Sources

BECAUSE OF THE ZEALOUS WISH to revive Hebrew, many of the books cited below did not carry an English or other non-Hebrew title, nor was the author's name transliterated from Hebrew into Roman characters at the time of publication. Books were sent to the National Library in Jerusalem, rather than to the Library of Congress until at least the 1970s. Therefore, most of the following translations of titles are mine. Letters and short conversations not included in this list of sources are referred to in the notes.

Material marked as "entrusted" was given to me, and sometimes to both Hava Zexer and me, courtesy of the Nokmim, researchers, and colleagues. Material for which no location is specified is in my hands.

Transliteration of names from Hebrew to non-Hebrew languages depends on personal preference: Arieh, Aryeh, and Ariye or Yitzhak, Itzhak, Izhak, and Isaac, are a matter of choice, not according to a standard rule, as are Cantorowicz or Rabinovitch. While the reader may find what seems to be an inconsistency in transliteration, it in fact honors each individual's wishes.

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

- The Ben-Gurion Heritage Institute archive at Sde Boker
- The Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA)
- The Ghetto Fighters' House
- The Gnazim Archive of the Hebrew Writers Association in Israel, Tel Aviv
- The Haganah Historical Archives, Tel Aviv (hereafter Haganah)

- The Hanoch Bartov archive at the Kipp Center for Hebrew Literature and Culture, Tel Aviv University
- The IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) Archive, Kiryat Ono
- The Inter-University Project for the Study of the Ha'apalah, Tel Aviv University
- The Israel Galili Defense Forces Archive, Yad Tabenkin, Efal (hereafter Efal)
- The Israel State Archives, Jerusalem
- The Jewish Legion Museum at Avichail
- The Kibbutz Ein-HaHoresh archive
- The Kovner family archive at Givat Haviva
- The Labor Party archive, Beit Berl, Kfar Saba
- The Lavon Institute for the Study of the Labor Movement, Tel Aviv
- The Massuah Institute, Tel Yitzhak
- The Moreshet archives and the Hashomer Hatzair Ya'ari archives at Givat Haviva
- The Oral History Archives, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (hereafter Oral HU)
- The Palmach House Archive in Tel Aviv
- The US National Archives, College Park, Maryland
- The Weizmann Archives at the Weizmann Institute, Rehovot
- The Yad Vashem archive
- The YIVO Archives, New York

A - MATERIALS ENTRUSTED BY THE AVENGERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

- 1. Avidov (Reichman), Yitzhak (Pasha), material entrusted by his son Avi Avidov.
- 2. Galperin-Gliksman, Rachel, written diary in Yiddish and Hebrew.
- 3. Hammel, Yitzhak, notes written in Polish to Lena Satz.
- 4. Harmatz, Yosef (Yulek), a diary written in Lithuanian.
- Kenet (Kantarowicz), Shlomo, material gathered at Beit Zera (his kibbutz), entrusted by his family.
- Kovner, Abba, the Nakam ("revenge") File, entrusted by his widow, Vitka Kempner-Kovner.
- Mairanz, Ludwig, a forged oleh (immigrant) certificate, entrusted by his widow Paulette.
- 8. Satz-Hammel, Helena (Lena), a diary written in Polish.
- Testimonies given at the Massuah Institute and printed in booklets for family members.
- Booklets written and printed for family only.
- Clips from the American and German press of 1946, kept by a number of the Nokmim.
- Recordings of the group's meetings.

B - TESTIMONIES OF THE GROUP MEMBERS AND THEIR RELATIVES

Avidov (Reichman), Yitzhak (Pasha): 1a—to Yehuda Bauer and Aharon Keidar, January 10, 1966, Moreshet, C.61/45; 1b—to Yehuda Ben-David and Naftali

Sagi, January 19, 1989, Efal, file 157; 1c—to Natan Beirak and Anita Tarsi, July 30, 1989, *Massuah*, no. 75; 1d—to Dina Porat, September 19, 1995; 1e—testimonies to Zexer, September 2000; 1f—undated, Moreshet, A.1587.02; 1g—to his grandson, undated.

