The Children's Voice: Postwar Collection of Testimonies from Child Survivors of the Holocaust

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In the aftermath of World War II, adults—mainly survivors—collected thousands of hand-written testimonies from child survivors of the Holocaust. In this article, the author describes the process by which the testimonies were collected and examines the underlying sensibilities of its initiators. Further, he outlines the widespread publication of children's testimonies in the immediate postwar period and the evolution of anthologies of children's testimonies. His analysis sheds new light on the social, cultural, and historical facets of the post-Holocaust Jewish world's interest in the experience of child survivors.

Yes girl, yes thin arms
You can cry now . . .
What have they done to you, tortured lamb . . .
You were so wise and disciplined
And in the darkness you didn't cry . . .
And everything, oh everything's written down now
There's a protocol my little one
All organized and stapled—
You can cry now.[1]

In the immediate postwar period, thousands of testimonies were taken from Jewish children who survived the Holocaust. These testimonies, many of them in the children's own handwriting, enable us better to understand the Holocaust experience of Jewish children and provide a unique insight into their world. This article explores the background and motivations of the people who undertook the collection of these important testimonies, as well as the social, historical, and institutional circumstances surrounding the collection process. The initiators of the collections believed that the testimonies served therapeutic purposes for the children involved, and also broader educational and moral purposes—for example, to focus the world's attention on the Jewish tragedy.

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Many collections of children's testimonies were initiated in the immediate postwar years. Benjamin Tenenbaum, a Polish-born Jewish prewar emigrant to Palestine, traveled to Poland in 1946. With the aid of a few friends, he collected 1,000 "autobiographies" written by surviving Jewish children. Dr. Helena Wrobel-Kagan, a survivor of Bergen-Belsen, started a school at that camp in late 1945. She asked the children, themselves survivors, to write essays entitled "My Way from Home to the Camp." Similarly, the Jewish Historical Commissions in Poland and in the American Zone in Germany focused on children in their effort to collect survivor testimonies. Other Jewish organizations, such as the National Relief Committee for Deportees in Hungary[2] and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in its children's homes in France, collected children's testimonies more sporadically.

Many of the testimonies were published soon after the war. The regional Jewish Historical Commission in Kraków published excerpts from children's testimonies and one full testimony, in book form, in 1945. From 1946 onward, the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Munich published a child survivor's testimony in each issue of its journal, *Fun letstn khurbn*. In 1947, three anthologies of children's testimonies were published—one in Tel Aviv, one in Warsaw, and one in Buenos Aires.

In researching the collection and publication of children's testimonies, we must first explore the post-Holocaust Jewish world's perceptions of the youngest survivors. These perceptions were informed by the child's place in prewar East European Jewish culture, by postwar concerns about Jewish continuity, and by Jewish attitudes toward the victorious and liberated countries in Europe. Jewish educators' actions were also determined by their views on the best way to rehabilitate survivor children; some believed that giving testimony would be good for the children, while others thought it best to "help the children forget." Only by examining each of these aspects of interest in child survivors—the cultural, the political, and the pedagogical—can we fully understand the significance of children's testimonies.[3]

Collection

The Tenenbaum Project

Benjamin Tenenbaum (1914–1999), an author and translator of literature from Polish to Hebrew, emigrated from Warsaw to Palestine in 1937. With friends from the Hashomer Hatsair movement (Young Guard—left Zionists), he established Kibbutz Eilon in the Western Galilee. During the Second World War, as news of the destruction of Polish Jewry filtered into Palestine, Tenenbaum felt an urgent need to return to Warsaw to see the results with his own eyes. As the war continued, he established close relations with exiled Poles, and especially with the poet Władysław Broniewski. After the war, Broniewski arranged for the Polish Ministry

of Culture to invite Tenenbaum to travel to Poland for the purpose of collecting materials for anthologies of Polish literature and poetry.

Tenenbaum planned to stay in Poland for two months. His wife and baby son remained on the kibbutz in Palestine. His encounter with surviving Jewry led Tenenbaum to extend his stay in Poland for more than a year. During that year, he helped Polish Jews abroad make contact with their surviving relatives in the country and met with important Jewish and non-Jewish cultural figures. But above all, he devoted his time and energy to Jewish children who had survived the Holocaust.

His work with children began after a chance meeting at the headquarters of the Hashomer Hatsair in Poland at 18 Narutowicz Street in Łódź, one of the first addresses he visited. Upon his arrival, Tenenbaum learned that the building doubled as a home for Jewish child survivors. It was there that he became aware of the surviving children's situation and of the homes established to care for the youngest survivors. Nesia Orlovitch (later Reznik), one of the caretakers of the children at the Narutowicz Street home, was openly critical of his plan to work on literary anthologies. "You really believe that this is your task today?" she asked; "Shelve your anthologies, you can prepare them at home in Eretz Israel." She called on him to join her and her friends in working with the children. "We need you," she said, "to teach them Hebrew, to give them encouragement, to be a father figure in lieu of the fathers they lost." She urged him to go to the many children's homes "to meet the children and tell them all about Eretz Israel and the Kibbutz."[4]

Tenenbaum was captivated by the children, who had "aged prematurely," but had, despite the horrors they had experienced, come back to life "with no less force then a tree whose roots split rocks." Initially, he found it difficult to establish contact with these children, who had lost their faith in the adult world: "I tried to get close to them, to find a way to their hearts, but I failed. Whenever I thought I was succeeding, I noticed that they put their spikes out as if warning 'don't touch.'"[5]

Tenenbaum's educational work with the children was connected with his wish to document the "breathtaking" personal stories of Holocaust survivors. Just a few days after his arrival in Poland he wondered: "Why don't I ask them to put their recollections in writing? We cannot allow such life stories to be forgotten! We must take testimonies, write down everything: what happened and how—the whole story of the Holocaust from beginning to end."[6]

Tenenbaum began by undertaking to translate some testimonies collected by the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Warsaw. These, however, he returned to the commission with the comment that they were "unfit for translation." He claimed that the testimonies he was given were mainly from people who had held some sort of public office in the local Judenrat or Jewish establishment. He wrote that, in their testimonies, these survivors aimed "mainly at whitewashing themselves, to show that they did not collaborate with the Germans."[7] After this

experience, he concluded that only children's testimonies could be free of apologetics, and therefore that "Jewish children [had] to be made to sit down and write their life stories."[8]

In the winter of 1946, Tenenbaum began collecting testimonies. In his memoir he admitted: "I was so engrossed in this mission that I neglected all my other tasks."[9] He was aware that two great obstacles stood in his way. First, the number of Jewish children living in Poland at the time was small and dwindling as more and more children were taken from Poland to Western Europe and beyond. Second, persuading the children to cooperate would not be easy.

