Care, children and the Jewish catastrophe

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Universiteit Leiden

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I'm here to tell you something that you already know.

Care matters. And it matters in many ways.

It matters for all of us on an individual level. Our lives are bookended and punctuated by care.[1] But care also matters as a scientific, historical concept that is seemingly timeless, always contingent and a surprisingly, under-utilized tool in the study of the human past.[2]

To put that another way: care is constant but it is almost always changing. It responds to technological advances, material revolutions, persistent moral assumptions and shifting political economies. It is often infused with religious, ethnic and cultural sensitivities.[3] We create care practices and care practices transcend us.[4] If we theorize it, care with a 'capital C' becomes a social entity that changes in composition over time.

When I talk about care these days I am usually talking about early childcare or the care which transpires during the earliest days of human life, in the womb and for a handful of years after birth.[5] As I look around this room, around this beautiful room filled with people who support me and have come to this lecture from both near and far, I know that all of us received this early childcare. Of that I am certain. You all survived that fragile period which begins the human experience. What is uncertain, however, is where historians and others who study the past can find the physical, documentary and archival proof of that care which sustained you.

Because while early childcare is obvious, it is often invisible to the written record.[6] The person receiving that care has no memory of it. Those giving care are consumed by that care and too busy or too tried to write about it.[7] Caregivers are often women, whose perspective has frequently been marginalized. The work of early childcare is often taboo, its sometimes quite dirty and largely undocumented.[8] And so, the invisible work attached to early child care is by definition difficult to visualize.[9] That's exactly what I want to try to do today using a specific laboratory: the Jewish Catastrophe in Central Europe during the Second World War.

Specifically, I will visualize the invisible work of caretakers who nurtured the very young during the *Shoah*, the event that came to be known as the Holocaust with a capital "H." How will I do this? I can hear you asking. And, I can hear at least one of you asking, "so what, why does this matter?"

Let me answer those questions now explicitly and hope that in the minutes which follow I can strengthen those answers with evidence.

I will visualize the work of caretakers during the Shoah by reading preexisting documents in creative ways and by focusing on overlooked voices, spaces and things that illuminate care in the past.

So what? We already know so much about the Holocaust, or the systematic discrimination, uprooting, robbery, starvation and murdering of European Jews from 1933-1945—why should we think about this event from the standpoint of caretakers and the children who received care?[10] Isn't genocide always gendered?[11] Isn't the decision taken by Nazi officials in the late summer and early fall of 1941 to kill hundreds of thousands of Jewish women and children "by bullets" on the eastern front, as detailed by Christopher Browning and others, already held up as a moment that the Third Reich crossed a line and became a genocidal state?[12] Am I really telling you something new? In fact, I began this talk by admitting that today I will tell you something that you already know. What else am I contributing to conversations about the Holocaust, about the broader experience of Jews rooted in central and eastern Europe and about the importance of care for the broader study of the human past?

An answer to these complicated questions begins with an admission. I've always taught that the Holocaust is unique compared to other genocides on three registers: the long history of anti-Judaism in Christian Europe[13], the metaphysical nature of the "Jew" in Nazi ideology[14] and the pan-European nature[15] of the crime which implicates so many different actors from railway operators to machine makers to government officials and ordinary "neighbors."

But I have begun to realize that this explanation is incomplete.

The chronological length, the geographic breadth and the daily processes that added up to this genocide demand that we pay attention to caretaking as an active relationship and those imbricated in those relationships. The Nazis and some of their collaborators weaponized "care" and networks attached to care as they perpetrated the Holocaust. I think that this explicit manipulation of care to advance genocide ALSO makes the Holocaust unique in the field of genocide studies. On a tangent, I am interested to see how specialists of "other" genocides integrate care into the narratives they write.

Stemming from this realization, a more specific argument that I'd like to make today is that we should understand the experience of caretaking as being the *dominant* experience of Jews during the 1940s. And here, I understand the word "Jews" to correspond with those classified as Jewish according to the 1935 Nuremberg Laws. Thus, if we are not studying the invisible work of care and caretaking we are not really grappling with the events that added up to this genocide nor are we representing this past accurately.

Beyond this, a focus on care illuminates survival and un-survival, the extensive uprootedness for Jews of all ages during the 1940s and, finally, the invisible work of care during extraordinary times. In fact, it's precisely during periods of uprooting, displacement and forced migration that care and care networks become more visible.[16] This holds true for the three case studies I will present today, which all involve Polish Jewish caregivers, those whom they cared for and some Polish Jews attentive to care. These case studies, which happened during the first half of the 1940s, reveal the "Other Holocaust": or the specific genocide directed at the youngest victims of the Shoah and those who nurtured them.

Moving forward, we will look at this "Other Holocaust" in three places, the Warsaw Ghetto, Auschwitz-Birkenau and the wartime Soviet Union. Because of the spread of this survey and the nature of the evidence we will digest, I think it's necessary to say more two things before I proceed, two things that I often say to my students when I teach about this event. First, the Holocaust happened in different ways in different places. We need to be attentive to local, regional and global circumstances.[17] And second: we are talking about a very sensitive topic and within that sensitive topic we are considering highly sensitive documents and stories. Some of this lecture might be triggering for people, especially those who have suffered pregnancy loss or the loss of a cared-for child. I am familiar with these feelings. I still think the emotional stamina required for this work is possible and necessary.[18] This is a perspective we cannot ignore.

Part I: The Warsaw Ghetto

I'll begin this first section on the Warsaw Ghetto, which existed from November 1940 to May 1943, from a very different time and place.[19] On May 3, 1961 during the 25th session of the State of Israel's trial against Adolf Eichmann, Zivia Lubetkin took the stand. She wore a plain collared dress with large buttons that cinched at the waist with the help of a belt.[20] After she was sworn in she was seated in the witness chair, across from the glass box containing the accused and next to the table where the Chief Prosecutor Gideon Hausner stood, with his black robe, thin black tie and crossed arms. With gravity he asked her: "what happened in April 1943, before Easter, before Pesach?"[21] He wanted her to talk about how she

and other Polish Jews initiated the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising during Passover, a springtime festival commemorated by Jews annually. Lubetkin swallowed, ran her tongue across her bottom teeth. Staring downward for the most part and twisting her glasses in her hand, she began an answer that is shocking to say the least.

