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Screening Auschwitz

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NOTES

Introduction

1. Peter Hayes, "Auschwitz, Capital of the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17, no. 2 (2003): 330–50.

2. Marek Haltof, *Polish Film and the Holocaust: Politics and Memory* (New York: Berghahn, 2012).

3. Annette Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20.

4. Wanda Jakubowska, "Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza (na marginesie filmu *Ostatni etap*)," *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 1 (1951): 40.

5. Krystyna Żywulska, "Nareszcie film," *Odrodzenie* 12 (21 March 1948): 8. Unless stated otherwise, all the translations from the Polish texts quoted throughout this book are mine.

6. Stuart Liebman, "Pages from the Past: Wanda Jakubowska's *The Last Stop* (*Ostatni etap*)," *Slavic and East European Performance* 16, no. 3 (1996): 62.

7. Bolesław Lewicki, *Wiesz, jak jest* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1974), 138.

8. Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows*; Ilan Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Omer Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema: From Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

9. For example, Liebman, "Pages from the Past"; Hanno Loewy, "The Mother of All Holocaust Films? Wanda Jakubowska's Auschwitz Trilogy," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 24, no. 2 (2004): 179–204.

10. Monika Talarczyk-Gubała, *Wanda Jakubowska: Od nowa* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2015).

11. For example, Alina Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska: Jak powstawał *Ostatni etap*," *Kino* 5 (1998): 13–17; Tadeusz Lubelski, "Generalissimus płakał," *Film* 18–19 (1990): 3–4.

12. Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema*, 169.

13. Béla Balázs, "The Last Stop," in "Béla Balázs on Wanda Jakubowska's *The Last Stop*: Three Texts," trans. Stuart Liebman and Zsuzsa Berger, *Slavic and East European Performance* 16, no. 3 (1996): 64. The unpublished essay is deposited in the Balázs archives, Budapest, Hungary.]

14. Jan Nepomucyn Miller, "Nowy etap polskiego filmu," *Warszawa: Niezależny Dwutygodnik Literacki* 4 (1948): 1; Ryszard Matuszewski, "Martwy punkt polskiego kina—przełamany," *Kuźnica* 15 (1948): 5; and Aleksander Kulisiewicz, "Triumf polskiej kinematografii," *Film* 6 (1948): 10.

15. Marta Wróbel, “*Ostatni etap* Wandy Jakubowskiej jako pierwszy etap polskiego kina ideologicznego,” *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 43 (2003): 7.

16. Krzysztof Kucharski, *Kino plus. Film i dystrybucja kinowa w Polsce w latach 1990–2000* (Toruń: Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, 2002), 388. It is necessary to remember that box-office figures in Poland before 1950 are estimated.

17. Maria Kornatowska, “Kto ratuje jedno życie,” *Kino* 10 (1994): 37; Barbara Holender, “Nie można nikogo nauczyć żyć,” *Rzeczpospolita* 11 (1997): 25.

18. For comments on the history of Oświęcim/Auschwitz, see Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996).

19. Franciszek Piper, “Estimating the Number of Deportees to and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 21 (1991): 49–103.

20. Martin Gilbert’s estimates are quoted from Jonathan Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 20.

21. Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

22. *Ibid.*, viii. Snyder writes that “of the fourteen million people deliberately murdered in the bloodlands between 1933 and 1945, a third belong in the Soviet account” (x).

23. *Ibid.*, viii.

24. Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2015), 207.

25. Timothy Snyder, “Holocaust: The Ignored Reality,” *New York Review of Books* 56, no. 12 (2009): 14.

26. *Ibid.*, 15.

Chapter 1

Epigraph source: Stuart Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter of Whatever Was Going On: An Interview with Wanda Jakubowska,” *Slavic and East European Performance* 17, no. 3 (1997): 16.

1. This chapter draws on information in three biographical films on Wanda Jakubowska and several interviews with her that are listed in the bibliography. Other important sources include the conversation held with Wanda Jakubowska’s granddaughter, Katarzyna Rudomino, on December 3, 2014, in Warsaw, and Jakubowska’s three-page autobiography, held at the Archive of Modern Files (AAN), Zespół 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, pp. 30–32.

2. Eugeniusz Cękański (1906–1952), writer-director of documentary and feature films, film industry organizer, author of film textbooks, and teacher at the Łódź Film School. Details in Jolanta Lemann’s monograph, *Eugeniusz Cękański* (Łódź: Muzeum Kinematografii, 1996).

3. Stowarzyszenie Propagandy Filmu Artystycznego START. From 1931 officially known as Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Filmu Artystycznego START.

4. “Film polski na bezdrożach,” *Głos Stolicy* 87 (1932): 5. Quoted from Jadwiga Bocheńska, *Polska myśl filmowa do roku 1939* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974), 174. See my “Film Theory in Poland before World War II,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 40, nos. 1–2 (1998): 67–78. See also Sheila Skaff’s discussion concerning the START group and

the Polish cinema industry in the 1930s in *The Law of the Looking Glass: Cinema in Poland, 1896–1939* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008): 136–84.

5. Details from Polish film database *Filmpolski.pl: Internetowa baza filmu polskiego* (Łódź: Łódź Film School) (<http://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?osoba=115927>). Also, Tadeusz Lubelski, “Dwa debiuty oddzielone w czasie. Rozmowa z Wandą Jakubowską,” in *Debiuty polskiego kina*, ed. Marek Hendrykowski (Konin: Wydawnictwo “Przełęcz Koniński,” 1998), 13.

6. Lubelski, “Dwa debiuty,” 15–16; Barbara Mruklik, “Wierność sobie. Rozmowa z Wandą Jakubowską,” *Kino* 5 (1985): 6–7.

7. Andrzej Czekalski, *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska* (TVP 1, 1993). Polish Television Archives, SK546. Interestingly, writing about Hitler’s artistic preferences, Sherree Owens Zalampas notes that Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony in the Third Reich was “rejected because it had become an allied victory signal.” Sherree Owens Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture, Art, and Music* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Popular Press, 1990), 109.

8. Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), xv.

9. Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter,” 16.

10. Lubelski, “Dwa debiuty,” 17. Similar comment in Mruklik, “Wierność sobie,” 7.

11. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939–1945: From the Archives of the Auschwitz Memorial and the German Federal Archives* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), 386–87.

12. Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum database (Auschwitz Prisoners Search) at http://en.auschwitz.org/m/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=31. Several prisoners also died later, in the Ravensbrück camp.

13. Jakubowska’s camp number, 43513, can be verified by some existing camp documents. For example, her name is listed three times in a volume of *Röntgen Krankenhau Auschwitz 18 II 43–18 III 43* (pp. 7, 25, 35), Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau (APMAB), sygn. D–Au II–5/2, no. 29742. Several sources (including, unfortunately, the hardcover edition of my earlier book, *Polish Film and the Holocaust*) provide an incorrect number (43311). The mistake most probably originated with Stuart Liebman’s (translated) interview with Jakubowska in 1997, during which she commented: “You can see my tattoo, Number 43311” (Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter,” 17).

14. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 386.

15. *Ibid.*, 29. Konstanty Jagiełło had been imprisoned at Auschwitz since September 22, 1940 (camp number 4007). Assisted by the Auschwitz Combat Group and the resistance network outside the camp, Jagiełło escaped from Auschwitz on June 27, 1944, carrying documents and plans of the camp. Later he became the leader of a resistance group that operated in the vicinity of the camp and provided assistance for escaping prisoners. Jagiełło was killed in an ambush on October 27, 1944. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 653, 740.

16. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 49, p. 87, testimony of Kazimierz Sztemberg (ośw./Sztemberg/1055).

17. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 47, p. 64, testimony of Zygmunt Gaudasiński (camp number 9907) concerning the resistance in the camp (ośw./Gaudasiński/148460/992).

18. Information about the Rajsko subcamp can be found in the pioneering study by Anna Zięba, "Podobóz Rajsko," *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie* 9 (1965): 71–102. See also Susanne Heim, *Plant Breeding and Agrarian Research in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institutes 1933–1945: Calories, Caoutchouc, Careers* (Boston: Springer, 2008), 97–154. For prisoners' accounts, consult Lore Shelley, ed., *Criminal Experiments on Human Beings in Auschwitz and War Research Laboratories: Twenty Women Prisoners' Accounts* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991).

19. Zięba, "Podobóz Rajsko," 71–72.

20. *Ibid.*, 77.

21. Quoted by Heim, *Plant Breeding and Agrarian Research*, 138.

22. Zięba, "Podobóz Rajsko," 82.

23. *Ibid.*, 81.

24. *Ibid.*, 80.

