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The Polish Underground Home Army (AK) and the Jews:

What Postwar Jewish Testimonies and Wartime Documents Reveal

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The attitude of the Polish Home Army (AK) to Nazi exterminationist policies is among the most controversial topics of wartime Polish–Jewish relations. Scholarly studies appearing since the 1980s have reconstructed the Home Army's complex local and national organizations, its many sub-divisions and departments, its policies and objectives, as well as its sacrifice in the Warsaw Uprising of August–September 1944. In this article, I will analyze Holocaust survivor testimonies as a source for evaluating the attitude and behavior of the Home Army towards the Jews during the Second World War. Archival repositories used will include testimonies preserved at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem, the Fortunoff Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale, and the Shoah Foundation Visual Archive at the University of Southern California. I will demonstrate that the widely held view in collective Jewish memory and Jewish historiography that the Home Army was hostile is largely confirmed by these sources. At the same time, however, the same sources reveal that a substantial minority of the testimonies—approximately 30 percent—tells stories of a Home Army that rescued and protected Jews. The second part of this article compares testimonies to the documentary record, asking whether or not the behavior of the Home Army as a whole reflected the experience of Jews as reflected in postwar testimonies. The article will give more concrete form to the debate over the Polish underground's attitude and behavior towards the Jews during the Second World War.

Keywords: *Polish Underground; Armia Krajowa; Jewish resistance; Polish–Jewish relations*

The attitude of the Polish Home Army (AK) to German exterminationist policies and to Polish blackmailers (*szmalcownicy*) during the Second World War is one of the most controversial topics in Polish–Jewish relations. Scholarly studies appearing between the 1970s and the early 2000s reconstructed the Home Army's complex local and national organizations, its many sub-divisions and departments, its policies and objectives, as well as its role in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. These works, while produced by professional historians, avoided the question of the military underground's attitude and behavior towards the Jews.[1] When Jews were mentioned in these studies, the Home Army was portrayed as sympathetic and even eager to extend aid. The late Czesław Łuczak (1923–2002), former director of the institute of

history at Poznań University, represented such a position when he commented in a 1979 study in the following manner:

> The murder of Jews in Poland deeply shocked the Polish public, which condemned it in no uncertain terms. On this matter both the underground parties and individual persons expressed their feelings. . . . The Polish public was not satisfied with expressing its fury, but hastened, as much as its very modest opportunities allowed, to help the Jewish population in various ways, despite the danger involved. . . . Only a few individuals, from society's dregs, agreed to collaborate, that is, only totally corrupt members of the underworld. The Polish public looked upon this with total abhorrence and disgust.[2]

A new, critical historiography on wartime Polish–Jewish relations has appeared among Polish scholars since 2005, focusing on the dark, antisemitic elements of Polish society in general and of the Polish Underground loyal to the London Polish government in particular.[3] In the West, meanwhile, the inverse trend has been taking place whereby the decidedly negative views of the Polish Underground as endemically antisemitic is being challenged by recent, more balanced, accounts based on new research and the discovery of new sources.[4]

In this essay, I use two types of sources. First, I analyze what Holocaust survivor testimonies and memoirs reveal about the attitude and behavior of the Home Army towards the Jews during the Second World War. These include testimonies preserved at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (ŻIH), at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, at the USC Shoah Foundation Visual Archive, testimonies from Polish postwar trials (the so-called August Trials or *sierpniówki*) from the late 1940s and early 1950s, unpublished and published memoirs of Holocaust survivors, as well as interviews I conducted.[5]

Second, I examine a selection of wartime archival documents of the Home Army. These include official records of the Home Army and Delegate's Bureau housed at the Archive of New Records (AAN), the Institute of National Memory in Warsaw, the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust in London, and the YIVO Institute Archives in New York. Taken together, the two bodies of sources demonstrate that the wartime record of the Home Army was varied, ranging from atrocious acts of murder to extraordinary acts of aid. The widely held view in collective Jewish memory—reflected in the works of the new Polish historians—that the Home Army was endemically antisemitic is, I argue, only partially supported by the evidence.

Testimonies

The Home Army in Jewish Testimonies

In the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw can be found over seven thousand testimonies of Holocaust survivors given immediately after the war.

Among these survivor accounts in which the Home Army is mentioned, the perception that the Home Army represented danger is pronounced.[6] A smaller amount were neutral or positive with regard to the attitude and behavior of the Home Army. Taken as a whole, however, postwar testimonies reveal that Jewish experiences with the Home Army were mixed even if predominately negative.

We begin with the account of Pesla Penczyna, born 1914 in Klimontów, located 63 miles southwest of Lublin. In her testimony given in 1946, she recounts that in 1942, at age twenty-eight, she escaped from the Sandomierz ghetto with her husband and child. Together, they lived on false papers as Catholics. She worked as a domestic servant in an estate near Wieliczka some ten miles south of Kraków. The area of Wieliczka, Pesla maintained, had a large Home Army presence but this contingent of Polish Underground fighters "did not suspect that I was Jewish."[7] Most revealing was Pesla's unambiguous feeling that revealing her Jewish origins to the Home Army would have put her in danger.

Zelman Baum, born January 1924, similarly grew up in Sandomierz. In October 1942, Baum escaped from the local ghetto and went into hiding. In his 1947 testimony, Baum recalled that the local Home Army division "often began to look for Jews. The situation for the Jews worsened from day to day. We fought the Poles no less than the Germans."[8] At the time, he was told that the Home Army had attacked hidden Jews in nearby villages.[9]

Other testimonies not only expressed fear but recorded stories of Home Army violent crimes against the Jews. One of these was the account of Karolina Kremer given in December 1945. Born December 1932 in Łódź, Karolina and her family moved to Połaniec after the war started. When deportations from the local ghetto began, they went into hiding in a village near Mielec in the Rzeszów province. By the middle of 1942, Kremer and her family returned to the Łódź district, where they stayed in the rural area of Lesisko. There, in March 1943, "members of the Home Army attacked us, murdering eight people, among them my father, mother, a brother, my uncle Uszar Goldschmidt, my aunt Rysa Goldschmidt, their son Srulka, Chanina Goldschmidt and their daughter Rifka Goldschmidt. And my little brother . . . was wounded."[10]

More violence followed. In the spring of 1944, Kremer recounted narrowly escaping death by a man she described as a Home Army fighter. "AK bandits tracked us like wild animals," she testified, continuing in the following manner:

> I came across a wall of AK people. [The leader] asked me to come closer to him. He came up behind me with a rifle. "Now you're a dirty Jewess who has fell into my hands. From my hands you will surely not escape." I started to cry horribly, pleading with him to spare my life. I knelt down and started kissing his legs in hopes that he would spare such a young person. "No one will help you. Your dead body will be lying here," he said, showing me the place. I started screaming at the top of my lungs, got up and ran into the nearby shrubs. He shot at me several times unsuccessfully. I was terrified but ran further and vanished into the forest.[11]

Another revealing testimony is that of Adolf Wolfgang, a young Polish Jew from Kraków who fought in the Home Army while concealing his Jewish origin. After escaping from the labor camp in Szebnie, located near Jasło, Adolf approached the local Home Army and expressed interest in fighting the Germans. The unit leaders vetted Adolf ostensibly to rule out the possibility that he was a German spy. But Adolf maintained that the questions asked made it clear that they also wanted to make sure he was not a Jew. With false papers, gentile looks, and impeccable Polish, Adolf convinced them he was a good Polish Catholic. What followed was positively frightening. "They apologized," he testified, "explaining that lately there were many Jews hiding in the forests whom they had shot dead."[12] Under cover as a Catholic, he recounted the following conversation:

> During free time there were discussions about, among other things, . . . the Jewish problem. From different mouths, [one could hear] words of sympathy for the Jewish people. Like, for example: why does the AK shoot dead Jews who hide in the forests and similarly desire to [defeat] the bestial Hitlerites? Everyone turned silent when, at last, someone spoke: [because] they desire a Poland without Jews.[13]

The story of Henryk Herstein, born 1921 in Kraków, was similar. Henryk and his brother escaped from the Płaszów ghetto outside Kraków in April 1942. They traveled some 23 miles north to Walbrom where his brother, using false papers, joined the Home Army partisans. The brother told the author the story that one of the partisans confessed that he had taken part in the killing of Jews.[14] Another negative experience with the Home Army can be found in the testimony of Itka Gartenkrancz. In 1942, at the age of thirty-four, Itka was residing in the Mińsk Mazowiecki ghetto located 25 miles east of Warsaw. When deportations began in August 1942, she escaped and settled in the countryside with other Jewish escapees who hid in the home of a peasant. According to the testimony, the local Home Army threatened to kill her when they discovered her living in the area. "We sat in that house in deadly fear. We trembled before the Germans but even more so before the A.K. – that they would find out about us [because] . . . they would have killed us."[15]

Similar experiences were expressed in the testimonies of Jews residing in northeastern Poland. Such was the case of Kalmen Krawiec. Krawiec, who was born in 1919, had spent the first period of the war in the town of Siemiatycze, located 52 miles south of Białystok, where Jews had made up half the population of 8,100 before the war.[16] Krawiec was deported to Treblinka in September 1943 but escaped and fled 20 miles northwest to the forests near Sokołów Podlaski. There, Krawiec maintained, the Home Army organized a hunting trap to assist the Germans in "clearing" the area of Jews.[17]