Let me quote her in full. "The 18th of April 1943 was the day before Pesach …two days earlier the Gestapo man Brand walked into the Community Council Office and said that he 'believed that the Council does not take enough care of the Jewish children. There was not enough food, not enough vegetables and he suggested that kindergartens would be put up so that Jewish children could play and laugh because it was certain that Jews would remain in Warsaw and should be productive and that there would be no danger of deportation.' We already had experience and we knew that if there were any rumors and if there was such a promise that it was a bad omen." [22]

Rumors reverberated through the Ghetto during those heavy April days, which Czeslaw Milosz, a non-Jewish Pole who lived on the other side of the Ghetto wall, captured so viscerally in his poem "Campo di Fiori," in which Milosz details how the flames from the burning ghetto passed by the children's carousel in a park on the Aryan side of the city.[23] Even positive rumors, however, did not encourage her and other fighters in the ŻOB (Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa) or Jewish Combat Organization.[24] Further intelligence confirmed what Lubetkin and others already expected. By midnight on April 18th the Ghetto was surrounded by Nazi German soldiers readying for intensive battle.[25]

To me, this is extraordinary. In advance of the Nazi ground assault on the Warsaw Ghetto, one of the four largest urban insurrections in the 20th century and the largest insurrection in any part of Nazi-occupied Europe, the Nazi official who liasioned with the Jewish Community tried to divert Jewish attention and ameliorate Jewish fears by making promises *to improve the lives of Jewish children*. This masked manipulation was embedded in the broader Nazi strategy for liquidating the Jewish community of Warsaw (the second largest urban settlement of Jews in the world after New York City and roughly 1/3 of the city's overall population) as well as tens of thousands of Jews from elsewhere in Poland who had been resettled there.[26] And, perhaps even more extraordinarily, members of the Jewish Fighting Organization like Zivia Lubetkin were prepared to take up the meagre arms they had stored and protected because they heard about a Nazi initiative to re-open kindergartens, give Jewish children more vegetables and encourage play and laughter within the Ghetto Walls. Why were these particular rumors understood as a "bad omen"? When Lubetkin said that she and her comrades already had "experience" which indicated otherwise, what did she mean?

With this short reference made nearly two decades after the events she described, Lubetkin gestured to another confluence of care and catastrophe from the spring and summer of 1942, from privileges given to Jewish children and their relieved caretakers before the so-called Great Deportation uprooted and massacred more than 250,000 Polish Jewish men, women and children in the gas chambers of Treblinka.

In April 1942, architects and engineers confined to the Warsaw Ghetto smoothed the jagged rubble of bombed-out spaces into artificial hills and valleys dotted with trees and flowers.[27] Over the next few months, playgrounds took root in these newly-created parks thanks to an initiative of Adam Czerniakow, the President of the Nazi-created Warsaw Judenrat, who is not necessarily remembered in positive terms. Throughout the spring and summer of 1942, diarist and survivor Hillel Seidman (the father of scholar Naomi Seidman[28]) remembered thousands of young children exercising in planned play spaces under the watchful eyes of their teachers. Yes, in April 1942 the Nazis allowed schools to open in the Warsaw Ghetto as well.[29]

As spring became summer more playgrounds materialized. We know this because Czerniakow followed the progress of Warsaw Ghetto playgrounds closely in his diary, which we can read today on screens that we carry in our pockets because his diary was snuck out of the Warsaw Ghetto and preserved by Polish Jews hiding on the Aryan side and Polish Christians sympathetic to the Jewish plight. On June 24, 1942, for example, Czerniakow inspected the work unfolding at two playgrounds. A few weeks later, Czerniakow recorded the happy news that both spaces would be finished by Sunday July 12. At 9:30 in the morning on that day, "crowds of people" in the streets, on roofs, on chimneys and balconies watched the opening of the play area alongside an orchestra, choir and ballet dances. The children gave Czerniakow an "ovation."[30] Reflecting on his presence in play spaces and at these ceremonies he wrote that "many people hold a grudge against me for organizing play activity for the children, for arranging festive openings of playgrounds … I am reminded of a film: a ship is sinking and the captain, to raise the spirits of the passengers orders the orchestra to play a jazz piece. I had made up my mind to emulate the captain."[31] And so, across four warming months in 1942, Czerniakow partook in ceremonies steeped in hope, hope for a future that Jewish children in Warsaw could enjoy.

Those of us who study how the Polish Jewish civilization that coalesced in Warsaw began to come to a genocidal end, know that all this unfolded against a backdrop of other rumors which hinted at the opposite: there would be no future for the Jews of Warsaw. The tension between these outcomes coexisted until a breaking point in the last week of July and would culminate in Czerniakow's protest suicide.

Seven days before he died, on July 15, Czerniakow stopped by a new playground, it was full. On July 16, Czerniakow recorded a new rumor suggesting that imminent deportations from the Ghetto would leave only 120,000 people behind or less than 25% of the existing Ghetto population. On Saturday July 18, more precise rumors claimed that deportations would begin in just two days, on the evening of Monday July 20. Erupting panic drove Czerniakow towards two things: medication (headache powders, pain relievers and sedatives[32]) and *playgrounds*. He visited three on July 19 as he passed through the entire quarter. Even on the last day of his life, Czerniakow included a reference to playgrounds alongside the horrific instructions: that "all the Jews irrespective of sex and age with certain exceptions will be deported to the East. 6,000 Jews were due to the Umschlagplatz at 16:00. That number would be a minimum daily quota."[33] After Czerniakow and the *Judenrat* received this order from Sturmbannfuhrer Hofle they disconnected their telephone and evacuated the children from the playground opposite their headquarters. At some moment thereafter, Czerniakow swallowed poison and died.

Playgrounds and schools engendered optimism and passivity for Czerniakow and others at a particularly meaningful moment, right before the Great Deportation began. This is what, I believe, Zivia Lubetkin referred to when asked about the timing of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, as she sat opposite Adolf Eichmann in 1961. When the Nazis dangled improved care for Jewish children in front of her and her fellow fighters, they knew that this was part of an intentional strategy.

Part II: Auschwitz-Birkenau

From Warsaw let us move to another place where the Holocaust happened: Auschwitz-Birkenau. This is name that is familiar to you, I'm sure. Let me clarify a few things about this site, which lies around 3 kilometers away from the main camp Auschwitz I, seen here in a curated photo by one of my students.

Auschwitz is the German name of a Polish town, the name of the first and main camp where working prisoners from more than a dozen countries were registered and also a stand-in for a complex of work, labor, concentration, starvation and death.[34]

There were 40 subcamps in this expansive network which sits at an important railway juncture and next to the town of Oświęcim where Jews lived for more than 900 years.[35]

We will focus now on Birkenau, a subcamp built in 1941 and 1942 near the village of Brzezinka where roughly a million people, mainly Jews, met their death by suffocation in four gas chambers. For context, one of out six Jews who died during the Holocaust died at the Auschwitz complex. Drawing on the artwork from a French Polish Jew named David Olère, voices from his colleagues in the *Sonderkommando* and other writers who experienced Birkenau, we will clearly see that most of the women selected to die in gas-infused chambers experienced their trajectories to death as caregivers with children in their charge. For some younger, healthy women, their role as a caretaker condemned them to death.