25. Jakubowska, "Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza," 41.

26. See the trial transcript at www.mazal.org/OtherTrials/BelsenTrial/C001.htm. Starostka committed suicide in May 1946.

27. Charlotte Delbo, *Convoy to Auschwitz: Women of the French Resistance* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997), 10.

28. Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, trans. Andrew Pollinger, ed. Steven Paskuly (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), 239.

29. Heim, *Plant Breeding and Agrarian Research*, 143.

30. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 19.

31. Zięba, "Podobóz Rajsko," 87.

32. Quoted in Heim, *Plant Breeding and Agrarian Research*, 139.

33. Quoted in Shelley, *Criminal Experiments*, 180.

34. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 47, p. 64, testimony of Zygmunt Gaudasiński (camp number 9907) concerning the resistance in the camp (ośw./Gaudasiński/148460/992); Józef Garliński, *Fighting Auschwitz: The Resistance Movement in the Concentration Camp* (London: Julian Friedmann, 1975), 129.

35. Nina Gusiewa, "O tym zapomnieć nie wolno," *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie* 5 (1961): 135.

36. AAN, zespół 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, p. 19, "Protokół przesłuchania kol. Tołłoczko Natalji w sprawie Wandy Jakubowskiej" (August 6, 1949). Jakubowska learned French as a child from her mother and a French governess.

37. *Ibid.*

38. AAN, zespół 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, p. 23, testimonies of Nina Węgierska and Jadwiga Łampisz.

39. See Stefan Hördler, "Before the Holocaust: Concentration Camp Lichtenburg and the Evolution of the Nazi Camp System," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 25, no. 1 (2011): 100–126.

40. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 148.

41. Irena Strzelecka, "Oddział kobiety w męskim obozie macierzystym," *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie* 20 (1993): 29.

42. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 20.

43. APMAB, Genowefa Ułan, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 159b, pp. 445–47 (Wsp./Ułan/897).

44. Hermann Langbein, *People in Auschwitz* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004), 73.

45. APMAB, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 124/125, p. 76, recollections of Antonina Piątkowska “Tośka” (Wsp./Piątkowska/730/165174).
46. Shelley, *Criminal Experiments*, 219.
47. Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter,” 21.
48. AAN, Zespól 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, pp. 31–32.
49. Stanisław Kłodziński, “Dr Dorota Lorska,” in *Okupacja i medycyna. Czwarty wybór artykułów z Przeglądu Lekarskiego — Oświęcim z lat 1963–1978* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1979), 23–35.
50. *Ibid.*, 29.
51. AAN, Zespól 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, p. 32.
52. Andrzej Strzelecki, *Ostatnie dni obozu Auschwitz* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 1995), 18–19.
53. AAN, Zespól 415, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych, p. 32.
54. Mruklik, “Wierność sobie,” 8.
55. *Ibid.*, 5.
56. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 805.
57. Adolf Forbert, “W Oświęcimiu po oswobodzeniu obozu,” *Przegląd Lekarski* 37, no. 1 (1980): 182–84.
58. Czekalski, *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*.
59. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 13.
60. *Ibid.*, 13.

Chapter 2

1. Jakubowska, “Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza,” 40.
2. Wanda Jakubowska, letter to Aleksander Ford, head of Film Polski, dated January 5, 1946, p. 1; Alina Madej personal archive. Letters and other documents pertaining to the production of *The Last Stage* were given by Wanda Jakubowska to the Polish film historian Alina Madej in 1994. Some of them were republished (in shorter versions) in Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 14.
3. See, for example, Mruklik, “Wierność sobie,” 7.
4. “Tkwiłam w lagrze do 1948 roku. Rozmowa z Wandą Jakubowską po premierze *Ostatniego etapu*,” *Głos Ludu* 91 (1948). Quoted from Alina Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność. Kinematografia polska w latach 1944–1949* (Bielsko-Biała: Wydawnictwo Prasa Beskidzka, 2002), 157.
5. The first version of the script is most probably lost, not available in Polish archives.
6. Alina Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska wygrywa ostatni etap,” in *Historia kina polskiego*, ed. Tadeusz Lubelski and Konrad Zarębski (Warsaw: Fundacja Kino, 2006), 68.
7. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 14.
8. An official certificate with seals and illegible signatures issued in German and Russian on December 4, 2014. The certificate includes a handwritten approval in Russian issued on December 7. Wanda Jakubowska archive, owned by her granddaughter, Katarzyna Rudomino.
9. Wanda Jakubowska’s letter to Aleksander Ford, head of Film Polski, dated January 5, 1946, p. 1, Alina Madej archive; also in Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 14.
10. Letter signed by Jerzy Bossak, from the Ministry of Propaganda and Information, Film Department in Łódź, to Wanda Jakubowska, January 8, 1946, Alina Madej archive.

11. An official letter addressed to Gerda Schneider on January 17, 1946, and signed by Wanda Jakubowska, Alina Madej archive.
12. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 15.
13. Wanda Jakubowska, "Twórca o powstaniu dzieła," in *Ostatni etap* [film script] (Warsaw: Filmowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1955), 17.
14. Jakubowska, "Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenarzysty," 41.
15. Letter issued by Film Polski on February 1, 1946, signed by Jerzy Bossak, Alina Madej archive.
16. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 15.
17. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 19.
18. Edward Zajiček, *Poza ekranem. Kinematografia polska 1918–1991* (Warsaw: FilMOTEKA Narodowa and Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1992), 85.
19. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 19.
20. Seweryna Szmaglewska, *Dymy nad Birkenau* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1945); English version, *Smoke over Birkenau*, trans. Jadwiga Rynas (New York: Henry Holt, 1947).
21. AAN, zesp. MIiP, sygn 172, k. 168; published in Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność*, 108.
22. See Norman Davies, *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2004). For a discussion about memory of the Warsaw Uprising and the Home Army, see Andrzej Waśkiewicz, "The Polish Home Army and the Politics of Memory," *East European Politics and Societies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 44–58.
23. For more information about Wajda's *Kanal* see my discussion in *Polish National Cinema* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 83–85; also, Stuart Liebman, "The Art of Memory: Andrzej Wajda's War Trilogy," *Cinéaste* 32, no. 1 (2006): 42–47.
24. *Film* (31 December 1946). Quoted from Piotr Zwierzchowski, *Kino nowej pałmicy: Obraz II wojny światowej z kinie polskim lat 60.* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2013), 27. The first released Polish film, *Forbidden Songs* (*Zakazane piosenki*, 1947/1948), also dealt with the war and the occupation.
25. For example, Lubelski, "Generalissimus płakał," 3–4.
26. Snyder, *Black Earth*, 208.
27. Jeremy Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and the Genocide of the Jews, 1938–1946* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012): 174–77. Hicks argues that the "fact that authorities did not immediately redeploy sound-recording equipment, which was in short supply, suggests that filming Auschwitz was not a priority for the decision makers of Central Documentary Film Studios, just as the camp's liberation was not a priority for the Red Army" (*ibid.*, 175).
28. Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 48; also, Karel C. Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet Propaganda during World War II* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 153–61.
29. FN, S-364—*Ostatni etap*, minutes number 2 of the Artistic Council meeting on February 2, 1947. See also Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16; Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 19–20. The Austrian-born Georg C. Klaren (1900–1962) was an experienced scriptwriter and film director. After 1945, Klaren became the literary manager at East German studio DEFA. In 1947, he directed *Wozzeck*, a successful adaptation of Büchner's play. In 1951, Klaren also directed *Die Sonnenbrucks*, an adaptation of a Polish play,

Niemcy (The Germans), by Leon Kruczkowski, a World War II drama about Nazism and the issue of Germany's guilt.

30. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 14.

31. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 19–20.

32. "Autorka scenariusza i reżyserka filmu 'Oświęcim' Wanda Jakubowska o swym pobycie w Moskwie," Polska Agencja Prasowa (PAP), December 17, 1946. Alina Madej archive and Katarzyna Rudomino archive.

33. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 22.

34. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 22; also, Lubelski, "Generalissimus płakał," 4; and Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16. Jakubowska tells a similar version of this story to Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 22.

35. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 21.

36. FN, S-5934, "Scenopis filmu fabularnego," comments on the script by Tadeusz Hołuj, Adam Ważyk, and Zofia Nałkowska.

37. Letter dated February 24, 1947, from Juliusz Turbowicz, head of Film Polski's Production Department, to Wanda Jakubowska, Alina Madej archive.

38. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16; letter in Alina Madej and Katarzyna Rudomino archives.

39. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 27. From today's perspective it is shocking indeed to read Jakubowska's comment that Bierut, a staunch Stalinist, "had a heart of gold."

