



# Macht Arbeit Frei?

German Economic  
Policy and Forced Labor  
of Jews in the General  
Government, 1939–1943

Witold Wojciech Mędykowski

Boston

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## **Jews of Poland**

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To Luba, with special thanks and gratitude

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# Introduction

This book examines various questions concerning the forced labor of Jews in the General Government. Since labor in general provides means of subsistence, it is important to the economy and existence of any society. However, in this case we are dealing not only with labor but “forced labor” in the times of war and the Holocaust. This was one of the greatest catastrophes of the Jewish people and with no doubt one of the blackest times of the history of the humanity. Therefore, the concepts of subsistence and labor in this period take new and important meaning, especially if terms like “labor,” “productivity,” and “utility” are the ones which could have played a role in saving the lives of able-bodied Jews from imminent destruction. The key term here is “forced labor” (*Zwangsarbeit*) because, apart from some variants, it was the word employed for the labor of Jews during most of the period of the General Government’s existence and, in general, this term was one of the most widely used during World War II. But the question is not only semantics; rather, our goal is to examine the the real meaning hidden behind this term. This idea was first conceived in the official documents of the General Government in the autumn of 1939 but, quite quickly, other words were adopted to supplement or clarify the meaning. Perhaps, a term that better reflects the meaning of such labor is the word “slave labor” (*Sklavenarbeit*), although the Nazi official establishment tried to avoid its use.

The period of utilization of forced labor in the General Government can be divided into two key phases that will be examined:

- a period when Jews worked as a means to obtain a bare subsistence
- a period when Jews worked as a means to save themselves from immediate destruction

The first period begins with the outbreak of the war and ends with the beginning of the *Aktion Reinhardt*. It important to stress that during this

period most of the Jews in occupied Poland and, in particular, in the territory of the General Government were still alive. Moreover, during that period more and more Jews were deported from the territory of Warthegau and other formerly Polish territories annexed to the Reich as well as from the Reich itself (from Vienna, Stettin, and other places). Therefore, the problem of finding work that could provide means of subsistence concerned millions of Jews. Contemporary research still does not dedicate enough space and attention to this question.

Additionally, our research aims to understand the role that forced labor played in the economic policies of the German authorities in the General Government. War economy has its rules, its limitations, and its regulations, making it different from a free market capitalist economy. To complicate matters, in the ghettos of the General Government there existed a particular economic system, which could be described as “forced economy.” It was very different from the general economic system outside the ghettos, which also had its limitations and regulations. However, this “forced” economic system was also limited by general legal restrictions, such as rationing of means of energy, restrictions concerning the functioning of the market, and so on. The people inside the ghettos were struggling with additional legal restrictions, which limited their movement, transfer of money, and so forth. This system forced the Jews to work under the conditions of hunger and lack of raw materials. In some cases, the workers were not able even to feed themselves and their families. They were underpaid and exploited. This economic system requires further research, however.<sup>1</sup>

The second period, starting with the *Aktion Reinhardt*, begins a completely new phase in the life of the Jews in the General Government as well in other areas of Nazi-occupied Central and Eastern Europe. This period is marked by the partial liquidation of the ghettos, accompanied by brutal *Aktionen*, and by the beginning of mass deportation to the death camps, so that most of the Jews at this time faced danger of imminent annihilation. The only ones who could hope for a prolongation of their existence were able-bodied men and women who could work for the Germans. The Jews faced a choice: to work or to perish. Not all Jews were able to work; thus, this question was irrelevant to most of them. However, in many cases, even those

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1 Witold Mędykowski, “Der jüdische Kampf um Lebensunterhalt in den Ghettos des Generalgouvernements,” in *Lebenswelt Ghetto: Alltag und Soziales Umfeld während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung*, ed. Imke Hanse Katrin Steffen, and Joachim Tauber (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Vlg., 2013), 230.

not particularly abled, old, or underaged made all the possible effort in order to work. We will, however, examine closely whether the work really meant survival or not. This question is quite important, since not all working Jews survived. Was the Nazi policy in this regard consistent during the examined period, and who were the people or organizations making those decisions? The aim of this research is also to identify these actors, the conflicting objectives of their activities, the competition among them, and even their opposing interests. The use of a monolithic understanding of the SS turns out to be incorrect in the case of the General Government. Moreover, even from a broader perspective, the SS, as well as its different agencies, seems to be less monolithic.