Another case was that of Towia Groll. Born January 1915 in Warsaw, she fled to the Soviet zone in 1939 only to find herself in Kowel in the Volynia province in 1941, where she was placed in that city's ghetto under German rule. She escaped the Kowel

ghetto and made her way to Brest Litovsk in July 1942. After the beginning of mass deportations, she was able to escape and went to Wysokie Litewskie, 23 miles northwest of Brest Litovsk, where she joined a Jewish partisan group. In 1943, Towia went to Bialystok with false papers in hand, where the Home Army was active. "The Germans killed people on the street in broad daylight," she recalled. "The Home Army, on the other hand, killed Jews when the opportunity arose."[18] Interestingly, however, Towia maintained that "this state of affairs lasted only until the London government issued a warning to the Polish people that anyone who kills Jews will be held criminally responsible."[19]

Another case was that of Chaskiel Zaczarewicz. A butcher by profession, he was born in 1909 and lived with his family in a village in the Łomża district when the war started. Prior to Rosh Hashanah 1941, he fled with his family to the village of Zajki where they lived with a Polish farmer. In the middle of 1943, according to Chaskiel, "our host, Franciszek Wandałowski, came to us to say that Home Army partisans came to him and are looking for Jews." At least for a couple of weeks, Franciszek said, Chaskiel and his family had to find another place to stay. According to the testimony, Franciszek arranged for another place for Chaskiel and his family to stay.[20]

In rare instances, Jews fought openly in the Home Army without concealing their background. An example was Pinkus Kornhauser, born in 1923, who had been a solider in the September 1939 campaign. After being taken prisoner of war by the Germans, he escaped from the POW camp and returned to his native home in Ochotnica, located near Nowy Sącz some 64 miles southeast of Kraków. He was eventually caught and placed in the labor camps in Lipie.[21] Kornhauser again escaped and went into hiding with his fiancée in Olszyny, where he became friendly with the commander of the local Home Army. With a deep desire to fight in the underground, Kornhauser accepted the invitation to join. Yet from the beginning, Kornhauser noted, he was treated differently. The commander did not give Kornhauser any assignments, nor was he introduced to any other Home Army fighters. He did, however, convince his commander to provide him a small salary.[22]

After a while, Kornhauser began to suspect that the commander was plotting something against him and realized his life could be in danger. When Kornhauser agreed to meet with his commander in the woods, he decided to take precautions. He came early and hid behind bushes from where he could see the meeting place. He was shocked when, promptly at the meeting time, two men appeared: one with a double-barrelled gun and the other with a rifle. Kornhauser understood immediately that this was an ambush intended for him. He crawled slowly away and fled.[23]

Even in cases in which Home Army units accepted Jews, the likelihood of nearby Home Army units being hostile was a real problem. This was certainly the case for Salomon Reis in the Kielce-Radom region. Born December 1915 in Łódź, Reis was in the Kielce ghetto during the first period of the war. In August 1942, he was taken to the labor camp in Pionki located 65 miles to the south. On 10 May 1944, he escaped with a few others. They went into hiding in a nearby forest, where they came

across a Home Army partisan detachment. The unit's commander was a forty-year-old lieutenant ("Huragan") and his thirty-six-year-old deputy ("The Doctor"). The two leaders offered the Jewish fugitives membership in the partisan ranks. "They accepted us [into the unit] and treated us very well, giving us work in the kitchen," he commented.[24]

Reis and his fellow ghetto escapees were given rifles and were incorporated into conspiratorial work. "We took part in operations such as, for example, the freeing of two Polish prisoners," he testified.[25] When a local Home Army unit got wind of the presence of Reis's group, however, its commander made it clear that the presence of Jews was intolerable. Reis recounted that his commander, "Huragan," took him aside to tell him that the Home Army partisans in nearby Sucha were known to kill Jews whom they stumbled upon and that the region should therefore be avoided. After the Sucha partisans threatened to kill Reis and his group of Jewish partisans, "Huragan" complained to the Home Army regional authorities. According to Reis, a representative from the district command "spoke to all area partisans, telling them to cease the witch hunt against us—that Jews are also people who want to live and that the partisans don't want innocent blood on their conscience. From that time," Reis said in his testimony, "the situation improved. Our 'Doctor' [the deputy commander] told us not to worry—that nothing bad will happen to me."[26]

After a while, however, Reis decided that living under the threat of attack was too dangerous. So he eventually decided to leave the area for his own safety. On the day he left, the deputy commander came to Reis to say goodbye. As they strolled together, the deputy commander handed Reis a few thousand złotys, embraced him, and then did something unexpected: he told Reis his real name. The deputy was Dr. Aleksandrowicz from Kraków. "Nearing the end of our farewell," Reis recounted, "he said in Yiddish, 'May we meet one day in the Land of Israel,' and asked me not to tell anyone that he was Jewish because he would certainly be killed if this was known."[27]

The Jewish deputy commander who bid Reis farewell was Dr. Julian Aleksandrowicz (1908–1988). He had fought in the September 1939 campaign as a reserve officer in the Polish army. In March 1941, he was placed in the Kraków ghetto, where he served as a physician for the Jewish community. He escaped in early 1943, recounting that it was shortly afterward that he came across an issue of the Home Army's central organ, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, that reprinted an order from Prime Minister Sikorski for all Polish citizens to join the anti-German underground. "The desire for active participation in the struggle against the occupiers," Aleksandrowicz wrote in his postwar memoirs, "became my obsession."[28]

Although he expressed deep frustration at the fact that there was reluctance to take him into the underground as a Jew, he was eventually accepted as a deputy commander of a Home Army partisan unit in the Kielce region under "Huragan"'s command. In his memoirs, Aleksandrowicz could not remember Salomon Reis by name. He nonetheless noted that "there were a few Jews whose names have faded from my

memory" in his partisan unit.[29] Reis's testimony demonstrates that the pronounced anti-Jewish climate in the Kielce-Radom region had forced Dr. Aleksandrowicz to keep his Jewish background a strict secret.

The story of Oskar Gelles also included a mixed experience with the Home Army. Born 1906 in Trembowla in Eastern Poland, some 18 miles south of Tarnopol. After the German invasion of Soviet Russia in June 1941, Gelles made his way to Warsaw, where he settled in the ghetto. Along with forty other ghetto dwellers, Gelles was taken out of the ghetto for forced labor duty on 10 April 1943. He escaped on this day along with several others.[30] The group made its way to Garwolin, 39 miles to the south, where they stayed with a forester for the next four months. While in Garwolin, "I was in close contact with Home Army partisans," he noted, explaining that he joined the partisans and participated in underground sabotage actions with them, who knew he was Jewish. Yet when Gelles subsequently made his way to Warsaw, he recounted that "already during the Warsaw Uprising, they [the Home Army] murdered and robbed some Jew," although he was not an eyewitness to the murders.

In some cases, Home Army members who committed crimes against Jews were put on trial after the war. One of these cases began in January 1949 when two former Home Army members from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski (Kielce province) were arrested: Leon Nowak and Edward Perzyński. A third Home Army member, Capt. Józef Mularski, was arrested one month later. The three stood accused of murdering ten Jews who had fled the Ostrowiec ghetto in the fall of 1942 and had joined the local Home Army partisans. Prior to leaving the ghetto, these Jews had reached out to local Home Army in the Świętokrzyski forest. Its leader, Capt. Mularski, responded positively to the inquiry and approved the plan. Little did the ghetto dwellers know that Col. Mularski had one intention and one intention only: theft of Jewish property and murder.[31]

The basic outline of the murders is shockingly revealed in the testimonies of the perpetrators. One day in February 1943, Capt. Mularski summoned five of his fighters, including Leon Nowak. Mularski instructed the five partisans to go to a dugout where Jewish fugitives from the local ghetto who had joined the Home Army partisans were hiding. When they reached the hiding place, the Jews came out to greet them, regarding them as comrades-in-arms. But the Jews knew something was wrong when Mularski ordered his men to disarm them and then return them to the dugout. Mularski, according to Leon Nowak's testimony, "turned to us, ordering four of us to enter the dugout and shoot everyone."[32] With Mularski and Nowak standing guard, four Home Army partisans entered the dugout and shot the Jews. Edward Perzyński, one of the four partisans who entered the dugout, corroborated Nowak's story, testifying that he was simply following Mularski's orders when he turned his gun on the Jews.[33] Although eleven Jews were killed, two survived.[34]

One of the survivors of the massacre was Szlama Icek Zweigman who gave a sworn testimony after the war that was entered into the court records during the trial. We learn from Zweigman's testimony that Capt. Mularski, from the very beginning,

demanded large quantities of cash and goods before the Jews left the ghetto, referring to these requests as dues for membership in the underground. At the beginning, Leon Nowak acted as the liaison between the ghetto and Capt. Mularski.[35] At the first meeting, taking place on November 30, 1942, Nowak relayed Capt. Mularski's request of 10,000 złotys per person for membership in the underground. When Zweigman explained that this amount far exceeded any one person's ability to pay, Nowak replied that Zweigman should collect as much money as possible and present it at the next meeting. Between 9 and 15 December 1942, Leon Nowak met twice with Zweigman, who was able to pay 21,000 zlotys.[36]

As a result of the payment, Capt. Mularski authorized Zweigman to join the partisans. Zweigman replied that eighteen persons, in three groups of six, would be leaving the ghetto for induction into the Home Army. According to Zweigman, the first group of six, in a plan organized by Mularski, left the ghetto on 23 December 1942. Shortly afterwards, Capt. Mularski demanded goods from Zweigman, who had not yet left the ghetto, including fabric for three men's suits, two overcoats, and a certain quantity of leather. On 4 January 1943, Zweigman testified that Nowak demanded more cash and goods, squeezing out of Zweigman 7,000 zlotys and enough fabric for several women's dresses. The following day, Zweigman left the ghetto with the last group of six Jews.[37] Staying in a temporary underground shelter, Capt. Mularski dispatched two partisans to demand 2,000 more zloty from each of the six new arrivals. After sending one of his men back into the ghetto to collect the funds, Zweigman was able to give Leon Nowak 7000 more zlotys the following day. In the two weeks that followed, the Home Army provided Zweigman's group with provisions, including two revolvers, a few grenades, and one rifle.