The visceral art of David Olère forces us where we cannot go and from where there were almost no survivors: to the threshold of and then inside the gas chambers and crematorium. And when we arrive there, the children command our attention. Faceless, small beings wrapped in adult arms can be seen in one drawing sketched soon after unconditional surrender. In a 1945 plan of Birkenau's Crematorium III at least three of those standing in the gas chamber appear to holding miniature versions of themselves.[36] They stand below five ovens, a room for the extraction of gold teeth, an area for the collection of hair and bunks assigned to the Sonderkommando, who witnessed and became part of the final mechanisms of systematic murder.

David Olère could visualize this multi-level complex because he had been a "slave of the crematorium" himself for almost two years beginning on March 2, 1943, when train convoy number 49 arrived in Auschwitz from Drancy in France.[37] A highly-regarded artist and naturalized French citizen who had been born in Warsaw in 1902, Olère was arrested in a roundup near Paris on February 20, 1943 and deported in a cattle-car that chugged for roughly 1,500 kilometers eastward, back towards occupied lands which used to belong to the Second Polish Republic. After the war, he returned to France and shifted his gaze to Birkenau itself, perhaps to convince his un-deported wife (who nursed him back to health with spoonfuls of pureed food) of what he had seen.[38]

Toys and baby bottles appear frequently in his work, sometimes clutched in the hands of live offspring and sometimes discarded. A sketch entitled "I watch the SS…food for the girls to avoid seeing them in the crematoriums" that can be found at the Ghetto Fighters House in Israel includes goods destined for tiny mouths.[39] Framed by the boots and legs of a guard, this drawing shows Olère as a Sonderkommando with life-saving access to things surrendered by those destined for the gas chambers. Things brought on the many-day or many-week long trip to Birkenau. A baguette. A box of Aspirin. Suitcases and bags. And then, prominently, a baby bottle and a plump pacifier.

A similar scene is captured in color in "David Olère Collecting Food."[40] Next to an abandoned pair of boots, a gaping cloth bag with kosher meat, a thin baguette, an apple, other perishable goods. Cast off next to this bag is a small barefoot doll, with a yellow dress and blue hair ribbon. And then a long baby bottle filled with milk.

Things like this were discarded in the grass near the gas chambers. We can see evidence of this in the so-called Auschwitz Album as well, which remains the only photographic proof of an arrival to Birkenau destined for work or death.[41] This retention of carry-on items kept caretakers and those around them calm. Sometimes these goods were carried into the antechamber of the gas chamber as seen in "In the un-dressing room of Crematorium III" sketched in 1946.[42] A rectangular room, replete with benches, hooks for discarded clothing, large pipes, a pillar and industrial lights contains two guards with rifles that steer the naked and almost naked

people. Seven women and five children. The only character in the scene who we meet eye to eye is a child in the right corner of the our view. When I first saw this picture, I knew that I had to write a book about care during the Holocaust. I also had a hunch that other Sonderkommando would provide me with details about the invisible work of this care at the end of life.

One Sonderkommando prisoner named Josef Sacker remembered that "people carried their parents in their arms and ten-year old's carried babies in their arms."[43] The disrobing happened in shifts and leading 2,000 people to the full-capacity gas chamber took about an hour. Alongside the clothes, Sonderkommando charged with cleaning up the debris of the living often found food: eggs, meat and fruit both fresh and dried. Sacker remembered that "many came with little children and had to feed them…they didn't know whether and when they would be given something to eat."[44]

Care, what we might even call miraculous care, continued even within the gas chamber, as caretakers expired and lifeless bodies collapsed upon one another. On a "normal" day filled with transport arrivals, Sonderkommando prisoner Shlomo Venezia recalled hearing a strange noise as they removed bodies from the chamber. This was not abnormal. Bodies, Venezia explained, "continued to emit gas", the so-called "death rattle." But then, the group working "listened closely" and realized the wailing was "the crying of a newborn baby."[45]

Barely two months old, Venezia estimates, the baby was "still clinging to her mother's breast and vainly trying to suckle. She was crying because she could feel that the milk had stopped flowing." Perhaps the baby girl, was the same size as the one tethered to her caretaker in this gruesome drawing by David Olère. Venezia's colleague brought the baby out of the gas chamber. "We knew," Venezia remembered, "it would be impossible to keep her with us. Impossible to hide her or get her accepted by the Germans."[46] Once the guard saw the baby he shot it and that little girl who had miraculously survived the gas was dead. This episode reaffirmed for Venezia the inevitability of death at Birkenau, what child survivor and historian Otto Dov Kulka calls the "immutable law" in his gripping memoir *Landscape of the Metropolis of Death*.[47]

But, Venezia did survive his work with the Sonderkommando. Like Olère he orbited away from Planet Auschwitz, a phrase that takes important resonance in the latest book of my colleague Kate Brackney.[48] Venezia survived and many years later he asked the head of the largest pediatric hospital in Rome how that baby could have survived. According to this doctor,"it was not impossible that the child, as she suckled, was insulated by the strength with which she was sucking at her mother's breast, which would have limited the absorption of the deadly gas."[49] Venezia once shared this story with school children after one small girl asked him if anyone survived the gas chamber. Yes, but only one.

David Olère's artistic attention even focused on life-not-yet-born. Tucked into a formed belly, a diaphanous, breeched fetus is left of center in this difficult scene. Entitled "Gassing" (Gazage) this large, blue-gray-brown-red painting shows a bloodied canister of Zyklon B emitting gas that ensnarls roughly 17 people in an agonizing state.[50] With open mouths and sometimes open eyes, their naked limbs twist towards each other. The memories of Sonderkommando Leyb Langfus, which were scribbled on precious paper and buried in the ground near the crematorium, corroborates this entanglement. "Falling down dead in such a confined space the people pressed against each other in 5 or 6 layers, one on top of the other to over a meter in height." He noticed that "mothers were left sitting on the ground clutching their children, men and women hugging each other."[51] Was this expectant mother, we might ask, pregant when she arrived at Birkenau or, like the mother of Otto Dov Kulka, did she conceive at Auschwitz? Naomi Seidman's work reminds us that intentional sex, pregnancy and birth happened even in the most desparate locations during the Holocaust.[52]

Other fetuses figure in my research on care as well. In the 1980s, for example, the Conference for Material Claims against Germany struck an agreement with the West German Government about a new classification of Holocaust survivors, the "fetus category." Thus, babies born to Jewish mothers even after May 1945 were eligible for survivor benefits. More than 2,500 claims in the "fetus category" have been approved for reparation payments.[53] Its impossible, of course, to know how many fetuses were killed at Birkenau. What we do know, as scholar and survivor Ruth Kluger reminds us, only the Jewish and Roma children died in the gas chambers en-masse.[54]

Ruth Kluger had other things to say about childcare in the Auschwitz universe which are relevant here. She was a child herself when she arrived in Birkenau with her mother. They had a complicated relationship and Kluger did not want observers of the Holocaust, or any past, to idealize care relationships based on biology. "The texture of family relations," she wrote, "becomes progressively more threadbare" when people have to put up with "more."[55] Still, she contended that family obligations precluded some behavior like child abandonment. She used a critique of a "fictional" scene written by Polish Sonderkommando Tadeusz Borowski to make her point.

