

Visions and Revisions: New Scholars, New Interpretations

Redefining Resistance: How European Jews Resisted during the Holocaust

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In the traditional sense of the word, “resistance” can be defined as organized or personal opposition to aggression. However, this description is far too broad. Resistance can be shown physically or spiritually, individually or collectively, armed or unarmed; labeling resistance as “opposition to aggression” is not enough. Wherever there are instances of resistance throughout history, there is also oppression.

The Holocaust stands out at the forefront as one of the most atrocious instances of widespread oppression and destruction. A common misconception about the Holocaust is that Jews all went “like sheep to the slaughter,” and that there was no fighting back or resistance to the oppressive Nazi regime.ⁱ This could not be further from the truth. By redefining the term “resistance,” it can be shown that Jews in fact *did* resist in many different ways and in many different places. Armed resistance, non-confrontational resistance, and confrontational non-violence are all different forms in which Jewish resistance unfolds during the Holocaust.

This paper will examine figures such as Abba Kovner, Simcha Rotem, and the Bielski brothers, all of whom participated in active, armed resistance against the Nazi regime. It will also examine Henryk Ross, the Boys of Terezin, Chaim Kaplan, and Emanuel Ringelblum. These men also resisted Nazi persecution, but in a way that some may think of as “unconventional.” Taken together, the actions of the individuals discussed here demonstrate that Jews did not just go “like sheep to the slaughter.”ⁱⁱ Moreover, they resisted far and wide, and their actions prove that the European Jewish community successfully hindered the Nazi war effort.

Abba Kovner was born in Russia in 1918 and later moved to Vilna, Lithuania.ⁱⁱⁱ There was no way to know that the city in which he grew up would soon become a Nazi ghetto where Kovner was forced to live. He was 23 years old when he made an announcement that altered the way young Jews viewed resistance against the oppressive Nazi regime. On December 31, 1941, Kovner

penned the “Manifesto of Jewish Resistance” and delivered this speech to the remaining members of the Vilna underground resistance movements:

Jewish youth! Do not trust those who are trying to deceive you. Hitler plans to destroy all the Jews of Europe... We will not be led like sheep to the slaughter! True, we are weak and defenseless, but the only reply to the murderer is revolt! Brothers! Better to fall as free fighters than to live by the mercy of the murderers! Arise! Arise with your last breath!^{iv}

This call to action was meant to inspire young Jewish people to rise up and revolt against the Germans to the best of their ability. Soon after Kovner gave this speech, he created the United Partisan Organization (FPO). A partisan can be defined as “a member of a guerrilla band operating within enemy lines.”^v This partisan group “executed sabotage missions, manufactured bombs, trained fighters, and acquired weapons which were smuggled into the ghetto in false-bottomed coffins or through the sewers.”^{vi} Kovner did his best to recruit Jews of Vilna into his partisan organization to save them from Nazi persecution and death. When the Vilna ghetto was set to be destroyed, Abba Kovner and the FPO retreated into the forest and went into hiding.^{vii}

Kovner’s efforts are significant because he is an example of how the voice of one individual can ignite positive change within a much larger community. He urged anyone willing and able to join the Vilna resistance movement to fight back at the Germans. Abba Kovner quickly became one of the key players in Jewish Holocaust resistance. Kovner, along with the partisan group he commanded, made it harder for the Nazis to fight the war. Their acts of sabotage were clever and brave, and their strategies undermined the Nazi war machine.

Not only did Kovner lead resistance during the Holocaust, but he continued to help the Jewish community after the war. He “reportedly attempted to poison thousands of Nazis and SS prisoners in a Nuremberg POW camp” with another partisan group when the war was over.^{viii} He also dedicated much of his time after the war to helping displaced Jews reach mandated Palestine

prior to the creation of Israel. Ultimately, Kovner made it his life's work to ensure the safety of Jews during the Holocaust by committing many brave acts of armed resistance.

While Abba Kovner was commanding the United Partisan Organization in Vilna, another underground resistance group was forming in Warsaw, Poland. There are many accounts of armed resistance occurring behind the walls of the Warsaw ghetto, which can be attributed to the ZOB, or the *Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa*^{ix}. This resistance organization was created almost entirely of young adults who had nothing left to live for, and nothing left to lose. Simcha Rotem, also known as Kazik, is one of these young men who fought for the ZOB. The youths of the Warsaw ghetto were educated, aware, and hopeless. All of their loved ones, both young and old, had been deported from the ghetto to the death camp Treblinka in the east. These mass deportations from the Warsaw ghetto to Treblinka were the catalyst for the occurrence of armed resistance in Warsaw.