Forced labor in general and forced labor of Jews in particular were also important in the context of migrations inside the Third Reich as well as in territories occupied by Nazi Germany in Europe. Frequently mentioned are foreign laborers, including concentration camp prisoners and forced laborers, among them the Jews. For example, in 1944, 7.1 million foreign workers were employed in Nazi Germany.<sup>2</sup> According to Wolfgang Benz, “A total of about 15 million Soviet citizens had been recruited into the one or other forms to perform work for the German side.”<sup>3</sup> We do not have the exact numbers for all the occupied territories but, surely, we may speak about tens of millions of forced laborers performing daily work for the Nazi regime. In this case, the General Government may serve as a case study. It is a very complex case, but especially important because the General Government suffered Nazi occupation during an especially long period, which allowed the Nazis to develop special policies concerning the territory’s multiethnic population, which included ethnic Germans. The Nazi authorities introduced new migration policies, settlement of ethnic Germans, a Jewish policy that involved construction of more death camps than anywhere in Europe and annihilation measures such as *Aktion Reinhardt*. Their legislation also aimed at developing the region’s armament industry. Close examination of the developments in the General Government may answer many questions concerning the Nazi policy in general and SS policy in particular. Although the General Government was conceived as an independent administrative unit, it was, however, a playground of multiple actors within the German administration

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2 Wolfgang Benz, “Zwangsarbeit im nationalsozialistischen Staat: Dimensionen—Strukturen—Perspektiven,” in *Dachauer Hefte* 16 (2000): 4.

3 Ibid., 6.

on different levels, in the Reich proper, the SS, the Wehrmacht, among the German entrepreneurs, as well as, to lesser extent, the Polish entrepreneurs and the Jewish institutions and individuals.

From autumn 1942 forward, forced labor was increasingly used in the German armament industry. Because of the importance of this industry for the Third Reich's war effort, working there took on a new meaning. These protected workplaces could save lives. However, the controversy between the Wehrmacht and the SS in this matter was not a new problem. It existed in the Reich since the beginning of the war and reemerged periodically. It seems that this controversy remained unsolved until the very end of the Third Reich.

During the last twenty-five years, the question of forced labor during the Nazi period has become a subject not only of intensive research but also a battlefield of various theories and theses. Many researchers have advanced arguments for this or that position, trying to explain the meaning of forced labor policies that led to the annihilation of millions of people, among them most of the European Jewish population. Thus, labor, forced labor, and the war economy are directly linked to the key questions surrounding the very nature of the Nazi State. We hope that this research may contribute to this larger historical debate.

## BEGINNING OF THE WAR

The use of forced labor in the 1930s serves as a basis for the analysis of the development of forced labor in Polish territory during the period of hostilities and military administration. The creation of the General Government in October 1939 initiated a period of exploitation of forced labor of the Jews. Hans Frank,<sup>4</sup> and subsequently the higher SS and police leader in the General Government, Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger,<sup>5</sup> created a legal basis for exploitation of the Jews.

4 Hans Frank (1900–1946), founder of the Academy of German Law, Member of the Reichstag and Minister without portfolio. In September 1939 he was nominated by General Gerd von Runstedt as the chief of the civil administration (*Chef der Zivilverwaltung*) by the Army Group South. Since October 26, 1939, Frank served as the general governor for the occupied Polish territories (*Generalgouverneur für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*). Arrested by American troops on May 3, 1945, he was tried before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. He was sentenced to death on October 1, 1946, and executed on October 16, 1946.

5 Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger (1894–1945) became on October 4, 1939 HSSPF "Ost," then HSSPF in the General Government. Since May 1942 he was also Secretary of State

During that period, the civil administration started working together with the SS, the organization formally responsible for Jewish affairs. This was the period of relative stability, when the Jewish population ruled by the General Government was untouched, apart from the victims of the war who fell in 1939. For this population, the main problem was the need to adapt to the new reality and reorganize its economic activity.

The beginning of the war against the Soviet Union was an important and decisive event during the period of German occupation. Previously, the Nazis had held military control during a relatively stable period when, despite economic difficulties, the majority of the Jewish community was preserved. Operation Barbarossa marked the launch of the massacres of Jews on an immense scale, with the first mass executions of Jews by the *Einsatzgruppen*.<sup>6</sup> Later, the onset of *Aktion Reinhardt* started mass extermination in the death camps.