40. See Zajiček, *Poza ekranem*, 62–66; Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność*, 186–90.

41. Alina Madej, "Socrealizm," *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 6 (1994): 195.

42. *Ibid.*, 198. The word "naturalism" was routinely used during that period as a code word for images incompatible with the Stalinist poetics. Analyzing Soviet films about the Holocaust, Olga Gershenson writes that "in Soviet newspeak it meant unhealthy fixation on the most basic physiological aspects of human nature, something that is entirely incompatible with socialist realism. In this view, any representation of death, dying, decay, or the human body is guilty of 'naturalism'" (Olga Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and Jewish Catastrophe* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2013], 85).

43. FN, S-364—*Ostatni etap*, "Wyciąg z protokołu nr 11 z posiedzenia Rady Artystycznej w dniu 24 IV 1947."

44. Letter from Wanda Jakubowska to Roman Palester dated May 30, 1947, Alina Madej and Katarzyna Rudomino archives.

45. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 14.

46. Jakubowska, "Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza," 42.

47. *Ibid.*, 42–43.

48. *Ibid.*, 44–45.

49. One of the early script versions of the shooting script (*scenopis* in Polish) was titled *A Letter from Auschwitz (List z Oświęcimia)*. See letter from Wanda Jakubowska to Juliusz Turbowicz, head of the Production Department at Film Polski, January 13, 1947, Katarzyna Rudomino and Alina Madej archives.

50. FN, S-364, "*Ostatni etap*—scenariusz filmu fabularnego," two versions, not dated; also, script in the Russian language, the shooting script (S-5934), and dialogues in the German language (S-24961).

51. Jakubowska, “Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza,” 42.

52. APMAB, sygn. D-AuI-5/2, no. 29742 (HKB Rajska), pp. 7, 25, 35 [Jakubowska]; APMAB sygn. D-AuI-5/9, no. 5028, p. 53 and DAuI-5/14, no. 5033, p. 85 [Schneider].

53. It is tempting to see similarities between Jakubowska’s script, *The Birkenau Front Reports*, and André De Toth’s American film, *None Shall Escape*, released in February 1944. *None Shall Escape* opens with a scene set in the nearest future, in postwar Warsaw, of a Nazi German officer on trial for his crimes committed during the war. Several witnesses testify against him in front of the Allied Commission; the story of his life and crimes is shown in flashbacks. It is difficult, however, to tell if Jakubowska was familiar with this film since it was not released in Poland. She could have seen it in the fall of 1945 in Germany, before her return to Poland. For comments on *None Shall Escape*, see M. B. B. Biskupski, *Hollywood’s War with Poland, 1939–1945* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009): 111–18.

54. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 15; *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, vol. 2, *The Belsen Trial* (London: United Nations War Crimes Commission, 1947), http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/Law-Reports_Vol-2.pdf.

55. Irena Strzelecka, “Hospitals,” in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 386.

56. Margaret-Anne Hutton, *Testimony from the Nazi Camps: French Women’s Voices* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 138.

57. In the documentary film on Jakubowska, *Jestem babką polskiego kina* (1997, Tomasz Rudomino, TVP Historia), the Polish cultural critic Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz recalls an anecdote about Jakubowska. She told him that she served as Rudolf Höss’s interpreter before the Red Army advanced and liberated the camp. The story goes that when they walked together among the empty barracks of Auschwitz, with no signs of new transports in the vicinity, Höss supposedly told her: “Look, Wanda, our Auschwitz no longer exists” (emphasis added).

58. Wanda Jakubowska’s letter from January 13, 1947, addressed to Juliusz Turbo-wicz, Katarzyna Rudomino archive and Alina Madej archive. The shooting script is available at FN, S-5934.

Chapter 3

Epigraph source: Jakubowska, “Twórca o powstaniu dzieła,” 17.

1. The estimated figures concerning Polish and Jewish losses during World War II differ slightly in various historical accounts. The majority of historians state about 6 million deaths, including 3 million Polish Jews. For example, this is the figure provided by Lucy S. Dawidowicz in her *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 6–7; M. B. Biskupski provides the same figures in his concise *The History of Poland* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 108.

2. Marcin Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga. Polska 1944–1947. Ludowa reakcja na kryzys* (Kraków: Znak, ISP PAN, 2012), 357. See also Krystyna Kersten, *Repatriacje ludności polskiej po II wojnie światowej. Studium historyczne* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974).

3. Alexander V. Prusin, “Poland’s Nuremberg: The Seven Court Cases of the Supreme National Tribunal, 1946–1948,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 5. Prusin writes that during Greiser’s trial in June and July 1946, the “tribunal

hastened to set a precedent in international law regarding war crimes. Ruling that existing legal regulations were ‘powerless’ to deal adequately with Nazi crime, it adopted the term ‘genocide’ (*ludobójstwo*) even before the term was applied in the Nuremberg proceedings” (ibid., 6).

4. Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga*, 561–69.

5. See Jerzy Kochanowski, *Protokoły posiedzeń Prezydium Krajowej Rady Narodowej 1944–1947* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1995), 303–4. Henryk Świątkowski was the Polish minister of justice during the Stalinist period (1945–56). During the war, he was arrested by the Gestapo in July 1940, held at the Pawiak prison in Warsaw for a month, and sent to Auschwitz in August 1940. He was released from Auschwitz (as some prisoners were) in October 1941.

6. In the next four paragraphs I use fragments from my book *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 211–13.

7. Stuart Liebman, “Documenting the Liberation of the Camps: The Case of Aleksander Ford’s *Vernichtungslager Majdanek—Cmentarzysko Europy* (1944),” in *Lessons and Legacies VII: The Holocaust in International Perspective*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2006), 334. See also Liebman’s revised and enlarged Polish version of the essay: “Cmentarzysko Europy (1944). Pierwszy film o Holokaucie?” *Zeszyty Majdanka* 25 (2011): 201–25.

8. Stanisław Wohl, “W Chełmie i Lublinie. O historycznych dniach lipca 1944 roku,” *Film* 28–29 (1969): 8–9. The German camp slang word, *Muselmann* (plural *Muselmänner*), literally meaning “Muslim” but with no religious connotation, designates an exhausted prisoner who has lost the will to live. Wohl’s comment stresses that the *Polish Newsreel* crew was the first to enter Majdanek, before the Soviet filmmakers led by Roman Karmen.

9. Stuart Liebman, “The Majdanek Trial: The Holocaust on Trial on Film. Kazimierz Czyński’s *Swastyka i szubienica* (1945),” in *The Scene of the Mass Crime: History, Film, and International Tribunals*, ed. Christian Delage and Peter Goodrich (London: Routledge, 2013), 114.

10. Forbert, “W Oświęcimiu po oswobodzeniu obozu,” 182–84.

11. Ibid. This fragment relies heavily on my discussion of early Polish documentary films in *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 211–14. For an insightful discussion of Roman Karmen’s documentary about the liberation of Auschwitz, see Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust*, 174–85.

12. Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 123.

13. Ibid., 123.

14. Zaremba, *Wielka trwoga*, 562.

15. Andrzej Friszke, *Polska. Losy państwa i narodu 1939–1989* (Warsaw: Iskry, 2003), 147.

16. Edmund Dmitrów, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków. Poglądy i opinie z lat 1945–1948* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1987), 88–90.

17. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 57.

18. Ibid., 183–84.

19. Dmitrów, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków*, 184–88.

20. E.g., Ludwik Rajewski, *Oświęcim w systemie RSHA* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Eugeniusza Kuthana, 1946).

21. Leon Bukowiecki, "Pierwszy polski film w produkcji powojennej," *Robotnik* 7 (1947); quoted from Dmitrów, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków*, 100.

22. Several subsequent Polish films were also made almost entirely or partly on location at Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. This group includes Andrzej Munk's *Pasenger* (*Pasażerka*, 1963); Jakubowska's *The End of Our World* (*Koniec naszego świata*, 1964); Jerzy Ziarnik's *A Journey into the Unknown* (*Podróż w nieznanie*, 1968); Andrzej Wajda's *Landscape after Battle* (*Krajobraz po bitwie*, 1970); Sergei Kolosov's Polish-Soviet coproduction *Remember Your Name* (*Zapamiętaj imię swoje*, 1974); Jakubowska's *Invitation* (*Zaproszenie*, 1985); and Leszek Wosiewicz's *Kornblumenblau* (1989).

23. The German POWs were also used in the summer of 1946 during the production of the first postwar Polish film, *Forbidden Songs*, released in 1947–48. See, for example, Piotr Śmiałowski, "Pierwszy na zawsze," *Kino* 1 (2007): 56.

24. Strzelecki, *Ostatnie dni obozu Auschwitz*, 14, 23.

25. Several subcamps of Auschwitz, most of them located in Upper Silesia, were used by the communist regime after the war as slave labor centers for, among others, members of the Polish underground that opposed the communist rule.

