin żydowskich znajdujących się juz w Warzza-wie, oraz 300 osób pozostających na terenie Lubelszczyzny, - na konieczność przeprowadzenie większej i kosztownej akcji le-galizacyjnej i kwaterunkowej dla ukrywających s osób, - Hada metanowiłz wrócić się do Pana Głównego Lubezta z prośbą i kaskawe wyznaczenie dodatkowej dotacji w wysokowi 150.000 zł. - ko kwoty niezbędnie potrzebnej na zaspokojenie tych paląc,ch i zytych potrzeb. Bez otrzymania tej draźnej pomocy, wysiłki hady tana na martwym punkcie, tym więcej, że akcja zbiórkowa wśród rozeczelstwa żydowskiego i polskiego - z natury r eczy problema-Gime - znajduje si, dobiero w stadium orzanizacji. Jednocześnie z uwari : 6.114 - Inajduje si, dopiero w stadium organizacji. Ponieważ stan organizacyjny kady dojrawi już do peinej stubilissoji, Rada pozwala sobie prosid pana Głównego Delerata Azedu o definitywne zamishowanie statego przedstawiciela deregatury Rządu na Radę w osobie p.Jana z F.O.F., ztóry pernięc dotądze te obowi szi w charakterze prowizoryczłym, w poprzednio jako członek Komitetu Opieki nad żydzni, zakarbiz sobie pełne naufznie członków Rady i wykazał potrzebną na tym stanowiszu zcolność współprzey z Radą.-RadaOpiesi nad Zydami przy Pełnomocniku Rzadu R.P. w Kraju Marsuawa, 12 stycznia 1943 r.

12 Jan. 1943. A letter from the Council for the Protection of Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan, Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj and Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Piekałkiewicz concerning the Memorandum to the Government of the Republic of Poland in London. No. 6.

Pana Glównego Delegata R.P Do Kraju Na posledzeniu Rady Pomocy Żydom dnia 12. I. Rada ukonstytuowała się w nastąpujący sposód: Prezes: p.Trojan /W.R.N/ Wiceprezesi : p.Różycki /Sal.// 1943 r. p.Mikoiaj /Bunk/ p.Borowski /L.K.h./ p.Mikołaj Sekretarz : Funkcje skarbnika i drugiego czionka sekretariatu: S.D. i "Sprawa,". Trojan Warszawa, 16 stycznia 1943 r. WUI nef. f. 6. 2. 43

16 Jan. 1943. A letter from the President of the Council to Aid Jews Julian Grobelny dit Trojan, to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, informing about the formation of the Council. No. 9.

- 121 Giównego Delegata Raudu n.P. na Kraj ana w miejscu Rada homocy żydom przy Pełnomocniku Rządu w Kraju po wysku-chaniu sprawozdania z 4-dniowej akcji likwidacyjnej ghetta war-zsawskiego z drugiej połowy stycznia 1943 oraz ująwnionej w związku s nią kontrakcji masowego oporu ludności żydowskiej l/wita z gr.bokim sadośćuczynieniem fakty masowego oporu czynnego ludności żydowskiej przeciw eksterminacyjnej akcji okupanta, uważając, że opór ten ma wybitne z aczenie w sensie pozytywnym dla samego spoietsenstwa żydowskiego oraz spoiecsenstwa polskiego i sagranicy z jednej strony, zaś dla władz okupacyjnych w sensie negatywnym z drugiej strony. 27 piorse pod uwagę powyższe momenty oraz okoliczność, ze brak bromi w czasie akcji likwidzeyjnej w lecie 1942 wogóle byż jedną z najstowniejszych prz-yczyn braku masowego oporu czynnego łudiości avdawskiej, zaš niedostateczna iloše w czasie ostatniej akoja li-zwidacyjnej byta powodem kontrakcji opornja snaganie mniejaša skal, niz to yto hjaliwe przy jej wiekszej ilošci, kadajuznie za riecs koniejsn, zaopati enie iudności żydowskiej , bron w dos-tatecznej 190501. 3/ Nobec tego Rade namajec to . jedn, storm pomocy. u ja za wska-zane zwródłó die lo Czynnika wojekowego k nalinym dez Jeratem dostarczenia "dostatecznej ilośi tych, dla obrony lożności zydow-sciej potrzebnych narządzi oporu, popi "ajęc uzasadnione w peżni w tym kierunku postulaty żydowskiej organizacji bojź owej. Ma na wska-4/ Hada iwraca si, równich do organizucji " les re -ere townigch z spelem o udzielenie sikursu zydoskiej organizoj, bojdwio ej w iskresie dostarczenia jej broni i "una tym wytasu – ność nienia spowodu akcji oporu, oraz zasnaczenia i w ten społow z nie solicarności. 4.7. 100 ej. lein Tiadr owraca si, do organizacji w nadie repreze lowar cu Lai, sesenie w ich pismach wiedomoci o odnośnyc. Ia s wwari na wytitne značienie proparaljowe dla ide o w anym społeczeństwie zyż polskim i podnichiemie 64 bojowych żydoskiej organiskeji bojów owej. Wanssawa. 31 stycznia 1945 r 6.2.43.

31 Jan. 1943. A letter from the Council to Aid Jews to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Piekałkiewicz, with a petition to supply the Jewish population with weapons. No. 10.



End of January 1943, Letter from the Council to Aid Jews to Jan Piekałkiewicz, Government Delegate for Poland, regarding the liquidation actions in the Warsaw Ghetto. No. 7.

2019 cauch grom dokonany na ludności żydowskiej przez okupanta nie ma równego sobie w dziejach. Ofiara jego pudło około 2.000.000 zamordowanych. Reszta pozostata w ghettach i obozach prący, lub ukrywające się w lasach i dzielnicach poza-shettowych ży-je w ciągłej obawie śmierci, i cierpi głód i zimno. Ratowa-nie tych resztek od śmierci jest koniecznością, a na to po-trzebne sa zakozne fundusze. Jak wielkich na to potrzeba trzebne są znączne funduże, dat wiejkich na to potrzeba środków finansówych niesłaj przykładowo zaświadczy fakt, że na utrzymanie tylko 10.000 dzieci pozostałych w gnetcie war-szawskim, licząc na każde nieprawopodobnie niską kwotę 500 zł. miesiącznie potrzeba przynajmniej 5.000.000 zł. miesiącznie. A tu przecież chodzi o pomoć dla kilku setek tysiący ludzi w całym krajw. Dotację miesięczne, w kwocie 50.000 zł. przyanana Radzie przez Delegature uważać należy wobec ogromu potrzeb tylko jako symbol pomocy. To też powstała przy Dele-gacie Rządu Rada Pomocy Żydom zwraca się do Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dezyderatem wyzsygnowania na cele pomocy odpowiedniej sumy. 7. uwagi na to, że sprawa jest nader paląca zwraca się Rada Gopzą do Rządu R.P. z posbą o bezzwłoczną decyzję i o przekazanie odnośnych sum Delegatowi R.P. dla Rady. roien 11 cola Borowsk

January 1943. A letter from the Council to Aid Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan, Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj and Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid. No. 8.



1 Feb. 1943. The proposal of solving current organizational issues of the Jewish community sent by Witold Bieńkowski dit Jan, the Head of the Jewish Department of the GD to Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the GD. No. 11.



6.04.1943. A letter from the Council to Aid Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit J. Trojan, Adolf Berman dit A. Borowski, Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj and Tadeusz Rok dit Różycki to the Polish Government in London concerning financial aid. No. 12.

and the second se	
De la companya	Pana Peinomocnika Rządu na Kraj. Do zaMoli
Nieproporcjonalnie nikłe w stosunku do rzeczywistych potrzeb dotacje pr przyznawane dotą na pomoc dla zegoty sklaniają dadę do przedstawienia Panu Peł nomocnikowi Rządu preliminarzy wydatkow sa marzec i kwiecień b.r., obrazujących sytuację w jakiej znajduje się Rada pod wzglądem możliwości wyp inienia chocby cząściowych tylko zadł na niej spoczywających. Cyfry te w porownaniu z otrzymy- wadymi dotacjami przedstawiają się następująco:	
Preliminowane wydatki: Otrzymano subwencję za mer	r z e c 33. administracja
Brak	iecień 33.
	administracja
Otrzymano subvencje za kwi	Razem10210.00
Brak	7/10.00
ugoiny brak sa marsec i kw	viecień wynosi zatem <u>.ll250.00</u>
2 konieczności więc zmuszona jest mada pozostawie poza swoją akcją ca- s rzesze zgłożonych już do opieki osob nie mowiąc o akcji pomocy dla ghetta i o organizacji mieszkań, moteli i t.p.azylow dla zbiegżych z chetta czy ma- pływipcych z prowincji,tkorzy dla braku bezpiecznych pomieszczem wpadają wirost w ręce roznących z dnia na dzień band szantażystow.Pominąć tez musi ka- da szereg innych miesniej wsznych akcji,jak:-pomoc dla prowincji,dzie szaleje wirost w ręce roznących z dnia na dzień band szantażystow.Pominąć tez musi ka- da szereg innych miesniej wsznych akcji,jak:-pomoc dla prowincji,dzie szaleje pływipzych niesniej wsznych akcji,jak:-pomoc dla prowincji,dzie szaleje pływipzych niesniej wsznych skolu tylko symboliką pomocy,a to motec ogromu żadań powiąkszających się pomadło z dniem kazdym.Stwierdzić nale- wobeć ogromu żadań powiąkszających się pomadło z dniem kazdym.Stwierdzić nale- potrzeb.Jest on tylko miarą rozszerzejących się agend i zasięgu pracy nady,kto re w naturalnym wyniku rozwojowym rozrastać się będą nadal a w związku z tym i je potrzeb.Jest on tylko miarą rozszerzejących się będą nadal a w związku z tym i je potrzeby. W tym stanie rzeczy dada ma posiedzeniu 6 b.m. postanowiła zwrocić się do Pana fetnomocnika kadu s powyzszym przedstawiniem sprawy i wnioskiem o przyznanie jezesze w tym miesiącu sum do wysokości preliminowadych za marzec i kwiecień i przewidywanie na maj kwot co najmiej w te, samej wysokości,jeśli mad ma wypełnić we zatania,jeśli ma być rzeczywistym czynnikiem spółecznym przyznanie jezesze w bież.miesiącu sum do wysokości preliminowanych za marzec i kwiecień i przewidywanie na maj kwot co wajmiej w te, samej wysokości,jeśli mad ma wypełnić we zatania,jeśli ma być rzeczywistym czynnikiem spółecznym przyznanie jezesze w bież.miesiącu swot do wysokości preliminowanej jest zoram przyznanie jeszcze w bież.miesiącu swot do wysokości preliminowanej jest zatam pałecz i pierwezorzędnej waj- udrze powyżeszej otrzymają przedstawiciele w PKP do wiedomości	
Mm.	1-10- Tojan.
/-/ Marek, Prostokąt.	/-/J. \$20 jan, W. R. M.
Warszawa, dnia 7 kwietnia 1953.	
S-ax/sec	

7.04.1943. Letter from the Council to Aid Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit J. Trojan and Ferdynand Arczyński dit Marek to the Government Delegate for Poland, presenting the budget estimates of the Council for March and April 1943 and its realization. No. 13.