Tenenbaum started taking testimonies at the children's homes in which he taught. A colleague brought him sixty essays written by children from the children's home in Ludwikowo. These first testimonies made a lasting impression on Tenenbaum and strengthened his commitment to his project. He became obsessed with the children and their testimonies: "A *dybbuk* [demon] entered me," he wrote.[10] He began collecting testimonies in children's homes run by the Hashomer Hatsair movement, but later obtained authorization from the Central Council of Jews in Poland to collect testimonies from their children's homes as well. He spent his nights traveling by train to children's homes all over Poland. "I distributed notebooks to the children," he wrote; "and after giving out presents, such as color crayons, I asked them to write on their experiences in the war years. The children acquiesced and wrote." Tenenbaum termed these essays "autobiographies." It did not take long for Tenenbaum to understand that "the majority of [the surviving] Jewish children [were] in the DP camps in Austria and Germany on their way to Eretz Israel."[11] He recruited Marian Klinowski, who had fought in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, to travel to the DP camps in Germany. Klinowski collected hundreds of additional testimonies. In 1947, after his return to Palestine, Tenenbaum published a compilation of the testimonies he had collected (to be discussed below).

Children's Testimonies Taken by the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland

With the gradual liberation of Europe by the Allied forces in 1944–1945, surviving Jews established the first Holocaust research institutes and took up the task of documenting the destruction.[12] The Central Jewish Historical Commission (CJHC) was established in August 1944, with branches in Lublin and Białystok. By March 1945, the commission had moved to Łódź and opened twenty-five regional branches. The liberation and restoration of Warsaw prompted the commission to move there, but some regional commissions, such as the one in Kraków, kept a great measure of independence. Among the Commission's activists were Dr. Philip Friedman, who served as its first head, and Rachel Auerbach, who was one of the surviving members of the Oneg Shabbat underground archive in the Warsaw ghetto. The collection of testimonies was a priority for the Commission, and in its

first two years of existence it collected 6,000. Commission members unearthed files from the Oneg Shabbat archive in Warsaw and from the Łódź ghetto, as well as from other community archives and German documentation. From its early days, the Commission published documents, monographs, and testimonies about the murder of the European Jews.

Hundreds of children's testimonies can be found in the Commission's archives. Like those in Tenenbaum's collection, these testimonies were taken mainly in children's homes and similar institutions. Yet, there was a significant difference in methodology. Testimonies collected by the Commission were usually taken by an interviewer who would question the witness according to a questionnaire, compose the testimony in the first person, and then have the witness approve and sign it. The Commission issued explicit instructions to interviewers in its "General introduction to the Questionnaire for Children," written by Gita Silkes:

> After gathering the material together, one needs to put the notes in order and compile the testimony. One must not postpone the work, because the local color and freshness of the narration, as well as its uniqueness, can be erased. The notes and abbreviations will be forgotten and your personal observations will lose their value and immediacy. Immediately after conducting the discussion, you must reconstruct the entire testimony in the order in which it was conducted. The material rewritten in such a way can be chronologically and thematically arranged according to the schema of the questionnaire, while as much as possible retaining the style of the narrator telling the story in the first person.[13]

Auerbach, one of the leading figures in the Commission and later the founder and director of the Department for the Collection of Testimonies at Yad Vashem in Israel, described in detail the system used in interviews and its problematic character. She recounted that "the witness was retelling his experiences and the interviewer was, from time to time, reformulating the testimony in his own words and summarizing it. In this way, some unique personal characteristics of style and language would be lost." Moreover, the witness had to be stopped occasionally in order for the interviewer to write down what he heard. These pauses, she claimed, "exhausted the . . . tension, dramatic energy, and narrative" of the testimony. She wrote that more than once she felt that stopping the witness from talking was a "barbaric act."[14]

Although its shortcomings are obvious, this method enabled children whose verbal skills were much superior to their written ones (most did not have a chance to attend school during the war) to give far more complete testimony. Tape recorders were virtually non-existent, so all recording was done in writing.[15] Moreover, the comments made by the interviewers on the interview sheets give us further insights into the children's personalities and the unwritten aspects of the testimony. Interviewers were directed to give such comments: "Independent of such an 'official' study, there is also another kind of research in addition to the

consciousness of the narrator, namely: the observations of the educator. The educator systematically notes his observations about the given subject. The observations can relate to the subject's place in the group, habits, idiosyncrasies, beliefs, attitude to non-Jewish children, religious belief, dexterity, etc." The guidelines explained: "The accumulated facts of the subject's life allow us to get to know the child better, to determine whether there are psychological problems, and to take steps for their eventual sublimation."[16] The interviewers did indeed make comments about the children. For example, the interviewer "Vaic" commented on 15-year-old Dunia B.'s testimony, which was taken in July 1945. Dunia, a native of Horodenka, lost her entire family in the Holocaust. Though underage, she survived in the work camp at Tluste. Vaic wrote: "I'm under the impression that the child tells the truth. She behaves as an adult. She is wholly independent, knows what she wants and manages to get along. She is very active, has no patience to sit and study. She is a bit superficial, doesn't accept guidance and her expressions are clear, sharp, and forceful."[17]

Dr. David Haupt, head of the Jewish Community Council in Przemyśl, interviewed Rózia L. in the town's Jewish orphanage. Rózia and her brother were the only survivors of their family; their parents and five siblings had been murdered by the Nazis. The two siblings had survived by working for Polish farmers, posing the entire time as non-Jews. In a footnote to the testimony, Haupt described the 12-year-old girl as follows:

> A thin girl, tall for her age. Good-natured facial expression. Features are non-Semitic. Big brown eyes, a slightly melancholic look that is the only outward way to discern her Jewishness. She has a pure Polish accent. When speaking, she does not control her bodily movements. She moves incessantly, bends down, turns around. Quite good intelligence, expressed in the way she tells her harsh experiences during the Hitlerite occupation.[18]

The guidelines discussed here were developed as part of the Commission's attempt to professionalize its work on testimonies. One of the fruits of this effort was the book of children's testimonies, *Dzieci oskarżają* (The Children Accuse), published in 1947. This collection will be discussed below.