Prior to the mass deportations that occurred in Warsaw, many attempts at armed resistance were discouraged by communities and elders, because there was a great risk for collective punishment. If a small group of youths decided to revolt, it would mean a certain death for a large portion of the ghetto population. Israel Gutman writes that “only when all hope for survival was abandoned did armed resistance begin within ghetto. Only then could resistance enjoy widespread support.”^x This perspective highlights a key factor in the Warsaw resistance movement: the remaining youth had nothing left to live for. With the mass deportations starting in the summer of 1942, the Warsaw youths lost everything: their parents, families, friends, and teachers. They had no will to survive, and no hope for the future. It was decided that it was better to die on their own terms as martyrs to their people, instead of at the hands of the German army.

In order to be successful in resisting, the ZOB had a fairly complex system of couriers, messengers, and allies. Kazik was one of these couriers. *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter*, describes some of the daily operations of the ZOB. One of the most important aspects of resistance work was blending into the enemy's environment. The young Warsaw Jews who looked like Gentiles were an essential tool of the underground movement in the ghetto. These young ZOB members were able to sneak out of the ghetto on assignments without drawing attention to themselves. The job of the couriers in the ghetto was of the utmost importance because they were the link between the ZOB members in the ghetto and the help they received from numerous sources on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw. They had to maintain underground contacts, as well as deliver money, forged documents, underground publications, and weapons.^{xi} Kazik was a courier, and because he looked like Hitler's idea of an Aryan, he was able to move more or less freely on the Gentile side of Warsaw during the daytime.

In many different instances, resistance fighters had to face what is known as a "choiceless choice," a decision that will yield no entirely desirable outcome. In his memoir, Rotem explains how he got his nickname, Kazik. While on an assignment for the ZOB, he and others had to collect money from other Jews in Warsaw to help fund the resistance. When a particular man refused, Kazik intimidated him with his gun and his Gentile-like looks; it was clear that "when he [Hanoach] called me "Kazik," I was to understand that I had to appear as Kazik, that is, as a Pole."^{xii} Kazik was doing this as a duty to the organization and for the greater good of the ZOB. However, one cannot help but feel sympathy for Kazik. The emotional complexity of the ZOB dynamic seems to be largely understated. It is certain that Kazik would not *want* to perform a task such as the one mentioned. He was a Jew himself and would not have wanted to hurt a fellow member of the Jewish community. However, he did it because he knew it was an essential contribution to the

ZOB. This is just one example of the continuous stream of choiceless choices faced by Jewish resistance fighters.

In April of 1943, the ZOB began an uprising that would last into the month of May. After months of smuggling arms through the sewers and preparing Molotov cocktails, the ZOB attacked the Nazis occupying the ghetto. The young members had next to no experience with weapons or military training, but they did not let this hinder their goal of defying Nazi occupation and brutality. This uprising embodies the meaning of armed resistance, showing that Jews *did* revolt against the systematic dehumanization and murder perpetrated by their oppressors.

Had the youth of Warsaw not been left in complete despair, there may not have been a Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The courage of these young adults is moving, and most definitely inspiring. Yitzhak Zuckerman, a leader of the uprising, writes that “the youth of this helpless people have risen and saved our honor with everything they had.”^{xiii} The young fighters knew they would be killed in the midst of the chaos. However, it was more important to die for a cause that could make a slight dent in the Nazis’ agenda than to die a slow death from starvation or a helpless death locked in a gas chamber. Their deaths were symbolic, and their honor was victorious.^{xiv}

While the ZOB was fighting Nazi forces in Warsaw, the Bielski brothers were building a forest community of partisans 120 miles away in the area of Nowogródek, Poland. The Bielski brothers were four siblings (Tuvia, Asael, Zusya, and Aharon) who lived in Belorussia in the 1940’s. After their family was killed, they decided to flee their home and camp in the forest surrounding their town. They became known as the Bielski Otriad, or the Jewish partisans. Tuvia, the eldest brother, wanted to protect and provide for as many Jews as they could. Together the Bielskis created a large community of Jewish men, women and children, providing refuge and protection to its inhabitants while fighting against Nazi oppression.

One of the primary goals of Nazi soldiers during the Holocaust was to dehumanize the oppressed population. In Nechama Tec's book, *Defiance*, the Bielski brothers create rules to govern their partisan community in order to hold on to the humanity that the Nazis are trying to take from them. Retaining dignity in times of crisis and chaos can be difficult, but it is something that must be done somehow in order to persevere through disastrous circumstances.