Spec. 21.4.43. Ref. Zog. T./IV. 1 31 Akčja likwidacyjna ghetta Rozpoczęta w nocy z dnia 18 na 19 b.n.akję likwidacji zhetta poprzedził ostry konflikt między zarządem zakładów Többensa z społeczeństwem żydowskim. Konflikt ten był zewnętrznym wyrazem trwającej od dłuższego czasu niezgodnoś ci poglądów na sposób likwidowania zhetta warszawskiego,między niemieckiemi władzani wojkowemi z politycznemi. Wojsko cholało wykorzystać siły robocze ży dowskie, czynniki polityczne dażyły do żeybkiej likwidzeji zhetta. Powstał kom romis, na mocy którego 10.000 wykwalifikowanych robożników żydowskich misłó by skoszarowanych w barakach na Powązkach, czła reszta ludności misła uledz likwi dacii. dacji. Akcja Többenma zmierzała do wwydzielania grup robotników wykwalifikowanych. Na spele jego do luności żydowskiej żydzi odpowiedzieli zbojkotowaniem zarządzen. Po nieudałym sbosobie pozyskanie "przychylmości"opimii żydowskiej władze niemieckie poszły po limii nacisku ma zmimę żydowską. Gmima zwołała posiedzenie,ma które zostali zaproszemi przedstawiciele 2.KN w roli pośrednika wystąpił historyk Schiper Postulaty zminy zmierzały do osią nięcia porozumienia z 2.K.N.,a tym samym usiłowały uzyskać wpływ na Żyd.Org. Bojową. Nie oficjalni przedstwiciele Ż.K.N.nie poszli na żadną współpracę z gminą. i kategorycznie witerat stwierdzili brak jakiejkolwiek łączności między spo-łeczeństwem żydowskim a gminą. Wywody Schipera, wykazujące historycznie wypadki istnienia dwóch przedstwicielstw narodowych jenego walczącego z cieniężcą, a istnienia dwóch przedstwicielstw narodowych jenego walczącego z cieniężcą, a drugiego pertrakinjązegovavnim współpracującego z nim,zostały przez 2.K.N. ni uwzględnione. 3 Na odbytym następnie posiedzeniu Zydowskiego Aomitetu Koordynacyjnego z Ko mendą 2.0.Bojowej zapadła uchwała przeciwstawienia się zbrojnego próbom przy musowego koszarowania ludności zydowskiej. Po dwudniowym "odprężeniu"/17-18 kwiedich/w nocy z 19-go na 19-ego o godz 2-ej Niemcy rozpoczęli akcję wysiedleńczą Alarm Żyd. Org. Bojowej dał sygnał do walki. Według relacji naocznych świadków z ghetta: wedrug relacji naocznych swiadków z gnetta: 19 kwietnia.Na murach ghetta rozlepiono obok wyroków śmierci na konfidentów żydów odezwy treści mniej więcej następującej/przytoczone z pamięci/: "żydzi!Godzina czynu i odwetu nad okupantem wybiła.Wszyscy zdolni de nosze nia broni do szeregów walczących!Starcy i kobiety niech niosą pomoc pieniężną. Do broni! Z dniem dzisiejszym znoszę system piątkowy.Wszysoy mają się zgłaszać na z zbiórki masowo. /podpisano/: Kapitan Józef Łącki Komendant Z.W.Ż. Na Nalewkach przy placu Muranowskim rozstawione stoły,na nich olbrzymice plany sytuacyjne,wykresy,telefony polowe. Szereg wyższych oficerów S.S.obraduj pod ochroną stojących czołgów i samochodów panc.Na ulicach skoncentrowane drz ilości Waffen S.S., policji i żandarmerii niemieckiej/w sile około 3 bataliona /,krążą czołgi i samochody panc.Od rana duże nasilenie strzałów z broni ręcz-nej i maszynowej w okolicy Nalewek, rożnorodne wybuchy i detonacje.W akcji bio rą udział oprocz Niemeów Ukraincy i /niewstalone/kotysze lub Litwini.Wszyscy Niemey znajdujący się na terenie gnetta uzbrojeni są w granaty ręczne/zatknię te w cholewach butów i zz pasew/, po dwa rewolweży i karabinekspardzo wielu ma r.k.m.Przed południem stwierdzono większe pożary m.imn.na Gęsiej,Nalewkach /dom Nr. 37/.Mitej i Zamenhofa.Niemcy zdobywają dom po domu szturmen.Dom upatyw /dom Nr. 37/,Mitej i Zamenhofa.Niemcy zdobywają dom po domu szturmem.Dom upatr ny do zdobycia z zasady ost zeliwany jest ogniem c.k.m. i r.k.m./od dnia 20 także i artylerii polowej/,załoga dręczona moralnie atakiem czołgów i samocho dów panc.Po tym następuje zazwyczaj atak na dom prowadzony w wielu wypadkach jak stwierdzono niezbicie - przez milicję żydowską,uzbrojoną w toporki do rąbania bram i barykad Jośli po ataku wstępnym wezwanie do poddania nie osiąga skutku – następuje natarcie Ukraińcow i botyszow/Litwinów ?/,wszystkie otwory domu zasypywane są cradem granatów ręcznych i ostrzeliwane z bliska ogniem r.h m-ow i pistoletów automatycznych.Po tym przygotowaniu wkracza S.S. mordując wszystkich pozostałych przy zyciu i przeprowadzając ostateczną akcję "oczyszcjącą". Los/xv-2

21.04.1943. Report of the Zegota Department of the Interior of the GD concerning the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. No. 14.

Pay grabbiech 309 Ref. 2eg. T/V Spec. 23.4.43. II Sprawozdanie specjalne z przebiegu akcja likmidacyjnej ghetta warszawskiego. W nocy z 21 ma 22 kwietają wilki ma terenie ghetta osłabły a w dniu 22 kwietają poza szalejącym pozyteń bloku domów w quartier ograniczonym ulica mi - S-to Jerską,Bonifriterski,Franciszkańską i Nalewkami panował spokoj. Podług relacji niemieckich Opor w chetcie został zlikwidowany.Po stronie miemieckiej padro 90 zabitych i 420 rannych,po stronie żydowskiej 18.000 zabitych.Zrodra niemieckie podają,że po stronie żydowskiej czymny udział w walce wzięto 1.500 bojowcow,po stronie niemieckiej 5.000 waffen SS,żandarmen merii i wermachtu.Po stronie zydowskiej poza 1.500 bojowcani walczącymi dwietej i podtu je stronie zierowy resta budności zydowskiej w świetnie i umbitnie, jak stwierdzają ziemcy, rezzta ludności żydowskiej w liczbie ckoło 40.000 przybrała postawę zdecydowanie bierną. Lowodem tego ma ją być m.im. shopy többensagądzie w bloku domów posiadających maturalne ob rozme położenie/dokoża bloku pusta przestrzen/znajdowało się około 15.000 żydów, a między fimi oddział wygażonych w broń bojowców i gdzie mie został podjęty żadem opór. Podług tych sznych realeji uzbrojenie bojowców żydóws-kich budziło podziw. Broń była pochodzenia mienieck ego: rewolwery, r.k. n-my i c.k. m-my/między imajni w głównym punkcie oporu u zbiegu ulic Francisziań-kiej i kalewek c.k.m-my posiadaty betonowe stoiska/.# dniu 22 kwietnia po zlikwidowaniu wzystk ch gałazd oporu miency wyznaczonym miejscu zbiorki. Nozkaz został w przewalacj części wykonamy/rownież i przez shopy Töbensa/ świetnie i ambitale, jak stwierdzeją ziemcy, reszta ludmości zydowskiej w Rozkaz został w przeważnej części wykonany/rownież i przez shopy Töbensa/ z wyjątkiem szczotkarzy, ktorzy stawili zlikwidowany w krotkim czasie opór. Zgromadzeni w wyznaczonym punkcie żydzi sę stopniowo ładowani do wagonów 1 w/wożemi do Trebliaki. Wywozski do fredilaki. Poza powyżską relacją sporządzoną na podstawie informacji pochodzenia miemieckiego, smijącą wszelkie cechy prawdopodobieństwa, popartego wynował, o szą dnie 22 swietnia - istnieją imme wersje i przypuczczenia, budowane na podstawie obserwacji i "wisji lokalnych",oraz na podstawie głosow społecz stwa żydowsniego z tej i tamtej strony chetta. Zbudowany w mocy z 21 ma 22 swietnia wzdłuż ulicy Franciszkańskiej/po środku jezdal/mur,zaże wałczacwać o specjalacj metodzie mienieckiej, polega-na działaniu chetta ma odciati celem tatwietnie i lewieckie oprece jącej na dzielemiu gnetta na odcinki celem fatwiejszej likwidacji poszczegolných. 2 tego tež powodu istrieje možliwość, że po zliawidowaniu griazd opo ru pewna część bojowców znajduje się w tej chwili na odcinku pornocnym ghet odcinku mie objętym pożarem i pozostawionym narwzie w spokoju z racji oczys czamia pozostałych odcinkow.Przy ewent.słuszmości tego poglądu opor może ulec wznowieniu.wydaje się jednak niemożliwym zorganizowanie dostatecznie mocmych mowych gniasi oporu.Sądzić nalezy,że dalsza akcja likwidacyjna odby wać się będzie przez czas dłuższy i o znacznie mniejszym w stosumku do doty czasowego masilemiu bojowym.Poza tę częścią,zresztę procentowo cgr mn.społe czeństwa żydowsziego,które zdecydowało się usłucnać rozkazu wyjazdu do komć parowych Treblinki, w piwaicach bodaj wszystkich domow ghetta pozostali ocze kujący ratumnu zydzi. Akcja likwidacyjna pociągmąć zatem może za sobą przy bragu środków pomocy swiększemie listy ofiar polegiych na teremie ghettu wo SNaWSkiego. W ogólaej konklusji sytuacji obecnej mależy stwierdzić wejście w fazę pacyfikacji bezwątpienia jeszcze niejednokrotnie krwawej.Noc z 22 ma 23 je dowodem masikania oporu poszczegolnych mowych punktów oporu.Trzeba się spo dziewać, że mato stosuakowo uszczuplosa liczba bojowcow stanowić będzie w G. szym ciągu element zdecydowanego oporu szw do momentu powstania warunków je najbardziej sprzyjających dla ocalemia efextywu bojowego. Fostawa społeczeństwa polskiego/zwiaszcza dzielajce przylegające do sh tta/jest jeunolita.klimat zdecydowanie wrogi dla miencow s przejawani sympu til i podziwu dla oporu żydowskiego.kieprawdopododae bestialstwa mieniecki. til i podziwi dla operu zydowskiego.kiegrawdopodobae bestialstwa alemiecki /m.iaw.podpalamie domow i miewypuszczanie s pożaru kobiet i dzieci/klimat tem putęzują dm tego stopmia.ze stuchamie dotycnowas cnętmie relacje radiou o każwi pod szoleżnicim są w tej enwili przypisywane przez bezkrytyczan op: mię mieszkańców przedmieść - miemcom.specjalay podziw wyworuje trzydmiowy pór garstri bojowców żydowskich.kształtuje się opimia,że astem pporu o tak wielkim masilemiu żydzi całkowicie urztowali homor swego marodu walczącego wolność marówai z imaymi. 202/18-2