Children's Testimonies from the Central Historical Commission in Munich

A documentation process parallel to the one in Poland developed in the American Zone in Germany. Over time, tens of thousands of Jews (150,000 by 1947) made their way to this area. Termed DPs by the administration, they referred to themselves—and were known in the Jewish world—as *she'erit hapletah* (the surviving remnant). The refugees established a representative council, The Central Committee for the Liberated Jews in Germany (Tsentral komitet fun di bafrayte Yidn in der Amerikaner Zone), which in turn set up the Munich-based Central Historical Commission (Tsentral historishe komisye) in December 1945. Israel

Kaplan, a teacher from Kovno, and Moshe Figenboim, an accountant, were appointed to head the Commission. Through their leadership (and much prodding), the Commission's pool of employees and paid and unpaid volunteers collected 2,500 testimonies as well as 8,000 questionnaires filled out mainly in Yiddish, but also in Hebrew, Polish, Hungarian, and German. On the basis of data gathered through questionnaires sent to German mayors and local government officials, the commission mapped concentration camps in Germany. Among other materials, it collected documents, photographs, and antisemitic Nazi literature. Significantly, the Commission managed to acquire the Dachau camp register.

With Hebrew-alphabet print sets and a printing machine, the Commission began publishing a Yiddish-language journal entitled *Fun letstn khurbn* (From the Last Destruction). The journal's primary purpose was to support documentation efforts by encouraging DPs to give testimony. The Commission was disbanded in 1948, and the materials it had gathered were transferred eventually to Yad Vashem.[19]

For Israel Kaplan, later the editor-in-chief of *Fun letstn khurbn*, children were a distinct group whose voice the world needed to hear. While they were still in the ghetto, Kaplan encouraged his son to collect official documents. After the war, he recorded songs and other ethnographic materials from family and friends. But Kaplan's interest in children's testimonies also had a personal slant. When he was transferred from the ghetto to a work camp, Kaplan left behind his wife, daughter, and son. Just before she was murdered by the Nazis, his wife placed her son in the care of a Lithuanian widow. Although Kaplan and his son were reunited after the war, it was a difficult reunion. The son blamed the father for leaving him and his mother, and Kaplan, busy with the Historical Commission's affairs, found it difficult to re-build the relationship.[20]

Kaplan's firsthand knowledge of the hardships of the Jewish child during the Holocaust contributed to his commitment to the collection of children's testimonies. Under Kaplan's guidance, the Historical Commission started a collection campaign in late 1946. Like the Historical Commission in Poland, the Munich commission developed special questionnaires and opened an essay contest for children writing about their Holocaust experiences. Starting with the second issue, Kaplan published a child's testimony in each issue of *Fun letstn khurbn*.

Publication

Attempts to publicize children's testimonies began as early as 1945 with the publication of the collection *Dokumenty zbrodni i męczeństwa* (Documents of Crime and Martyrdom) by the Regional Jewish Historical Commission in Kraków.[21] One of its four chapters was devoted to "children's stories" and contained excerpts from twenty-two testimonies. Fifty-three pages of the book were devoted to children, the "Enemy No. 1 of the Fascists." The Kraków commission's special interest in

children's testimonies can be traced to the work of Maria (Miryam) Hochberg-Mariańska, who survived the war living outside the ghetto "on Aryan papers" (that is, using false identity documents indicating that she was not Jewish). She was active in Żegota, the Polish underground organization for assistance to Jews, and cared for a number of women who went into hiding with their children. Thus, she had first-hand knowledge of the special needs of children during the occupation. In *Dzieci oskarżają* (The Children Accuse), she wrote: "During the war, I was moved by the thought of the moment of liberation when [these Jews in hiding would] walk out of their hiding places into the free, bright, good world. When this moment came I began to organize care in Kraków for the returning, abandoned, and homeless Jewish children."[22]

Cover of *Dokumenty zbrodni i męczeństwa* (Documents of Crime and Martyrdom), published in Kraków in 1945. Photo from the author's collection.

Cover of *Kinder-martirologye: Zamlung fun dokumentn* (Children's Martyrdom: A Document Collection), published in Buenos Aires in 1947. Photo from the author's collection.

Working for children's welfare, Hochberg was in a position to hear many accounts of young people's wartime travails. "As I sat among them listening to their stories," she recounted in 1947, "all my own experiences in the resistance, all the years of working and fighting, seemed insignificant and feeble, something unworthy of being mentioned in comparison with their terror and their quiet children's suffering and heroism."[23] Hochberg's encounters led her to become active in the publication of children's testimonies. As early as 1945, she brought the notes

of one young survivor to the attention of the Kraków commission. During the war, she had worked hard to find a Polish family willing to take in 12-year-old Janina Hescheles, whose father was murdered and whose mother committed suicide before her eyes. Potential sheltering families were afraid to take the girl in because they felt her incessant writing posed a threat to their security. She used every scrap of paper she found to write about her harrowing experiences. After the war, on Hochberg's recommendation, the Kraków commission published Hescheles' notes under the title *Oczyma dwunastoletniej dziewczyny* (In the Eyes of a Twelve-Year-Old Girl).[24]

The year 1945 saw not only the publication of testimonies but also efforts to broadcast child survivors' stories on the airwaves. Following the publication of *Dokumenty zbrodni i męczeństwa*, Iza Lauer, an employee of the Central Historical Commission, prepared a script for a radio program on Jewish children during the Holocaust. The program was based on children's testimonies, some of which were taken from *Dokumenty*. The historical context was the Nuremberg Trials. "We want the voices of these children to be heard by the tribunal in Nuremberg," Lauer's script began, "...because the voice of hundreds of thousands of murdered children will not be heard again." The script's focus reflected the fact that, at that time, many Jews were expressing disappointment and concern that the Nuremberg trials barely mentioned the Holocaust. The stories of the children were broadcast for the express purpose of influencing public opinion inside Poland on the issue. The program ended with the pointed question: "These are witnesses for the prosecution, the likes of whom are unknown to history. Is their voice heard at Nuremberg?"[25]