Some members of the Bielski Otriad describe themselves as “something between a hero and a robber.”^{xv} Since the Bielski partisans were based in the forest, they sometimes had a hard time finding enough food to feed the entire community. Because of this, they were forced to steal food from farmers around the area to sustain their partisan group. Tuvia Bielski did not want partisans to steal things that were not necessary to their survival. He stated: “the partisan ethics dictated that taking ‘essentials’ was permissible, whereas taking anything that could be termed ‘luxuries’ was robbery.”^{xvi} These rules had to be put in place in order to prevent anarchy within the camp. This can be seen as a form of resistance in itself: when outside forces are aiming to dehumanize and degrade a set minority, maintaining order and continuing to live is an act of passive resistance. The partisans created a clear line of what is considered right and what is considered wrong, even if it differed from the cultural norms we hold today. In times of crisis, survival takes precedent over morality, so although their morals may have been considered skewed, they served the purpose of maintaining order and humanity. It is human nature to do what is needed in order to survive. Oftentimes, this forces people to do things they would normally not do, with less than favorable outcomes and implications. By setting boundaries, Tuvia and the Bielski brothers are creating a civil environment in the midst of a war ridden with atrocities. This allowed the partisans to hold on to humanity and civility while the German army was aiming to dehumanize them.

While the Bielski brothers were able to establish rules and regulations to live by in the forest, their opinions differed slightly when it came to who should be allowed to join the partisan group. The brothers “were determined to save all Jews regardless of who they were.”^{xvii} They took in everybody they came across, whether they were able to contribute to partisan fighting or not. In Edward Zwick’s film, *Defiance*, the two eldest brothers (Zus Bielski and Tuvia Bielski) are portrayed on opposite sides of this philosophy. Zus prefers to only take in a selected group of Jews, preferably those who can fight and help with the partisan efforts. Tuvia, on the other hand, is willing to take in anybody who is Jewish, because they are all family.^{xviii} Tuvia was more willing to rescue other Jews under Nazi persecution while Zus wanted more to fight the Germans and defend the partisan settlement. These differences created tension but “a key to the group’s survival was mutual cooperation.”^{xix} Ultimately the brothers (as well as everyone else living with the partisans) had to overcome their differences in order to survive through the war.

The Bielski brothers saved around 1,200 Jews from the Nazis’.^{xx} Nechama Tec writes that “at first equipped only with hope and a feeling of self-worth, they [the Bielski brothers] soon translate these hopes into actual gains.”^{xxi} The Bielskis gave protection to those who needed it the most, even when they were unsure if they could protect their own. Tuvia and his brothers created an even larger family, a family of partisans who are forever grateful to the Bielskis for providing them a chance at survival. The actions of the Bielski brothers and the Jewish partisans embody the very meaning of both armed *and* spiritual resistance.

Armed and violent resistance is the most researched and documented form of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust. While it is the most recognizable form of acting out against an aggressor, there are many other ways in which an oppressed minority is able to fight back against unjust acts. *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem, the Secret Magazine by the Boys of Terezin* is

an extensive compilation of stories, poems, photographs, and illustrations published in a newspaper by the name of *Vedem*. It was both written and published by a group of boys who lived in the Terezin camp in Czechoslovakia from the years 1942 to 1944.^{xxii} Within this anthology are countless examples of other forms of resistance put forth by a group of talented young men.

“Non-confrontational” resistance can be defined as peaceful acts of resistance that do not directly involve the aggressor; it can also be seen as cultural and spiritual resistance. In Terezin, the boys participated in an almost secret club, called BROCOFEA. This “club” was most definitely an act of non-confrontational resistance. This group of boys would take some of their food rations, which they were already given so sparingly, and put them aside secretly in order to save them for a weekly feast. They called themselves the “Brotherhood of Communal Feasting,” or BROCOFEA for short.^{xxiii} This act of exhibiting personal control over when they would and would not eat their food rations is a way the boys maintained their dignity as well as create somewhat of a weekly tradition fueled by the need for togetherness and a sense of normality. The Germans aimed to reduce their Jewish prisoners down to the likeness of animals, feeding them only when they decided and what they deemed fit. Exhibiting such personal control over something as simple as a meal is an under-recognized but significant act of resistance.