23.04.1943. Special report of the Zegota Department of the Department of the Interior of the GD on the course of the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto, with appendices. No. 15.

316 Ref.Zeg.T/VII Spec.29.4.43 Likwidację ghetta należy uważać za skonczoną.Ustatnio sryszane detonacje są wywożane "oczyszczaniem" poszczególnych bloków/bys omatyczna kolejność do-tycząca wszystkich bez wyjątku domow/,polegającym na paleniu a następnie wysadzaniu minami piwnic bez względu na to czy są puste czy też kryją w dalszym ciągu ludzi. należy się jednak spodziewać podjęcia w niestorych miejscach oporu. Będą to jednak akty sporadyczne. Załączamy relację człowieka, któremu udało się wyjść z życiem z piekłą. Po-nadto komunikaty kolejne Kom. Koord. Bundu i Z.K.N. Man Joborsechi

29.04.1943. Report of the Zegota Department of the Interior of the GD concerning the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. No. 17.

Do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu na Kraj

R

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Rada P.Ż. uważa za swój zaszczytny obowiązek zwrocenie się do Fana Pełnomocnika Rządu w sprawie zupełnie wyjątkowej i przedkłada co następuje:

Na terenie ghetta warszawskiego rozgrywa się ostatni akt toagedii lud ności żydowskiej. Społeczeństwo polskie, a z nim i cały cywilizowany świat, poruszony jest do głębi nieznanym w historii barbarzyństwem i okrucieństwem, w których upodlenie narodu niemieckiego znajduje swoj szczytowy wyraz.

Bohaterstwo otoczonej ogniem palących się domów garstki zdeterminowane go społeczeństwa żydowskiego oraz wierność i manifestacja uczuć dla państwa i narodu polskiego, wyrażone w obiczu śmierci w pełnej romantyzmu formie przez wywieszenie na swych barykadach sztandaru Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej, nakłada na społeczeństwo polskie i jego Rząd obowiązek zajęcia odpowied-niego stanowiska wobec tej ginącej z honorem resztki żydów - obywateli polskich -

W chwili tak pełnej grozy i odpowiedzialności,które wzrastają dosłownie z godziny na godzinę,jest nie do pomyślenia aby ze stolicy naszej nie rozlegt się głos oburzenia, który wzruszył by do głębi serca i sumienia całego świata.-

Narzuca się nagląca konieczność wydania autu, mającego znaczenie dokumen tu historycznego,a w ktorym byłoby wyrażone nie tylko formalne stanowisko Rządu Folskiego w obec tej strasznej zbrodni,ale przede wszystkim stosunek uczuciowy narodu polskiego do martyrologii żydowskiej.

Wystąpienie takie Przedstawiciela Rządu rolskiego byłoby hasłem dla polskiej prasy podziemnej do nadania właściwego tonu polskiej opinii,częś ciowo zbałamuconej propagandą wroga i niweczyło by prfidne chwyty hitlerow skie,a nadto wytworzyło by klimat sprzyjający chronieniu się ocalałych resztek społeczeństwa żydowskiego i załamało panoszący się wśród mętów szantaż.

2 tych założeń wychodząc Rada P.2. na posiedzeniu w dniu 2864 postano wiła zwrócić się do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu Polskiego z wnieskiem i usil ną prośbą o wydanie w tej sprawie:

l/protestu wobec całego świata, 2/manifestu do społeczeństwa polskiego w myśl powyższych założeń.

Za najodpwwiedniejszą formę publikacji takiego manifestu uważa Hada komunikat urzędowy, rozplakatowany na murach miasta i rozesłany na cały Kraj w możliwie najkrótszym czasie.-

Będzie to zarazem salutem pożegnalnym od społeczeństwa polskiego dos bohaterskiej załogi ghetta zgóry na śmierć skazanej .-

/-/ Trojan

Warszawa, dn. 30, 18. 1943. /-/ Marek Whan syr. Trajanonski. Pnerytan ulinets hady Legoty 2 der. 28. 14. Inpray uchings having Typy Jour

30.04.1943. Letter from the Council to Aid Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan and Ferdynand Arczyński dit Marek to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski, marked for Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski. No. 18.



Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu na Kraj /: przez p. Jana :/

Załączając dwa odpisy sprawozdań Okręgowych Rad O.Z., a to z Krakowa i Lwowa, Rada Główna wskazując na konieczność ratowania od zagłady resztek ludności żydowskiej w tych Okręgach, gdzie te możliwości jeszcze realnie istnieją, pozwala sobie prosić Pana Pełnomocnika o łaskawe wyznaczenie dla tych Okręgów dodatkowych dotacji w wysokości 250.000 zł. miesięcznie i przekazanie ich drogą Delegatur Okręgowych, względnie przez Główną radę O.Ż.

Z otrzymywanych kwot na pomoc, które otrzymuje Rada Główna nie sposób wyznaczyć żądanej pomocy przez Okręgi, albowiem obecny stan <u>stałych wy-</u> <u>datków</u> Rady Główn**żż** przekracza o około 40% otrzymywaną dotychczas dotację miesięczną.

Rada wyjaśnia przy tej sposobności, że z otrzymanej w kwietniu dotacji nadzwyczajnej przekazała tym dwu Okręgom pomoc wartości ok. 80.000 zł. w gotówce i **minkkywnych** efektywach legalizacyjnych.

Z uwagi na doniosłe akcenty poruszone we wnioskach Okręgów Rada Główna prosi o możliwie szybkie i pozytywne rozpatrzenie niniejszego pisma.-

Marszawa, dnia 10.V. 33.

Do

/-/ Trojan /-/ Marek

17 May 1943. A letter from the Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Jan to the Director of the Department of the Interior of the GD Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski regarding the increase of financial aid for the provincial councils, with the attachments containing the reports of the Council branches in Krakow and Lvov. No. 19.



17 May 1943. A letter from the Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Jan to the Director of the Department of the Interior of the GD Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski regarding the increase of financial aid for the provincial councils, with the attachments containing the reports of the Council branches in Krakow and Lvov. No. 19.



30 May 1943. A letter from Witold Bieńkowski dit Jan, Wencki, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior, to Stanisław Pawłowski dit Grabowiecki, concerning the letter sent to the Government Delegate for Poland by Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj, regarding financial aid received from London. No. 20.



5 July 1943. Top secret report from the Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki to the Director of the Internal Affairs GD Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, the Director of the Security Department of the GD for Poland Tadeusz Miklaszewski dit Stencel and the Head of the Security Cell of the GD Eugeniusz Gitterman dit Hübner discussing the matter of the so-called "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 24.