On 5 February 1943, Zweigman and the other ghetto escapees were officially inducted into the Home Army by Capt. Mularski, who had the oath read out loud and proceeded to welcomed them into the underground army. It was a pivotal moment for Zweigman. "The joy was overwhelming," Zweigman stated in his testimony.[38] After taking the oath, Capt. Mularski informed them that they would be departing on 14 February for a partisan unit in the forest. On that day, Leon Nowak and four other Home Army partisans approached the two cramped underground rooms where Zweigman and the others were getting ready to leave. None of them expected what followed. Zweigman described what took place next:

> In the first room, there were five of our boys and five of theirs. The rest of our [boys were] busy packing blankets in another room. Unexpectedly, I heard some shots and shouts [from the other room]. . . . In the passage between the first and the second room, I saw Nowak and another one with revolvers in their hands aiming one at me. . . . When I asked why we deserved this, Nowak said, "silence, silence." The shot and the bullet went through my clothes, slightly grazing my left breast. I fell down, pretending to be dead. As I was falling, I dropped into a corridor 60 by 60 centimeters. In the same corridor . . . one of the group, called Tolek Nasielski, was hiding. One of the bandits said, "Segregate them all." Shortly after that, I got a bullet in my face. It went through my

> mouth and got lodged under the skin, partly in the bone, some two centimeters above the temple. . . . I lay the whole night with the corpses and in the morning I went to the ghetto. With my head swollen, I barely made it and met Nastielski there.[39]

Zweigman recalled that when Nowak was later asked why he committed these crimes, he replied, "Party orders."[40]

On the day after the murders, Chanina Szerman, the head of the second group of six men who had left the ghetto to join the partisans, was unaware of what had taken place. According to his testimony presented at the trial, Szerman was on his way to take the oath when he happened to see Zweigman. Zweigman, Szerman recalled, "was wounded in the mouth" and warned him and his men to turn back and flee from the partisans.[41]

In some testimonies given immediately after the war, Holocaust survivors reported encounters with the Home Army that did not include any mention of antisemitism or fear. The story of Efraim Krasnucki is a good example. He escaped from the Lublin ghetto in November 1942 and fled to Warsaw, where he remained in hiding. Efraim made contact with a member of the Delegate's Bureau who was aiding Jews on the Aryan side of Warsaw. Efraim also got in touch with a Polish man with whom he was friends from before the war who was in the Home Army division in Warsaw's Old City.[42] There he joined the Home Army, and his testimony noted no anti-Jewish sentiment or incidences. The Polish Jew, Jerzy Fordoński, similarly fought in the Home Army and indicated no negative aspects to his experience. Born April 1922 in Łódź, Jerzy went to officers' training school after graduating in the late 1930s. When the Łódź ghetto was created, Jerzy fled to the Aryan side. He later made his way to Kraków. Jerzy went to Lwów in February 1944, "where I joined the AK, serving in a detachment that was defending the village of Kościejów against Germans and Ukrainians."[43] In another testimony, Oskar Hass, born 1923 in Jarosław, described how he lived on Aryan papers in Tarnów from May 1942. In May 1944, he joined the Home Army and became commander of a local unit. He reported no negative experiences.[44]

Another Jewish member of the Home Army who reported no negative experiences was Nachemiasz Szulklaper. Born in 1915 in Gródek in the Białystok region, Nachemiasz escaped from a transport train deporting Jews in November 1942. After securing Aryan papers, he moved to Warsaw, where he lived openly under the name of Roman Rutkowski. There, Nachemiasz joined the Home Army. Shortly afterward, he settled in Józefów, located 12 miles southeast of Warsaw, where he lived among Home Army partisans, according to his testimony. He reported no anti-Jewish comments or incidences.[45]

The Home Army is openly praised in the testimony of Salomon Liberman. Born December 1929, Liberman was in the Lwów ghetto in 1942 when deportations began. Liberman escaped, fleeing into the countryside where he wandered the forests. There he encountered many Home Army partisans. "The Home Army," Liberation said, "was very good to us."[46] Until Soviet liberation in July 1944, Liberman fought in the

Home Army. Liberman's story was echoed by the account of Karol Litwak. Born May 1908 in Warsaw, Litwak had been in the Warsaw ghetto until he escaped in February 1943 and fled to Sadowne located 55 miles northeast of Warsaw. He recalled: "I then made contact with a Pole who belonged to the Home Army. I worked in the Conspiracy. . . . The Poles trusted me." Litwak's job was to provide information on Polish collaborators. "I worked with a friend . . . [and] lived out the rest of the occupation here until the Red Army arrived."[47] Samuel Rothbard, born September 1933 in Kraków, recalled that when the liquidation of the Kraków ghetto began, he and his mother escaped with the help of the Home Army.[48] According to Rothbard, the Home Army arranged for their escape and provided false papers, which were essential for their survival. A similar story was that of Juliusz Gryczman. Born November 1926 in Łódź, Gryczman escaped with his family from the Włocławek ghetto, located 66 miles northwest of Łódź. Once outside the ghetto, Gryczman reportedly joined the local Home Army partisans under the command of Józef Kowalczyk. Gryczman reported no anti-Jewish threats or slurs.[49]

Other repositories of Holocaust testimonies provide examples of Home Army members who aided Jews. In the county of Łask in the Łódź province, twenty-year-old Helena Korzeniewska hid thirteen Jews on her family's estate. She had been a member of the Home Army since March 1942.[50] According to Korzeniewska, the local Home Army was involved in Jewish aid efforts. "After joining the organization A.K.," Helena wrote, a female member of the Home Army "recruited me to work with her in an action to free people from the ghetto to the Aryan side."[51] According to one Jewish testimony in her file, that of Bonek Weinstein, "Upon the closure of the ghetto, she managed to persuade her uncle and aunt to shelter six Jewish acquaintances who, at great personal risk, she smuggled out of the ghetto."[52] In the testimony of Zofia Kamińska, who hid on the Aryan side of Warsaw in 1942–1944 between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty, we read an account of her serving in the Home Army during the Warsaw Uprising that includes no mention of anti-Jewish incidences or comments.[53]

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Some memoirs of Holocaust survivors published many years after the war spoke of encounters with the Home Army, especially by those who fought in its ranks. One such memoir was written by Halina Zawadzka, a Polish Jew in the Kielce District Home Army who kept her Jewish background a strict secret. Born in November 1924, Halina grew up in Końskie, a small town some 31 miles north of Kielce.[54] Prior to the war, the approximately 5,300 Jewish inhabitants of Końskie made up 60 percent of the population.[55] Halina grew up in a well-to-do, secular home where no holidays were observed, whether Jewish nor Christian.[56] "My family was not religious," she recalled, "but he was very Jewish. I remember many people coming to

my father from the Jewish community asking for advice."[57] Although her parents knew Yiddish and her father was a Bundist, they spoke only Polish to Halina and her older brother. Halina thus spoke "unaccented, rich and correct Polish" in part because she never learned Yiddish.[58]

When the Second World War began, Końskie came under German rule and a ghetto was formally decreed on February 28.[59] Halina and her family relocated to the ghetto in the spring of 1941, leaving behind almost everything they owned.[60] In October 1942, the head of the Jewish police tipped off Halina that Latvian auxiliary troops had arrived in the town and advised her and her family to flee the ghetto as soon as possible.[61] Halina began to prepare for escape. At the time, she felt her chances of survival on the Aryan side were good. Not only did she speak impeccable Polish but also she did not have distinctive Jewish features. She was still concerned about certain traits that might betray her. These included dark hair, eyelids that were too heavy, and lips that were too full. So she bleached her braids blond with peroxide and decided she would dress like a mourner with a black veil covering half her face. She learned Catholic prayers and packed a necklace with a cross. A Polish friend of her late father's secured a fake birth certificate for her. Another family friend found a man who was willing to let Halina, for a sum of money, temporarily stay with him after leaving the ghetto.

On 1 November 1942, Halina tore off the armband with the Star of David from her coat and slipped out of the ghetto under the cover of darkness.[62] Halina travelled for a few days to a person's home who had agreed to shelter her, arriving in Starachowice at 3:30 AM with the address of a family she had never met. The contact she had in her possession had come from a chance encounter from a few months before. In the early fall of 1942, a Polish woman appeared in the Końskie ghetto looking to purchase goods for her home. Her name was Maria Kamer (1909–1980). Halina and her family sorely needed money and were glad to invite Kamer into their home to go through their wardrobe. "The Polish woman made a favorable impression," Halina recalled. "She showed a sensitivity and compassion for the hopeless situation of Jews imprisoned in the Ghetto."[63] Maria returned a second time and, moved by the poor living conditions in the ghetto, encouraged Halina and her family to escape. She then gave the address of her mother and sister—Karola (1887–1957) and Olga Słowik (1907–1946)—in Starachowice, a town in the Kielce-Radom province some 33 miles southeast of Końskie. She told Halina to use it only as a last resort.