26. R. M. Douglas, *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 134.

27. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland and the Politics of Commemoration*, 60–61. Also Strzelecki, *Ostatnie dni obozu Auschwitz*, 57–58; Jacek Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć . . . ? Idea założenia Państwowego Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w świetle prasy polskiej w latach 1945–1948* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2007), 10–11.

28. Jerzy Kochanowski, *W polskiej niewoli. Niemieccy jeńcy wojenni w Polsce 1945–1950* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2001), 88.

29. *Ibid.*, 246 and 340.

30. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland and the Politics of Commemoration*, 61.

31. Edward Dziewoński, *W życiu jak w teatrze* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1989), 30.

32. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 64–65.

33. "Kopalnie złota w Oświęcimiu," *Echo Krakowa* 47 (27 April 1946): 1; quoted from Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć*, 178.

34. C. Z., "Droga Auschwitz—Birkenau—Budy," *Kurier Szczeciński* 164 (July 23, 1946): 2; quoted from Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć?* 189.

35. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16.

36. Wanda Kragen, "W dniu otwarcia muzeum w Oświęcimiu. Obóz koncentracyjny przeobraża się w muzeum," *Robotnik* 160 (16 June 1947): 4; quoted from Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć?* 218.

37. "Śmierć Birkenau," *Wolni Ludzie* 6 (1 July 1947): 1; quoted from Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zaościć?* 259–60.

38. *Ibid.*, 260.

39. Kazimierz Smoleń, "Auschwitz Today: The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum," in *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs*, ed. Teresa Świebocka, English edition prepared by Jonathan Webber and Connie Wilsack (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 1993), 261.

40. FN, A-275, "Kartoteka filmów fabularnych lata 1947/54, *Ostatni etap*," p. 48.

41. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16.

42. Strzelecki, *Ostatnie dni obozu Auschwitz*, 57. One also has to note the controver-

sial actions of the Regional Office for the Liquidation of German Property (Okregowy Urząd Likwidacyjny, OUL) in Kraków, which had operated since March 1946. Its representatives distributed some of the barracks and numerous objects that belonged to the murdered victims. See Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 65.

43. Szmaglewska, *Smoke over Birkenau* (New York: Henry Holt, 1947), published in Polish as *Dymy nad Birkenau* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1945); Krystyna Żywulska, *I Came Back* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1951), published in Polish as *Przeżyłam Auschwitz* (Warsaw: Wiedza, 1946); Zofia Kossak-Szczuczka, *Z otchłani. Wspomnienia z lagru* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Władysława Nagłowskiego, 1946).

44. Jan Sehn, *Obóz koncentracyjny Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau), na podstawie dokumentów i źródeł* (Warsaw: Biuletyn I Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce, 1946).

45. Łukasz Figielski and Bartosz Michalak, *Prywatna historia kina polskiego* (Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2006), 20. Jerzy Kawalerowicz (1922–2007) was one of Poland's most accomplished directors. He started his career in 1954 with Socialist Realist dramas. His films made during the Polish School period brought him international recognition, among them *Night Train (Pociąg)*, 1959) and *Mother Joan of the Angels (Matka Joanna od Aniołów)*, 1961). In 1966, Kawalerowicz directed one of the best Polish historical films, *Pharaoh (Faraon)*, nominated for an Oscar in the Best Foreign Film Category in 1967. He also received acclaim for his later works, including *Austeria* (aka *The Inn*, 1983) and *Quo Vadis* (2001). A member of the Communist Party (PZPR) from 1954 to its disbanding in 1989, Kawalerowicz also headed one of the most prominent film units, *Kadr*, which was instrumental in developing the Polish School phenomenon.

46. Jan Rybkowski (1912–1987) was a film director, head of the film Unit Rytm from 1955 to 1968, and a teacher at the Łódź Film School. Following his debut in 1950 with the occupation drama *House in Wilderness (Dom na pustkowiu)*, he worked in a variety of genres, producing war dramas such as *The Hours of Hope (Godziny nadziei)*, 1955) and *When Love Was a Crime (Kiedy miłość była zbrodnią)*, 1968), the Holocaust drama *Ascension Day (Wniebowstąpienie)*, 1969), and several successful comedies. He is also remembered in Poland for his adaptation of *The Peasants (Chłopi)*, 1973), based on the novel written by the Polish Nobel laureate Władysław Stanisław Reymont.

47. Katarzyna Bielas and Jacek Szczerba, "Actors Can Play Even with Their Backs," in *Jerzy Kawalerowicz: Painter of the Tenth Muse* (Łódź: Muzeum Kinematografii, 2012), 212.

48. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, Oświadczenie Ludwika Lawina, vol. 17, p. 92 (Ośw./Lawin/49672/448).

49. Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Oddział w Oświęcimiu, 16/201/123/387.

50. Ibid.

51. Andrzej Waligórski, "Jak nakręcano film *Ostatni etap*," *Słowo Polskie* (20 April 1948): 7.

52. "Widoki z okien" [Interview with Boris Monastyrski by Siemion Czertok], *Film* 16 (1978): 11.

53. M. Toliński, "Smutno w Oświęcimiu, choć ptaki wesoło świergocą," *Echo Krakowa* 152 (7 June 1947): 2; quoted from Lachendro, *Zburzyć i zorać*, 207.

54. Zbigniew Krawczykowski, "Zbieg z filmowego Oświęcimia opowiada. Wywiad z Barbarą Fijewską," *Film* 29 (1947): 4.

55. Author's phone conversation with Roman Dziewoński on October 23, 2013. In her published memoirs, Maria Kaniewska (who plays the *Raportführerin*) writes about yet another aspect of the on-location shooting of *The Last Stage*: several marriages, including "the most spectacular" of Antonina (Tosia) Górecka (Anna in the film) and Konstanty (Kostek) Gordon (documentary filmmaker). See Maria Kaniewska, *Utrwalone na czulej kliszy* (Tarnów: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Witek-Druk," 2004), 149. See also interview with Kaniewska published in 1948 by Zbigniew Krawczykowski, "Zeznania obozowej Raportführerin," *Film* 7 (1948): 4.

56. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 17. Interestingly, in an interview from 1968 Jakubowska stated that she had thought of making a film that portrayed some grotesque aspects of the camp life. "In this irrational world," she commented, "there were elements bordering on the humorous." Jakubowska doubted, however, whether she or her audiences were ready to see it. Oskar Sobariński, "Ten temat pozostanie," *Magazyn Filmowy* 13 (1968): 2.

57. Rudomino, *I Am a Grandmother of Polish Cinema (Jestem babką polskiego kina)*.

58. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 22.

59. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16.

60. Jan Wiktor Lachendro, *Wspomnienia i inne pisma* (Chełmek, 2012), 178.

61. Czekalski, *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska*.

62. Alina Madej archive, letter issued by the Ministry of Public Security, Department of Prisons. 24 March 1947, No. G.O.516/47; fragment published in Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16.

63. See Łukasz Figielski and Bartosz Michalak, *Prywatna historia kina polskiego* (Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2006), 18. Rare images of Gerda Schneider on the set of the film, preserved at Filmoteka Narodowa, may suggest that her role was greater than just scriptwriting and coaching Polish actors playing German parts. One has to take into account, however, the conflict between the young and ambitious assistant director, Jerzy Kawalerowicz, and Jakubowska during the editing stage of the film. The Film Polski authorities encouraged Kawalerowicz to interfere by adding closeups that he shot with Barbara Drapińska (Marta). Jakubowska, however, was able to defend her version. See Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 23. See also the documentary films by Andrzej Czekalski, *Kino, kino, kino* and *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska*.

64. Z. P., "Widma niedawnych lat: Oświęcim na ekranie," *Film* 26 (1947): 8.

65. *Ibid.*, 8. Jakubowska comments on using the German POWs as extras in Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 16.

66. Zajiček, *Poza ekranem*, 85. In a private conversation with Hanno Loewy, Jerzy Kawalerowicz confirmed that in order to save some money on costumes, they used reaction shots of some unsuspecting, well-dressed tourists from Western Europe who reacted with horror to what they saw in the camp. Loewy, "The Mother of All Holocaust Films?" 203n43.

67. Dziewoński, *W życiu jak w teatrze*, 30–31.

68. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 17.

69. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 21.

70. "Aleksandra Śląska," Polish Radio Broadcast, December 22, 2011.

71. Czekalski, *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska*.

72. Piotr Skrzypczak, "Dwie role w esemańskim mundurze: Szkic o aktorstwie Alek-

sandry Śląskiej,” in *Kino polskie wobec II wojny światowej*, ed. Piotr Zwierzchowski, Daria Mazur, and Mariusz Guzek (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2011), 256–70.