H C S A H S G	160 ste przez Niemców pepularnege klimatu dla afery wśród zdelżgalizewanych i tryjących się żydów.Jest pewnym,że nie tylke pieniądze edgrywają tu relę. Przy pomecy wywiadu Szańca, eraz na skutek moich własnych penetracji stwier- tziłem,że wśród wywożenych "ebcekrajewców" znajdują się żydżi gestapewcy, pecjalnie wyszkeleni w prewadzeniu propagandy, wybielającej Niemców w ich tkcji likwidacyjnej stesowanej de żydów, z przerzucającej odpewiedzialneść ta naród pelski.Ci żydzi /są podebne i aryjczycy/posiadają odpewiednie spre parowane "dekumenty" i nawet zdjęcia fetegraficzne.W tej chwili znajtuje się w hotelu Pelskim wśród 82 czasowych pensjenarjuszow pedebne aż 24 eseby dpewiednie wyszkelene./Listę tę pedaję w wyniku penetracji własnych, lecz odpewżedzialneści za jej ścistość nie bierę/.
	4. Wnioski.
1	Na skutek powyższego oświetlenia sprawy, oraz posądzania organizacji ży- towskich o posiadanie własnych/lub "obcych"/ dróg łączności z zagranicą 'certyfikaty "kończą" się już od 6-ciu tygotni/- proszę wywiad cywilny i rojskowy o specjalnie fachowe rozpracowanie sprawy na podstawie podanego ryżej surogatu.
1 12	W razie stwierdzenia stanu rzeczywistege,edpewiadającege meim wywiadem preszę e specjalne instrukcje ce de przedstawienia wyników badań przed- tawicielom erganizacji żydewskich w Kraju.
k	Do czasu innych zarządzeń moj raport niniejszy traktuję jako ściśle taj- ty dokument, mogący służyć sprawie polskiej w wypadku uwidocznienia jakiej- colwiek nielojalnej w stosunku do Państwa Polskiego akcji żydowskiej na te- enie międzynarodowym, czy wewnętrznym. O łaskawe zniszczenie pisma uprzejmie proszę. /-/Wencki.
	perządzene w czterech egzemplarzach:
1	.Pan.Dyr.Trojanowski,2.Fan Dyr.Stencel,3.Pan Hübner,4.Akta referatu Zegoty
ne Pe ny tó	Ponieważ ileść przystanych certyfikatów jest na wyczerpaniu, są podejmewu- starania ze streny dyr.Guzika o przystanie nowej transzy papierow tak z tudn.Ameryki, jak Falcstyny, via Konstantynepol. Jyr. Guzik szuka drog lega ch/niem./jak i nielegalnych/DR, depesza via Londyn/dla ządania certyfiko w in blance jako "użatwiających"/tańszych/akcję ratowania ciektywu spoie- eństwa żydowskiego.

5 July 1943. Top secret report from the Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki to the Director of the Internal Affairs GD Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski, the Director of the Security Department of the GD for Poland Tadeusz Miklaszewski dit Stencel and the Head of the Security Cell of the GD Eugeniusz Gitterman dit Hübner discussing the matter of the so-called "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 24.



15–17 July 1943. Copies of reports by Władysław Bartoszewski dit Ludwik from the Żegota Department of the Interior to Adolf Berman dit Borowski and Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj on the so-called "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 25.

Ref. 2eg. dn. 17.7.43. WFan Romecki "Ul" Przesyłam Panu list Mikołaja adresowany do Doktora,z prośbą o pożyczkę z funduszów DR. Zasadniczo opiniuję pozytywnie, niemniej pozostawism sprawę całkowitemu uznaniu Pana co do jej dalszego biegu.Poza tem przekazuję <u>depeszę do</u> Szerera/skomasowane przeze mnie 3 depesze/ z prośbą o uwzględnienie jej wysłania. Chodzi o fundusze, których nadejście w dużym stopniu odciążą trudną w tej chwili sytuację.Załączona przy niniejszym depesza Rady Žegoty do Rządu Rzeczypospolitej wymaga specjalnego zastanowienia Noje stanowisko co do jej wysłania jest negatywne z racji na zawarte w depeszy sugestie,natomiast podpisy członków W.R.N.i S.L. stawiają sprawę na płaszczyźnie politycznej.Właściwe skalsyfikowanie depeszy pozostawiam uznaniu politycznych czynników wydziału Prezydialnego. Z wysokim szacunkiem /-/Wencki Załaczem odpis mego listu do Rady Żegoty, das de revera - versous odrusis fo Ref. 2eg. dn. 17.7.43. Do Rady Legoty w miejscu W odpowiedzi na pismo Janow z dnia 12.7. komunikuję: 1. Czynnikiem kempetentnym de udzielania zezwelenia na rezlepianie pla-katów jest kemenda Walzi Podziemnej.Udrośne pisme preszą przesłać de mego referatu. Przekażę je właściwej instancji. 2. Prośbę Hady co do przekazania Radzie sprawozdania z działalności Sądu Specjalnegob.w.c.przekazuję,odpowiednim czynnikom.Ce de rezultatu odpewiedzi pozwalam sobie zaznaczyć,że teje redzaju prośba nie miła jesz-cze precedensu i że jakości edpowiedzi nie petrafię przewidzieć. 3. Depeszę Rady do Rządu Hzeczypospolitej przekazałem Wydziałowi krazywa Prezydialnemu w DR z moją osobistą negatywną jej oceną. Wydaje mi się bowiem,ze obywatele polscy narodowości żydowskiej nie sta-nowią specjalnie wydzielonego,uprzywilejowanego sporeczeństwa,dla którege megiyby być stosowane inne na terenie międzynarodowym rozmowy,niż dla obywateli polskich narodowości polskiej.Kwestia wymiany obywateli polskich na obywateli niemieckich pozostających na terenich alianckich może być brana pod uwagę tylko w wypadku normalnej procedury wymiennej.W sprawie obywateli polskich jest to bezprzedmistowe z tej racji,że polski kraj ma-ciersysty znajduje się pod okupacją,a polska emigracja nie stanowi zadnej etnograficzno-politycznej pozycji,jako korzystająca z gościny państwa zaprzyjaźnionego. S-VILLOR /-/ Hencki

17 July 1943. Letter from the Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki to the Head of the Presidential Office GD Stefan Pawłowski dit Romecki. No. 26.



Sprawa wyjazdu żagranicę żydów. rzeczywistych oraz rzekomych obywateli państw połudn.-ameryk.

Warszawa, 21.7.43

Poruszona przez referat Zegoty w piśmie z dn.5 b.m. sprawa powyższa zwraca szczególną uwagę w obecnym jej etapie. Chóremu towarzyszą okoliczności będące rażącą sprzecznością ze stosmikiem I polityką okupanta wobec żydów.

Ze wzglężu na obszerny, dodatkowo zebrany materiał, stronę opisową ujmiemy w formę kroniki następujących po sobie wypadków oraz faktów sprawdzalnych.

 W końcu 42 r. oraz w styczniu 43 r. wyjschały do obozu w Vittel 2 transporty żydów, autentycznych południowo-amerykaninów, w tącznej ilości ok.200 osób. Następny transport miał miejsce w maju r.b., liczył ok.380 osób, skierowany również do Vittel. We wszystkich tych wypadkach miejscem skoszarowania żydów był hotel Royal. Jednocześnie w międzyczasie zorganizowana została na terenie ghetta masowa akcja Rady Zydowskiej oraz prywatna, w kierunku uzyskiwania dla żydów obywatelstw państw zagranisznych, przyczym w grę wchodziły głównie: Parzgwaj, Honduras, Ostarica, Nicaraguz, Argentyna.
 Na skutók wsponnianych zabiegów, które trważy szereg miesięcy, dowody

- wa akcja kady żydowskiej oraz prywatna, w kierunku uzyskiwania dla żydów obywatelstw państw zagranicznych, przyczym w grę wchodziły głównie: Paragwaj, Honduras, Gostarica, Nicaragua, Argentyna.
 2. Na skutek wspomianych zabiegów, które trważy szereg miesięcy, dowody obywatelstwa, t.zw.promessy, zaczęły napływać w pierwszych miesięcach.r.b. to znaczy w czasie, kiedy ghetto było w olbrzymiej części zlikwidowane i wobec czego adresaci nieżyjący już lub zdelegalizowani nie mogli upragnionych dowodów otrzymać. Promess takich nadeszło ok.380, każda opiewała na kilka osób /rodziny/.
- na kilka osób /rodziny/.
 W tym stanie rzeczy, kiedy omawiane promessy jako"poczta niedoręczalna" znalazły się w dyspozycji G-o, zainteresowali się niemi żydzi-gestapowey, a rzeczej głównie szet ica, Leon Skosowski orza niejaki Adam Zurawin /sylwetki obydwu naświetlimy w dalszym ciągu/ i doszedłszy do wniosku, że można promessy te wykorzystać - zainiejowali śmiałą zkoję. W porczumieniu z kierownikami żydowskiego referatu w G-o /Branat,Grischa,Orff/ Skosowski i Zurawin podjęli organizowanie transportu na podstawie wspomnianych promess, przyczym dopomogło tu dokonane przez nich sprytne posunięcie, misnowicie zatrzymanie z transportu majowego 22 osób, autentycznych obcokrajowoćw, co zrobili wówczas na wszelki wypadek, aby mieć "zarywek" dla dalszej akcji wysyktowej. Jar się okzażdo obecnie - kalkulacje ich nie zawiodły. Organizowanie obecnie partji "obcokrajoweów" nie było w zasadzie sprawę łatwą, gdyż do dyspozycji pozostają wyłącznie żydzi ukrywający się. Ażeby więc wzbuszić zaufanie i podkreślić moment legalności akcji w promessie, które wynoszą od kilkudziesięciu do kilkuset tysiący złotych od osoby,choć równocześnie podkreślić należy, że pewną ilość miejse organizatorzy dają bazpłatnie, niewątpliwie dla lużzi biednych, swolch protegowanych i w okęci podkreśleńia, że nie chodzi tu o interes. Opłaty bowiem pobierają "na koszty" i w stosunku do zamożniejszych żydów stawiają sprawę tak, że si obowiązani są zapłacić więcej, aby pokryć tych, którzy zapłacić nie mogą.
- 4. Jednocześnie udał się do Berlina Zurawin, który za cenę 25 tys.dolarów papierowych uzyskał akceptację imprezy i dyspozycję oddania dla transportu specjalnego pociągu.
- specjalnego pociągu.
 W tych okolicznościach, i przy zapewnieniu całkowitego bezpieczeństwa ze strony G-o, werbunek miał przebieg niezwykle pomyślny, gdyż zgłosiło się ok.2000 osób, które umieszczono w hotelu Polskim przy ul.Drugiej.
 5. Dnia 5 bm. odjechał 1-szy transport z tej akcji, w liczbie 1200 osób. Na dworcu obecny był Stropp, mahn, szereg oficerów G-o oraz eskorta żandarmerji. Nawissowo należy dodać, że Stropp, który ma na swoim racaunku oblężenie i zniszczenie ghetta, zwracał uwagę żandarmom, że zbyt ostro obchodzą się z zajmującymi pociąg żydami. Transport skierowany został nie ao Vittel lecz pom Hannower, na teren dawnego Oflagu.
 W dniu wyjazdu wręczono Zurawinowi i Skosowskiemu list dziękozynny,którego

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21 July 1943. Report of the Security Cell of the Security Department of the GD code name "Stożek", signed by Eugeniusz Gitterman dit Hübner, Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs Department of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, and signed by Director of the Security Department of the GD Tadeusz Miklaszewski dit Stencel on the socalled "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 27.