Although the mass murder by the *Einsatzgruppen* took place within other eastern territories, only in the newly created Galicia District—the fifth district of the General Government—did they precede the beginning of *Aktion Reinhardt* by several months. In the course of *Aktion Reinhardt*, mass deportations to death camps followed. These deportations were often accompanied by violent actions; mass executions were also undertaken in many small towns.

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for Security Affairs in the General Government (*Staatssekretär für das Sicherheitswesen im Generalgouvernement*). From November 1943 to April 1944, he headed the 7th SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgs-Division “Prinz Eugen” in occupied Yugoslavia, then the 6th Gebirgs-Division “Nord” and the 5th SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgskorps. Since February, he was Himmler’s Plenipotentiary of Southeastern Front, then in April and May, he became the commander of police unit *Kampfgruppe der Ordnungspolizei bei der Heeresgruppe Süd*, and since May 1—the commander of *Heeresgruppe Ostmark*. He committed suicide in an American prison in Gundertshausen on May 10, 1945.

- 6 Helmut Krausnick, *Hitlers Einsatzgruppen: Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskriege 1938–1942* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1985); Dieter Pohl and Andrej Angrick, *Einsatzgruppen C and D in the Invasion of the Soviet Union* (London: Holocaust Educational Trust, 2000); Patrick Dempsey, *Einsatzgruppen and the Destruction of European Jewry* (Eastbourne: P.A. Draigh Publishing, 2003); Yitzhak Arad, Shmuel Krakowski, and Shmuel Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads’ Campaign against the Jews, July 1941–January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989); P. Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/1942: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1997); Richard Rhodes, *Extermination: La machine nazie: Einsatzgruppen, a l’Est, 1941–1943* (Paris: Autrement, 2004); French L. MacLean, *The Field Men: The Officers Who Led the Einsatzkommandos—the Nazi Mobile Killing Units* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1999).

The transition from a period of relative stability to a period of mass destruction put into question the meaning of work in general, including labor and forced labor. During this period, labor had received an additional dimension. It ceased to be merely a means to acquire the basic means for subsistence. Now it became a way to survive. Those who worked had their existence justified; those did not work became useless and, as such, were led to their deaths.

After the first period of deportation to extermination camps, smaller ghettos (*Restghetto*) were created in many places. These were forced labor camps of sorts. In addition, new labor camps were established. In the second period of deportation, from the spring of 1943 onward, it was not the ability to work that determined survival. In addition, it was necessary to actively convince the Germans that work done by the Jews was necessary in order to increase manufacturing production and to release Germans capable of fighting from production plants. This convincing took place in various ways: through personal initiative of establishment and efforts of production, working in order to fulfill German needs, offering bribes to authorities, and so forth.

Other groups besides the Jews were interested in prolonging the business activity of Jewish enterprises, labor camps, and small ghettos. German actors also had a keen interest in maintaining the existence of Jewish firms and Jewish labor. This research also aims to identify these actors, as well as conflicting objectives of their activities, competition, and opposing interests. I argue that only one organization, the SS, was interested in the total destruction of the Jews. All other German organizations were opposed to this decision or were neutral. However, there remains an important question to ask: how did it happen that the organization carrying out such an absurd program—not only from a moral and human point of view, but also from an economic, strategic, and logistic viewpoint—almost fully realize that annihilation plan?

Those who were saved from the destruction were forced to work in the framework of labor camps and concentration camps in appalling living and work conditions, which ultimately caused their death. The prisoners in the camps were also worked to death. Such conditions created by the administration of labor and concentration camps were intentional, part of the policy called “extermination through labor” (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*).