Halina, who had just turned eighteen, arrived at the home of Karola and Olga Słowik. Although it was 3:30 AM, the thirty-five-year-old Olga invited Halina inside and quickly closed the door behind her. For Halina, the feeling of relief was overwhelming. "I told them that I was Jewish and they showed me to the bed," Halina recalled.[64] "Suddenly," she recalled, "I found myself in a bright, colorful, warm room and this unexpected change caught me so much by surprise that I could not take a single step or say a single greeting. I stayed mute at the door as if I were rooted to the floor. I was transported into a long forgotten world of light, cleanliness, order, and

colors. I felt as if the closed door separated me from the continual pursuit by the Germans. The tight grip of my throat loosened, my breathing became normal and my heart stopped pounding. It seemed to me that finally I had gotten rid of my oppressors and found a safe place."[65]

Olga assured Halina that she would have false papers drawn up for her through contacts in the underground.[66] Within weeks, the false papers arrived and Halina was henceforth legal. Over the weeks, Halina observed the degree to which Olga functioned as caretaker for so many others. Olga "had the gift of understanding the difficulties that others were going through. She felt their misery and suffering. These unusual elements of her character were somehow visible on her face, attracting people, who clung to her."[67]

In the spring or summer of 1943, Halina became aware that her hosts were active in the Polish Underground's Home Army. In fact, their home was the Home Army's liaison point in Starachowice and it was here that the local Home Army's liaison pouch (*skrzynka*) was located—consisting of a box that the Słowiks kept in their attic in which messages were received and passed on to the underground. The Słowik home was also used by the Home Army authorities to store foodstuffs for the forest partisans. Maria, Olga's sister, was the Home Army's liaison between the Home Army's city and forest partisans, while Olga's brother, Zdzisław, belonged to the Home Army forest partisans.

As the local Home Army authorities came to know Halina, whom they were told was a relative of Olga's from Warsaw, they asked Halina to join. In the spring of 1944, the Starachowice Home Army planned a raid on a money-collector working for the local German administration. On a designated day, Halina waited on a bridge over a small creek. When the collector approached the bridge, Halina alerted the two armed AK partisans on the other side that the man was coming. Once the signal was given, she walked away and went home without looking back. But the operation failed and the partisans were taken to the Gestapo for interrogation.

For the safety of Halina and her hosts, local AK authorities instructed Halina to go to the forest partisan unit and assigned Maria, Olga's sister, to be her guide. After a long walk through thick forest without any pathways, Maria found the partisan group. "The young men," Halina recalled, "were sitting on the grass beneath a white/red Polish flag fluttering in the air. I was moved. I had come across free Poland." The commander of the unit of some forty men was a thirty-year-old soldier who greeted Halina and Maria warmly. Among the partisans in the group was Zdzisław, Maria's and Olga's younger brother. That evening, during a conversation over dinner, Halina learned that the unit had recently come across a Jew hiding in the forest. She was shocked when the unit commander revealed he had ordered his men to shoot him.[68]

The AK partisans trained Halina in the use of firearms and issued her a pistol and bullets. She was also given a short course in target shooting and horse riding. After a few days, Halina was assigned to an armed action outside the camp. With ten others, she approached a large farmhouse. While Halina watching the main door to make

sure no one entered or left, the partisans requisitioned food. The action was successful and the unit returned to their base on horseback before dawn. "I felt a strong bond with the co-partisans. I was aware of the danger. I was not afraid. The feeling of sharing a common fate with the others was calming." Halina felt very secure in the forest. "Though I was under constant danger in the camp and during the actions, I felt safer in the forest than in Starachowice. The small gun I always kept with me helped me feel this way."[69]

After some time, Maria appeared in the forest to inform Halina that it was now safe to return to Starachowice, according to the AK authorities. Upon her return, Olga and Karola greeted Halina warmly. Karola was overcome with joy. "At one moment," Halina recalled, "[Karola] approached me and said, 'I will never allow anybody or anything to separate us again. We are together now united by a common fate. What happens to you also happens to us.' Her emotional words moved me to the core."[70] Halina later learned that German soldiers had ambushed the AK partisan forest unit of which she had been a part. The unit commander and most of his men perished. "The death of the partisans was painful to me," Halina wrote. "The time of brotherhood we spent together made me feel close to them. They were mostly young ideologists, full of enthusiasm, dedicated to the cause of their homeland. They were friendly and protective of me. But I did not have a chance to learn how they would have treated me had they known I was Jewish."[71]

The Słowik home continued to be an active center for the local Home Army in the summer of 1944.[72] Halina recalled that in the fall of that year, the extreme rightwing National Armed Forces (NSZ) began to operate in Starachowice. Two of its members, the brothers Jan and Adam, took a liking to Olga who tried to avoid them due to their pronounced antisemitism. After visiting Olga and meeting Halina, the brothers invited the two to dinner. To avoid suspicion, Olga and Halina agreed to come. At the gathering, the two men's antisemitic views were so overt and reprehensible that Halina's face turned red. According to her, the two brothers immediately understood that she was a Jew. Although terrified for being discovered, Halina knew the brothers admired Olga and would not do anything to jeopardize her safety. A few days later, Halina saw one of the brothers while she was outside of the home getting water from the well. He told her the NSZ killed Jews regularly without any moral qualms because Poland had to be Jew-free after the war. She was being spared only because of Olga.[73] The brothers informed several people about Halina, including the Home Army authorities in Starachowice. According to Halina, these AK authorities sternly warned Olga about the dangers of hiding a Jew and encouraged her to sever all ties. On 19 January 1945, Halina wept as she saw the Red Army enter Starachowice.[74]

The case of Stanisław Aronson (1925–) stands out as an entirely positive example of a Jew who fought in the Home Army, revealed he was Jewish, and experienced no hostility or threats.[75] Aronson had escaped from a transport train from the Warsaw ghetto to Treblinka in January 1943. A native Polish speaker without any distinctive

Jewish features, the eighteen-year-old Aronson returned to Warsaw and went to the home of his sister's close Polish friend. She received Aronson warmly but told him that staying there was out of the question because she suspected that the Gestapo was closely watching the building for hidden Jews. She sent Stanisław on to her aunt's house in Warsaw, where he stayed for the next few weeks.[76] It turned out that the woman Aronson stayed with was connected to the Home Army. During Aronson's stay, the woman received a visitor who came to meet Aronson. The visitor was the forty-two-year-old Józef Rybicki (1901–1986), then deputy commander of Kedyw in Warsaw, the Home Army's special operations and intelligence service. Rybicki knew from his friend that Aronson was a Jewish escapee from the Warsaw ghetto. He nonetheless determined from his visit that Aronson would be an effective soldier. A few days later, Aronson received a *Kenkarte*—a false German ID card—in the name of Ryszard Żurawski. Soon after, Rybicki visited a second time, revealing his position in the underground, and invited Aronson to join.

Aronson took the Home Army oath, administered by Rybicki. Because Aronson was Jewish, Rybicki excluded from the ceremony the custom of placing a cross in the new recruit's hand and having him or her say, "Before . . . the Holy Virgin Mary . . . I take in my hands this Holy Cross . . . and swear loyalty to Poland."[77] He was instead asked to swear loyalty to the Republic of Poland without any references to Catholicism. "Rybicki knew that I was a Jew," Aronson later commented, "and would never have asked me to take in my hand a cross and swear to the Holy Virgin Mary. This would have been a meaningless oath."[78] Aronson went on his first mission one week later, pouring chemical solution into the brake system of a German military transport train to render it inoperable.[79]

After successfully carrying out acts of sabotage, Aronson was promoted to a regular commando combat unit in April 1943. He was moved to a specific high-level ten-member platoon known as the Czerniakow Combat Team under the command of Lt. Zdzisław Zajdler (1919–1943). Aronson developed great respect for Zajdler, who lectured his soldiers for hours on ethics, morality, and comradeship "which strongly affected my entire life," Aronson stated.[80]

Until mid-1943, Aronson adhered to Rybicki's advice to keep his Jewish origin secret. The secrecy did not last for long. In May or June 1943, Zajdler approached Aronson and asked if he was Jewish. "For a moment," Aronson later recalled, "I hesitated, and then confirmed it." Aronson told Zajdler his full story—that he was born in Warsaw but raised in Łódź since the age of five. Zajdler informed Rybicki the same day to be sure that this would not put the unit in danger. Rybicki assured Zajdler that because Aronson grew up in Łódź, he did not pose a risk. At the time, two members of his unit already knew Aronson was Jewish—Włodzimierz Cegłowski and Zygmunt Wojtczak. Uncomfortable misleading his comrades, Aronson told three others whom he referred to as his closest friends: Leszek Rybiński (1921–1984), Rybiński's fiancé, Beata Branicka (1923–1988), and Olgierd Cemerski (1919–1956).[81]

In December 1943, after a sabotage mission ended in the death of one of its members, the Czerniakow Combat Unit was transferred as a platoon to the Mokotów Combat Team under the command of Stanisław Sosabowski (1917–2000). Sosabowski also knew Aronson was Jewish. Aronson's nine-member unit "was so tight knit and bound in friendship that we fought more like a family than a military unit," Aronson later wrote.[82] "In our detachment or in our group under Sosabowski," Aronson maintained, "there were never even the slightest manifestations of antisemitism. I have the impression that Rybicki would not have stood for it."[83] Aronson went on to serve in the Home Army's special commando unit, Kedyw Kollegium A, and took part in his unit's liberation of fifty Jewish prisoners on the first day of the Warsaw Uprising.