21 July 1943. Report of the Security Cell of the Security Department of the GD code name "Stożek", signed by Eugeniusz Gitterman dit Hübner, Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs Department of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, and signed by Director of the Security Department of the GD Tadeusz Miklaszewski dit Stencel on the socalled "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 27.

346 3 -Próby przesłania wyszkolonej ekipy propagandowej na tereny zagraniczne w celu urobienia opinji antypolskiej w stosunku do akcji likwidacyjnej elementu żydowskiego w Polsce /wyjazd cennych gestapowców z Polski -Włodawski z żoną, Mirecki, Romanowski i Manówna, posiadane choć ściśle niesprawdzone dane na antypolski materiał propagandowy znajdujący się w rękach wyjeźdżających gestapowców-żyddw/. Wszystkie powyższe hipotezy zasługują na ich podanie tak z racji ewent. niebezpieczeństw dla interesów polskich w wypadku ich prawdziwości, jak i ze względu na łatwość profilaktycznego zapobieżenia ze strony rządu polskiego szkodliwości ich skutków. /-/ Wencki /-/ Hübner henry

21 July 1943. Report of the Security Cell of the Security Department of the GD code name "Stożek", signed by Eugeniusz Gitterman dit Hübner, Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs Department of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, and signed by Director of the Security Department of the GD Tadeusz Miklaszewski dit Stencel on the socalled "Polish Hotel" affair. No. 27.

Do

Przyznawana od kilku miesięcy w niezmienionej wysokości dotacja na pomoc Żegocie,wynosząca miesięcznie 4000 zł dla Warszawy i 1500 zł dła prownncji,okazuje się z każdym miesiącem niewystarczającą na pokrycie chociażby jedynie części potrzeb,jakie w tej mierze narastają z dniem każdym.

ełnomocnika Rządu na Kraj

Stanu tego niezmienia okoliczność, że organizacje żydowskie z własnych funduszów wpłacają kwotę 1000 zł miesięcznie, bowiem wzrost potrzeb materialnej pomocy gwałtowznie się wzmaga, w konsekwencji czego stawki zapomóg z każdym miesiącem maleją, nie mówiąc, że znaczna ilość osób zgłoszonych – dla braku funduszów – pozostaje poza nawiasem pomocy materialnej. Nadto z funduszów, które dotąd przeznaczone były wyłącznie na zapomogi, pokrywa się dodatkowe wydatki na koszta organizacji komórek pomocy w terenie oraz na nowokreowaną placówkę opieki nad dziećmi ż.wymagającą poważniejszych inwestycji.Oba te dodatkowe wydatki nie były dotąd w preliminariach Rady przewidziane.

Rady przewiuziane. Z kredytów dla prowincji korzystał dotąd Kraków, Lwów, Siedlce, Ostrowiec i tp. Obecnie, po zorganizowaniu nowej poważnej placówki Rady na terenie Łodzi i mającej powstać analogicznej placówki w Lubkinie, kwota przyznawana dotąd dla prowincji jest stanowczo nie wystarczająca i niemoże uchodzić nawet za symbolikę pomocy, skoro się zważy, że takie ośrodki jak Kraków czy Lwów przedstawiają zapotrzebowania gotówkowe przektaczające całą dotację miesięczną jaką Rady otrzymuje.

W tym stanie rzeczy Rada 0.2 chcąc bodaj w części spełnić swe za-W tym stanie rzeczy Rada 0.2 chcąc bodaj w części spełnić swe zadanie, zwraca się do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu z prośbą o podwyższenie w najbliższym już miesiącu miesięcznej dotacji a to dla Warszawy 7500 a dla prowincji 2500 zł,oraz o przyznanie na miesiąc bieżący dodatkowej dotacji w wysokości 1000 zł dla pokrycia bieżących potrzeb.

w wysokości i toto zi ula pokrycia biosących poku Rady stał na przeszkodzie Jeśliby w realizacji powyższego wniosku Rady stał na przeszkodzie brak funduszów na ten cel,Rada OŻ zwraca się z prośbą do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu o przekazanie sprawy Rządowi R.P. w Londynie z wnioskiem o przyznanie Radzie specjalnego budżetu,w wysokości stosownej do potrzeb.

Warszawa, dnia 16. sierpnia 1943. Za Rada 2. 2. Cere /-/ Trojan, W.R.N. /-/ March S.F.D.

16 Aug. 1943. A letter from the Council to Aid Jews, signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan and Ferdynand Arczyński dit Marek, to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, concerning the subsidies granted to Żegota. No. 29.

Rada 0.Ż. Do D.R. na rece p.Grabowieckiego Na terenie W-wy działa znakomicie zorganizowane biuro wystawiania dokumentów, t. zw "Międzyorganizacyjne Biuro Dokumentarne,"które od 8 miesięcy współpracuje z Radą oddając Radzie nieocenione usługi. Jestto komórka, polecona Radzie swego czasu przez PP.Grabow ieckiego i Różyckiego. Biuro to zatrudnia ok.10 osób zdyscyplinowanych organizacyjnie i wybitnie ideówo nastawionych. Fraca zorganizowana jest znakomicie o czym przekonałzz się osobiście, xx p. Mark którym to celu byłza specjalnie zaproszony przez to Biuro. Wartość majątku tego Biura wynosi ok.750.000 zł. Opłaty pobierane są wedle własnych kosztów, tak, że dena dokumentów ob.dużej różnorodności waha się od 35 -80 zł. Biuro obsługuje szereg organizacji i komórek oficjalnych, bez względu na kierunek polityczny/za wyjątkiem obcych/ przyczym Rada jest tego Biuro największym odbiorcą. Obecnie kier. tegoż Biura zwraca się do DR. za naszym pośrecnictwem z prośbą o podporządkowanie go władzom państwowym i udzielenie mu tym samym opieki oficjalnej, po niewsż dotąd aczkolwiek jest ono apolitycznym zespołem działającym społecznie posiada charakter nawpół prywatny, co w dużej mierze krzywdzi ten wartościowy zespół ludzi i obniża jego wydajność. Rada na posiedzeniu w dniu 4.bm postanowiła prośbę tę przesłać do D.R. i poprzeć ją jak najusilniej a to na podstawie dotychczasowych doświadczeń z współpracy z tym zespołem. Bliższych informacji w tej mierze udzielić może p. Mareki który bezpośrednio współpracuje z tym Biurem. (ISPD) Za Rade OŻ. N-wa 6.9.43 r. -/ Trojan -/Borowski

6 Sept. 1943. Letter from the Council to Aid Jews signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan and Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski, handed over by Stanisław Pawłowski dit Grabowiecki regarding the legalization cell cooperating with the Council. No. 32. -3 -

swe szatańskie dzieło doszczętnego wytracenia resztek ludności żydowskiej, uważamy za nasz podstawowy ludzki,obywalski i narodowy obowiązek wzmożenie zbrojnej walki z okupantem wszędzie,gdzie jeszcze istnieją nieliczne ośrodki żydowskie.

Chcemy wierzyć,że poczynione zastrzeżenie było wynikiem nieporozumienia Gdyby jednak było inaczej,gdyby ono było wyrzzem rzeczywistych intencji i istotnej zmiany stosunku Delegatury Rządu lub K.S.Z.do zbrojnej walki Zydów z wrogiem,-Komisja Koordynacyjna byłaby zmuszona założyć wobec najwyższych zz czynników w Kraju i zagranicą swój najostrzejszy protest.

Jesteśmy przekonani,że Pan Pełnomocnik Rządu w Kraju w uwzględnieniu zasadniczej wagi poruszonego zagadnienia i uznając powstałe nieporozumienie za wyjaśnione,-zarządzi możliwie najrychlejsze cofnięcie poczynionego zastrzeżenia.

Za Komisję Koordynacyjną

i

Zyd.Komitetu Narodowego Bozowsky /-/Borowski

A

/-/Mikołaj

Bundu

My Sugar do Kef. Dezet 13.9.45 Jetano organisato fo cakaguranis opis 16.9.45 March

8 Sept. 1943. Registration note of Memorandum of the Coordination Commission of the Jewish National Committee and Bund signed respectively by Adolf Berman dit Borowski and Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj sent to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski through Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, Head of the Żegota Department of the Department of the Interior of the GD. No. 34.

Rada Zegoty Warszawa 9.września 1933.

> Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu na Kraj / przez Ref.Zegoty D.R./

W ślad za przesła ym wnioskiem z sierpnia br.o podwyższenie miesięcznej dotacji Rada C.Z.przesyła następujące sprawozlanie: Dotychczasowa działalność Rady,obejmująca coraz to szersze kręgi jednostek dotkniętych terrorem okupanta,docierająca obecnie :

do różnych ośrodków rozsianych na terenie całego Kraju,

do terenów przyżączonych do Rzeszy,

do obozów koncentracyjnych w Rzeszy,w stosunku do Zydów wywiezionych do wspomnianych obozów jako aryjczyków,-

/Wydatki zwiększa nadto powołanie do życia: referatu organiz.terenu sekcji opieki nad dzieckiem sekcji opieki lekarskiej i t.p./

wywołuje z miesiąca na miesiąc coraz większe zapotrzebowanie środków materjalnych.