73. Quoted in Skrzypczak, “Dwie role w esemańskim mundurze,” 261.

74. Private letter addressed to Edward Dziewoński by Aleksandra Śląska, January 4, 1948; courtesy Roman Dziewoński.

75. Dziewoński, *W życiu jak w teatrze*, 30.

76. Z. P., “Widma niedawnych lat,” 8.

77. Lachendro, *Wspomnienia i inne pisma*, 22. Jan Wiktor Lachendro (born 1934), lived in Oświęcim until April 1941, when his family was forcibly resettled by the Germans. During the shooting of Jakubowska’s film, he was a student at a high school in Oświęcim. I am grateful to Dr. Jacek Lachendro (related to Jan Wiktor), historian at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, for this information.

78. Wohl’s film *Two Hours*, barely noticed by critics and viewers after its delayed premiere in 1957, is rarely discussed in the context of the Holocaust cinema. See my *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 23–24.

79. Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust*, 21.

80. *Ibid.*, 101.

81. Jeremy Hicks, “Confronting the Holocaust: Mark Donskoi’s *The Unvanquished*,” *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 3, no. 1 (2009): 35. For a close reading of the film, see also Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust*, 40–56.

82. Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust*, 155. Hicks writes that *The Unvanquished* is the “hitherto unacknowledged progenitor of a genre of Eastern European feature films of the Holocaust made in the late 1940s; this group includes the Czech director Alfred Radok’s *Distant Journey (Daleka Cesta* [1948]) and the Polish director Aleksander Ford’s *Border Street (Ulica Graniczna* [1949])” (*ibid.*).

83. Ewa Gębicka stresses that Polish audiences wanted to see Polish films above all. The Polish security apparatus reported that Polish audiences whistled, provided ironic comments, and laughed during the screening of several Soviet films, such as *The Vow (Pitsi*, 1946), directed by Mikheil Chiaureli, a Socialist Realist biopic of Stalin. Gębicka enumerates Soviet films screened in Poland between 1945 and 1948: 21 in 1945, 39 in 1946, 35 in 1947, and 23 in 1948. Ewa Gębicka, “Nie strzelać do Czapaiewa! Jak po wojnie przyjmowano filmy radzieckie w Polsce,” *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 2 (1993): 96–97, 99, 107. See also Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność*, 84–91. Between 1945 and 1948, however, films imported from the Soviet Union did not monopolize the Polish market. For example, in 1946, there were 158 films shown on Polish screens, including 53 prewar Polish productions and 84 Soviet, 16 English, and 5 French films. In 1948, there were 99 films in distribution: 33 American, 23 Soviet, 18 French, 16 English, 7 Czechoslovak, and 2 Italian. See my *Polish National Cinema*, 48–49.

84. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 15.

85. <http://culture.pl/en/artist/roman-palester>. See also Zofia Helman, *Roman Palester: Twórca i dzieło* (Kraków: Kraków Musica Jagiellonica, 1999).

86. Czekalski, *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*.

87. Lubelski, “Dwa debiuty,” 23. Also in Czekalski’s documentary films, *Kino, kino, kino* and *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*. Jakubowska’s editor, Róża (Lidia) Pstrokońska (1908–1991), started her career in the cinema industry before 1939. After the war she

edited *Forbidden Songs* and worked on several films by Jakubowska, including her films about Auschwitz, such as *Meetings in the Twilight* (1960) and *The End of Our World* (1964).

88. Czekański, *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska*.

89. Liebman, “Pages from the Past,” 62.

90. Jakubowska, “Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza,” 45. Referring to the last scene in the script, Jakubowska stated: “This scene was not filmed, because the film was too long even without it.”

91. *Ibid.*, 45.

92. FN, A-329, poz. A8, p. 4, “Protokół Komisji Kwalifikacyjnej Filmów: *Jasne Łamy*, reż. E. Cekańskiego, *Ostatni etap*, reż. W. Jakubowskiej, *Stalowe serca*, reż. S. Urbanowicza,” April 11, 1948.

Chapter 4

1. The scene portrays Poles, among them Helena, on a street of Warsaw. This is not a roundup of Jews, as indicated by some sources, such as Robert C. Reimer and Carol J. Reimer, *Historical Dictionary of Holocaust Cinema* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 109.

2. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, xv.

3. After the war there was no consensus regarding the number of Auschwitz victims. Figures provided in 1945 by different sources, ranging from the Red Army to the Polish Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes, were high, usually citing 4 million estimated victims. This was also the number provided by the former commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss, during his trial. See Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 42–44. In 1965, Mikhail Romm (acclaimed Soviet director of Jewish origin) made a classic complication documentary, *Ordinary Fascism (Obyknovennyi Fashizm)*, released in the U.S. in 1968 as *Triumph over Violence* that gave the same number for Auschwitz-Birkenau victims. A voiceover commentary (by Mikhail Romm) over the tracking shot of the “death gate” leading to Birkenau proclaims: “Four million people walked through this gate. Four million.” The debates surrounding the number of Auschwitz victims are fittingly summarized by Marek Kucia, *Auschwitz jako fakt społeczny* (Kraków: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau/ Universitas, 2005), 148–62. See detailed discussion of *Ordinary Fascism* in Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust*, 59–70.

4. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 30–33; Kucia, *Auschwitz jako fakt społeczny*, 124.

5. Jakubowska, “Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza,” 43.

6. Strzelecka, “Hospitals,” 383.

7. *Ibid.*, 391.

8. Garliński, *Fighting Auschwitz*, 133.

9. Strzelecka, “Hospitals,” 381.

10. Irena Strzelecka, “Women,” in *Anatomy of Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Ysrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 405.

11. Stanisława Leszczyńska, “Raport położnej z Oświęcimia,” in *Okupacja i medycyna*, ed. Jerzy Rawicz (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 164.

12. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 499. Danuta Czech reports that before October 4, 1943, eleven boys were born in Birkenau and “entered in the register of the men’s camp and are given Nos 155909–155919.” *Ibid.*

13. Jakubowska, "Kilka wspomnień o powstaniu scenariusza," 43–44.
14. For example, as insightfully discussed by Janina Struk, the screening of *Night and Fog* in England encountered several problems with the censor. Some of the graphic shots, including those depicting piles of corpses, were removed by the British Board of Film Classification (BBFC). The whole film, with the scenes reintroduced by the BBFC, was released in 1990. Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 168.
15. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 24.
16. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 21.
17. Stuart Liebman and Leonard Quart, "Lost and Found: Wanda Jakubowska's *The Last Stop*," *Cinéaste* 22, no. 4 (1997): 44.
18. Tadeusz Lubelski, *Strategie autorskie w polskim filmie fabularnym 1945–1961* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1992), 81.
19. Jalu Kurek, "Ostatni etap od strony filmowej," *Warszawa* 4 (1948): 4. This very powerful image of women on the *Appelplatz*, however, was described as far removed from truth by Auschwitz survivor Henryk Korotyński, who stated that prisoners tried to stay warm at all cost and "waving like a field of grain" did not work well. Henryk Korotyński, "Oczyrna Oświęcimia," *Film* 7 (1948): 4.
20. Leon Bukowiecki, "Oświęcim na ekranie," *Film* 6 (1948): 3.
21. Roman Mann (1911–1960) worked on thirty-six films, including such Polish School classics as Andrzej Wajda's war trilogy—*A Generation* (*Pokolenie*, 1955), *Kanał* (*Kanał*, 1957), and *Ashes and Diamonds* (*Popiół i diament*, 1958)—Andrzej Munk's *Man on the Tracks* (*Człowiek na torze*, 1956), Aleksander Ford's *Teutonic Knights* (*Krzyżacy*, 1960), and Jerzy Kawalerowicz's *Mother Joan of the Angels* (*Matka Joanna od Aniołów*, 1960). Czesław Piaskowski (1903–1994) worked as a set designer on several prewar films. The list of his accomplishments includes Joseph Green and Jan Nowina-Przybylski's classic Yiddish comedy, *Yiddle with His Fiddle* (*Yidl mitn fidl*, 1936; as art director—not credited). *Film Polski* database: <http://filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?osoba=11944>.
22. Lubelski, *Strategie autorskie*, 79.
23. Stephen Prince, *Classical Film Violence: Designing and Regulating Brutality in Hollywood Cinema, 1930–1968* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 208.
24. One could discuss this example in the context of Yasujiro Ozu's use of offscreen space, which is employed to contain some unseen horror.
25. Aaron Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust: New Perspectives on Dramas, Documentaries, and Experimental Films* (London: Continuum, 2011), 20. Kerner later writes that when the child is born, "a light emanates; as if the newly born baby boy signifies some 'ray of hope'" (*ibid.*, 68).
26. Wanda Jakubowska, letter to Jerzy Bossak, head of the Program-Artistic Department of Film Polski, 28 January 1946, Alina Madej archive.
27. Wanda Jakubowska, letter to the Production Department of Film Polski, 14 May 1947, Alina Madej archive.
28. Jakubowska commented that Brochwicz, a follower of Stanislavski's method acting, had a tendency to make blown-up faces. She threatened him that she would shoot him only from behind. "You can always find a way to outsmart a guy," concluded Jakubowska. Czekański, *Notacja—Wanda Jakubowska*.
29. Żywulska, "Nareszcie film," 8.