Three major works devoted to children's testimonies were published in 1947: Benjamin Tenenbaum's *Ehad me-ir u shenayim mi-mishpahah* (One of a City and Two of a Family), a selection from among some one thousand testimonies;[26] *Dzieci oskarżają* (The Children Accuse), edited by Miryam Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss of the Jewish Historical Commission in Poland;[27] and *Kinder-martirologye: Zamlung fun dokumentn* (Children's Martyrdom: A Document Collection), also edited by Noe Grüss.[28] Grüss, who before the war was a teacher in Rovno's Hebrew *gymnasium*, was one of the founding members of the Commission and an expert on children's testimonies. As early as 1945, he was lecturing to the Commission's staff on "The Psychology of Jewish Youth in Light of Existing Archival Materials."[29]

Tenenbaum's book, published on his return home from Poland, contained eighty testimonies of children who had survived the Holocaust. Some testimonies were given in full, some were broken down into two parts, and some were excerpted. The testimonies were organized geographically and thematically. One chapter each was devoted to Warsaw and Wilno, and the remaining chapters were "Ghettos," "In Villages and Woods," "Camps," and "Partisans." The testimonies

chosen were "typical," according to Tenenbaum. He wrote: "[Together they form] a complete picture: the life-story and struggle for life of a generation of children growing up, maturing, and perceiving the world in its darkest days."[30] Pictures of children taken during the Holocaust and photos of the original children's testimonies are interspersed between the testimonies, no doubt to add to the book's credibility.

In the preface, Tenenbaum admitted that the testimonies, which he had translated into Hebrew, had undergone a process of editing. "I did not add anything, neither did I use high language," he wrote. "On the other hand, the poor language of the children has a special music that cannot be replicated and is fraught with problems. I did not always dare to walk this path and decided—after much deliberation—to copy them into language that was simple but free of mistakes, as is usual with translators.... Sometimes I shortened and I always added punctuation marks."[31]

Purim celebration at a Jewish orphanage in Łódź (1949). The home was run by the Koordynacja (Coordination Committee), a Zionist organization for the recovery of Jewish children who had been placed with non-Jewish Polish families during the war. USHMM Photo Archives, courtesy of Jehuda Bornstein.

Two further comments must be made regarding Tenenbaum's work. The first relates to ideology: although the book is about children's experiences in the Holocaust, it has a clear Zionist slant. Most of the children who survived were educated in children's homes in which the program content was ideologically Zionist-socialist. Some gave testimony on their way from Poland to Eretz Israel, and others bore witness to their experiences only after they were returned to Germany along with other immigrants from the *Exodus 1947*, the illegal-immigrant

ship caught by the British. The core issue was *aliyah* (Hebrew for ascent), the Zionist term for immigration to Palestine. This educational leaning reveals itself often in the concluding sentences of the testimonies. "I strongly want to leave this land soaked with our loved ones' blood, and go to Eretz Israel," wrote 15-year-old Hadassah Rozen. "Here in the kibbutz, we're waiting impatiently for the day when the word would come: *aliyah*." She added: "No one can stop us. Our will is stronger than life and death."[32] Shmuel Krol, a 13-year-old in transit with his group from the Hashomer Hatsair children's home in Łódź to Palestine, wrote: "From far away shines the sun of *Eretz Yisrael*. There I'll be a faithful son to my homeland and if need be, I'll die for her."[33] How are these statements to be evaluated? In his introduction, Tenenbaum claims that this was not the parroting of propaganda, but the conclusions that the children reached after reflection on their experiences and present situation. He also maintained that Zionist education gave children hope for the future, which facilitated their rehabilitation. He wrote: "A new dream dawned on them: the dream of a homeland, of *aliyah* and striking roots in the land." The lack of "hate or passion for revenge" in the testimonies is explained, Tenenbaum asserted, by the channeling of the children's energy "into one redemptive channel: dreams of building and creativity."[34] When we consider that the book was published in Palestine in the heat of the struggle for a Jewish state, Tenenbaum's receptiveness to these writings is understandable. It is on this note that he concludes the foreword:

> Here sit the children on the ruins in Poland, learning Hebrew and preparing for *aliyah*. Their voices, singing a Hebrew song, come forth on Germany's soil and on the beaches of France and Italy. They embark and sail on illegal-immigrant ships, knock with their small fists on our house's doors but the doors are locked. They are dragged and placed on the great empire's ships and taken to camps in Cyprus. . . . While we offer the public and our children the life-stories of the little immigrants [to Palestine—*ma'apilim*], we offer our hands over barbed wire fences and oceans and adopt the little wanderers to be our sons and brothers.[35]

The second comment relates not to the testimonies Tenenbaum chose for the book but rather to those he did not. Tenenbaum collected many testimonies from children who had survived the war in relative safety in Siberia or Soviet Central Asia. These testimonies feature harrowing stories of hunger, disease, deaths of parents and siblings, and antisemitism. Not one of these testimonies has been included in the book. Why did Tenenbaum choose to ignore these testimonies? One possible answer is that Tenenbaum, like other Jewish authors of the day, was wary of antagonizing the USSR, whose support was needed in the struggle for a Jewish state. The pro-USSR leanings of the Hashomer Hatsair movement may also have influenced the editorial choices.

The other major collection of children's testimonies printed in 1947, *Dzieci oskarżają*, contained the recollections of fifty-three children organized thematically

into chapters: "The Ghettos," "The Camps," "On the Aryan side," "In Hiding," "The Resistance," and "Prison." In her thirty-two-page foreword, Hochberg gave an overview of the Jewish child's experience under Nazi rule and after liberation. Unlike *Ehad me-ir*, *Dzieci oskarżają* included a chapter of essays and testimonies by adults concerning the life and death of Jewish children during the Holocaust. Hochberg explained that the testimonies of those who survived could not tell the story of those who did not. "They were not children," she wrote of the children who were lost, "they were specters, begging in their hundreds on the streets of the city ghettos, dying of starvation and disease, without a roof over their heads or material help or moral care." The murdered children had to be given a voice, and one way to do this was to allow the adults who had known them to tell their stories.