Ten wzmagający się z każdym dniem wzrost potrzeb, maglących i niejednokrotnie wymagających natychmiastowej akcji ,jest w stosunku do przýzmanych Radzie od szeregu mińsięcy kwot w jednakiej wysokości, czynnikiem uniemożliwiającym Radzie spełnienie jej kardynalnych obowiązków ,wobec choćby tylko świeżo zgłasząymych osób potrzebujących pomocy, nie mówiąc o działalności w terenie, którą to działalność Del.Rz.przerzuciła swego czasu z Del.Okr.ma Radę w W-wie.

Tego rodzaju stan rzeczy powoduje,że cały szereg osób 'wieżo że zgłoszonych pozostaje poza zasięgiem działalności Rady i pozbawiony jes pomocy materjalnej,że orga izacje zastanawiają dalszą akoję docierania do ukrywających się Zydów,a z niemałym trudem montowane placówki terenowe zamierzają się likwidować dla braku możliwości działania. Nie ratuje sytuacji okoliczność,że organizacje żydowskie t.j. Bund i Z.K.N.od kilku miesięcy przekazują Radzie kwoty w wysokości 1000 zł.a ostatnio 1500 zł.bowiem potrezby są niewspółmiernie wyższe

9 Sept. 1943. A letter from the Council of Żegota signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan and Ferdynand Arczyński dit Marek to the Delegate of the Government of the Republic of Poland in Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, through and with the opinion of Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, Head of the Żegota Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Home GD. No. 35.
355a od tej dodatkowej pomocy. Dlatego Rada O.Z.na posiedzeniu w dniu 9.ba.postanowiła zwrócić się ponownie do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu z prośbą o podwyższenie dotacji.która łącznie z potrzebawi prowincji zamyka się narazie w kwocie 10.000 zł.jako kwoty minimalnie potrzebnej dla pokrycia najpilniejszych wydatków związanych z działalnością Rady. Za Rade 0.Z.: 1-/Trojan WRN Store Ref 2eq. 17.9.93 Strierdram itunicon apresorgele agiej portalata Rady i provis, peile to fillio accistine, o transfidencenie provis, Mecceles.

9 Sept. 1943. Letter from the Council of Żegota signed by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan and Ferdynand Arczyński dit Marek to the Government Delegate for Poland, Jan Stanisław Jankowski, through and with the opinion of Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, the Head of the Żegota Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Home GD. No. 35.

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Zgodnie ze swymi założeniami i zadaniami Rada Pomocy Zydom w eiągu swego trwania rozszerzyła i pogłębiła swoją działalność. Pracę, początkowo polegającą jedynie na repartycji funduszów, przydziolanych Radzie przez Delegaturę, a następnie obejmującą również sprawy legalizacyjne, w dalszych miesiącach Rada rozszerzyła, powołując do życia referat mieszkaniowy, referat propagandowy, a ostatnie: referat dziecięcy, lekarski i odzieżowy. Rozprewadzanie zasiłków pieniężnych wśród podopiecznych jest jednak najważniejszym zadaniem rady.

Rada w ciągu estatnich dwóch miesięcy /sierpień, wrzesień/ etrzymuje z Delegatury na cele Warszawy pe 400 tys. zł. miesięcznie eraz z funduszów erganizacji żydewskich kwetę 250 tys. zł. Sumę pezestającą pe pekryciu zebewiązań z tytułu wydatków na cele legalizacji i inne /np. prepaganda, wydatki biurewe i t.d./ reżdziela się pemiędzy ekełe tysiąca pedepiecznych, ce pezwala na przyznawanie zapemóg w wysekeści 250- 500 zł. miesięcznie na esebę; w nielicznych tylke wypadkach zapemega wynesi ed 500 de 1500 zł.

Rada w ekresie swej działalneści rezszerzyła sweją pracę również i terenewe, stepniewe ebejmując, eprócz Warszawy, ekręgi: krakewski i lwewski, eraz większe skupienia żydów w Drebikewie, Trawnikach, Ostreweu, Będzinie i różnych innych miejsceweściach - stała się ena zatem instytucją już nie lekalną, warszawską, ale centralną, krajewą, mającą z ramienia Delegatury ebsługiwać Rady Okręgewe.

Na cele pemecy w ośrodkach prowincjonalnych Delegatura przeznacza po 150 tys. zł. miesięcznie. Penadto według informacji, uzyskanych przez Radę od przedstawicieli organizacji żydowskich, organizacje te wydat-

8 Oct. 1943. Memorandum of the Council to Aid Jews signed by its Chairman Julian Grobelny dit J. Trojan and Secretary Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski regarding financial support and organization of a meeting to discuss current issues connected with the Council's work. No. 36.

kewały na pemec dla eśredków prewincjenalnych kilkaset tys. 22. Ze sprawezdań Okręgewych Rad wynika, że jest cały szereg eśredków i skupiska rezrzucenych pe całym kraju, które wełają e deżywianie, edzież, o wydostanie z obozów jednostek i grup, o dokumenty, pomieszczenia i t.p. Jeżeli się zważy, że w obezach Krakewa, Płaszewa, Bechni, Rzeszewa, Przemyśla, Tarnewa, Peniatewa, Trawników, Pietrkewa, Rademia, Kielc, Sw.Krzyża, Częstochewy, Złoczewa, Lwewa, Kołemyi, Stryja, Stanisławewa, Berysławia, Drehebycza i innych, jest pe kilkaset, kilka a nawet kilkadziesiak tysięcy żydów ebrabewanych deszczętnie ze wszystkiege, żyjących zpłedzie i chłedzie, w jarzmie najcięższej pracy, eraz fizyczaych i meralaych tertur, wśród rezstrzeliwań i ped ciągłą grezą śmierci, pemec wydatna wszelkiege redzaju, jest kenieczna. Gdy penadte dedamy, że w Ledzi żyje jeszcze ekele 150 tys. żydów, eraz że w Wilmie i Białymsteku pe likwidacji jeszcze pezestały deść liczne skupiska, wymagające skutecznej pemecy, egrem zadań uwydatnia się w spesób bardze wyraźny.

Oczywiście przy skremnych funduszach, którymi na cele penecy żydem rezperządza Rada, nawet uwzględniając bezpeśrednią penec żydewskich erganizacji, nie megą być należycie spełniene zadania w zakresie wszystkich wspemnianych edcinków, zerganizewanej przez Radę pracy, a przede wszystkim nie meże być mewy e zadeśćuczynieniu wełaniem ceraz te newych esób, petrzebujących penecy, których iłość reśnie ceraz bardziej, z uwagi na te, że wyczerpują się średki tych, którzy tej pemecy detychczas nie petrzebewali. Również nie meże być mewy e pedwyższaniu jednestkewej pemecy pieniężnej, która webec wzrestu cen artykułów pierwszej petrzeby, szantażów, dregich pemieszczeń i t.p. staje się iluzeryczną. W tym stanie rzeczy zapemegi te stają się raczej symbelem pemę ey, niż pemecą realną.

Akcja pemecy, zakrejenej na szereką skalę, edpewiadającej i-

8 Oct. 1943. Memorandum of the Council to Aid Jews signed by its Chairman Julian Grobelny dit J. Trojan and Secretary Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski regarding financial support and organization of a meeting to discuss current issues connected with the Council's work. No. 36.

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stetnym petrzebem Warszawy i prewincji, i nakazewi chwili, wymaga znacznego podniesienia budżetu Rady Pomocy Zydom.

- 3 -

Sprawa jest pilna i niecierpiąca zwłeki, be ekupant, webec zbliżającej się mieuchronnej katastrofy, kończy w pośpiechu swe szatańskie dziełe, fizycznege, deszczętnege wyniszczenia resztek spełeczeństwa żydowskiego. Jeśli nie znajdą się obecnie odpowiednie środki cała ednośna pomoc meże się ekazać spóźnioną, bezprzedmietową. To też Rada Pemecy Zydem, która zakreśliła sebie zadanie ratewania bezprzykładnie w dziejach prześladewanego narodu, zwraca się do Pana Pełnomecnika Rządu z apelem o umożliwienie jej choćby częściowego spełnienia tego ogremu zadań.

W związku z tym Rada Penecy Zydem postanewiła na swym posiedzeniu w dniu 24/243 wystosować do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu niniejszy memerial, a penadte presió e przyjęcie delegacji Prezydium Rady dla bezpeśredniege emówienia całekształtu zagadnich pemecy żydem.

Rada Pemecy Zydem presi e meżliwie jak najrychlejszy termin audiencji.

Za Radę Pemecy Zydem w Pelsce

an W. R. W.

Sekretarz Rady Przewedniczący Rady Warszawa, da. 8.X.43 r. 202 4 10 205

8 Oct. 1943. Memorandum of the Council to Aid Jews signed by its Chairman Julian Grobelny dit J. Trojan and Secretary Adolf Berman dit Borowski to the Government Delegate for Poland Jan Stanisław Jankowski regarding financial support and organization of a meeting to discuss current issues connected with the Council's work. No. 36.



28 Oct. 1943. Report from the reception of the representatives of the Council to Aid Jews by Jan Stanisław Jankowski dit Dr. Klonowski, Government Delegate for Poland, drawn up by the Head of the Żegota Department of the Department of the Interior of the GD Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki. No. 38.



12 Nov. 1943. Account of the sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland allocated by the "Ul" Executive Bureau of the Government Delegation for Poland and given to Żegota in the period from September to October 1943. No. 40.