30. Strzelecka, "Women," 396.
31. Aaron Kerner describes the Nazis in Jakubowska's film as "cookie-cutter Nazis, embodiments of sadistic evil . . . unfeeling robots that blurt out fascist diatribes" (Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust*, 70).
32. B. W., "Patrzac na ekran," *Życie Warszawy* (April 4, 1948).
33. Sabine Hake, *Screen Nazis: Cinema, History, and Democracy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 21.
34. Interestingly, Alina Janowska, who plays the Serbian partisan Dessa, was imprisoned by the Gestapo at the Pawiak prison in Warsaw in 1942 and was kept in its women's wing, known as "Serbia." Alina Janowska, *Jam jest Alina, czyli Janowska story* (Warsaw: Prószyński, 2007), 85–93.
35. See Juliane Brauer, "How Music Can Be Torturous: Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps," *Music and Politics* 10, no. 1 (2016). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mp.9460447.0010.103>.
36. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 27.
37. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 17.
38. Czekalski, *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*.
39. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 17.
40. Kulisiewicz, "Triumf polskiej kinematografii," 10.
41. Madej, "Wanda Jakubowska," 17.
42. Kurek, "*Ostatni etap* od strony filmowej," 4.
43. Jakubowska commented that "somebody didn't like the fact that she was German and so they gave her a week to go. She went to Hamburg. It must have been '48 or '49. We used to meet in Berlin, but we couldn't work together anymore." Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 21. Most Polish sources provide a different date of the premiere, March 28, 1948 (the screening in Łódź).
44. Czekalski, *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*.
45. Mariusz Margal, "Paryski etap *Ostatniego etapu*," *Film* 21 (1948): 4. See also insightful comments on the French release of Jakubowska's *La Dernière Étape* in Annette Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide: Entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (Paris: Plon, 1992), 307–312.
46. Czekalski, *Notacja — Wanda Jakubowska*.
47. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, "Fragmenty przemówienia Jarosława Iwaszkiewicza z okazji wręczenia Wandzie Jakubowskiej Nagrody Światowej Rady Pokoju (1950 rok)," in Wanda Jakubowska, *Ostatni etap* (Warsaw: Filmowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1955), 10.
48. AAN, Polski Związek b. Więźniów Politycznych Hitlerowskich Więzień i Obozów Koncentracyjnych, 415/8, "Główny Sąd Koleżeński. Akta sprawy Wandy Jakubowskiej z powodu zniesławienia jej we Francji. Postanowienie sądu, protokoły konferencji i przesłuchań świadków, korespondencja." See also more details about this case in Wieviorka, *Déportation et génocide*, 309–11. Wieviorka writes that the letter attacking Jakubowska's conduct in Auschwitz was published by former Auschwitz prisoner Wanda Ramond on June 23, 1949 (*ibid.*, 309).
49. The authors of the letter and the editorial probably confused Wanda Jakubowska with another Wanda from Rajsko, Wanda Dutczyńska.
50. AAN, 415/8, 4.
51. "Wydawca emigracyjnej gadzinówki skazany za zniesławienie Wandy Jakubowskiej," *Film* 7 (1950), 2; *Narodowiec* 148 (June 23, 1949).

52. Mruklik, “Wierność sobie,” 21.

53. Quoted from Steven Alan Carr, “To Encompass the Unseeable: Foreign Film, Taste Culture, and the American Encounter with the Postwar Holocaust Film,” paper presented at the *Twelfth Lessons and Legacies Conference on the Holocaust* (Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., November 2, 2012): <http://stevenalancarr.pbworks.com/w/page/51992487/To%20Encompass%20the%20Unseeable>.

54. Bosley Crowther, “The Brutal Truth: Polish Film Dramatizes Nazi Torture Camp,” *New York Times* (27 March 1949).

55. William Friedberg, “Nazi Concentration Camp Reactivated for Film,” *New York Times* (February 20, 1949); quoted from Carr, “To Encompass the Unseeable.”

56. Maria Dąbrowska, *Dzienniki powojenne. T 1: 1945–1949* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1996), 209 (entry of April 13, 1948). Dąbrowska refers to Jerzy Andrzejewski’s novel, *Ashes and Diamonds* (*Popiół i diament*), published in 1948, not to its 1958 adaptation by Andrzej Wajda.

57. Żywulska, “Nareszcie film,” 8; Seweryna Szmaglewska, “Dzieło czy arcydzieło,” *Gazeta Filmowa* 16 (June 1, 1948): 2; Korotyński, “Oczyrna Oświęcimiaka,” 4.

58. Korotyński, “Oczyrna Oświęcimiaka,” 4.

59. H [Halina]. M. Laskowska, “O *Ostatnim etapie*—głos drugi,” *Dziś i Jutro* 18 (2 May 1948).

60. Korotyński, “Oczyrna Oświęcimiaka,” 4.

61. Hanna Tomaszewska, “Czy *Ostatni etap* jest prawdziwy?” *Warszawa: Niezależny Dwutygodnik Literacki* 4 (1948): 3.

62. “Listy do redakcji, *Wieczór* (April 6, 1948).

63. [Krystyna Kobyłecka], “Oświęcim po raz drugi. Więźniarka 44737,” *Głos Ludu* 88 (1948).

64. Kazimierz Truchanowski, “Wyrównanie,” *Warszawa* 4 (14 May 1948): 8.

65. Żywulska, “Nareszcie film,” 8.

66. Karol Pędowski, “Ludzie i zbrodniarze,” *Warszawa* 4 (1948): 1.

67. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 15.

68. Stanisław Grzelecki, “Realizm i psychologizm *Ostatniego etapu*,” *Warszawa* 4 (1948): 6.

69. Stanisław Helsztyński, “Film wstrząsa, przypomina i ostrzega,” *Warszawa* 4 (1948): 4.

70. Jerzy Putrament, “Notatki o Oświęcimiu,” *Odrodzenie* 23 (1948): 3.

71. Kazimierz Koźniewski, “Drażliwy problem,” *Przekrój* 179 (1949): 3. The debate is fittingly summarized by Jacek Lachendro in his *Zburzyć i zaościć?* 73–101. See also discussion in Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 86–91.

72. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 90.

73. *Ibid.*, 90.

74. *Ibid.*, 90.

75. *Ibid.*, 91.

Chapter 5

Epigraph source: Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter,” 29.

1. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 121.