In Hochberg's eyes, the book was to serve as an indictment not just of Nazi policies and actions against Jewish children, but also of the postwar world that so easily forgot the murder of the Jews. "This accusation will not be made before an international court of law, recorded in hundreds of volumes, roundly phrased in accordance with the regulations, following the letter of the law in its lifeless clauses," she wrote; "It will be the judgment of humanity and sentence will be passed by Jewish children and their mothers . . . by the children deprived of all the sacred, timeless rights of childhood." She continued: "May this book about the Jewish children go out into the world. Into a world where high-ranking judges relax their vigilance with a thousand laws protecting human rights—on paper . . . . Into a world which so quickly and so willingly seeks to forget about the greatest crime in history."[36]

Hochberg tackled the sensitive issue of Polish society's behavior towards the surviving Jews equally forthrightly. She explained that for a Jewish child who had survived the Holocaust, having other children shout derisively "Jew! Jew! Jew!" and seeing teachers ignore such calls brought back wartime cries of "Jude! Jude! Jude!" She goes on to mention the "painful matter" that many rescuers of children are mentioned in the book only by initials. "Why is this, if their names are known?" she asked; "I do not know if anybody outside Poland can understand the fact that saving the life of a defenseless child being hunted by a criminal can bring shame and disgrace upon someone, and can expose them to harassment."[37] Such a statement was not the norm in Jewish-Polish relations in postwar Poland. That Hochberg made the statement publicly demonstrates that the book was not only a work of commemoration, but also a protest against non-Jewish Polish society's attitude towards the Jews. There could be no better example of the pervasiveness of this attitude than many Poles' negative reaction to the rescuers of innocent Jewish children.

Key Issues for the Collectors

The first collectors and publishers of children's testimonies grappled with several issues. Among other questions, they asked themselves whether the testimonies

were to be read as historical documents or as psychological profiles. Moreover, they had to decide for themselves whether it was ethical to reopen the children's wounds by asking them to give testimony. Above all, as they collected and organized the testimonies, they needed to have a clear conception of the historical value of these documents.

The Therapeutic Power of Testimonies

In the archives, the testimonies appear in groups—for example from a certain children's or youth kibbutz, or from a specific UNRRA team or school. Testimonies came from places where the teachers were more receptive to the idea of children "working out" their traumatic experiences.

But not everyone, it seems, was enthusiastic about the idea of soliciting testimonies from child survivors. The Historical Commission in Munich found that some teachers and schools in the DP camps were unwilling to cooperate with the collection process. For example, Elsa Corman, who taught English to DP children in Berlin in 1945 and 1946, recalls that she received explicit instructions not to talk with the children about their wartime experiences. Personal essay assignments were to center on prewar recollections exclusively so as not to traumatize the children.[38] Similarly, in a 1947 lecture Kaplan reported that some teachers in the DP camps objected to soliciting testimonies from their students on the grounds that "such writing is not beneficial to the students; it reopens wounds that are healing." Kaplan, himself a teacher, did not deny that wounds would be opened, but he argued that this was not a sufficient reason to refrain from taking testimonies. He asserted that the Holocaust was an important and far-reaching chapter in the children's lives, and that they should not be encouraged to forget it. As adults, he continued, the children would "probably thank their teachers for these memoirs." He suggested that the teachers set up a school archive to hold all the students' testimonies. Teachers should conduct the interviews, he advised, in order to alleviate the emotional pressure on the children.[39]

Some staff members of children's homes in Poland held views similar to Kaplan's. These young women, themselves survivors, concluded intuitively that giving testimony would help the children to process their traumatic experiences. The first testimony in Tenenbaum's collection was taken not by him but by Nesia Orlovitch, who ran the children's home where he first encountered child survivors. The context for the writing of this testimony was not historical but therapeutic. Berko, a teenager who had fought with the partisans, was highly depressed following his experiences and traumatized by the loss of his leg. "I was worried about his depression," Orlovitch wrote, "and thought that he might ease his burden if he would write it all, open his heart and write all that was haunting him." It worked. The writing of his "autobiography" brought about a change in young Berko's condition.[40] Similarly, Chasia Bielicka (today

Bornstein), whose children's home was one of the first to leave Poland, organized the writing of a collective testimony booklet by "her" children while they were incarcerated in a British detention camp in Cyprus. Bielicka, who during the war was a courier in the resistance, founded the children's kibbutz in Łódź. With her charges, she embarked on an odyssey that took them through Germany, on the illegal-immigrant ship *Theodore Herzl* to detention in Cyprus, and finally to Palestine. In her memoirs, she explained that the interim period in the British detention camp was just the right time, "to tell our story so that it will not be forgotten or lost in the depth of time."[41]

She wrote: "Psychologically, it seemed the right thing to do. I had no other tools and was not trained to deal with their psychological needs." On the other hand, she did not think that "anyone else in the world knew more than we knew." The effect on the children, recounted Bielicka, was "readily apparent." The few weeks spent on this group project of drafting, writing and illustrating were "like opening a wound and extracting the pus. It was as if the children were throwing up whole chunks of painful matters and easing their pain accordingly."[42]

It is interesting to note that the collectors did not reach a clear-cut verdict on the psychological value of the process. Neither was there, at that time or later, a professional evaluation of the contribution that testifying might make on the children's emotional recuperation. Our experience shows that some children who gave testimonies do not recall giving them. Moreover, decades later, it is difficult to differentiate between the survivors who gave testimonies as children and those who did not. On the other hand, it seems obvious that survivors working with the children, and some non-survivors too, saw the process of testifying as crucial to the child's psychological recovery and claimed to observe its effects immediately. Whether this was wishful thinking or was borne out by reality is hard to determine.