A third type of resistance is known as “confrontational non-violence”, and it is defined as peaceful acts that directly involve the aggressor. In *We Are Children Just the Same*, we are told the story of Valtr and Věra Eisinger. Valtr was a teacher in Terezin who helped the boys publish *Vedem*. While in Terezin together, Valtr met Věra, and the two got married. Miriam-Webster defines the word “marriage” as “the state of being united as spouses in a consensual and contractual relationship recognized by law.”^{xxiv} The Germans did not want Jews to have the most basic of human rights, yet they allowed marriages in their concentration camps and legally recognized these

unions. It is shocking to think that the Nazis allowed marriages to take place in the camps, as they barely recognized Jews as human beings. Valtr and Věra were brave enough to exercise that right and married in Terezin in order to be able to remain together during future transports.^{xxv} This act of resistance directly involved the approval of the oppressor, while simultaneously sending the message that even though they are persistently stripped of their dignity and contained in a place with dismal conditions, they will continue to thrive and continue to love.

There are many different examples of all types of resistance in *Vedem*. These boys showed amazing ability through the pages of their magazine; the ability to persevere even when surrounded by death and distress, and the ability to remain hopeful through the most trying of times. Resistance is something that cannot be quantified – it must be shown, and the boys of Terezin did just that.

Similar to the boys of Terezin, a man named Henryk Ross also used art and creativity to resist Nazi aggression. Henryk Ross was a Polish photographer who was employed by the *Judenrat*, or the Jewish Council of Elders, and he resisted behind the lens of a camera. The *Judenrat* was a group of Jewish officials selected by the Nazis, and they were responsible for enforcing Nazi orders within the ghetto boundaries. Ross' job was to take photographs in the ghetto for the Nazis to use for propaganda, as well as identification purposes such as rosters and lists of Jewish inmates. His photos were taken in the Lodz ghetto in Poland, where he lived and worked. His images demonstrate the strength and dedication behind Jewish resistance through documentation, and his actions constitute an astounding example of resistance, carried out right under the nose of the Nazi administration in the Lodz ghetto.

Henryk Ross was a photographer prior to the start of the war. Instead of just taking photos for the Nazis, Ross took secret photographs of daily life in the ghetto by hiding his camera in his jacket and snapping photos when he could.^{xxvi} He kept the film, and when the Lodz ghetto was

liquidated, he buried the films in the ground in hopes of retrieving them after the war. Luckily, Ross survived and was able to find his hidden treasures in postwar Poland.

Not only did Ross provide the world with important footage of daily life under Nazi persecution, but he did so while under strict orders from his employer – the Nazis. He risked his life every single time he exposed his camera to capture an illegal photo of ghetto life. This act of resistance was imperative, because it was a form of documentation, and further proof of the dismal conditions and horrific circumstances that were endured by the suffering Jewish population of the Lodz ghetto. Ross, like so many other resisters, felt as though it was his duty to record what his life was like, in order to remember this tragic part of history. At first glance, they are photographs of average daily occurrences. But given the context, they are living, breathing pieces of resistance. The spirit of life can be felt through the black and white images. Henryk Ross provided the world with photographic proof that Jewish families and communities continued to survive.

While the boys of Terezin were creating underground publications in Czechoslovakia and Henryk Ross was taking illegal photographs in Lodz, Chaim Kaplan was using words as a tool of resistance in the Warsaw ghetto. His diary, which is published under the title *Scroll of Agony*, is an amazing example of the power of words, and the influence writing can have over one's life. Kaplan penned this diary while under Nazi occupation in the Warsaw ghetto from September 1, 1939 until August 4, 1942.^{xxvii} This is significant because he records daily events as well as his personal struggles from the day the Nazi army invades Poland at the start of World War II to the day that is assumed to be his death. Kaplan viewed this diary as an obligation that he must continue as long as he was alive. He wrote his thoughts on the Nazis, the ghetto, the *Judenrat* members, international politics, and more. The act of keeping a diary is in itself an act of resistance. Taking

the time to regularly record events and reflections on the current affairs in such a trying time is most certainly a difficult task, especially with such a high risk had Kaplan been caught.

Early in the diary, Kaplan writes that “I sense within me the magnitude of this hour and my responsibility to it. I have an inner awareness that I am fulfilling a national obligation.”^{xxviii} This is a thread he continues throughout his diary. Kaplan is committed to this act of resistance because it reflects the one thing the Nazis have absolutely no control over: his thoughts. While the Nazis were convincing and experts in propaganda, they could not control the thoughts and minds of the individuals they were trying to oppress. Kaplan is able to use the strength in his mind to maintain his diary while the world around him changed by the hour. Because Kaplan feels so strongly about his obligation to record what happens to him, he is able to find refuge in this diary. While it was sometimes impossible to write under certain circumstances, many of those who could tried to keep diaries or some type of documentation of the events they experienced. Keeping such clear records of his time spent under Nazi oppression is an act of resistance because it documents the hardships the Warsaw ghetto Jews experienced and creates a lasting, historical record of it.