2. See my *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 56–57.

3. Jakubowska, "Twórca o powstaniu dzieła," 17.
4. Żywulska, "Nareszcie film," 8.
5. Matuszewski, "Martyw punkt polskiego filmu—przełamany," 5.
6. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 24.
7. Józef Cyrankiewicz, "Oświęcim walczący," *Naprzód* 18 (June 24, 1946): 1–2. Wanda Jakubowska was an active participant at the congress uniting the PPR and PPS into the PZPR in December 1949. She delivered a speech outlining the new Stalinist goals for Polish cinema. See "Film Polski na kongresie P.Z.P.R.," *Film* 1 (1949): 2.
8. Lucjan Motyka (1915–1996), imprisoned in Auschwitz in 1943 (camp number 136678), member of the Auschwitz Combat Group, escaped from Auschwitz on July 19, 1944. "The escape was planned and prepared by the camp resistance movement. Motyka spends three days in the storage room of the SS kitchen before he leaves the area of the main camp." Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 667. After the war, Motyka became a prominent politician, serving as minister of culture from 1964 to 1971, among other posts.
9. Józef Garliński's book was first published in Polish in 1974 as *Oświęcim walczący* (London: Odnova). It was translated into English in 1975 as *Fighting Auschwitz*. Garliński was imprisoned in Auschwitz in May 1943 (number 121421). After the war he settled in England.
10. See Konstanty R. Piekarski, *Escaping Hell: The Story of a Polish Underground Officer in Auschwitz and Buchenwald* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989); Adam Cyra, *Ochotnik do Auschwitz: Witold Pilecki 1901–1948* (Oświęcim: Chrześcijańskie Stowarzyszenie Rodzin Oświęcimskich, 2000); Wincenty Gawron (former Auschwitz inmate), *Ochotnik do Oświęcimia* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum w Oświęcimiu, 1992). Ryszard Bugajski, of *Interrogation* (1982/1989) fame, directed a television play about the heroics of Pilecki titled *The Death of Cavalry Captain Pilecki* (*Śmierć Rotmistrza Pileckiego*) that was aired on May 15, 2006.
11. Halina Birenbaum, *Hope Is the Last to Die: A Personal Documentation of Nazi Terror* (Oświęcim: State Museum in Oświęcim, 1994), 192.
12. See, for example, Lubelski, *Strategie autorskie*, 82; Wróbel, "Ostatni etap Wandy Jakubowskiej," 13.
13. Eryk Krasucki, "Przepis na nowego bohatera narodowego. Albo o tym, dlaczego Karol Świerczewski nie został gwiazdą kina (perypetie scenariusza *Żołnierza zwycięstwa* Wandy Jakubowskiej z 1953 roku)," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 7 (2006): 53. Jerzy Borejsza, a postwar organizer of Polish communist publishing empire, was an older brother of the notorious Stalinist interrogator, Józef Różański.
14. Jerzy Toeplitz, "Introduction" in Jakubowska, *Ostatni etap*, 9.
15. Lubelski, *Strategie autorskie*, 80 and 82.
16. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 49, p. 87 (Ośw./Szwemberg/1055).
17. APMAB, *Wspomnienia*, vol. 159b, p. 401 (Wsp./Ułan/897/168008/401).
18. AAN, Zespół 415, minutes of the conference from August 9, 1949, organized by the PZbWP, p. 2.
19. Garliński, *Fighting Auschwitz*, 129.
20. Jerzy Ptakowski, *Oświęcim bez cenzury i bez legend* (London: Myśl Polska, 1985), 67.
21. Henryk Świebocki, *The Resistance Movement*, vol. 4 of *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, ed. Waclaw Długoborski and Franciszek

Piper, trans. William Brand (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2000), 53–62, 132.

22. Anna Pawełczyńska, *Values and Violence in Auschwitz. A Sociological Analysis*, trans. Catherine S. Leach (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 120–21.

23. Quoted from Zofia Wóycicka, *Przerwana żałoba: Polskie spory wokół pamięci nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych i zagłady 1944–1950* (Warsaw: TRIO, 2009), 72.

24. *Ibid.*, 72.

25. *Ibid.*, 88–97.

26. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 86.

27. “Wytyczne Wydziału Propagandy i Prasy KC PPR do pracy propagandowej Związku b. Więźniów Politycznych,” quoted in Dmitrów, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków*, 159.

28. David Bathrick, “Holocaust Film before the Holocaust: DEFA, Antifascism and the Camps,” *Cinemas* 18, no. 1 (2007): 109–34; <http://www.erudit.org/revue/cine/2007/v18/n1/017849ar.html>.

29. Maria Jezierska, “Obrachunek,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* (September 1, 1946); quoted in Wóycicka, *Przerwana żałoba*, 35.

30. Anna Szyller Palarczyk’s Testimony, August 19, 1996, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, RG-50.030*0376.

31. Shelley, *Criminal Experiments*, 163 and 177 (testimonies of Claudette Kennedy and Marie-Elisa Cohen, respectively).

32. Garliński, *Fighting Auschwitz*, 129; also in Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 314.

33. Hutton, *Testimony from the Nazi Camps*, 2. Hutton refers to Serge Klarsfeld’s *Le Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1978).

34. *Ibid.*, 172.

35. Garliński, *Fighting Auschwitz*, 130–31.

36. *Ibid.*, 133.

37. Pawełczyńska, *Values and Violence in Auschwitz*, 90–91.

38. Yisrael Gutman, “Auschwitz—An Overview,” in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 27.

39. Béla Balázs, “Concerning the Great Polish Auschwitz Film,” trans. Zsuzsa Berger and Stuart Liebman, in “Béla Balázs on Wanda Jakubowska’s *The Last Stop*: Three Texts,” 68.

40. Liebman, “Pages from the Past,” 60. Jakubowska mentioned that Marta’s character dominates the screen partly due to bad casting on her part. Barbara Drapińska (Marta) proved to be a much stronger actress than the prewar actress Wanda Bartówna (Helena). Had she, as originally planned, cast the rising Polish postwar star Danuta Szaflarska in the role of Helena, this might have been a film with a different emphasis. Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 17. In a recent interview, Szaflarska stated that she did not appear in the film because she did not want to play a communist. Stanisław Zawisliński and Tadeusz Wijata, *Fabryka snów* (Łódź: TOYA, 2013), 30.

41. Elżbieta Ostrowska, “Filmic Representations of the ‘Polish Mother’ in Post-Second World War Polish Cinema,” *European Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 3–4 (1998): 424.

42. Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust*, 123. Kerner refers not only to *The Last Stage*,

but also to Andrzej Wajda's *Kanal* (1957) and Gillo Pontecorvo's *Kapo* (1960), films "which trade heavily in the realist aesthetic" (ibid.).

43. Liebman, "I Was Always in the Epicenter," 25.

44. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 708.

45. Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust*, 37.

46. Béla Balázs, "A Letter to Wanda Jakubowska," trans. Stuart Liebman, in "Béla Balázs on Wanda Jakubowska's *The Last Stop*," 64.

47. Ibid., 65.

48. Balázs, "Concerning the Great Polish Auschwitz Film," 67–69.

49. The book by Borowski is available in English in Barbara Vedder's translation: Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York: Penguin, 1992).

50. Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, *Z otchłani. Wspomnienia z lagru* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Władysława Nagłowskiego, 1946).

51. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 500.

52. Tadeusz Borowski, "Alicja w krainie czarów," *Pokolenie* 1 (January 12, 1947).

53. For more details, see Dariusz Kulesza, *Dwie prawdy. Zofia Kossak-Szczucka i Tadeusz Borowski wobec obrazu wojny w polskiej prozie lat 1944–1948* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana, 2006).

54. Tadeusz Borowski, *Alicja w krainie czarów (Utwory zebrane)* (Warsaw: Krytyka Literacka i Artystyczna, 1954), 30.

55. Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski, *Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu* (Munich: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie, 1946); English translation by Alicia Nitecki, *We Were in Auschwitz* (New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000), 3–4. As stated in the English edition, part of the original 1946 edition in Polish "was bound in concentration camp 'stripes' cut from original prison garments" (p. 197). The title page, apart from authors' names, included their camp numbers: 6643 (Siedlecki), 75817 (Olszewski), and 119198 (Borowski).

56. Anatol Girs, "From the Publisher," in *We Were in Auschwitz*, 1.

57. See discussion in Anna Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 236–43.

58. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 27.

59. Mruklik, "Wierność sobie," 8.

60. Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust*, 68.

61. Andrzej Werner, *Zwyczajna apokalipsa. Tadeusz Borowski i jego wizja świata obozów* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1971), 21.

62. Ibid., 22.

63. Madej, *Kino, władza, publiczność*, 170 and 180.

64. Liebman, "Pages from the Past," 56.

65. B. W., "Patrzac na ekran," *Życie Warszawy* (April 4, 1948); quoted in Wróbel, "Ostatni etap Wandy Jakubowskiej," 10.

66. Quoted in Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland and the Politics of Commemoration*, 33.

67. See Alina Madej, "Zjazd filmowy w Wiśle, czyli dla każdego coś przykrego," *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 18 (1997): 207–14.

68. See my chapter on Socialist Realist films in Poland, "The Poetics of Screen

Stalinism,” in my book *Polish National Cinema*, 56–72. Piotr Zwierzchowski extensively discusses Polish Socialist Realist films in his books: *Zapomniani bohaterowie. O bohaterach filmowych polskiego socrealizmu* (Warsaw: TRIO, 2000); and *Pęknięty monolit. Konteksty polskiego kina socrealistycznego* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2005).

Chapter 6

1. For example, Andrew Charlesworth, “Contesting Places of Memory: The Case of Auschwitz,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994), 579–93; Tim Cole’s chapter on “Auschwitz” in his *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 97–120; James E. Young’s chapter on “The Rhetoric of Ruins: The Memorial Camps at Majdanek and Auschwitz” in his *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 119–54; and Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*.

2. Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, xiv.

3. *Ibid.*, xvi.

4. Charlesworth, “Contesting Places of Memory,” 583.

5. *Ibid.*, 584.

6. Kornatowska, “Kto ratuje jedno życie,” 37. See also Madej, “Wanda Jakubowska,” 17.

7. Liebman, “I Was Always in the Epicenter,” 17.

8. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 383 and 389.

9. Jaff Schatz, *The Generation: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communists of Poland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 203.

10. Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 275.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Marek Kucia, “‘Jews’—The Absence and Presence of a Category in the Representations of Auschwitz in Poland, 1945–1985,” *Studia Judaica* 2 (2006): 328–29.

14. Zofia Nałkowska, *Medallions*, trans. Diana Kuprel (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2000).

15. Żywulska, *I Came Back*. See Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 469.

16. Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, 64.

17. Stuart Liebman, “Early Holocaust Cinema: Jews under the Sign of the Cross,” in *The Holocaust: Memories and History*, ed. Victoria Khiterer (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 243.

18. Stuart Liebman, “Historiography/Holocaust Cinema: Challenges and Advances,” in *Cinema and the Shoah: An Arts Confronts the Tragedy of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jean-Michel Frodon (New York: SUNY Press, 2010), 207.

19. *Ibid.*, 214. See also Ira Konigsberg, “Our Children and the Limits of Cinema: Early Jewish Responses to the Holocaust,” *Film Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1998): 7–19.

20. Wulf Kansteiner, “Sold Globally—Remembered Locally: Holocaust Cinema and the Construction of Collective Identities in Europe and the US,” in *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts*, ed. Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas, and Andrew Mycock (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 164.

21. Liebman, “The Majdanek Trial,” 123.

22. Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust*, 59.
23. For a close reading, see my *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 53–73, 76, 78–84, and 97–99.
24. See Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman, eds., *Concentrationary Cinema: Aesthetics as Political Resistance in Alain Resnais's Night and Fog* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011).
25. Cathy S. Gelbin, "Cinematic Representation of the Holocaust," in *Writing the Holocaust*, ed. Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Daniel Langton (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 30.
26. See Małgorzata Tryuk, "You Say Nothing; I Will Interpret': Interpreting in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp," in *Translation and Opposition*, ed. Dimitris Asimakoulas and Margaret Rogers (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2011): 223–43.
27. Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema*, 173.
28. For example, Liebman, "Pages from the Past," 60.
29. Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988), 154–55.
30. *Ibid.*, 156.
31. Wiesław Kielar, *Anus Mundi: 1,500 Days in Auschwitz/Birkenau*, translated from the German edition by Susanne Flatauer (New York: Times Books, 1980). *Anus Mundi* was written in 1966, published in Polish for the first time in 1972, and since then has been reprinted numerous times. After the war, Kielar studied cinematography at the Łódź Film School, and later worked as a camera operator on, among others, Czesław Petelski's classic film *Damned Roads* (*Baza ludzi umarłych*, 1959). He also worked as an assistant to the camera operator on Jakubowska's later Auschwitz film, *The End of Our World* (1964). Zimetbaum's life and death in Auschwitz is discussed extensively by Lorenz Sichelshmidt in his German monograph *Mala: Ein Lieben und eine Liebe in Auschwitz* (Bremen: Donat, 1995). See also Anne Grynberg, "Mala Zimetbaum, un 'être lumineux' à Auschwitz," *Les Cahiers du judaïsme* 12 (2002): 114–28; and online documentation presented by the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, "Tragic Love of Auschwitz: The Story of Edek Galiński and Mala Zimetbaum," at: <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/exhibit/tragic-love-at-auschwitz/gRatYvcU?position=0%2C2>.
32. *Ibid.*, 255.
33. Żywulska, "Nareszcie film," 8.
34. Henryk Korotyński, "Oczyrna Oświęcimiaka," *Film* 7 (1948): 4.
35. Jakubowska, *Ostatni etap*, 83.
36. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 141, testimony of Anna Palarczyk née Szyller, pp. 147–48 (Ośw./Szyller-Palarczyk/3293, no. 176121).
37. APMAB, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 139, testimony of Wanda Marossanyi and Anna Palarczyk Szyller, p. 166 (Ośw./Marossanyi i Palarczyk/3275, no. 175963). The tragic love story of Mala and Edek is the subject of two Polish medium-length documentary films: *An Auschwitz Love Story* (1989), produced by Jacek Bławut and Michał Żarnecki, and part four of *From the Auschwitz Chronicle* (*Z kroniki Auschwitz*, 2005), made by Michał Bukojemski.
38. Elissa Mailänder, *Female SS Guards and Workaday Violence: The Majdanek Concentration Camp, 1942–1944*, trans. Patricia Szobar (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015), 203.
39. Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema*, 169.

Chapter 7

1. Talarczyk-Gubała, *Wanda Jakubowska*.
2. The discussion of Jakubowska's later Auschwitz films relies on a fragment from my *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 45–48.
3. Marian Kołodziej (1921–2009) was a distinguished set designer and painter who survived Auschwitz by adopting the name of a deceased prisoner. He kept this name after the war. This aspect of his life perhaps influenced the story presented by Jakubowska. Among several documentary films about the life and career of Kołodziej is *The Labyrinth: The Testimony of Marian Kołodziej* (2010, Jason A. Schmidt, Polish-American production). In 1944, Kołodziej was evacuated from Auschwitz to Gross Rosen, Buchenwald, and Mauthausen camps, where he was liberated on May 6, 1945. After the war, he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków and graduated in 1950, specializing in set design. He worked in theater and cinema (with Kazimierz Kutz, among others), and never returned to his Auschwitz experiences until 1995. Fifty years after his Auschwitz ordeal, he presented a series of personal art works (pen and ink drawings) depicting life in a concentration camp.
4. Borowski's influence is discussed by several critics, among them Hanno Loewy in his insightful text, "The Mother of All Holocaust Films?" 199.
5. *Ibid.*, 189.
6. Quoted from Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 93.
7. Tadeusz Hołuj, "Jak powstawał *Koniec naszego świata*," *Film* 14 (1964): 6.
8. *Ibid.*, 6.
9. Carr, "To Encompass the Unseeable."
10. Lubelski, "Dwa debiuty," 26.
11. Carr, "To Encompass the Unseeable." According to John J. Michalczyk, George Stevens, who had earlier produced the documentary *Nazi Concentration Camps* (1945), "refused to use any gruesome images of corpses filmed during the liberation of the camps since the world had seen enough of these ghastly pictures at the close of the war. Instead he used a montage effect of shots from *The Last Stage*. He had been personally horrified at the scene of frozen bodies at Dachau" (John J. Michalczyk, *Filming the End of the Holocaust: Allied Documentaries, Nuremberg and the Liberation of the Concentration Camps* [London: Bloomsbury, 2014], 188n18).
12. Liebman, "Pages from the Past," 63.
13. This segment on *The Passenger* borrows heavily from my discussion in *Polish Film and the Holocaust*, 99–107. For a close reading of *The Passenger*, see also Maureen Turim, "On the Charge of Memory: Auschwitz, Trauma and Representation," *Arcadia: International Journal for Literary Studies* 45, no. 2 (2011): 297–306; Ewelina Nurczyńska-Fidelska, *Andrzej Munk* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1982); and Paulina Kwiatkowska, "Structures of Memory: The Images of Space-Time in Andrzej Munk's Film *The Passenger*," *Kwartalnik Filmowy* [Special English Edition] (2013): 6–30.
14. Bolesław W. Lewicki, "Temat: Oświęcim," *Kino* 6 (1968): 16–18. Lewicki (1908–1981) was imprisoned at Auschwitz for two years. In June 1942, he was transferred to Gross Rosen and later to other camps, including Dachau. After the war he taught at the University of Łódź from 1959, and was also head of the Łódź Film School from 1968 to 1969. In 1974, he published his Auschwitz memoirs titled *Wiesz, jak jest*.
15. Stefania Beylin, untitled conversation with Munk, *Film* 41 (1961): 11. Munk

was killed in 1961 in a car accident while returning from the set of *The Passenger*. The film was finished by his friend Witold Lesiewicz and premiered on the second anniversary of Munk's death, 20 September 1963.

16. *Ibid.*, 11.

17. Accomplished production manager Wilhelm Hollender (1922–1994) was imprisoned at Auschwitz. In 1994 Włodzimierz Gołaszewski made a documentary film initiated and coscripted by Hollender, *Inspection at the Scene of the Crime—We Shouldn't Be among the Living* (*Wizja lokalna—nie powinno nas być wśród żywych*), which introduced several former Auschwitz prisoners.

18. Nurczyńska-Fidelska, *Andrzej Munk*, 129.

19. Zdzisław Dudzik, "Ostatni film Andrzeja Munka," *Film* 41 (1961): 11.

20. Loewy, "The Mother of All Holocaust Films?" 194.

21. *Ibid.*, 197.

22. Carr, "To Encompass the Unseeable."

23. See Sara Guyer, *Romanticism after Auschwitz* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 200.

24. Jan Alfred Szczepański, "Koniec naszego świata," *Film* 14 (1964): 7.