- 2. Avidov, Avi, son of Avidov (Reichman), Yitzhak (Pasha), a conversation with Zexer and Porat, July 2008 and June 5, 2009.
- 3. Ben-Yaʻakov (Gewirtzman), Dov (Bolek), undated, Moreshet A.587.1 and A.587.2; 32—to Levi Arieh Sarid (hereafter Sarid), February 21, 1984.
- 4. Ben-Zur (Bencelowicz), Pinchas (Yashek), to Zexer and Porat, December 24, 2009.
- 5. De-Nur (Feiner), Yehiel (Ka-tzetnik), to Zvika Dror, May 16, 1990, entrusted by Dror.
- 6. Distel, Arie (Leibke), *Days of Life*, a printing of his testimony at Massuah, September 7, 1984, A.11701.
- 7. Friedman, Yehuda (Idek), to Porat and Zexer, April 14, 2010.
- 8. Galperin-Gliksman, Rachel, to Zexer and Porat, October 24, 2009.
- 9. Gliksman, Zygmunt (Zygi), to Levi Arieh Sarid (hereafter Sarid), August 12, 1992, printed for his family.
- 10. Hammel (Satz), Helena (Lena), to Zexer, January 7, 1997; 10a—with Shulamit Wodislawski to Zexer and Porat, January 29, 2010, and July 7, 2020.
- 11. Harmatz, Yosef (Yulek), to Porat, May 5, 1994; 11a—July 16, 1996; 11b—July 20, 2009; 11c—to the BBC, July 4, 1998; 11d—to Zexer, April 27, 1999.
- 12. Hershderfer, Theodore (Dzhunek), later Dan Arad, to Beirak, June 16, 1994, Massuah 272.
- 13. Kempner-Kovner, Vitka, to Naftali Sagi, December 21, 1988, Efal, file 157; 13a—to Porat for Yad Vashem, July 10 and 17, 2001, tape VT.3236; 13b—to Avraham Atzili, 1989, Moreshet, A.1742; 13c—to Danny Siton, November 8, 1995; 13d—with Yonat Rotbein to Porat, April 23, 2009; 13e—to Porat, last conversation, August 13, 2009; 13f—speaking on Holocaust Memorial Day, April 2000.
- 14. Kenet (Kantarowicz) to Ayala Weiss of Ein Harod Meuchad, January 1998; 14a—to Beirak, undated, *Massuah*, A.1767, printed under "Life Story."
- 15. Kovner, Abba, to Haim Gouri, February 1, 1978, 5832/33, and tapes 408 and 413, in the Inter-University Project for the Study of the Haʿapalah, Tel Aviv University; 15a—to Shlomo Kless (1), October 27, 1982, the Kovner family archive; 15b—to Kless (2), December 17, 1982, Oral HU, 36(170); 15c—to Anita Shapira (1), at Tel Aviv University, November 22, 1982; 15d—to Shapira (2), June 25, 1985, Moreshet A. 1262/61; 15e—to Sarid, October 26, 1984; 15f—Kovner and Kempner with L. Weintraub and Y. Sela, June 10, 1986, Moreshet A. 1258; 15g—to Bauer, March 5, 1962, May 10, 1964, June 16, 1964, the Kovner family archive; 15h—to Zili Brendstater, September 18, 1983, Efal, 25/159/30; 15i—at the Hashomer Hatzair secretariat, August 16 and 23, 1945, and September 22, 1945, Givat Haviva (6)5.10–5.
- Lidovski, Eliezer, to Beirak and Tarsi, Massuah, undated, no. 119; 16a—to Sarid, August 22, 1983.