Do Referatu Mniejszości Narodowych D.R. Outer. miejscu Na pismo tamtejste w sprawie składu Okrągowych Rad Żegaty, podaje Rada pastępujące dane: MG Okreg Vrakowski: Przewodniczący Stenislaw W.R.N Sekreters Żegociński W.R.N. Skerbnik Michalska 3.P.D. Członk. Windyslaw 5.P.D. Merindake W.R.N. /podopieczna/ Priedstawicial DR Jonha 5.7. Okrag Luowaki: Przewodniczący Dionizy S.F.D. Skerhnik Stanialaw W.R.N. Calonet Zars. Wiktor S.P.D. Andreal niestowaraysz./ Sekreters Justann W.R.N. Zn Rndo: /-/ Marek Warstnwa, dmin 2.1.44. Ref. Mr. War. 11.1.44 P. Rouecler, Ul Prention porperes Wench.

2 Jan. 1944. A copy of a letter from the Council to Aid Jews to the National Minorities Department of the GD with information on the composition of the District Councils in Lvov and Cracow, written by Ferdynand Arczynski dit Marek, and sent to the Head of the Presidium Bureau of the GD, Stefan Pawlowski dit Romecki, by Witold Bienkowski dit Wencki, Head of the Zegota Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the GD. No. 41.

Do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu w Kraju Ponownie uprzejmie proszę o łask.podanie mi wysokości s um dolarowych, jakie zostały nam przekazane z zagranicy, sób wzgl.organizacyj,które je nam przekazały,wreszcie dat inośnych przesyłek pieniężnych oraz depesz lub pism,na asadzie których wspomniane kwoty zostały przekazane wzgl. ygnalizowane. Sprawa ta jest dla nas b.pilna i ważna z uwagi na konie. Sprawa ta jest dla nas b.pilna i ważna z uwagi na konie-znośóprzeprowadzenia zamknięć naszych ksiąg kasowych oraz Kontóli przez nasze instancje rewizyjne w żwiązku z urgen-ani naszych org.instancyj w Lond. domagających się potwie żzenia wysokości kwot przez nas otrzymanych. Zarazem uprzejmie proszę o łask.nadesłanie wykazu kwot ypłaconych nam w czasie od 16/x 1943 do 23/#11 43r.wł. z zaznaczeniem odnośnych kursów wyniany. Treszcie zgodnie z postanowieniem Rady Pom.Z., powzętym w wiązku z wypadkiem p.Borow.oraz zgodnie z naszą przez Del. Rządu w swoim czasie uwzględnioną prośbą.uprzejmie proszę o nadsyłanie pism.dotyczących naszej organizacji oraz de-esz w zamkniętych i odpowiednio parafowanych kopertach.Al-owiem chodzi o to,aby wiadomości tyczące się nas "w szcze-clności odnośnie spraw finangowych-pozostały ścisła d skre ją przed wszystkimi poza naszą org.i to tak odnośnie wyso-ości kwot nam doręczanych jak i osob,którym się doręcza. Warszawa, 28/1-43 Za C.K.R.Z.MPr.w Polsce Ung /-/M ikołaj convine do anadoriconi a uhice adamic pience coper liste ess showy what the we wanter where it un chequerreen at laces where here? - Alteriaja upjatricei, hopen lewat ast 161. X. 25 - 25. XII. 43 deags ficedail, gali dece portadam. afreques p - O scontario usoble a. 2. 1. Y.M.

2–8 Feb. 1944 Letter from Witold Bieńkowski dit Wencki, Kalski, Head of the Żegota Referat of the Department of the Interior of the GD to the Head of the Executive Bureau of the GD, Stefan Pawłowski dit Romecki, concerning the enclosed letter from Leon Feiner dit Mikołaj to the Government Delegate for Poland. No. 42.

18 LUT, 194 Do Pana Pełnomocnika Rządu na Kraj Powołując się na złożone Panu Pełnemocnikowi Rządu,w czasie audjencji roworując się na złożone Panu Pełnemocnikowi Eządu, w czasie audjencji osobistej, memoriały i szczegółowe informacje, dotyczące sytuacji matem rialnej resztek społeczeństwa "Zegoty", tudzież faktu stałego i masowe-go wzrostu osób potrzebujących gwałtownie tej pomocy, R.O. Z. komunikuje, że w okresie ostatniego kwartału zdołała sprostać swym obowiązkom je-dynie dzięki nadzwyczajnym dotacjom, poza stałym budżetem państwowym, a to kwoty 230 II, oraz intensywniejszej pomocy Komitetu Koordynacyjne-go, wynoszącej 9.000.- zł. Obecnie, po wyczerpaniu nadzwyczajnych dotacji /II/, fundusze Rady zmala-ły o około 35 % przy jednoczesnym wzroście podopiecznych, zarówno na tere renie Warszawy, jak i na prowincji. To też na m/c luty b.r. zapomogi zo-stały okrojone, tak w stosunku do stawek jednostkowych, jak i do ilości podopiecznych.Otrzymywane bowiem obecnie dotacje z D.R., w wysokości lo.ooo.- zł. powiększone przez K.K.o 4.000.- zł. stanowio obecnie zaled-wie 70 % pokrycia potrzeb bieżących, nie licząc 1.000 osób, daremnie cze-kających na wciągnięcie ich na listę pomocy.Łącznie z prowincją obej-muje Rada swoją akcją około 3.500 osób, zaś K.K., wedle oświadczenia je-go przedstawiciela, niemal drugie tyle, a mimo to- jak już wspomniano -zgórą 1.000 osób czeka jeszcze na pomoc. zgórą 1.000 osób czeka jeszcze na pomoc. Przedłużający się czas trwania wojny wywołuje z każdym dniem ogromne zubożenie, nawet wśród warstw posiadających, co niewatpliwie wywołuje napływ nowych zgłoszeń podopiecznych, a z drugiej strony uwzględnić na-leży, że kwota wypłacana tyt.zapomogi, wahająca się od 4-5 zł.miesięcz-nie, wystarcza zaledwie na czynsz za mieszkanie. W tych warunkach, biorąc nadto pod uwagę zwyżkę kosztów utrzymania, akcja winna być prowadzona również w kierunku podwyższenia stawek o conajmniej loo 5. Działalność Kady w terenie a to:w Krakowie, Lwowie, Radomiu, Kielcach, Czę-stochowie, Skarżysku i t.d. pochłania poważne fundusze. Tylko tereny Okr. Kraków i Lwów pochłaniają sumę ponad 3.000.- zł.miesiącznie, co przy tak stosunkowo nikłym budżecie stanowi poważny wydatek. Rozbudowa zaś koszto wnego działu opieki nad dzieckiem i pomoc lekarska wymagałyby osobnych dotacji. W tym stanie rzeczy R.O.Z.postanowiła zwrócić się do Pana Pełnomocnika Rzadu z prosbą o 1/ podwyższenie dotacji miesięcznej do wysokości 20.000.- zł. i
2/ przyznanie dodatkowej dotacji na miesiąc luty,w wysokości 3.500.zł.,dla pokrycia bieżących wydatków. Ponieważ w memoriale niniejszym nie wyczerpano wszystkich ważnych arguroniewaz w memoriale ninejszym nie wyczerpano wszystkich waznych argu-mentów, przemawiających za podwyższeniem funduszów pomocy, R.O.Z. prosi Pana Peżnomocnika o przyjęcie na posłuchaniu delegacji Rady, Która w spo sób bardziej wyczerpujący uzasadni powyższy wniosek. Se. Klowales. Jus que little sige Mungo 28 Radę O.Z. LOARDOCCATON, ET LIZE lace un Heredin dolling G. fucipit 1 underwiners Kal finery) Reveender, presidential Warszawa, dn. 7. 11. 1934. hegitic 140

Letter from the Council for the Care of Jews signed, among others, by Julian Grobelny dit Trojan, to the Government Delegate for Poland concerning subsidies for "Zegota" and asking to accept it; letter sent by Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, the Head of the Zegota Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegate's Office with his comments. No. 43.

1	ODPIS	300,7 MARZ 1944
W.F.Kelski w/m sn Eperwordo Im einsb o soborg : 44.8.8	sisiem Panu w dnlu	P.Rimiecki 1 Days
Dopiero onagdaj, basmorbo o pdord im tykodnik jeszte do Pana nie dotarło/: Pragna wobec tego powtórzyć maszą gora, nich czynników w sprawie jak najszybsz Jest to sprawa życia dla tysięcy naszy go rozrastania się zasięgu precy zalew deficyt, którego nie many czem pokryć n nasze ogniwa/a many ich przeszło 40 :od stającej liczbie potrzeb.Przyczyna jest czam, potrzeby nasze przekraczają już 19 czywiście nadal w ściażym kontekcie 1 i razie nie moge jeszcze osobiście wrócić ju tej firmy/oFrzystapiłem również do c firmy/oczywiście narzie piszę anonimor szczególnie przyszłościewych.	sparwy, doynab mabał słę,że pismo moje,ki z powodu choroby naj cę prośbę,aby Fan by gęć wpłymięcia nasze ch klijentów w Warsz a nas poprostu fala musimy,bo chodzi p kożo 20 pol_i około t w pierwszym rzędzi iożbowo potrzeby fir interesuję się każdy ś do pracy Piszę c	sog ein sybg,onteineig vinnet Store przeskałem w końcu ubicgłego szej wapółprecownicy p.Kazt/s rł łaskaw interweniować u odpowied sgo depozytu w wysokości 15 tws.f. zawie i na prowincji,Wobec ciągże- potrzeb,Już w lutym mamy ogromny rzecisł o żywych ludzi,Wazystkie 20 żyd./alarmują nas o coraz wzra- te pauperyzycja klijentów,Jak obli- my żegoty.Z femą żegoty stoje,o- m szczegóżem jej prac,mino,że na- becnie szkie o powstaniu i rozwo- ksiegi Folaków,zasłużonych dla tej e za istotną z wielu względów,
21.11.44	Po sur ou con te	/-/ DUIGNBEL
P.Romecki "Wieża"	and the second	
rrzesytem Panu List B przekaży dla Bundu jak dla 2KN zostały Uprzejmie proszę o łaskawe zawiadomieni czyć w najbliższej przyszłości. /-/ Kals	awojego czasu sumy l całkowicie wypłacom ie mnie czy są jakie	
22.II.44.		
Szan P.Kalski		
	. ub.r.z L.należaław która miaża w niedź mie sprawy niewypła e kwoty 25 tys.dol. zobędne z uwagi na o ttem ilości podopiec ilejszych sum rosnąc zagr./przesłanych n m przekazał,a to dd nych nam przez Del. fektywach z uwagi n ponownie b.usilnie biście i na skutek aw.Tu jeszcze raz b woduje dla nas komp mie traktować jako	y się jeszcze znaczna kwota,nie ugim czesie być nam przekazana. Gonych nam przez Del.e czasie do Ibrzymie wydatki, poczynione w znych oraz z uwagi ne konieczność ej wciaż ileści wap magenych pod- am wraz z odneśnymi datami ich końca sierpnia ub.r.do dnia dzi- eż do dnia dzisiejszego z podaniem a wysunięte przez nas weżkie, uznes o najrychlejsze załatwienie. tej rozmowy przyrzekż Sz.Pan po- usilnie presze o ostateczne ich likacje i przykrości. ściśle dyskretne i w odpowiedni
24.II.44.		
szy. Sprawę muszę zakatwić, więc proszę u	Bundu,gdyż nie otrz przejmie o łaskawą	
3.3.44		/-/ Kalski
P.Hulski o rvenie danie odpowiedzi na postawione 4. Jil 24	ja z Bundu z notatka pytania. /-/ Romeck	a referenta tych spraw,z prošba
	/-/ 101004	···