Testimonies as a Source of Information for Educators

"In children's writing," Kaplan stressed, "dates and facts are not important. The event is unimportant, the main issue is the child's attitude, his approach, and what happened to him. How the events affected him, the psychological and educational aspects."[43] Silkes's instructions for collecting children's testimonies also referred to the informational value of the testimonies. Among the goals set for recording children's testimonies, she mentioned the need "to establish the psychological and physical state of the Jewish youth after living for a period of several years under the conditions of the Nazi regime" as well as "to gather together information about the plans and aspirations of the Jewish youth, investigate their political convictions, their attitude to other nations, etc., in order to obtain informative material for the direction of our further educational work."[44]

Nor did Silkes look for historical details in children's testimonies. "We already know the course of events, the criminal facts, the types of murder from the adult testimonies," she wrote. But children's testimonies "possess inestimable psychological value, which adults are incapable of giving us." She continued: "This information will be found in the 'by the way' comments of the relaters (e.g., 'it was all one to me'), expressions of an emotional nature, appreciation of events and people, convictions, etc." Even children's exaggerations had research value. Silkes wrote: "Exaggeration and excess lead to errors in determining the historical truth, but in no way interfere with studying the psyche of the given person. They allow us to determine the emotional condition of the child, or the particularity of his fantasy more quickly."[45]

Like Kaplan, Silkes saw teachers as natural candidates for interviewing children. "Children should be studied by a person who has gained their trust," she wrote. She instructed the teacher to "bring out the narrative abilities of the child, observe the reactions, what happens to the child when he recalls former experiences. The child's language is not without significance." The teacher should look for "the proper moment when the child is ready to relate, 'to get it off his chest.'"

The fact that both Silkes and Kaplan were teachers is crucial to comprehending their drive to evaluate the children's psychological state.[46] They knew from experience that teachers needed to be aware of their students' recent experiences and traumas in order to help the children build a future. Without such insight into the children's emotional baggage, the teachers would not be able to reach them. The testimonies thus served as an essential tool for obtaining "informative material" that could be used to set the direction for "further educational work."[47]

Unique Characteristics of Children's Testimonies

The early researchers were struck by the children's distinctive way of expressing themselves in testimonies. "Apart from the historical reality described in them," Tenenbaum wrote, "[the testimonies] excel in that candidness typical to a child's viewpoint and feelings. They lack the self-criticism apparent in some measure in adult writers. But this deficiency is their vantage-point." So taken was he with the children's forthrightness that he compared their language to that of the Bible: "The young writers speak a factual language, a truthful chronicle of actions and events, where the individual to whom this all happened is hidden as if behind a veil, but his murmuring eyes and guarded breath are concealed between the lines . . . Their language is poor, as is their style, but through the stuttering come forth mighty accords of biblical verses."[48]

Maria Hochberg-Mariańska did not follow Tenenbaum's pattern of glorifying the testimonies. Yet she, too, commented on their style: "Children give their testimonies simply and frankly. In their recollections . . . there is a tone of freshly

experienced pain or hope." She noted that the editors of *Dzieci oskarżają* "took pains to preserve those impressions—the authenticity of the children's experiences."[49] She also commented on the way in which the children recounted their interactions with the world around them: "Wherever the children encountered good people, help or encouragement, they express their appreciation in words full of the warmest feelings. Every human gesture, even just the offering of a slice of bread or words of genuine sympathy none of these has been forgotten by these persecuted children.... In the same frank and straightforward way the children describe evil deeds and base people."[50] These outpourings demonstrate that the emotional underpinning of the issue greatly influenced the adults' reading of the testimonies. It seems that the collectors were fascinated, even awed, by the surviving children and their stories.

Saints or Villains? Evaluating Children Who Survived

In September 1945, the CJHC held its second academic conference in Łódź. The seminar was aimed at improving the professional level of the documentation and recording work. Noe Grüss gave a lecture titled "The Psychology of Jewish Youth in Light of Existing Archival Materials" and led a discussion on the topic. In his lecture, Grüss sang the praises of children who had survived. He claimed that although "the overload of impressions and experiences" weakened children's memory, it triggered the development of what he termed "practical intellect," which in many cases helped save children's lives. Moreover, his encounters with the children and their testimonies convinced Grüss that "the behavior of the Jewish children contained ethical and moral elements.... More than once they displayed heroism and a strong will, not at all only for their own good." He claimed that the early maturity of the children manifested itself in their preoccupation "with questions of social justice, religious faith and lack of religious faith, the meaning of courage, life and death." He concluded that the children were "more mature, more capable of resistance and more balanced than before the war."[51]

Grüss's audience was more skeptical about the effects of Jewish children's experiences during the war on their personality and behavior. Philip Friedman, the director of the commission and a noted historian, commented that Grüss's paper was "too one-sided. His view of the matter is too optimistic." He continued: "We mustn't say that after all they have lived through the children have no psychological disturbances. One can state that the children are wild. They lack ethical restraints and education." Another participant, Drobner, also took exception to Grüss's claims. Referring to children who were hidden with Christian families or in convents and later transferred to the care of Jewish institutions, he wrote that the psychological problems "of children who were brought up in a different religion and are now undergoing internal conflicts are not to be ignored."[52] Despite these cautions, the pattern of glorification was reflected in the goals set by the

Commission for recording children's testimonies, one of which was "To show the courage and ability of the Jewish youth. To show their strength to resist as well as their acts of fighting, which to a certain degree ruined the Nazi plans."[53]

There was, of course, an inherent fallacy in this logic. Was a Jewish child's survival clear evidence of his capabilities and practical intellect? Are we to understand that the child who did not survive was lacking in these? One well-known fact, corroborated by children's testimonies, is that survival depended on many variables other than the child's ability and intellect: German strategy and tactics, the extent of the local non-Jewish population's collaboration, the rescuer's personality and moral character, and, as much as all of these combined—pure chance.[54] Grüss, like his colleagues, must have been aware of the multiple patterns of survival.

Conclusion: Children's Testimonies in Context

To better understand the motivations of the initiators these documentation projects, we must examine the underlying cultural premises as well as the ideologies and sensibilities that informed their efforts.