- 17. Maimon (Wasserman), Yehuda (Poldek), to Sarid, November 21, 1985; 17a—to Beirak in *Massuah*, an undated booklet; 17b—to Porat and Zexer, March 18, 2009; 17c—with Yashek Ben-Zur to Porat and Zexer, December 24, 2009; 17d—with Galperin-Gliksman to Porat and Zexer, November 30, 2010.
- 18. Mairanz, Paulette, to Zexer and Porat, July 1, 2010.
- 19. L., Manek (did not release his full name), to Porat, July 10, 2010; 19a—May 21, 2014.
- 20. Michaeli-Kek, Bezalel, to Yarin Kimor, November 30, 1995, video.
- 21. Nakdimon, Shlomo, interviews with two unidentified Avengers, recorded for a report in *Yedioth Ahronoth*, April 10, 1966, entrusted to Porat.
- 22. Nissanilevich, Netanel (Senka), to Porat, June 20, 1996.
- 23. Orchan, Esther, conversation with Porat, August 10, 1993.
- 24. Rabinovich, Ze'ev (Velveleh), to Sarid, May 16, 1990.
- 25. Ratner, Yitzhak, to Kovner, June 24, 1984, Nakam File.
- Rotem (Rathajzer), Simcha (Kazhik), to Beirak and Tarsi, March 24, 1994, Massuah;
 26a—to Zexer, July 25, 1995, March 12, 1997;
 26b—to Porat, December 27, 1995, September 16, 2009.
- 27. Schedlitz (Sedlis), Gavriel (Gabi), to Porat, January 1996.
- 28. Shenar, Leah (Lucia), widow of Ze'ev Willek Shenar, to Porat, February 16, 2010.
- 29. Taubes (Warchavchik), Hasya, to Porat and Zexer, September 5, 2009; 29a—July 23, 2012.
- 30. Verbin-Shabetzky, Mira (Mirka), *Mira's Story*, a printing of her testimony at Moreshet, A.1702; 30a—to Zexer and Porat, November 6, 2009.

C - GROUP TESTIMONIES

- 1. Nokmim meeting at Porat's home, August 5, 2010.
- 2. Nokmim meetings on January 21 and 31, 1985. The ninety deciphered pages were entrusted by Sarid in a meeting with him, September 5, 1995. Also in Moreshet, (4)95-61-27.
- 3. Sarid copybooks: Testimonies given to Sarid by the group members in the mid-1980s, unnumbered, in the Ghetto Fighters' House Archive.
- 4. Video testimonies at Massuah. Interviews—Natan Beirak and Anita Tarsi with Yitzhak (Pasha) Avidov (58319), Simcha (Kazhik) Rotem (58428), Eliezer Lidovski (58839), Arie (Leibke) Distel (59301), Mira Verbin-Shabetzky (59461), and Dov (Bolek) Ben-Yaʻakov, not numbered.

D - TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVORS, FIGHTERS, AND OTHER AVENGERS

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- 2. Blatt, Leon, January 30, 1993, Massuah, 129.
- 3. Chanoch, Uri, to Beirak and Tarsi, undated, Massuah, 334.
- 4. Diamant, Manos, to Beirak and Levanah Frank, July 22, 1993, Massuah, 100; 4a—to Beirak and Tarsi, January 30, 1993, Massuah, 129.
- 5. Eichenwald, Israel, to Yehuda Bauer, July 5, 1964, Moreshet, A.1548.

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- 7. Grossman, Chaika, to Naftali Sagi, July 6, 1989, Efal, 157.
- 8. Kless, Shlomo, to Porat, January 1995.
- 9. Lazar, Haim, to Porat, July 16, 1996.
- 10. Meiri, Ben, to Sarid, August 17-23, 1984.
- Roseman, Mordechai, to Porat, June 24, 1997, July 30, 2010; 11a—to Bauer,
 June 23, 1964, Oral HU, (38)4.
- 12. Urman, Menachem, to Zexer, August 14, 1998.
- 13. Zuckerman, Yitzhak (Antek), to Aharon Keidar, February 6, 1964, Oral HU, tape 542; 13a—to Zvika Dror, undated, entrusted by Dror; 13b—tapes 34–35, Ghetto Fighters' House 35431.20, entrusted by Itzik Nir.
- 14. Unidentified avenger to Zvika Dror, entrusted by Dror.