In "This Way to the Gas Ladies and Gentlemen," Borowski visualizes a youthful Jewish mother arriving at Birkenau and, then, attempting to abandon her child even as the child chases after her.[56] Borowski acknowledges in his text: the mother wanted to live. Like Borowski and fellow prisoner Imre Kertesz, Kluger also wrote about this moment of arrival on the deportation ramp at Birkenau.[57] She called it a "blind alley of civilization gone berserk."[58] She stood on a different deportation ramp than this one, which dates from spring 1944 and is pictured in the Auschwitz Album. But I think the visual helps. For Kluger, the scene detailed by Borowski about the mother abandoning her offspring was unconvincing from two perspectives "as a woman who was a 12-year-old girl at that time on that very ramp and one who lived for the rest of the war among older female prisoners."[59] She said this "in honor of the Jewish mothers who died and those who were kind to the children of other women."[60] Leaning on Kluger and the memories of the Sonderkommando like David Olère, perhaps we should read the majority experience of female caretakers and their charges as an apogee of human caregiving. Hundreds of thousands of Janusz Korczaks, who have not been remembered with such gusto or commemoration.[61]

Part III: The wartime Soviet Union

An irony of the Second World War is that more Polish Jews survived outside of Polish territory than on it. Around 250,000 Jews with Polish citizenship spent this conflict in the Soviet Union alongside a million non-Jewish Polish citizens.[62] As they moved around and lived in the USSR indefinitely, this largely young population decided that wartime was also a good time to start or grow a family. By the time hundreds of thousands returned to postwar Poland in 1946, statistics I have found in the Szczecin city archive indicate that 1 out of 4 Polish Jews was under the age of 7.[63] 1 out of 8 was under the age of 2.[64]

Perhaps that was why Miriam Storch said, "the time in the Soviet Union was hard, but not for the reason that you think, it was hard because we had constantly to take care of children."[65] Children like the son of Esther Berkowitz who was born on the weeks long train trip that sent her and her husband from the western fringes of the expanded Soviet Union to a labor installation in Siberia.[66] When she realized that she was in labor, the Soviets stopped the train and took her to a hospital where she gave birth. Her father in law became a primary caretaker of Daniel her son. She had her second child in 1945.

At labor installations, pregnant women often stayed behind with older women and older men to care for the children as the parents worked hard physical jobs.[67] Polish Jewish women had to lean on others in the absence of strong family or communal

ties. A local midwife taught Doris Abersteld to squeeze lemon juice into the mouths of breast feeding children to strengthen the nutritional value of mother's milk.[68] Women like Frieda Walzman were instructed by local Kazakhs to breastfeed their children for 2 years to ensure their nutritional strength, longer than what was customary in interwar Poland and shorter than the upper limit of five years recommended by some rabbis in Mishnah and Talmud.[69]

It took Central Asian villages to raise these kids. Polish Jewish women, often expected to work in the Soviet labor system, left kids in daycares, at orphanages for the day or with members of "family" both biological and non-biological. Sixty years after the war, Ruzena Berler cherished a picture of Anastasia who cared for her daughter.[70] Decades after their time in the Soviet Union, dozens of parents, both mothers and fathers, remembered that train stations, important centers for the exchange of goods and information, almost always had rooms for babies, with hot water, cleaning products and a space for nursing mothers.[71] In times of scarcity, things attached to babies were often hard to procure, but not impossible. The black market provided a space to sell (Frieda Walzman's nightgown bought a month's worth of food in Dzambul) and buy (Rachel Koplowicz used earnings made by her husband, a tailor for the Red Army, to buy a cot for her child).[72]

Koplowicz's memories also reveal the continued observance of religious laws with a "modern" twist. After her son Jackie was born in 1944, an un-named Russian midwife helped her find a *mohel* who ritually circumcised her son. Then she took her son to be photographed professionally in Lenger Ugol. Five decades later, nearing the end of a 2-hour, 20-minute interview conducted in the Bronx, she shared the image with posterity. There, held in front of the camera at a tilted angle, was a picture of her naked son. Knitted booties covered his toes, some kind of plant sat behind him, a lacy cloth separated his bare bottom from the table and natural light streamed in from his left. "This is a picture of my three-month old son, circumcised," she said. "I wanted proof to send to my parents that I circumcised my son."[73] Her parents never saw it. They were probably already exterminated when the picture was taken close to Tashkent. Remnants of early childcare, in voices, in spaces that no-longer-exist and in the things that continue to be carried, infuse the experiences of Polish Jews who survived WWII in the Soviet Union.

Conclusion and expressions of gratitude

As I tack towards the end of this lecture, I'd like to state that there is much more care to consider when we talk about this *Other Holocaust*. Some of my colleagues like Kasia Person, Joanna Sliwa, Mary Fraser Kirsh, Franziska Lamp and Rebecca Clifford have written about care in convents and monasteries; about care that was care until it was not safe to have a Jewish child in your midst; about careworkers who worked in ghetto daycares; about caregivers who shuffled children off into the night and picked them up in the bleary light of early dawns; about care that succeeded and care that failed; and, about the extension of care networks after 1945.[74] When you start to think about the Holocaust through the lens of "care" it is hard to stop. And, of course, questions about care transcend the Holocaust and 1940s dissecting the entirety of the human past.

I've just given a lecture on the Holocaust. But I am not, solely, a historian of the Holocaust. I am, first and foremost, a historian of central and eastern Europe. This diverse, fascinating and complicated region is connected to my Special Chair and has been intimately connected to my life since I first took a course with Prof. Laurie Koloski at The College of William & Mary in Virginia in the year 2000. Within this space that extends from Salzburg to St. Petersburg and Sarajevo, I focus on the unique and complicated Jewish civilization that was rooted, for better or for worse, here for hundreds of years until, at some point, it wasn't anymore.