7 Mar. 1944. Report by Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland to Leopold Rutkowski dit Muszyński, Director of the Department of Interior Affairs, regarding no response to correspondence addressed to "Różycki" (Tadeusz Rek) from the Council to Aid Jews, with copies of correspondence dated 21 Feb. 1944 – 4 Mar. 1944 between "Kalski" and Stefan Pawłowski dit Romecki, Head of the Executive Bureau of the Government Delegation for Poland. No. 45.

1 1 MAR7 194 Pan Dyr Muszyński "Rój" AU9 Coraz częściej i gwałtowniej slarmują mnie prganizacje żyd.o katastrofalnej sytuacji, spowodowanej brakiem przerzutów pienieżnych. Podług relacji prezesów organizacji istnieje w tej chwili na terenie Warszawy penad 5 tysięcy podepiecznych bez żadnych środków do życia. Na terenie prowincji cyfra jest trzykrotnie wyższa.Są to oczywiście podepieczni zewidencjonowani, korzystający ze stałej pomocy organizacji myzm żyd.i Rady Pomocy Ż.Przekazane dotych czas sumy uległy zupełnemu wyczerpaniu. Wważam, że należy ze strony DR zaalarmewać Londyn, gdyż niewysylanie nagromadzonych zapewne sum może się odbić fatalnie również i na politycznej strenie danego odcinka.W sytuacji obecnej łagodzonej aż do tej pory dużymi wysiłkami, uważam za wskazane i pożądane przyjęcie przedstawicieli Żyd.Kom.Koerd.,lub przedstawicieli Rady przez Pana Doktora. Usilnie proszę Pana Dyrektora o łaskawe wyjednanie audiencji. Przyjecie uspokoi ne pewien czas nastroje aż do czasu nadejścia przesyłek. Prosze również o łaskawą zgode i polecenie natychmiastowege wysłania depeszy do Londynu. Prejektowany tekst depeszy załączam. /-/ Kalski 10.3.44. Pan Frezes Rady Ministrów, Rzad Folski w Londvnie. Sytuacja ukrywających się żydów w Pelsce katastrofalna. Tysiące potrzebują pomecy. Zupełne wyczerpanie osobistych rezerw. Sumy przysłane całkowicie rozchodowane przez Bund i Syonistów na pomec charytatywną. Konieczneść przesłania b.dużych przekazów od żydów amerykańskich, angielskich i palestyńskich, Brak przesyłek grozi komplikacjemi politycznymi, Dotychczasowe stosunki na tym odcinku bardzo dobre.Stan żyjących żydów na terenie GG określamy na ćwierć miliona. DR.

10–17 Mar. 1944. A copy of a report by Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland to Leopold Rutkowski dit Muszyński, Director of the Department of Interior Affairs, confirming a disastrous financial situation of organizations aiding Jews, along with a copy of a dispatch from the Government Delegate for Poland to the Prime Minister. No. 47.



10–17 Mar. 1944, A copy of a report by Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland to Leopold Rutkowski dit Muszyński, Director of the Department of Interior Affairs, confirming a disastrous financial situation of organizations aiding Jews, along with a copy of a dispatch from the Government Delegate for Poland to the Prime Minister. No. 47.

2 3 MARZ IS W.Pan Dyr.Muszyński ODPTS "Wieża" P.Remecki Penieważ "klienci" Żegety zaczynają zdradzać ceraz żywszy niepekój i zainteresewanie techniką zleceń na wypłaty dla nich, przewiduję teraz a napewne w przyszkeści hardze nieprzy-jemne sytuacje na tematy wejenne-finansewe w zakresie sum przechednich. Jak dewiaduję się "Zródłe" nie pesiada krycia na wypłacene detychczas sumy dla erganizacji Żyd. Nie megąe destarczyć Zródłu depesz zleceniewych, gdyż ich nie posiadam - uprzejmie Fana preszę o pelece-nie sperządzenia i edwretnego przekazania mi edpisów zleceń na wszystkie wypłacene żyd. su-my przechednie. Odpisy te są mi niezbędne, gdyż pesiadam całeść archiwum prac DR na edcinku Żegety. Brak edneśnych dekumentów mógłby w przyszłeści ekazać się katastrefalny, a pesiadanie teraz tych zlacsh przyczyniżeby się niewstpliwie de statecznege zerientewania w sytuacji na tym edcinku Uprzejmie Pana preszę e edwretne zażatwienie mej preśby, a w każdym razie e edpewieśź. /-/ Kalski 202 AU-2 22,3,44,

22 Mar. 1944. A copy of a report by Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, the Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland to Leopold Rutkowski dit Muszyński, the Director of the Department of the Interior and Stefan Pawłowski dit Romecki, the Head of the Presidium Bureau of the Government Delegation for Poland regarding the documentation of the financial means paid to Jewish organizations. No. 50.

Forost do We Dyr.Muszyński De rak własnych. esyłam Panu Dyrekterewi ponewnie oswistlenie sktualnej sytuacji żydewskiej,która przedsta-Przesyłam również edpisy memoriałów de Pana Dektera ed Bundu i Rady P.Ż./eryginały wysłałem uprzednie/. Frzesyłam eryginał memoriału de Pana Dektera ed ZKN. Osabiście gerące pepieram preśbę erganizacji żydewskich i uważam,że przynajmniej częściewe ich uwzględnienie pezweli na uspekejenie pelitycznych nastrejów.Frzypeminam uprzejmie Panu Dyrek-terewi e wyjednaniu u Pana Dektera audiencji dla przedstawicieli Rady.Uważam,że w ebecnej sytuacji jest te nad wyraz peżądane. 1-1 Kalski Walshs. 22.3.44. 5 załączników.

22 Mar. 1944. A copy of a report by Witold Bienkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Department of the Interior of the Government Delegation for Poland to Leopold Rutkowski dit Muszyński, Director of the Department of the Interior of the GD concerning the Jewish situation. No. 51.



End of March 1944. Statement of payments to Żegota from August 1942 to March 1944. No. 56.



30 March 1944, Warsaw. A note from Witold Bieńkowski dit Kalski, Head of the Jewish Department of the Internal Affairs Department of the Government Delegation for Poland to Jan Stanisław Jankowski, the Government Delegate for Poland, made after a conference with "Halski" (Wincenty Bryja), Head of the Finance and Budget Section of the Government Delegation for Poland ("Source"). No. 55.



Zofia Kossak-Szczucka



Julian Grobelny before 1939 as the mayor of Minsk.



Julian Grobelny during the war.

Wynik badani rentgenologicznego klatki piersiowej Pana Grobelnego Juljana

Po stronie prawej w szczycie znaczne zgrubienie i zrosty opłucnowe z induracjami.Poza tym w szczycie i górnej części pola płucnego do 3-go żebra widoczne są plamiste i pasemkowate ogniska zagęszczenia miejscani zlewające się, bez wyraźnego rozpadu.

Po stronie lewej w szczycie i okolicy podobojczykowej do 2-go żebra widoczne są plamiste i przeważnie pasemkowate ogniska zagęszczenia.

Prawa przepona przytrzymana przez zrosty w kącie przeponowożebrowym. Zrost w środkowej części lewej przepony podciągający namiotowato przeponę ku górze. Obie przepony o zmniejszonej ruchomości. Wymiary serca prawidłowe.

Dnia 18.11.44r.

Dr.B.Słomówna

Szpital Wolski. Uddz.XII

X-ray examination report of Julian Grobelny's chest, 18 Apr. 1944.



10 July 1944, Warsaw. Account of the sums of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland allocated by the "Ul" Executive Bureau of the Government Delegation for Poland and given to Żegota in the period from May to June 1944. No. 64.



Adolf Berman



Ferdynand Arczyński, post-war photography



Władysław Bieńkowski, photo before 1939.



Irena Sendler during the war



Władysław Bartoszewski, post-war photography



Tadeusz Rek, photo from before 1939.



Leopold Rutkowski dit Trojanowski – Director of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, photo from 1935.



Announcement about the death penalty for Poles who help Jews, 5 Sep. 1942.

Mas Do Micnicchig 1. un Warthaurs A denunciation sent to the Gestapo on Władysław Bartoszewski in July 1944. Wad 1 staw Bartsucestle na ulico Autoria N & in maler 2011112 12/21

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Text of the denunciation sent to the Gestapo on Władysław Bartoszewski in July 1944: Władysław Bartoszewski at 37 m 14 Mickiewicza St. belongs is a member of an organization that distributes secret newspapers and has a lot of money at his disposal. C. Koziechowski.

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