Documentary Evidence

It was in part an accident of personalities that resulted in the marked deterioration in relations between the Polish Underground and the Jews. After serving three years as Home Army commander, the Gestapo captured the Home Army commander, Gen. Stefan Rowecki (1895–1944) in June 1943. Gen. Rowecki was chiefly an apolitical, military man who avoided politics and partisanship. He was known to keep his poetical views to himself even among friends.[84] Jan T. Gross commented that Rowecki "was not a politician, he did not speak on behalf of a party program, and he did not advocate an ideological point. He was a well respected, unprejudiced, moderate, very well informed, dedicated public servant."[85] On the rare occasions when Rowecki did express political views, his ideas were closest to the democratic socialist program of the Polish Socialist Parties.[86] One of Rowecki's closest colleagues in the underground, Col. Jan Rzepecki (1899–1983), confirmed the underground leader's progressive views.[87] Gross conceded that the AK commander's views were devoid of anti-Jewish prejudice. Rowecki, Gross concluded, "was by no stretch of the imagination an anti-Semite."[88] In February 1943, Rowecki issued an order to district and subdistrict commanders to provide arms to Jews inside ghettos wishing to mount self-defense.[89] And between December 1942 and April 1943, Gen. Rowecki ordered the transfer of arms into the Warsaw ghetto while authorizing strikes on German targets outside the ghetto walls during the Warsaw ghetto uprising.[90] Intolerance for anti-Jewish excess at the top undoubtedly impacted the rank-and-file underground fighter.

Entirely different in character and political outlook was Gen. Tadeusz Komorowski, the man who replaced Rowecki as Home Army commander. A sympathizer of the right-wing, openly anti-Semitic National Party, Gen. Komorowski reversed the policies of his predecessor, refusing to provide aid to Jews inside ghettos wishing to mount self-defense, and favored the exclusion of Jews from the ranks of the Home

Army.[91] He divulged this policy to the head of the Home Army's Bureau of Information and Propaganda in August 1943 right after he became commander, using the argument that "Polish society" was opposed to arming Jews until that time when the general uprising against the German would take place.[92] Komorowski's first recorded comment on Jews after becoming underground commander reflected the new, negative orientation that was entirely devoid of empathy. "There is discontent with the Jews who have escaped from the ghettos," Komorowski wrote in a dispatch to London on 21 July 1943. "They are eager to fight or else join groups of bandits (*szajki bandyckie*)."[93]

In July 1943, the London government ordered Komorowski to provide military aid to Jews inside ghettos wishing to mount an armed resistance:

> Cable No. 3736 London, 27 July 1943
>
> TO: Lawina [Gen. Komorowski]
>
> We have received information that the Jews intend to continue mounting armed resistance against the Germans after the revolt in the Warsaw ghetto. The first such instance to follow has been armed resistance in the Będzin district.
>
> By order of the commander-in-chief, we request that you provide them with assistance in their struggle with a sufficient amount of arms and supplies from your stockpile to the degree that it is possible. . . .
>
> Rawa [Col. Protasewicz][94]

In his reply, Komorowski explained why he had no intention of following through with the order. The reasons he provided constitute an important window into the new commander's thinking on Jewish matters:

> Cable No. 1321 Warsaw, 5 August 1943
>
> Reply to Cable No. 3736
>
> There can be no place for more [than limited] aid to the Jews for the following reasons:
>
> 1. The population treats Jews as a foreign element (*element obcy*) and in many cases as being inimical to Poland as documented by their actions during the Soviet occupation . . .
> 2. Armed Jews in large numbers appear in bands of robbers and communists that plague the country. Jewish members of these bands have displayed particular cruelty towards the Polish people.

3. Societal opinion as well as the rank and file of the underground would not be amenable to greater assistance to Jews as they would see this as a depletion of their own resources and thus contrary to the interest of Poland.
4. Jews attempt to inform the world, using all the means at their disposal, about the enormity of their armed resistance against the Germans, which in reality was only expressed in the Warsaw ghetto and on the part of several thousand people who fought courageously for their lives in the face of the total passivity of the remaining Jewish masses.

Lawina [Komorowski][95]

With a chilling indifference towards their fate, Komorowski characterized Jewish partisans as communist, pro-Soviet elements, an attitude that gave local Home Army units (especially in the northeastern provinces where the Polish-Soviet conflict was most acute) a green light to treat Jews any way they wished. This is exemplified in Komorowski's well-known Organizational Report No. 220 to his superiors in London in which he condemns Jewish partisans for requisitioning foodstuffs from Polish peasants without any sympathy for their predicament.[96]

His well-known report from August 1943 on combatting banditry in the countryside revealed a striking lack of sympathy for the tragic predicament of the Jews desperately trying to survive as partisans in the east. What's more, Gen. Komorowski decided, in March 1944, to incorporate into the Home Army a large section of the openly anti-Semitic National Armed Forces (NSZ), an extreme rightwing organization that characterized communists, Jews, and Soviets as Poland's principal enemies. In May 1944, the Home Army commander received intelligence that the NSZ units had hunted down and murdered Jews. After confirming the intelligence, Gen. Komorowski reported the incident in his Situational Report No. 14 of 21 June 1944. The report first notified London that despite his direct order banning attacks on Soviet partisans, NSZ units had killed eleven Soviet soldiers in Łuków, 51 miles northwest of Lublin. Referring to the area around Kielce, Gen. Komorowski continued in the following manner: "In the areas of Włoszczowa, Pińczów and Stopnica, low-level commanders of the NSZ collaborated with the Germans in the liquidation of Jews. The NSZ continues to mount attacks on the PPR and on leftwing Poles everywhere."[97]

In fact, documents trace two orders to attack Jewish partisans in the Nowogródek district back to Komorowski himself. In Gen. Komorowski's Organizational Report No. 240 covering the period 1 September 1943–29 February 1944, he wrote the following comments on the Nowogródek District Home Army: "The highest priority in the Nowogródek district is the display of self-defense in the face of hostile Soviet partisans and Jewish-communist bands." Komorowski continued that "to achieve this goal our units have been mobilized and grouped into three battalions: in the 77th Infantry Regiment—the Zaniemeński and Cadre Strike Battalion—and in the 78th Infantry Regiment—the Stołpce Battalion."[98]

The second half of 1943 and 1944 witnessed a rise in anti-Jewish activities of local Home Army units. The organization's new, hostile position was reflected in the figure of Col. Władysław Liniarski (1897–1984), commander of the Białystok District Home Army. On 30 July 1943, Liniarski ordered his subdistrict commanders "to liquidate at once with total ruthlessness" Polish spies, communists, "and Jewish-communist bands (*bandy komunistyczno-żydowskie*)."[99] Liniarski's views were further revealed in a set of instructions to his security chief. When thinking about Jews, he wrote, one should stress "anti-Polish pronouncements, contacts of Jews with our enemies (Soviets), participation in Soviet bands and assaults."[100] But when Liniarski communicated upward to his superiors regarding the Jews, the communist motif disappeared. In a report for the London government on the mood of Polish society in November 1943, just after the liquidation of the Białystok ghetto, Liniarski described the attitude toward the Jews:

> No matter how monstrous are German crimes against the Jews, for Polish society the removal of Jews from this area . . . has brought about the end of the Jewish problem. . . . People remember Jewish influences on the destruction of Polish culture during Bolshevik rule. Today we are subject to the terror of Jewish bands, to Jewish hatred. We regard the Jewish question to be settled once and for all in this region if not in all of Poland. *Biuletyn Informacyjny*'s despair over the lack of Jews in the area is received with indignation.[101]

Writing further, Liniarski chillingly commented, "the absence of jews [*sic*] in trade in the [*sic*] Bialystok district is a true blessing and thank God for the Polish people who have expressed themselves loudly in this regard."[102]

Perhaps the most hostile section of the Home Army was in the northeast district of Nowogródek. This was a region that Soviet Russia regarded as Russian territory and where Soviet partisans were numerous beginning in the second half of 1943, the Nowogródek District Home Army commander, Col. Janusz Szlaski, regarded Jews as hostile, Soviet elements. Nowogródek was 82 percent rural and one of the most backward areas of prewar Poland. Jewish testimonies from the region confirm that Nowogródek District Home Army refused to accept Jews based on the argument that Jews had been pro-Soviet during the Soviet invasion of 1939. In September 1943, Col. Szlaski wrote in a monthly report that "after concentrating in the area, . . . the battalion was given the assignment to cleanse (*oczyszczenie*) the Lipiczański [Lipichany] Forest of Soviet-Jewish bands" in order to make the area the AK's "future bases of operation."[103]

An important source on the Nowogródek District Home Army is the late Abraham Melezin (1910–2008), a Polish Jew from Vilna who served as an officer in the local Home Army where he posed as a Catholic. Upon his death, Melezin left his unpublished memoirs to YIVO, in which he referred to Col. Szlaski as an extreme anti-Semite who did nothing to curb anti-Jewish actions among his fighters.[104]