I use this word civilization intentionally. This was a rooted diaspora that "belonged" to this space despite the persistence of Jewish otherness. In fact, as Milan Kundera reminds us it is impossible to write about Central Europe without engaging with the Jewish voices which reverberated through this region.[75] The Nazis, their collaborators and, on a smaller but significant scale, some postwar actors who decided that Jewish survivors should be destined for an Jewish polity in the Middle East, uprooted an entire civilization.

If my favorite Yiddish saying *ein mensch ist ein welt mit kleinern weltern* ("a person is a world filled with little worlds") is true, the void left by 6 million deaths is cosmic in scale. This is why the concepts of culture and civilization are embedded into Raphael Lemkin's original definition of genocide which he coined in 1944.[76] He wrote about both Polish Christians and Polish Jews. He spoke about the Czechs under Nazi Rule and the Armenians slaughtered by the Ottomans as well. The crime of genocide is not only a crime against a people, it's a crime against that people's culture, that people's past and that people's future. When the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted by the UN General Assembly at the end of 1948, two of the five preconditions for genocide directly related to care for the very young (measures intended to prevent births in a group and forcibly transferring children).[77] For Lemkin, genocide was also a biological crime waged against a civilization's children.

In the early 1950s, Czeslaw Miłosz recognized that the "habits of civilization are fragile." Over the past few years, I have thought about this word, *fragile* or, in Polish, *kruczy*, many times.[78] During the Covid 19 pandemic; as the war between Ukraine and Russia continues; on October 7, 2023 and in the dizzying months that have followed; as I look for updates on the situation in Sudan, which seem very far from the front page of the newpapers I read; and, finally as political developments in my old home, the United States, and my new homes, Belgium and The Netherlands, put increasing pressure on the fragile bonds linking me to others and all of us to a shared civilization. If I pause and marinate there, the despair can be overwhelming.

But then, I remember which bonds are REALLY holding our civilization or any civilization together. And I think of care. Hard work. Constant work. Work of the "flesh," to borrow from Jill Lepore.[79] And I realize that the magic keeping the stars apart in that e.e. cummings' poem is not "only" love, but more precisely CARE.[80] Care that we are willing to give, especially to those fragile little ones in our midst and in our universe. I would like to take this opportunity today to promise that I will use the privilege of this chair to support other histories that excavate what is fragile, invisible and overlooked as well as the brave storytellers regardless of institutional affiliation or inherited background who make us reconsider what we think we know about the Central European past and our own complex world. Increasingly, to me, the work of historians should emulate the work of poets. Poets like Wisława Szymborksa who so eloquently reminds us that "in the language of poetry, where every word is weighed, nothing is usual or normal. Not a single stone and not a single cloud above it. Not a single day and not a single night after it. And above all, not a single existence, not anyone's existence in this world."[81] Or as another poet, Dr. Seuss, inspires me and my daughters "a person's a person, no matter how small."[82]

And now, I'd like to close by thanking many people who have taken care of me.

My Special Chair is supported by two entities. First, I am grateful to the Austrian Government, specifically the Ministry of Education, Science and Research and their representative Mr. Feliz Wilczek as well the team at the OEAD. I thank the Austrian Ambassador to the Netherlands, her Excellency Astrid Harz and her excellent staff for their attention and support.

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Many people help me fulfill my duties as Special Chair and support the research which has been presented here. I would like to thank the administration and the staff of the History Institute and Leiden Institute for Area Studies. Notably, I want to recognize Pam, Karen, Rebecca, Carolien, Pia, Rint, Koen, Mariette, Renee and Tali. My Special Chair and the Austria Centre Leiden is surrounded by many colleagues who make my ideas sharper and bring wit and intelligence to our events, colleagues from the Leiden Jewish Studies Association and the Leiden Centre for the Study of Religion deserve special recognition as do Terry Renaud, Kate Brackney, Naomi Truan and Rebekka Grossmann. I remain indebted to my supervisor and Research Director Prof. dr. Ab de Jong as well as my Programme Chair Dr. Corey Williams since they both served on the committee that brought me to Leiden in 2020. Now, they have become valued friends and scholars who inspire me with their constant support.

If you will all indulge me. I have some more personal thanks to offer on this day. I would like to thank the family that I was born into for caring for me, supporting me…and also for not always understanding me. I am a better historian today because I had to continuously justify to them why the central European past was important and remains important to me. Within my family, I am particularly grateful for the care I receive from my sister Molly, who fulfills every basic qualification required to be a *mensch*.

I have an exquisite intellectual family. Besides my excellent training at Oxford University and Universita Karlov v Praze, I am the product of American public schools: Parkland High School in Allentown, PA, The College of William and Mary in Virginia and The University of California, Berkeley. Many people in those places helped me develop the vocabulary that I used today, but I need to single out: Ms. Leslie Poremba, Prof. Marc Raphael, Prof. Tony Anemone, Prof. David Rechter, Prof. Martin Goodman, Prof. Peggy Anderson, Prof. Deena Aranoff, Prof. Jason Wittenberg, Prof. John Efron, Prof. Tom Laqueur and my doktorvatter Prof. John Connelly. His patience with me continues to be paternal and boundless. Of course, my debt to my favorite historian, undergraduate advisor and pierogi master, Prof. Laurie Koloski will never be filled, but I am still trying. Thank you, Chief. And thank you to Dave, Laurie's husband, who cared for her so she could care for her students.

Finally, there are people here today and listening on that great superhighway around the world whom I consider lifelong friends: Stephen Russell, Jay Espovich, Angela Botelho, Eli Yablonovitch, Sydney Daniels, Andrea Semancova, Jessica Roitman, Kate Powers, Serban Serciu, Larissa Gassmann, Pascale Falek, Marty Weiss and Rachel Rothstein. Mary Slonina, is here today. Of course she is. Thank you for being a friend. And I must say, I am grateful for all the people who have helped care for my family in the present as I study care in the past: Annette Makowski, Annette Toierow, Joan Holets, our American babysitters Ali, Emily, Olivia, Duru and Gabriel, and the staffs of the Rachel Kemp-Nitzamin Creche and Beth Aviv School in Brussels.

And finally, my biggest debt belongs to the people who care the most for me: my very curious and beautiful daughters Salomé Rose and Orly Deborah and, of course, my husband

and partner Ilan. He is, truthfully, my glass ceiling, my most honest critic and my fiercest supporter. It was this precious and complex family that inspired me to study care and inspires me to care a little bit more everyday.