E – TESTIMONIES OF HAGANAH MEMBERS, JEWISH BRIGADE AND GERMAN UNIT SOLDIERS, AND THE MOSSAD FOR ALIYAH B ACTIVISTS

- Avidan, Shimon, to Uri Brenner, May 5, 1953, Efal, 1/105/45; 1a—to Haya Ironi, May 5, 1953, Haganah, 150.89; 1b—to Bauer, September 13, 1957, Efal, 150.91;1c—to Avraham Zohar, December 20, 1982, Efal, 45/105/1.
- 2. Avriel, Ehud, to Yehuda Bauer, May 12, 1964, Haganah, 149.3.
- 3. Baharav (Rabinovitch), Yehezkel, to Porat, April 3, 1996; 3a—conversation with his daughter Yael Baharav, November 10, 2014.
- 4. Bar-Tikva (Pasternak), Mondek (Moshe), August 23, 1966, Haganah, 102.11, interviewer not mentioned.
- 5. Bartov, Hanoch, to Porat, April 26, 1996; 5a—to Porat and Dan Laor, December 23, 1991.
- 6. Barzilai (Eisen), Moshe, to Yigal Wilfand, August 1990, Moreshet, A.1556.
- 7. Ben-Gal (Rabinovitch), Michael (James), to Aharon Keidar and Nana Nosinov, December 13, 1967, Oral HU 95(4); 7a—Ben-Asher, Haim, letter, July 30, 1945, CZA, A292/24.
- 8. Ben-Horin, Yehuda, December 13, 1966, Efal, 15-24/7/5, interviewer not mentioned.
 - 9. Ben-Natan, Asher, to Zexer, April 3, 1997.
- 10. Ben-Zvi, Issar, to Haya Cohen-Tenenbaum, November 2, 1960, Haganah, 9.28
- 11. Carmeli (Rabinovitch), Moshe, to Ezra Greenbaum, October 1987, Palmach House Archive, testimonies, tape 2; 11a—March 16, 1963, Haganah, 124.3, interviewer not mentioned; 11b—to Sarid, October 27, 1993.
- 12. Carmi, Israel, report, Efal, 36/14/4; 12a—report, Haganah, 18.34, undated; 12b—interview to Ezra Greenbaum, August 1991, the Yigal Alon House.
- 13. Davidson, Meir (Meirke), to Ayala Dan, August 22, 1955, Haganah, 97.34 (4308); 13a—March 30, 1967, Haganah, 80/158/3, interviewer not mentioned; 13b—to Porat, February 10, 1995.
- 14. Giladi, Shalom, Haganah, 4758 (150.4).

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- Gur (Grossman), Dov (Robert), to Haya Ironi, December 29, 1953, Haganah, 12.36.
- Gur Aryeh (Mirkis), Nachman, to Zippi Dagan, November 6, 2002, Haganah,
 220.3.
- 18. Hadash, Mordechai (Motke), to Aharon Keidar, undated, Moreshet, A.1546.
- 19. Hellman, Yehuda (Yudke), to Sarid, October 9, 1990 (?—handwriting illegible).
- 20. Hoter-Ishay, Aharon, to Bauer and Keidar, 1965 (date missing), Oral HU, 22 (4).
- 21. Kahana, Haim, to Dan, November 20, 1967, Haganah, 138.28.
- 22. Katzir, Ephraim, to Porat, June 3, 1998.
- 23. Kitt, Kalman, February 16, 1950, Haganah, 48.42; 23a—March 31, 1959, Haganah, 19.17. No interviewers mentioned.
- 24. Laskov, Haim, to Dan, December 27, 1963, Haganah, 192.13.
- 25. Miller, Haim, September 2, 1988, Efal, 12-3/1/8; 25a—to Porat, June 2, 2013, and November 10, 2014.
- 26. Ron (Singer), Shalom, report, Haganah 176, undated.
- 27. Shadmi (Kremer), Nahum, to Adir Cohen, September 9, 1959, Haganah 165.39; 27a—to Yehuda Ben-David, August 1, 1966, Haganah 37.33; 27b—to Ben-David, November 7, 1985, Efal 15-24/7/8; 27c—the Shadmi file, Haganah 165.39; 27d—Shadmi, Issachar (Yiska, Nahum's son), to Porat, September 9, 2012.
- 28. Sneh, Moshe, to Yehuda Ben-David, March 30, 1967, Haganah 80/158/3.
- 29. Surkis, Mordechai, to Naftali Sagi, December 19, 1988, Efal, 156/23; 29a—March 13, 1986, Efal, 156, interviewer not mentioned.
- 30. Tubin, Yehuda, to Porat, January 24, 1995.
- 31. Weinberg, Yeshayahu (Shaike), to Aharon Keidar, November 14, 1967, Oral HU, 106(4); 31a—to Porat, July 16, 1996.
- 32. Zafrir, Yedidia, testimony found in the Clandestine Immigration and Naval Museum, undated and unnumbered.

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- 19. Kovner, Vitka, "A Junction of Roads and Lives," *Yalkut Moreshet* 43–44, August 1987, pp. 171–76.
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