Later in the diary, Kaplan wrote something that can be thought of as a general consensus among other Jews suffering a similar fate to him. On January 26, 1942, Kaplan writes: “We live like pariahs but none of us wants to die... Because everyone wants to remain alive under any circumstances just to witness the end of the war and the end of Hitler!”^{xxix} This is of utmost significance because this thought highlights another aspect of resistance that may seem less obvious than others, and that is to simply stay alive. In a world that is aiming to obliterate your existence, the most rebellious thing one could do is to live another day. By finding the strength to survive another day, they were quietly sending a message to the Nazis, and that message was extremely important. It is one that tells the Nazis the spirit of European Jewry cannot be broken.

While it is mentioned multiple times throughout the text, the title of the book is first revealed to us in a diary entry from September 14, 1939. Kaplan writes, “I will write a scroll of agony in order to remember the past in the future.”^{xxx} This highlights another important reason as to why Kaplan took his responsibility of documenting his life so seriously. The concept of “never again” is one that is repeated in today’s world. Documentation and concrete evidence of the horrors the Nazi army perpetrated is critical in order to educate the world to ensure an event like this never happens again. Even while experiencing the Nazi atrocities firsthand, Kaplan (as well as so many others) knew how critical it was for an accurate record to be kept. Whether it is a diary from one man’s point of view or a magazine compiled with many different authors, writing and documenting day to day life was critical to the survival of Jews during the Holocaust as well as to the preservation of Holocaust history and memory.

Documentation can be considered one of the most important aspects of resistance. Emanuel Ringelblum was a historian and teacher who encouraged the Jewish prisoners in Warsaw to write down everything they saw and experienced, and placed these pieces into one collective archive during the war. The Oneg Shabbat archive is a masterpiece that is unknown to many people and scholars. Ringelblum buried his archives in milk cans in Warsaw, and they were not discovered until 1946, a year after the war was over. The entire project was orchestrated by Ringelblum. He first spent time in Zbąszyń, a Polish town with a holding camp for Jews during World War II. Here he encouraged all the refugees he taught to keep diaries and records of things they experienced.^{xxxi} Then, in the Warsaw Ghetto, he was able to compile the Oneg Shabbat archive with documents, artifacts, and so much more. Ringelblum and his team were able to engage in an important act of resistance by documenting and preserving daily life under Nazi oppression in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Emanuel Ringelblum is noted for his objectivity throughout all of his research and records^{xxxii}, and this differentiated a good teacher and historian from a great one. It is also written that “a cornerstone of Ringelblum’s prewar historical credo had been his admiration for the Jewish masses and his determination to use history to record their resilience and creativity and to rescue forgotten Jews from oblivion.”^{xxxiii} It only makes sense that Ringelblum would continue this work during the war, ensuring Jewish resiliency was well documented and preserved. It was difficult to obtain any kind of supplies in the ghettos, and had one been caught with a diary it is almost certain they would have paid with their life. This work was crucial, and it is one of the most enduring forms of any resistance. This is due to the fact that firsthand accounts become primary sources, and that is the foundation for most historical research.

When the archive was discovered, there was a collection of Yiddish poems found along with the names of the people who wrote them. Dr. Sarah Moskovitz translated some of these poems, and they are available for viewing on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website. Yitshok Katsenelson wrote a poem, *For Not Lost Is the Hope*:

For not lost is the hope of a tree,
even when already cut and felled
it grows again
and blooms
without an end –
The sprouting will not stop.

And when the root gets old amid the dust
and if
the root has ceased
to live deep in the earth –

it only has to sense a bit of water in the depths
to bloom again
completely,
it blooms
and gives
a cutting –

like every planting...^{xxxiv}

The lines “And when the root gets old amid the dust / and if / the root has ceased / to live deep in the earth – / it only has to sense a bit of water in the depths / to bloom again / completely”^{xxxv} stand out particularly in this piece. Katsenelson is conveying that feelings of hope can so quickly reappear at the slightest glimmer of nourishment or improving conditions. His words are able to tell of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust while channeling those feelings into works of art and pieces of literature.