In closing, thank you for your attention. Shabbat Shalom. Take care. And "Ik heb gezegd."

Notes

1 Sarah Cramsey, "Uprooted Families: Caretaking, Belonging, and Inheritance During and After Displacement," *International Migration Review*, *online prepublication* (2024): https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231223153 (Accessed September 16, 2024).

2 On conceptual history more generally, see: Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, edited by Todd Presner, Kerstin Behnke, and Jobst Welge (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002) and Reinhart Koselleck, *Sediments of Time: On Possible Histories*, edited by Sean Franzel and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2018).

3 For authors with expertise in "Jewishness" who attempt to disentangle inherited cultural traditions from intentional religious belief during early childcare see: Deena Aranoff, "Mother's Milk: Child-Rearing and the Production of Jewish Culture," *Journal of Jewish Identities* 12 (1): 1–17 (2019); Mara H. Benjamin, *The Obligated Self. Maternal Subjectivity and Jewish Thought* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); Sarah Cramsey,"Divine Struggles: Writing Histories of the Jewish Experience That Are Sensitive to Religious Sensitivities," *Journal of Religious History* 46 (4/2022): 707–25 and Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

4 Lindsay Powell, William Southwell-Wright, and Rebecca Gowland, eds., *Care in the Past: Archaeological and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016) and Ellen Kendall and Ross Kendall, eds., *The Family in Past Perspective: An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Familial Relationships Through* (London: Routledge, 2021).

5 Crystal D. Karakochuk, editor, *The Biology of the First 1,000 Days* (Taylor & Francis, 2018).

6 Jill Lepore, *The Book of Ages: The Life and Opinions of Jane Franklin* (New York: Knopf, 2013).

7 A notable exception is: Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage, 1991). Other histories of midwifes focus on: Central Asia, see Paula A. Michaels, *Medicine and Empire in Stalin's Central Asia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003); Nazi Germany, see Susan Benedict and Linda Shields, eds., *Nurses and Midwives in Nazi Germany The "Euthanasia Programs"* (New York: Routledge, 2014); modern England, see Angela Davis, Angela, *Modern Motherhood: Women and Family in England, 1945–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); early modern Europe, see Leigh Whaley, *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1800* (London: Pallgrave Macmillan, 2011); Canada, see Myra Rutherdale, ed., *Historical Perspectives on Nursing and Midwifery in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); the American South, see Jenny M. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives: African American Midwiffery in the 20th Century South* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2018); and the modern period more generally, see Wendy Kline, *Coming Home: How Midwives Changed Birth* (2019). Midwives, wet nurses and other caregivers have been revealed as important nodes of power in: modern China, see Nicole Barnes, *Intimate Communities Wartime Healthcare and the Birth of Modern China, 1937-1945* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018); revolutionary France, Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); in Germany, see Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women the Family* (1987); and in German-Jewish spaces; see Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family and Identity in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). Finally, historians of empire and post-colonialism use midwives and caregivers more generally to show imperial intrusion as well as local innovation in: French

Colonial Vietnam, see Thuy Linh Nguyen, *Childbirth, Maternity, and Medical Pluralism in French Colonial Vietnam, 1880-1945* (Boydell & Brewer, 2016); Mandate Palestine, see Elizabeth Brownson, "Midwifery Regulation in Mandate Palestine" *Journal of Palestine Studies* 46 (2017) (3 (183)): 27–42; Uganda, see Carol Summers, "Intimate Colonialism: The Imperial Production of Reproduction in Uganda, 1907-1925," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (1991) 16 (4): 787–807; and Mexico, see Nora E. Jaffary, "Monstrous Births and Creole Patriotism in Late Colonial Mexico," *The Americas* 68 (2011) (2): 179–207.

8 Sara Horrell, Jane Humphries, Jacob Weisdorf, "Malthus's missing women and children: demography and wages in historical perspective, England 1280-1850," *European Economic Review*, Volume 129 (2020).

9 Arlene Kaplan Daniels, "Invisible Work," *Social Problems* (1987).

10 The literature on the Holocaust is beyond expansive. For important foundational texts consider: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Quadrangle Press, 1961 and consequent editions); Yitzhad Arad, *The Operation Reinhard Death Camps, Revised and Expanded Edition: Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); Wendy Lower, *The Ravine: A Family, a Photograph, a Holocaust Massacre Revealed* (Head of Zeus, 2021); Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Probing the limits of representation: Nazism and the "final solution,"* Saul Friedländer, et al, ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (HarperCollins, 1992) and *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (University of Nebraska Press, 2004); and, Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

11 Helen Fein, "Genocide and gender: The uses of women and group destiny," *Journal of Genocide Research*, *1* (1999), 43–63; *Women and Genocide*: *Gendered Experiences* of *Violence*, *Survival*, and *Resistance*e, edited by JoAnn DiGeorgio and Donna Gosbee (Toronto, Canada: Women's Press, 2016); Emily Prey and Erin Rosenberg, "Leaving Gender out of Genocide Obscures it Horror," *Foreign Policy*, December 6, 2021.

12 Christopher Browning, "The Nazi Decision to Commit Mass Murder: Three Interpretations: The Euphoria of Victory and the Final Solution: Summer-Fall 1941." *German Studies Review* 17, no. 3 (1994): 473–81.

13 David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

14 John Connelly, "Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice," *Central European History* (1999) 32: 1-33.

15 Dan Stone, *The Holocaust: An Unfinished History* (London: Mariner Books, 2024).

16 Cramsey, "Uprooted Families."

17 An excellent example of this approach is Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany.*

18 I am indebted to the work of Kidada Williams more generally and one quote specifically: "I think that researching violence requires an ethic of care to our research subjects. So we should care for ourselves. But we should also care for our research subjects. And so I am very clear on separating right holding space for devoting myself to understanding what the survivor wanted known about what happened to them and what they were able to say and communicate in the space where they told their story. And my own reaction to what I'm seeing in the records. And I think that's important, because if a researchers personal trauma is awakened by the sources, I think their research should stop." Kidada Williams, "Drafting the Past: A Podcast on the Craft of History with Kate Carpenter," Episode 25, April 11, 2023, https://draftingthepast.com/podcast-episodes/episode-25-

kidada-williams-preaches-the-gospel-of-audience/.