Melezin also commented on chance conversations he had with locals in the city of Lida and its surroundings. "In my accidental encounters with people from the nearby

village and Lida itself, almost everyone expressed satisfaction that [the Germans] got rid of the Jews in their midst. The majority . . . did not approve of murder but their isolation in the ghettos was taken as a good move by the Germans."[105] Melezin recounts his meeting with the notorious figure Lt. Adolf Pilch. Pilch had parachuted into occupied Poland from London in February 1943. He was assigned to the Nowogródek District to help organize the local Home Army. According to Melezin, Pilch arrived in Lida and declared that his mission was "the struggle against the *Żydokomuna* [Judeo-Communism]."[106] Eventually, Pilch was made commander of the 78th Home Army Infantry Regiment in the town of Stołpca near the Naliboki Forest where the Bielski Brothers had created their family camp. In January 1944, Pilch signed a notorious cease-fire with the local Germans in exchange for weapons that he then used to combat Soviet and Jewish partisans. In one report, he recounted the following: "On September 17, 1943 . . . a squadron that was in the area encountered a group of Jewish partisans—pillagers—who were ruthlessly plundering a village. The squadron leader apprehended them, disarmed them, and then began to bring them to a camp some 25 kilometers away. The Jews tried to flee. They were shot and discreetly buried." [107]

One can find frequent examples of deep-seated anti-Jewish sentiment among individuals in high positions in the Home Army. An example is the anti-communist division of the Home Army's Bureau of Information and Propaganda. An unsigned BIP report from May 1942 on the communist movement alleged pro-communist tendencies among "the Jews" and suggested that the perception of Jews as pro-communist could be a "useful tool" for the underground movement. The file titled "Materials for Anti-Communist Action" included a paragraph with the underlined title "The Influence of Jews in the Polish Worker's Party (PPR)."[108] The writer's hostile tone leaps off the page as he maintains that the prewar Polish Communist Party (KPP), "just like the communist movement in general, was saturated with the Jewish element" and "was led by the Jews, ill-disposed towards Poland as is commonly known." He continued:

> The Warsaw ghetto is still the seat of the communist base in Poland. Communist agents, bustling around the country, represent Jewish power masked as Poles, Ukrainians, Belarusians or Russians. What's more, the Jewish intelligentsia is communist and anti-Polish no less so than is the Jewish proletariat. Politically, Jewish communists . . . aim for a Sovietized Poland in the future. . . . It is necessary to remember the position of the Jewish masses in the tragic days of fall 1939 and, later, under the Bolshevik occupation. *Antisemitism is still an extremely useful weapon in the struggle against communism*.[109]

The latter sentence revealed the degree to which the author of the report was willing to incite hatred against the Jews as a means to achieve his goal. The unqualified baiting of Polish Jews by the incendiary act of raising the *żydokomuna* (Judeo-communism) motif in its propaganda was a dangerous precedent.

Other examples include seemingly the entire body of a committee representing all branches of the underground. The Delegate's Bureau, the Polish Underground's civilian branch, set up Nationalities Council in the second half of 1943 to study the attitude of the national minorities to the Polish state.[110] Its leadership committee was made up of individuals from the center-right and right wing, including members of the Peasant Party, the Party of Labor, and the National Party.[111] Its founding declaration from September 1943 stated that the most important objective of the government delegate with regard to nationalities policy had to be retaining the lands of Eastern Poland and Polish Lithuania.[112] It is not surprising that following its two meetings, the report the council put out was sharply anti-Jewish. It began by characterizing the mood of the Lithuanians and Ukrainians as hostile (*wrogo*) to the Poles. Summarizing its position on the Jews and Jewish attitudes toward the Poles, the report stated that Jews were gradually disappearing from the ghettos but that some had fled to the villages, especially in Eastern Poland. The result was that "Polish partisans must defend the [Polish] population in the face of the rogue terror of Jewish bands."[113]

Concluding Remarks

The present examination of the attitude and behavior of the Home Army towards the Jews reveals both profoundly disturbing acts of violence as well as extraordinary acts of aid and compassion. Evidence of wrongdoing (and to a lesser degree, of assistance) within the Home Army has mounted in recent years with the body of research published by such Polish historians as Barbara Engelking, Jan Grabowski, Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, Alina Skibińska, Jerzy Mazurek, Tadeusz Markiel, Adam Puławski, Marcin Urynowicz, and Dariusz Libionka.[114] These Polish historians are revising the old, decidedly positive view prevalent in Polish scholarship prior to the twenty-first century.[115] In the West, meanwhile, there has been a reaction whereby the old, decidedly negative view of the Home Army prevalent in Holocaust historiography memoir literature is being challenged by more balanced accounts, especially as new sources have come to light. Outstanding figures in the Home Army whom Yad Vashem honored as Righteous Among Nations for their wartime help to Jews is also influencing collective Jewish memory. These include publicly honoring the Home Army courier Jan Karski, whom President Obama posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2012, or popularizing the story of Dr. Jan Żabiński, head of the Warsaw Zoo and AK member, who along with his wife saved more than two hundred Jews during the war and whose story was made into a major motion picture in 2017, "The Zookeeper's Wife."[116]

The testimonies presented above exhibit a complex, varied experience of Jewish encounters with the Home Army. The case of Halina Zawadzka is representative. While being hidden by a member of the local Home Army in Starachowice from November 1942 until the end of the war, Zawadzka's caretakers—a local AK

member—kept her Jewish origins strictly secret in part out of fear of the reaction of her underground comrades. Joining a unit of the Home Army partisans herself while posing as a Catholic, the commander of Zawadzka's unit revealed that he had recently ordered his fighters to shoot dead a Jewish escapee from the ghetto whom they had discovered in the forest. She remained in the unit for about a month, participating in armed operations all the time knowing that everything could change dramatically for the worse if her underground comrades discovered that she was Jewish. Zawadzka's encounters with the Home Army were thus profoundly varied, ranging from Olga Słowik who saved her life to the local AK authorities who were entirely unsympathetic upon discovering Olga's secret, to the forest partisans who admitted murdering Jewish civilians.

Another representative case demonstrating the complexity of the Home Army's attitude and behavior towards the Jews was the story of Abraham Melezin. Having escaped form the Vilna ghetto in the fall of 1941 with his wife and one-year-old son, he found refuge at the home of Dr. Wanda Rewieńska (1897–1942), a colleague at the university in Vilna who was a senior member of Vilna District Home Army. She recruited Melezin into the underground and provided false papers for him, his wife, and child, documents essential for survival on the Aryan side. Fearing that Melezin would be recognized, the underground authorities assigned him to a high position in the Nowogródek District Home Army in northeastern Poland.[117] In stark contrast to his experience in Vilna, Melezin encountered a decidedly hostile, anti-Jewish climate among his AK comrades in Nowogródek while posing as a Catholic Pole.

The case of Salomon Reis was similarly mixed. Having escaped from a labor camp in the Kielce-Radom district, Reis was welcomed into a partisan unit of the Home Army whose commander knew he was Jewish. Reis was trained in the use of arms, given a modest monthly salary, and provided a firearm. But when a nearby Home Army partisan learned of the presence of Jews (Reis was one of several Jews in the unit), its leader threated to kill them. In response, the Kielce-Radom District Home Army authorities sternly ordered AK partisans to refrain from any anti-Jewish actions. Fearing for his life, Reis decided to flee the area.

The testimonies presented here also include the case of Stanisław Aronson who joined the Home Army in Warsaw at the request of Lt.-Col. Józef Rybicki, then deputy commander of the Home Army's special commando units (Kedyw). Aronson went on to fight in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising in a Home Army unit whose members knew he was Jewish. In his 2004 memoirs, Aronson claimed his unit was entirely devoid of anti-Jewish prejudice.

The testimonies and historical record presented here suggest that the attitude and behavior of the Home Army towards the Jews varied widely. The Polish Underground's military wing was an umbrella organization numbering, by June 1944, more than 300,000 fighters from all regions of prewar Poland, and ranging from socialists and peasants to nationalists. The Home Army thus reflected Polish society as a whole, a society that was deeply divided on the question of the Jews. One of the themes that

surfaced in my interviews with Jews and Poles of Jewish background who fought in the Home Army was a warning against generalizations. All emphasized that the Home Army was made up of diverse elements socially, geographically, and politically.[118] As one Pole of Jewish background, whose Jewish husband was a physician in the local Home Army, told me, "We had a very good experience with the Home Army. And we were not the only ones with such a story. There were people in the Home Army who didn't like Jews. Sure. But one cannot generalize. It is important to remember that the Home Army also had an educated intelligentsia. It was a huge organization. Its attitude towards the Jews was—in my opinion—not black and white."[119] The bodies making up the Polish Underground linked to the London Polish government were thus both pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish, friendly and hostile, helpers at best and murderers at worst. Yet if we confine our analysis to the extant Jewish testimonies and memoirs alone, both published and unpublished, then the preponderance of evidence suggests that the Home Army was more hostile than friendly.

Notes

1. For examples of this trend, see Tomasz Strzembosz, *Rzeczpospolia podziemna: społeczeństwo polskie a państwo podziemne, 1939-1945* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Krupski I S-ka, 2000); Grzegorz Mazur, *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy SZP-ZWZ-AK, 1939-1945* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1987); Marek Ney-Krwawicz, *Komenda Główna Armii Krajowej 1939-1945* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1990); and Stanislaw Salmonowicz, *Polskie państwo podziemne* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1994). In the West, Norman Davies has continued this positive, heroic portrayal of the Home Army in his *God's Playground*, Vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) and his *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw* (New York: Viking, 2004).