Each account, diary, and memoir is different and reveals another aspect of resistance to be analyzed. Each account also reveals more personal stories and details. Stories such as *Who Will Write Our History? Rediscovering a Hidden Archive from the Warsaw Ghetto* and *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* show Jewish resiliency in one of its most important forms: documentation. Firsthand accounts and diaries of Holocaust survivors are essential tools to modern historians. These sources help historians piece together the truth about Holocaust events, as well as illuminating instances of Jewish resistance. Making sure the truth of the Jews is told was one of Emanuel Ringelblum’s priorities, and there is no better way to tell the truth than through the voices of the witnesses who lived under Hitler’s occupation of Poland.

After meeting these many brave resisters through the pages of their books and memoirs, there is no doubt that Jewish resistance succeeded in hindering the Nazi war effort. Many oppressed Jews survived because they were hopeful for their future. The Nazis aimed to dehumanize and destroy the Jewish population of Europe, but hundreds if not thousands of brave Jews were able to retain their humanity and persevere through their oppression. The aforementioned examples of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust serve as inspiration for all oppressed people. If the question of “what is resistance?” is posed to a classroom of fifteen

different students, it is likely that you will receive fifteen different answers. Resistance is combat. It is hiding in a forest community, sabotaging Germans, or wading through the Warsaw sewers to escape after fighting the Germans longer than the entire country of Poland. Resistance is armed, but it is also more than that. It is writing, documenting the horrors you see to preserve history. It is telling your story, even when you think nobody wants to hear it. It is making choiceless choices, hoping to help at least one of two other suffering people. It is maintaining normalcy, routine, and dignity. It is practicing religion regardless of outside circumstances. It is creating art and poetry out of sadness and despair. It is continuing to have hope and living another day, even if it's out of spite. It is the formation of unions and relationships, marriages and the creation of families. It is continuing to hold on to your humanity and practicing kindness, even when kindness is not shown to you. Resistance cannot be defined by a dictionary definition – it is the culmination of the spirit of the oppressed Jewish population and the perseverance to survive another day.

ⁱ "Abba Kovner." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed December 06, 2017. <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008261>.

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} Ibid.

^v "Partisan." Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 02, 2018. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/partisan>.

^{vi} Ibid.

^{vii} Ibid.

^{viii} Ibid.

^{ix} Israel Gutman, *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), 152.

^x Ibid, 150.

^{xi} Simcha Rotem, *Kazik: Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter*, (Binghamton, NY: Vail-Ballou Press, 1994) 67.

^{xii} Ibid, 29.

^{xiii} Israel Gutman, *Resistance: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), 159.

^{xiv} Ibid, 159.

^{xv} Nechama Tec, *Defiance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 100.

^{xvi} Ibid, 101.

^{xvii} Ibid, 66.

^{xviii} *Defiance*, directed by Edward Zwick (Santa Monica, CA: Bedford Falls Productions, 2008), DVD.

^{xix} Nechama Tec, *Defiance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), 67.

^{xx} Ibid, 293.

^{xxi} Ibid, 295.

^{xxii} Kurt Jiří Kotouč, Marie Rùt Křižková, and Zdeněk Ornest, eds, *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem, the Secret Magazine of the Boys of Terezin*, (University of Nebraska Press, 2012), vii.

^{xxiii} Ibid, 46.

^{xxiv} "Marriage." Merriam-Webster. Accessed September 16, 2017. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/marriage>.

^{xxv} Kurt Jiří Kotouč, Marie Rùt Křižková, and Zdeněk Ornest, eds, *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem, the Secret Magazine of the Boys of Terezin*, (University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 165.

^{xxvi} "Memory Unearthed." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. August 01, 2017. Accessed December 06, 2017. <http://www.mfa.org/exhibitions/memory-unearthed>.

^{xxvii} Chaim A. Kaplan, *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan*, Edited by Abraham I. Katsh, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999, 19 and 400.

^{xxviii} Ibid, 9.

^{xxix} Ibid, 295.

^{xxx} Ibid, 30.

^{xxxi} Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Rediscovering a Hidden Archive from the Warsaw Ghetto*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2007), 102.

^{xxxii} Ibid, 8.

^{xxxiii} Ibid, 342.

^{xxxiv} Katsenelson, Yitshok. "For Not Lost Is the Hope." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed December 08, 2017. <https://www.ushmm.org/research/the-center-for-advanced-holocaust-studies/miles-lerman-center-for-the-study-of-jewish-resistance/yiddish-poetry-translated/for-not-lost-is-the-hope-yitshok-katsenelson>.

^{xxxv} Ibid.

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