19 The following books have informed my understanding of the Warsaw Ghetto, Emanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations during the Second World War*, edited and with footnotes by Joseph Kermish and Shmuel Krakowski, translated by Darna Allon, et al. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1976); Hillel Seidman, *The Warsaw Ghetto Diaries*, translated by Yosef Israel (Southfield, MI: Targum Press, 1997), Samuel Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Katarzyna Person, *Assimilated Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940-1943* (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2014) and *Warsaw Ghetto Police. Jewish Order Service during the Nazi Occupation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press in association with USHMM, 2021) and Jadwiga Biskupska, *Survivors: Warsaw Under Nazi Occupation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

20 "Eichmann Trial, Sessions 25 and 26, Testimony of Z. Lubetkin, Y. Zuckerman. A. Berman, R. Kuper," May 3, 1961, https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn1001556. This particular link available through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is in Hebrew with English simultaneous translation. I have considered the original Hebrew of Lubetkin's testimony as well as the English translation done at the time.

21 *Ibid.*

22 Notably, she does not mention this in her autobiography: Zivia Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt*, translated from Hebrew by Ishai Tubbin (Israel: Ghetto Fighter's House, 1981).

23 Czeslaw Milosz, "Campo di Fiori," translated by David Brooks and Louis Iribarne, *The New York Review of Books*, October 23, 1980, https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1980/10/23/campo-di-fiori/. The postscript, also by Milosz, is notable: "the meaning of this poem depends on the time and place of its writing—Easter 1943, Warsaw—but also on something which not even the best translation can convey. For the original forms part of a large body of poems in Polish on the subject of the Holocaust, many of them written by non-Jews, in an underground anthology of poetry, *Out of the Abyss* (*Z Otchlani*), which was intended as a voice of human solidarity with the victims on the other side of the 'wall.'"

24 On the ŻOB see: Shmuel Krakowski, *The War of the Doomed: Jewish Armed Resistance in Poland, 1942–1944,* trans. Orah Blaustein (New York, 1984); Hanka Grupinska, *I Came Home and There Was No One There: Conversations and Stories about the Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto,* translated by Jessica Taylor-Kucia (Academic Studies Press, 2023); Marek Edelman, *The Ghetto Fights: Warsaw 1941-1943* (Bookmarks: 1990) and Yitzhak Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory: A Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, translated and edited by Barbara Harshav (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993). Zuckerman was Lubetkin's husband.

25 To read about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and its suppression from a Nazi German perspective see: *Raport Juergena Stroopa – Żydowska dzielnica mieszkaniowa w Warszawie już nie istnieje!*, edited by Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw: IPN, 2009).

26 On the complicated Jewish community rooted in interwar Poland see Sarah Cramsey, *Uprooting the Diaspora: Jewish Belonging and the "Ethnic Revolution" in Poland and Czechoslovakia, 1936-1946* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2023): 18-49.

27 Hillel Seidman, 308.

28 Naomi Seidman, "Carnal Knowledge: Sex and the Body in Jewish Studies," *Jewish Social Studies* (1;1, 1994): 115-146.

29 Katarzyna Person, "'The children ceased to be children': Day-Care Centres at Refugee Shelters in the Warsaw Ghetto," *Polin Studies in Polish Jewry* 30 (2018): 341-352.

30 Adam Czerniakow, *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom*, edited by Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron and Josef Kermisz (London: Rowman &

Littlefield, 1999), 308.

31 Czerniakow, 377.

32 Czerniakow, 382.

33 Czerniakow, 384.

34 Jonathan Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945-1979* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2003).

35 I spent a meaningful summer in 2006 volunteering at the Auschwitz Jewish Center in Oświęcim. Their website serves as a sound introduction to Jewish life in that town: https://ajcfus.org/.

36 Serge Klarsfeld, editor, *David Olère: un peintre au sonderkommando à Auschwitz (David Olère: a Painter in the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz)* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), 46.

37 Klarsfeld, 47.

38 "Interview with Marc Olère," *https://www.facebook.com/marc.oler/videos/2091690230910547,* (Accessed September 17, 2024).

39 Klarsfeld, 85.

40 Klarsfeld, 86.

41 The Auschwitz Album, which was donated to Yad Vashem by survivor Lili Meir, has been published in book form (*The Auschwitz Album: A Book Based Upon an Album Discovered by a Concentration Camp Survivor, Lili Meier* (New York: Random House, 1981), but can also be found on Yad Vashem's page: https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/album_auschwitz/arrival.asp (accessed September 16, 2024).

42 Klarsfeld, 52.

43 Josef Sacher in Gideon Grief, *We Wept Without Tears: Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), location 1523 in ebook.

44 *Ibid*, location 1561 in ebook.

45 Shlomo Venezia, *Inside the Gas Chambers: Eight months in the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz* (New York: Polity, 2011):108-109.

46 *Ibid*.

47 Otto Dov Kulka, who was a child survivor of the so-called Czech Family in Birkenau was also a historian of Birkenau and the Holocaust more broadly. See his moving memoir *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death*: *Reflections on Memory and Imagination* (New York: Penguin Group, 2014).

48 Kathryn Brackney, *Surreal Geographies: A New History of Holocaust Consciousness* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2024).

49 Venezia, 109.

50 Klarsfeld, 54.

51 Leyb Langfus quoted in in Nicholas Chare and Dominic Williams, *The Auschwitz Sonderkommando: Testimonies, Histories, Representations* (Palgrave MacMillan: 2020), 106.

52 As Naomi Seidman suggested almost three decades ago, "we still have not come to terms with the Holocaust in the history of the Jewish body," pregnant or otherwise. Naomi Seidman, "Carnal Knowledge," 129. Useful in closing this gap across the broader chronology of Jewish history is Mara Benjamin, *The Obligated Self;* Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children,* and Deena Aranoff, "Mother's Milk." On the Holocaust specifically see: Joanna Beata Michlic,"What does a child remember? Recollection of the War and the Early Postwar Period among Child Survivors from Poland" in *Jewish Families in Europe, 1939–Present: History, Representation,and Memory*, edited by Joanna Beata Michlic (Waltham MA: Brandeis University Press 2017): pp. 153-172; and Dalia Ofer, "Cohesion and Rupture: The Jewish Family in the East European Ghettos during the Holocaust," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: Coping with Life and Death: Jewish Families in the 20th Century, Vol. 14* (1998) pp. 144-165 as well as "Motherhood under Siege," in *Life, Death and Sacrifice: Women and Family in the Holocaust*, ed. Esther Hertzog (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2008), pp. 41-67. Finally, Mikhal Dekel's *Tehran Children: A Holocaust Refugee Odyssey*

(New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019) prioritizes a different group of Polish Jewish children who evacuated from the Soviet Union via Iran.

53 "List of Claims Conference Fetus Cases," personal correspondence with Dr. Joanna Sliwa, historian at the Claims Conference.

54 A new book which analyzes the Jewish and Roma experience during the Second World War is Ari Joskowicz, *Rain* of *Ash*: *Roma, Jews, and the Holocaust* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2023).