The Intellectual Context: Children in East European Jewish Sociology

The interwar period was a time of considerable cultural and educational efforts focusing on Jewish children in Eastern Europe. Numerous political parties and cultural organizations published newspapers for children. This was the era of Janusz Korczak and his child-centered publications and radio programs. Likewise, research into the life of Jewish youth had a special place in the work of YIVO. Through its *Jugntforshung* (Youth research) branch, YIVO ran autobiographical essay competitions in 1932, 1934, and 1939. Teenagers and young adults aged 14 to 22 were invited to submit autobiographies describing their lives, their family, and their community. Hundreds of young people, most of them from Eastern Europe, submitted autobiographies to these competitions. Tenenbaum may have been alluding to this competition when he labeled his testimonies "autobiographies." The prewar focus on children and young adults and the importance placed on the authentic voice of the child carried over into the postwar world. Efforts to document young survivors' experiences and publish their testimonies were another link in the chain of East European Jewry's child-oriented cultural projects.[55]

The Ideological Context: The War on Children

That Nazi policies targeted Jewish children specifically was self-evident to many survivors and observers of Nazi actions. In the guidelines, this strategy was described as "the criminal Nazi activity, whose purpose was first to morally corrupt and then physically exterminate the young Jewish generation." Hochberg elaborated in *Dzieci oskarżają*: "What tiny thing was the life of a Jewish child compared to the ambitions of the 'masters of the world'? . . . Who could have suspected that

this child ... would be the principal enemy of German power and the first to be condemned; that against this child there would be sent hordes of heavily armed soldiers?"[56] To the postwar Jewish world, it was obvious that the unique anti-Jewish policies targeting children constituted a distinct chapter of the Holocaust. As such, they made focused research on Jewish children's Holocaust experience a necessity.[57]

The Moral Context: Children as Heroes

To a great extent, children's survival stories fulfilled the broader Jewish community's need to find Jewish heroism in the Holocaust. Though many Jews could relate to the courage of the Warsaw ghetto fighters and Jewish partisans, such stories centered around specific groups of ideologically oriented young people. Various left Zionist and communist groups claimed to be the initiators and leaders of the anti-Nazi or anti-Fascist struggle, and their rhetoric about their role in the resistance prevented the broader Jewish public from identifying fully with the resistance fighters.[58] In general, the divisiveness of Jewish political culture in Eastern Europe and Palestine made it difficult for many Jews to identify with Holocaust heroes from movements other than their own. But there was no such difficulty in the case of the children. Identification with children was natural and apolitical.[59] The child survivors were seen as young heroes who had thwarted the German plans to annihilate the Jewish people. They personified hopes for Jewish rejuvenation after the Holocaust.

The Political Context: Children as the Decisive Argument

It quickly became clear to Jewish observers that coming to terms with the Holocaust was not a priority in a postwar world. Early Cold-War considerations entailed the downplaying of German atrocities. The victors of World War Two appeared unable or unwilling to understand the scope or significance the Holocaust. Many Jews felt a sense of responsibility for bringing the details of the tragedy to light. In this endeavor, the testimonies of Jewish children played an important role. If any one aspect of the destruction could symbolize the Holocaust for the postwar world, it was the fate of the children. Their innocence was the perfect counterpoint to the evil of the Nazi program. Thus, it was only natural that Jewish activists used children's stories to convey the Jewish tragedy to the rest of the world.

Moreover, the children and their stories were of enormous importance to the Jewish struggle in the postwar world—a contest that was waged with little real power. Many believed that this was a struggle for the future of the children themselves. For this reason, Jewish leaders put children at the forefront of the battle for public opinion, presenting to the press child survivors on illegal-immigrant ships and DP mothers parading proudly with their newborn babies. The Jewish public,

believing that it was battling for its children's future, was naturally inclined to use children's stories to sway world opinion. The publication of the youngest survivors' testimonies highlighted the need for a political solution on the children's behalf—that is, for a Jewish state in Palestine.

Research on the early postwar collection of children's testimonies has just begun. This trend parallels three general currents in contemporary Holocaust research. One is the growing interest in testimonies, especially early ones. The second involves research into early Holocaust historiography and documentation. There is a growing awareness that careful planning went into the collection of testimonies, the formulation of a methodology and research goals, and the publication of materials in the early postwar years. This awareness has led to increased recognition of the agency of Holocaust survivors in the commemoration of the Holocaust. Discussion of the silence and the silencing of survivors has gradually transformed into a debate about "the silence that never was."[60] The third current concerns research on children's experiences under the Nazis. The works of Nick Stargardt and Lynn Nicholas, both published in 2005, and the earlier work by Debórah Dwork[61] opened a new avenue for research on children. The early work that was done in collecting children's testimonies—and in formulating the relevant tools and methodologies—has much to contribute to these new research directions and debates. Moreover, its relevance to present-day issues of children's experiences in times of conflict has yet to be explored.

Notes

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1. Nathan Alterman, "Ima, kvar mutar livkot?" (Mommy, Is It Allowed to Cry Now?) *Davar* 19 Oct. 1945, reprinted in Nathan Alterman, *Ha-tur ha-shevi'i* (The Seventh Column) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1977), 23. My translation from Hebrew. Published with the permission of Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House. The poem relates to a testimony by Abba Kovner, a poet and Jewish partisan leader who recounted hearing a girl ask this question in liberated Vilna. Published with the permission of Hakibbutz: Hameuchad Publishing House.

2. On the National Relief Committee for Deportees in Hungary, see Rita Horváth, "Jews in Hungary after the Holocaust: The National Relief Committee for Deportees, 1945–1950," *The Journal of Israeli History* 2 (1998): 69–91.

3. As this research reached completion, two books appeared on children's experiences during World War Two: Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the*

Nazis (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005); and Lynn H. Nicholas, *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005). Neither work makes use of early children's testimonies, though Stargardt deals with some of the issues discussed here and describes other collection projects directed at children in his chapter on liberation.

4. Benjamin Tene (Tenenbaum), *El ir neuray* (To the City of My Youth) (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1979), 75–76.

5. Ibid., 126.

6. Ibid., 148.

7. Ibid., 150. It is important to note that a review of the testimonies taken by the Commission and available to us does not validate Tenenbaum's claim about the character of adult testimonies. One can only surmise that he got this impression from the specific materials offered to him by the Commission.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 148.

10. Ibid., 15.

11. Ibid.

12. See: Boaz Cohen, "Bound to Remember, Bound to Remind: Holocaust Survivors and the Genesis of Holocaust Research," in *Beyond Camps and Forced Labour: Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution*, ed. Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth (Osnabrück: Secolo Verlag, 2005); Shmuel Krakowski, "Memorial Projects and Memorial Institutions Initiated by She'erit Hapletah," in *She'erit Hapletah, 1944–1948: Rehabilitation and Political Struggle*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), 388–98.