2. Czesław Łuczak, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna hitlerowskich Niemiec w okupowanej Polsce* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1979), 257, cited in Shmuel Krakowski, "Relations between Jews and Poles during the Holocaust: New and Old Approaches in Polish Historiography," in *Holocaust Literature*, ed. Saul S. Friedman (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 205. On the nationalist camp in Polish historiography that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, including a defense of the Home Army's record, see Joanna Michlic, "'At the Crossroads': Jedwabne and Polish historiography of the Holocaust," *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 31, no. 3 (2017): 296–306; Jerzy Tomaszewski, "Polish Historiography of the Holocaust," in *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*, ed. David Bankier and Israel Gutman (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 111–36; Antony Polonsky, "Beyond Condemnation, Apologetics and Apologies: On the Complexity of Polish Behavior towards the Jews during the Second World War," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 13 (1997): 190–224; and Joanna Michlic, "The Troubling Past: The Polish Collective Memory of the Holocaust," *East European Jewish Affairs* 29, nos. 1-2 (1999): 75–84; and Michlic, "The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939–1941, and the Stereotype of the Anti-Polish and Pro-Soviet Jew," *Jewish Social Studies* 13, no. 3 (Spring–Summer 2007): 135–76.

3. Examples of the new Polish scholarship include Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Dalej jest noc: losdy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: PWN, 2018); Adam Puławski, "'6 tys. [Żydów] co dzień – oczywiście na stracenie' – Opowieść o pierwszej depeszy Polskiego Państwo Podziemnego na temat Wielkiej Akcji w getcie warszawskiem," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 29, no. 1 (2017): 447–56; and Dariusz Libionka, *Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie: zarys problematyki* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2017). For earlier examples, see Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland*

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, *Okrzyki pogromowe: szkice antropologii historycznej Polski lat 1939-1945* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo "Czerne," 2012); Alina Skibińska and Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, "'Barabasz' i Żydzi. Z historii oddziału AK 'Wybranieccy,'" *Zagłada Żydów* 7 (2011): 63–122; Alina Skibińska and Tadeusz Markiel, *"Jakie to ma znaczenie, czy zrobili to z chciwości?": zagłada domu Trynczerów* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Jerzy Mazurek, "'Józek, co robisz?' Zbrodnia na Żydach popełniona przez AK we wsi Kosowice," *Zagłada Żydów* 7 (2011): 395–421; Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień: Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942-1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, *"Żydów łamiących prawo należy karać śmiercią" : "przestępczość" Żydów w Warszawie 1939-1942* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2010); Jan Grabowski, "'I Wish to Add That I Was Not Aware and Carried Out the Task as a Soldier of the Home Army.' On the Murder of Jews Hidden near Racławice by a Company of the Miechów Home Army," *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* 2 (2010): 337–62; Adam Puławski, *W obliczu zagłady: Rząd RP na Uchodźstwie, Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, ZWZ-AK wobec deportacji Żydów do obozów zagłady 1941-1942* (Lublin: IPN, 2009); Dariusz Libionka, "Obozy pracy dla Żydów na Lubelszczyźnie i ich likwidacja w optyce struktur Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego," in *Erntefest 3–4 listopada 1943. Zapomniany epizod Zagłady*, ed. Dariusz Libionka and Wojciech Lenarczyk (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2009), 229–60; and Libionka, "ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu wobec eksterminacji Żydów Polskich," in *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939-1945: studia i materiały*, ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: IPN, 2006): 115–36.

4. The first challenges, appearing in the 1980s, could be found in Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 122–23; and Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Neutralizing Memory: the Jew in Contemporary Poland* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1989), 45–45. These views were reflected subsequently in Antony Polonsky, Introduction to Florian Mayevsky, *Fire Without Smoke: Memoirs of a Polish Partisan* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), 3; Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 225; Timothy Snyder, "Jews, Poles and Nazis: The Terrible History," *New York Review of Books*, 24 June 2010, 3; and Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews*.

5. Since the publication of Jan T. Gross's *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community of Jedwabne* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), which first appeared in Polish in 2000 and was based in part on the August Trials, Polish historians have made extensive use of these trial records. See, e.g., Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for Jews*; and Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, 2nd ed. (Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne w Mielcu, 2013). Other scholarly works utilizing the August Trials records include Alina Skibińska and Jakub Petelewicz, "The Participation of Poles in the Crimes Against Jews in the Świętokrzyskie Region," *Yad Vashem Studies* 35, no. 1 (2007): 5–48; Grabowski, "'I Wish to Add That'"; Alina Skibińska and Dariusz Libionka. "'I Swear to Fight for a Free and Mighty Poland, Carry Out the Orders of My Superiors, So Help Me God.' Jews in the Home Army: An Episode from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski," *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* 1 (2008): 235–69; and Alina Skibińska, "'Dostał 10 lat, ale za co?' Analiza motywacji sprawców zbrodni na Żydach na wsi kieleckiej w latach 1942–1944," in *Zarys Krajobrazu: wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów 1942–1945*, ed. Barbara Engelking and Jan Granowski (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 313–444.

6. For a scholarly analysis of the ŻIH testimonies relating to Polish partisans, see Aleksandra Bańkowska, "Partyzantka polska lat 1942–1944 w relacjach żydowskich," *Zagłada Żydów* 1 (2005): 148–63, which appered in an English translation in *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* 1 (2008): 103–22.

7. Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw (henceforth: ŻIH), sygn. 301/1525, fol. 7; Testimony of Pesla Penczyna, Łódź, 29 July 1946.

8. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/2425, fols. 3–4; Testimony of Zelman Bauer, Wałbrzych, 12 May 1947.

9. Ibid., fol. 11.

10. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1569, fol. 2; Testimony of Karolina Kremer, Częstochowa, 12 December 1945.

11. Ibid., fol. 6.

12. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/590, fol. 1; Testimony of Adolf Wolfgan, Kraków, 1945.

13. Ibid., fol. 2.

14. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/3263, fol. 1; Testimony of Henryk Herstein, Kraków, 19 June 1947.

15. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/4103, fol. 4; Testimony of Itka Gartenkranz (Yiddish), Łódź, 2 February 1949.

16. *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of the Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, Vol. II, *Ghettos in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, ed. Martin Dean (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012) [henceforth: USHMM Encyclopedia], 949.

17. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/4086, fol. 39; Testimony of Kalmen Krawiec (Yiddish), Łódź, 18 January 1949.

18. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/2614, fol. 4; Testimony of Towia Groll, 5 May 1947. The same testimony is preserved in Yad Vashem Archive 03-1162.

19. Ibid.

20. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/3158, fol. 2; Testimony of Chaskiel Zacharewicz (Yiddish), Białystok, 29 December 1947.

21. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1647, fol. 6; Testimony of Pinkus Kornhauser, Katowice, n.d.

22. Ibid., fols. 9–10.

23. Ibid., fol. 12.

24. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1791, fol. 5; Testimony of Salomon Reis, Kraków, 22 March 1946.

25. Ibid., fol. 6.

26. Ibid., fol. 7.

27. Ibid., fol. 8.

28. Julian Aleksandrowicz, *Kartki z dziennika Doktora Twardego*, 3rd ed. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983), 61.

29. Ibid., 99.

30. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1207; Testimony of Oskar Gelles, n.d.

31. Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 238.

32. Interrogation of Leon Nowak by the investigation officer of the District Public Security Office in Ostrowiec, 20 January 1949, reprinted in Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 249.

33. Interrogation of Edwar Perzyński by the investigation officer of the Provincial Public Secutiry Office, Kielce, 25 January 1949, reprinted in Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 251. For the complete transcript of the interrogation of the three accused, see ibid., 248–58.

34. Icek Zweigman, list of killed and wounded on 9 February 1943, reprinted in Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 247.

35. Testimony of Szlama Icek Zweigman, c. 1949, reprinted in Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 241.

36. Ibid., 242.

37. Ibid., 242–43.

38. Ibid., 245.

39. Ibid., 245–46.

40. Ibid.

41. Chanina Szerman, testimony given in the Polish Consulate in Tel Aviv, 13 March 1949, reprinted in Skibińska and Libionka, "Jews in the Home Army," 241.

42. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1539, Testimony of Efraim Krasucki, Łódź, 18 July 1946.

43. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/2294, Testimony of Jerzy Fordoński. Łódź, n.d.

44. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1111, Testimony of Oskar Hass, Kraków, 17 October 1945.

45. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/3962, fol. 2; Testimony of Nachemiasz Szulklaper, Białystok, 10 June 1948.

46. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/2752, Testimony of Salomon Liberman, Chorzów, n.d.

47. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/4106, fol. 4; Testimony of Karol Litwak, Warsaw, 14 December 1948.

48. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1206, Testimony of Samuel Rothbard, Kraków, 29 November 1945.

49. ŻIH Archive, sygn. 301/1199; Testimony of Juliusz Gryczman, Kraków, 28 November 1945.

50. Yad Vashem Archives, 03-2518, p. 7; Testimony of Helena Korzeniewska.

51. Ibid., p. 11.

52. Ibid., p. 9.

53. Yad Vashem Archives, 03-2199; Testimony of Zofia Zamińska.

54. Halina Zawadzka, *Ucieczka z getta* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2001), 7. USC Shoah Foundation, Testimony of Halina Zawadzka, 16 January 1996.

55. http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/konskie/; and *USHMM Encyclopedia* 2: 245.

56. Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side* (Westminister, MD: Heritage Books, 2004), 108.

57. Shoah Foundation, Testimony of Halina Zawadzka.

58. Halina Zawadzka, phone interview with the author, 7 February 2014.

59. *USHMM Encyclopedia* 2: 246.