55 Ruth Kluger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1992), 52.

56 Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way* for the *Gas*, *Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1992).

57 Imre Kertesz, *Fatelessness* (Vintage, 2004).

58 Kluger, *Still Alive*, 95.

59 Ruth Kluger, "The Future of Holocaust Literature: German Studies Association 2013 Banquet Speech," *German Studies Review* Vol. 37, No. 2 (May 2014), 402.

60 *Ibid*.

61 Famously, Janusz Korczak accompanied the children in his orphanage to Treblinka rather than hiding himself. During and soon after the war, a description of him walking with those in his care from the Warsaw Ghetto to the Umschlagplatz took on deep resonance. Consider the film *Korczak* (1990) by Andrzej Wajda as proof of the cementation of this story.

62 According to Mark Edele and Wanda Warlik at least 145,000, and maybe as many as 163,000 Polish Jews, returned at the war's end to Poland, M. Edele and W. Warlik, "Saved by Stalin? Trajectories of Polish Jews in the Soviet Second World War," in *Shelter from the Holocaust: Rethinking Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union*, edited by A. Grossmann, S. Fitzpatrick and M. Edele (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017). Of course, these numbers remain our best estimates as exact figures elude us. On these repatriations of Polish Jewish citizens from the Soviet Union specifically see Eliana Adler, *Survival on the Margins: Polish Jewish Refugees in the Wartime Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021): pp. 218-238; Markus Nesselrodt, *Dem Holocaust entkommen: Polnische Juden in der Sowjetunion, 1939–1946* (Berlin: De Gruyter-Oldenbourg, 2019): pp. 246-258; Albert Kaganovitch, "Stalin's Great Power Politics, the Return of Jewish Refugees to Poland, and Continued Migration to Palestine, 1944–1946," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies 26*, no. 1 (2012): pp. 59–94; and Dorota Sula, "Z ZSRR na Dolny Śląsk: Przesiedlenie i repatriacja polskich Żydów w latach 1945–1946," in *Syberiada Żydów polskich: Losy uchodźców z Zagłady*, edited by Lidia Zessin-Jurek i Katharina Friedla (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2020) pp. 580-582 for her short section on children and repatriation. On the repatriation of Polish citizens more generally see Katherine Jolluck, *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union during the Second World War* (Pittsburgh, PA: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2002) pp. 279-286; Keith Sword's chapter "Repatriation from the Soviet Union, 1944-1948" in *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939-48* (London: Macmillan, 1994); Krystyna Kersten, *Repatriacja ludności polskiej po II wojnie światowej: Studium historyczne* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974); Tadeusz Bugaj, *Dzieci polskie w ZSRR i ich repatriacja 1939-1952* (Jelenia Góra: Prace Karkonoskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, 1982); Albin Głowacki, *Ocalić i repatriować. Opieka nad ludnością polską w głębi terytorium ZSRR (1943–1946)* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1994).

63 Daniel Boćkowski, "Repatriacja dzieci polskich z głębi ZSRR w latach 1942–1952," in *Studia z Dziej. w Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 1994 (29), 102, for the number under the age of 18. Joanna Beata Michlic, "What Does a Child Remember? Recollections of the War and the Early Postwar Period among Child Survivors from Poland," 155, for the number under the age of 14. See also Andrzej Korzon, *Przesiedlona ludność polska w ZSRR*

(Doctoral Dissertation, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 1967): pp. 4-7 for his numbers, regarding the 202,332 Polish repatriates (Jew and non-Jews) and the 52,332 children up to the age of 16 which constituted 26% of this group.

64 "Sprawozdania sytuacyjne miasto Szczecin 1946-1947" Nr. Wol # 915, Karton 2, Wydzial repatriacji, State Archive in Szczecin, Szczecin, Poland.

65 The videotaped testimony of Miriam Storch Lewant, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 13311, March 15, 1996.

66 The videotaped testimony of Esther Berkowitz, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 44088, August 6, 1998.

67 The videotaped testimony of Frances Hertzberg, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 10420, December 20, 1995. Not all labor installations in the Soviet Union had medical staff. For pregnancy in the gulag more generally see: Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York: Doubleday, 2003): pp. 474-494.

68 The videotaped testimony of Doris U., Fortunoff Video Archive, File Number HVT 2590, June 17, 1993.

69 The videotaped testimony of Freda Walzman, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 16127, June 13, 1996.

70 The videotaped testimony of Ruzena Berler, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 1207, March 7, 1995.

71 See the videotaped testimony of Esther Berkowitz, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 44088, August 6, 1998, the videotaped testimony of Zlota Gloger, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, File Number RG-50.838.0001, March 4, 1990 and the videotaped testimony of Gusta Besser, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 35287, August 15, 1997.

72 The videotaped testimony of Freda Walzman and the videotaped testimony of Rachel Koplowicz, USC Shoah Foundation Institute, File Number 28262, April 17, 1997.

73 The videotaped testimony of Rachel Koplowicz.

74 Katarzyna Person is cited above. See also: Joanna Sliwa, *Jewish Childhood in Kraków: A Microhistory of the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2021); Rebecca Clifford, *Survivors Children's Lives After the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022); Mary Fraser Kirsh, "Witnessing the Recovery: Storytelling and Family Building, from Belsen to Ireland," *International Migration Review*, *online prepublication* (2024): https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/01979183241245067 (Accessed September 16, 2024); Franziska Lamp, "Making Single Mothers Matter: Reflections on the Vulnerability and Agency of Displaced Persons in Postwar Occupied Austria and Beyond," *International Migration Review*, *online prepublication* (2024): https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/01979183231218972 (Accessed September 16, 2024). The pieces by Kirsh and Lamp were included in a special forthcoming-in-print issue of *International Migration Review* that I convened and co-edited.

75 Milan Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe," translated by Edmund White, *The New York Review of Books*, April 26, 1984.

76 Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 1944).

77 "Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.1_Convention%20on%20the%20Prevention%20and%20Punishment%20of%20the%20Crime%20of%20Genocide.pdf (accessed September 16, 2024).

78 Czeslaw Miłosz, *The Captive Mind* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 116.

79 Jill Lepore, "The Prodigal Daughter," *The New Yorker*, July 1, 2013.

80 e.e.cummings, "[i carry your heart with me(i carry it in my heart)], https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poems/49493/i-carry-your-heart-with-

mei-carry-it-in (last accessed September 16, 2024).

81 Wisława Szymborska, "Nobel Lecture," https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1996/szymborska/lecture/ (accessed September 16, 2024).

82 Dr. Seuss, *Horton Hears a Who!* (New York: Random House, 1954).

Prof. dr. Sarah A. Cramsey

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