13. Gita Silkes, "Algemayner araynfir tsum fregeboygen far kinder," Metodologishe onvizungen tsum oysforshen dem Khurbn fun Poylishe yidntum ("General Introduction to the Questionnaire for Children," Methodological Instructions for the Research of the Destruction of Polish Jewry) (Łódź: Central Council for Jews in Poland, 1945).

14. Rachel Auerbach, "Mekorot u'drachim hadashim l'geviyat eduyot" ("New Ways and Methods for Taking Testimonies"), *Yediot Yad Vashem* no. 2, 29 July 1954.

15. David Boder, a Jewish sociologist who arrived in Europe from the United States in 1947 equipped with a tape-recorder and recorded 109 survivor testimonies, is the exception to the rule. In general, all early testimonies—children's and adults'—are either in the witness's own handwriting or in that of the interviewer. On Boder, see: Donald L. Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds: Early Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

16. Silkes, "Algemayner araynfir," 33.

17. Yad Vashem Archive (hereafter YVA) M49e/515 taken 15 July 1945. The M49e division of YVA is a copy of division 301 of the CJHC archive in Warsaw. File numbers are the same.

18. YVA M49e/882.

19. On the commission see, Zeev W. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. On Kaplan and Figenbaum see Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *From That Place and Time: A Memoir 1938–1947* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), 303–305.

20. On this issue, see Shalom Eilati (Kaplan's son), *La-hatsot et ha-nahar* (Crossing the River) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999).

21. Michał M. Borwicz, Nella Rost, and Józef Wulf, eds. *Dokumenty zbrodni i męczeństwa* (Cracow: Wojewódzka Żydowska Komisja, 1945).

22. Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds. *Dzieci Oskarżają* (Cracow: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1947), translated as *The Children Accuse* (London: Vallentine-Mitchell, 1996), xxv. All references here are to the English version.

23. Introduction to Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, xx.

24. Janina Hescheles, *Oczyma dwunastoletniej dziewczyny*, ed. Maria Hochberg-Mariańska (Cracow: Centralny Komitet Żydów Polskich, 1945).

25. Transcript in YVA M49e/1583. I was not able to establish whether the program was broadcast or not.

26. Benjamin Tenenbaum, ed., *Ehad me-ir u shenayim mi-mishpahah: Mivhar m'elef avto-bigrafiot shel yaldei Yisrael b'Polin* (One of a City and Two of a Family: A Selection from One Thousand Autobiographies of Jewish Children in Poland) (Merhavyah: Sifriat Poalim, 1947).

27. Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*.

28. Noe Grüss, ed. *Kinder-martirologye: Zamlung fun dokumentn* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun Poylishe Yidn in Argentine, 1947). This collection was published as part of a series on the fate of Polish Jewry.

29. "Baricht fun der tsvayter visenshaftlecher baratung fun der tsentraler historisher komisye in Polin dem 19-ten un 20-ten September 1945. Lodz 1945." ("Report from the Second Academic Conference of the Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland, 19–20 September 1945. Lodz 1945"), YIVO archive 1258.

30. Tenenbaum, *Ehad me-ir*, 6.

31. Ibid., 10–11.

32. Ibid., 58.

33. Ibid., 68.

34. Ibid., 8. The issue of the extent of the children's identification with Zionism was more nuanced than Tenenbaum would have it seem. It is clear that children and young adults entered children's homes out of necessity and not because of ideology. While identifying with the fervent Zionist teachings there, they did not automatically renounce their Polish or even Christian identities. Children carried the burden of this dissonance at least through the early postwar years.

35. Ibid., 11–12.

36. Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, xv–xvi. On Western reactions to the poor conditions of Jewish children in the Allied Zones see: Nicholas, *Cruel World*, chapter 16.

37. Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, xxxiv.

38. Elsa Corman, comment at a symposium on "Survivor, Displacement, Struggle: Jewish Displaced Persons in the Wake of the Holocaust," Unites States Memorial Holocaust Museum, 28 July 2005.

39. Israel Kaplan, "'In der Tagbladet Historisher Arbeit,' Fartag, gehalten oyfen Tzumenfor di historisher komisyes, München dem 12-ten May 1947, Oysgabes fun tsentraler komisye baym tsentral komitet fun Befrite yidn in Amerikaner Zone, Munich 1947" ("Day to Day Work in the Historical Commission," lecture given at the meeting of the Historical Commissions, Munich, 12 May 1947, Published by the Central Historical Commission of Liberated Jews in the American Zone).

40. Tene, *El ir neuray*, 150.

41. Chasia Bornstein-Bielicka, *Ahat mi-me'atim: Darkah shel lohemet u-mehanekhet, 1939–1947* (One of the Few: The Path of a Fighter and an Educator) (Tel Aviv: Moreshet, 2003), 324.

42. Ibid., 325.

43. Kaplan, "In der tagbladet historisher arbeit."

44. Silkes, "Algemayner araynfir."

45. Ibid.

46. Both went back to teaching after emigrating from Europe—Kaplan in Tel-Aviv and Silkes in New York.

47. Silkes, "Algemayner araynfir."

48. Tenenbaum, *Ehad me-ir*, 6–7.

49. Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, xxix.

50. Ibid., xxix–xxx.

51. "Baricht fun der tsvayter visenshaftlecher baratung."

52. Ibid.

53. Silkes, "Algemayner araynfir."

54. Debórah Dwork dealt with this issue in her book *Children With a Star: Jewish Youth in Nazi Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

55. For information on the competitions and a selection of the essays see: Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland Before the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

56. Hochberg and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, xv–xvi.

57. The projects described here predated the modern interest in children's Holocaust and war experiences. It seems that many modern researchers are not aware of their existence.

58. See Boaz Cohen, "Holocaust Heroics: Ghetto Fighters and Partisans in Israeli Society and Historiography," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2003): 197–214.

59. This did not stop the various political and ideological movements from trying to draw the children into internal Jewish politics. There was much ill feeling on this issue, and each movement accused its competitors of foul play.

60. This term, coined by Professor Hannah Yablonka in a personal communication, refers to the dissonance between the common perception that Holocaust survivors kept silent about their wartime experience at least until the Eichmann trial, and the reality that survivors published and spoke on Holocaust-related issues during the 1940s and 1950s.

61. See footnotes 3 and 54.