60. Zawadzka, *Ucieczka z getta*, 7. Note that there is a typo in the English translation, which gives the incorrect year of 1942. See Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side*, 1.

61. Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side*, 4.

62. Two days later, on 3 November 1942, the liquidation of the Końskie ghetto began, and some six thousand Jews were deported to Treblinka by 7 November. See *USHMM Encyclopedia* 2: 247; and Zawadzki, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side*, 12.

63. Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side*, 82.

64. Shoah Foundation, Testimony of Halina Zawadzka.

65. Zawadzka, *Living in Fear on the Aryan Side*, 84.

66. Ibid., 92.

67. Ibid., 165.

68. Ibid., 156.

69. Ibid., 158–159.

70. Ibid., 161.

71. Ibid., 191.

72. Ibid., 178.

73. Ibid., 198.

74. Ibid., 203.

75. At the age of ninety-three in September 2018, Aronson published an article stating that the optimism he had felt for many years after 1989, in contrast to the pessimism he feels regarding the current Polish regime elected in 2015, led him "to omit certain examples of indifference and uncooperativeness on behalf of my fellow Poles" during the Second World War. It is unclear if he was referring specifically to the Home Army. See Stanisław Aronson, "I survived the Warsaw ghetto. Here are the lessons I'd like to pass on," *The Guardian*, 5 September 2018.

76. Stanisław Aronson, "Poland 1939–1945: War Recollections" (1988), 6–7, in the National Library in Warsaw, Manuscript Division, Akc No. 13495; and Patrycja Bukalska and Stanisław Aronson, *Years of Turmoil: from Early Years in Łódź through the Ghetto, Underground and the Warsaw Uprising, to Israel's Wars: A Life*, trans. William R. Brand (Kraków: Znak Publishers, 2010), 68–69.

77. For the text of the Home Army oath, introduced in December 1939, see Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews*, 57.

78. Stanisław Aronson, email message to the author, 23 March 2012.

79. Bukalska and Aronson, *Years of Turmoil*, 75.

80. Aronson, "Poland 1939–1945: War Recollections," 10.

81. Ibid., 24–25.

82. Ibid., 15.

83. Bukalska and Aronson, *Years of Turmoil*, 85.

84. Tomasz Szarota, *Stefan Rowecki "Grot"* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawn. Nauk., 1983), 99.

85. Jan. T Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Radom House, 2006), 176. It is interesting to note that this passage was excluded from the Polish edition. See Jan T. Gross, *Strach: antysemityzm w Polsce tuż po wojnie* (Kraków, 2008)

86. Andrzej Kunert, introduction to Stefan Rowecki, *Stefan Rowecki: wspomnienia i notatki autobiograficzne, 1906-1939* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1988), 9.

87. Jan Rzepecki, *Wspomnienia i przyczynki historyczne* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1956), 192.

88. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*, 176.

89. Grot [Rowecki], Warsaw, draft order to district commanders, February 1943. The order, partly damaged and illegible, was found by Bernard Mark in the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH) and reprinted in Mark, *Powstanie w getcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Idisz Buch," 1963), 377.

90. On relations between the Jewish underground and the Home Army during in the period Decemebr 1942–May 1943, see Joshua Zimmerna, *The Polish Udnerground and the Jews, 1939-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), chaps. 7, 8.

91. On Gen. Komorowski's political orientation, see Jan Rzepecki, "Organizacja i działa Biura Informacji i Propagandy (BIP) Komendy Głównej: część I," *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* 2 (1971): 151; and Jan M. Ciechanowski, "The Years of Tempest, May 1943–December 1944," in *The History of Poland since 1863*, ed. R. F. Leslie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 247.

92. Rejent [Jan Rzepecki], Warsaw, to Malicki [Jerzy Makowiecki], Warsaw, 26 August 1943, in Ghetto Fighters' House (GFH) Archive, Adolf Berman Collection—File 3946.

93. Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warsaw (henceforth: AAN) 203/I-13, fol. 37; Lawina [Komorowski], Cable 1218, 21 July 1943. The term "szajki bandyckie" refers to organized bands of youths involved in theft and robbery.

94. Studium Polski Podziemnej, London (henceforth: SPP) sygn. 3.1.1.13.4/doc. #23; Rawa [M. Protasewicz], London, Cable No. 3736 to Lawina [Gen. Komorowski], Warsaw, 27 July 1943. For a published version, see *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach, 1939-1945*, ed. Halina Czarnocka et al. (London: Studium Polski Podziemnej, 1970), vol. 3: 51.

95. SPP sygn. A3.1.1.13/File 4, doc. #25, p. 1; Lawina [Komorowski], to the Polish prime minister, London, 7 August 1943. This document is also preserved in AAN 203/I-13, fol. 39, and in the Archives of the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN), sygn. MBP AK 3, fol. 43. I have used, in part, the English translation in *Polacy-Żydzi, 1939–1945: wybór źródeł*, ed. W. Bartoszewski and A. Kunert (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 2001), 290. Komorowski's reply was received in London three days later, where it was presented to Gen. Sosnkowski by Col. Protasewicz. See SPP sygn. 3.1.1.13/File 25; Col. Protasewicz, London, to the Gen. Sosnkowski, 8 August 1943.

96. AAN 203/I-19, fols. 370–71; Lawina [Komorowski], "Meldunek Organizacyjny Nr 220 za czas od 1.III.43 do 31.VIII.43," 31 August 1943. On the controversy over this report, see Stanislaus Blejwas, "Polemic as History: Shmuel Krakowski, 'The War of the Doomed. Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944,'" *Polin* 4 (1989): 357–59; and John Lowell Armstrong, "The Polish Underground and the Jews: A Reassessment of Home Army Commander Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski's Order 116 Against Banditry," *Slavonic and East European Review* 72, no. 2 (April 1994): 259–76.

97. Lawina [Komorowski], Situational Report No. 14, 21 June 1944, Warsaw, to the prime minister's office, London, reprinted in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*, vol. 3: 490.

98. Lawina [Komorowski], "Meldunek Organizacyjny Nr. 240 za okres od 1.IX.1943 do 29. II.1944," 1 March 1944, reprinted in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*, vol. 3: 343.

99. AAN 203/XIV-1, fol. 1; Mścisław [Władysław Liniarski], Order No. 462, 30 July 1943. For a discussion of this document, see Libionka, "ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu wobec eksterminacji Żydów Polskich," 131; and Alina Cała, *Żyd: wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Nisza, 2012), 442.

100. IPN, sygn. MBP AK 556; Mścisław [Liniarski], "Instrukcja dla referatu Bezpieczeństwa," 22 September 1943.

101. AAN 203/XIV-1, fol. 15; Mścisław [Władysław Liniarski], "Raport polityczny za m–c listopad 1943: nastroje społeczeństwo polskiego," 5 December 1943. This passage is cited, in part, in Cała, *Żyd: wróg odwieczny?*, 442.

102. AAN 203/XIV-1, fol. 15.

103. Prawdzic [Janusz Szlaski], "Meldunek Kedywu za czas od 1 VIII do 8 IX 1943 roku," 8 September 1943, reprinted in Kazimierz Krajewski, ed., *Nowogródzki Okręg AK w dokumentach* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2009), 187.

104. USC Shoah Foundation, Testimony of Abraham Melezin., New York, 21 June 1995.

105. YIVO Archives, RG 1872; Papers of Abraham Melezin, Box 5; "My Memoirs: Zapole," 15.

106. Ibid., 8.

107. Dolina [Adolf Pilch], "Zadanie i dzieje Polskiego Oddziału Partyzanckiego w obwodzie stołpeckim," September 1944, reprinted in Krajewski, ed., *Nowogródzki Okręg AK w dokumentach*, 333.

108. AAN 203/VII-62, fol. 27; "Sprawozdania i inne dok. o syt. ruchu komunistycznym," May 1942 (emphasis mine). This document is also housed in the Antyk collection: AAN 228/I-1, fols. 43–44.

109. Ibid.

110. Strzembosz, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna*, 189.

111. Grabowski, *Polska tajna administracja cywilna*, 146.

112. AAN 202/XVI-1, fol. 2; "Uchwały Rady Narodowościowej z dn. 12.X.1943," 12 October 1943.

113. AAN 202/XVI-2, fol. 1; Delegate's Bureau – Nationalities Council – "Sprawy narodowościowe," January 1944.

114. See note 4.

115. See note 1.

116. The first challenges to the monolithic, negative portrait of the Home Army in Jewish scholarship appeared in the 1980s. See Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986): 122–23; and Irwin-Zarecka, *Neutralizing Memory*, 45–45. These views were reflected subsequently in Polonsky, "Introduction" to Florian Mayevsky, *Fire Without Smoke*, 3; Eva Hoffman, *After Such Knowledge: Memory, History, and the Legacy of the Holocaust* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 225; Timothy Snyder, "Jews, Poles and Nazis: The Terrible History," *New York Review of Books*, 24 June 2010, 3; and Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews*. The film, "The Zookeeper's Wife" (2017), is based on Diane Ackerman's celebrated book *The Zookeeper's Wife: A War Story* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).

117. See Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews*, 281–82.

118. See my interviews, in *The Polish Underground and the Jews*, with, among others, Joseph Halperin (344–46), Franciszka Sawicka (326–27), Selma Horowitz (316), and Stanisław Likiernik (333–34).

119. Franciszka Sawicka, interview with the author, Warsaw, 6 October 2004.

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