## DEFINITIONS

The starting point of a discussion on forced labor is to give a definition. One of the basic definitions describing forced labor is given in Article 2 of the Convention of the 16 International Labor Organization, signed in Geneva in 1930, and reads as follows:

1. For the purposes of this Convention the term *forced or compulsory labor* shall mean all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily.<sup>7</sup>

The English term “forced labor” has its equivalent in German—*Zwangsarbeit*. However, in terms of Nazi legislation, *Arbeitspflicht* were also used. The last term may be translated into English as “duty of labor” or “obligation of labor.” In the correspondence of German offices in the General Government, we find yet another term: *Judenarbeitspflicht*, synonymous to *Zwangsarbeit*.<sup>8</sup> A rarer term in the context of forced labor for Jews is *Pflichtarbeit*, translated as “labor under obligation.”<sup>9</sup> There is yet another term, which was seldom used in the Nazi time: *Sklavenarbeit*, translated to English as “slave labor.”<sup>10</sup>

In order to discuss the question of slave labor, we should provide a definition of slavery. According to the Slavery Convention in 1926, slavery is the following: “The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.”<sup>11</sup> It is important to mention that Germany was one of signatories of this convention. The definition of a slave according to the New Lexicon Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language is as follows: “a person who is the property of, and completely subject to another person, a person victimized by another...”<sup>12</sup> This definition will also be useful as we examine the questions of forced labor, duty of labor, and slave labor of Jews during the Holocaust.

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7 Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labor signed in Geneva during the Fourteenth Session of the General Conference of the International Labor Organisation on June 10, 1930.

8 Documents of Governor of Lublin District (GDL). YVA-JM.12307, 59.

9 YVA-JM.12331, Der Kreishauptmann des Kreises Jasło, Jasło, den 2 Juni 1940, Lagebericht über die Zeit von Mitte Mai 1940 bis Ende Mai 1940, scan 75.

10 Albert Speer, *Der Sklavenstaat: Meine Auseinandersetzungen mit der SS* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1981).

11 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Lts, 1953), vol. 20, 786.

12 *The New Lexicon Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Lexicon Publications Inc., 1989), 933.

The use of prisoners of war was in flagrant disregard of the rules of international law, particularly Article 6 of the Regulations annexed to The Hague Convention Number 4 of 1907, which states that the tasks of prisoners of war shall have no connection with the operations of war.<sup>13</sup>

The Geneva Convention of 1929 was adopted in times of peace, and while it provides for situations of war, this document does not discuss forced labor of ethnic groups at risk of total extermination. Hence, further discussion will be needed to define more clearly what forced labor was understood to be during the Holocaust. Can paid work be considered forced labor? Or working in ghettos in exchange for food? According to Jens-Christian Wagner, “the undifferentiated use of the term ‘forced labor’ leads to an equation of the living and working conditions of such widely differing groups as, for example, Dutch civilian workers, Soviet prisoners of war and Jewish concentration camps inmates. What is more, the definition of ‘force’ is also subjective and, finally the degree of force used in any given case could also vary. For example, many prisoners of war were assigned the status of civilian worker at some point during the war, but were still forced to work in Germany.”<sup>14</sup> Wagner tries to draw a general definition of forced labor: “. . .the term ‘forced labor’ will be used to denote all cases in which the laborer was forced to work against his/her will with coercive measures of non-material nature.”<sup>15</sup> Other researchers confirm the use of the term “forced labor” in differing contexts and different meanings, which requires further research.<sup>16</sup>

However, the above definition does not, and cannot, exhaustively explain the issue of forced labor, as it does not take into account other factors beyond the physical compelling to perform work and the lack of payment. Consideration should also be given to the matter of terminology as well as the issue of the circumstances in which the work was done. With the onset of *Aktion Reinhardt*, when most Jews were deported to death camps, new types of forced labor camps came into being. They were more similar to concentration camps and appeared where forced labor turned into slave labor.

13 International Military Tribunal, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Opinion and Judgment* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1947), vol. 1, 911. Hereafter as IMT, *Red Series*.

14 Jens-Christian Wagner, “Forced Labor in the National Socialist Era—an Overview,” in *Forced Labor: The Germans, the Forced Laborers and the War*, ed. Volkhard Knigge et al. (Weimar: Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora, 2010), 180.

15 Ibid.

16 Stephan Lehenstaedt, “Die deutsche Arbeitsverwaltung im Generalgouvernement und die Juden,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 3 (2012): 416.

In the discussion of forced labor, many terms are used that require clarification and verification. Such terms as described above are “forced labor,” “slave labor,” “labor camp,” “economics of the ghetto,” and others. Such terminology will appear throughout this work, but the meaning of certain terms changes in practice, which can lead to confusion or misunderstanding of the contents of the documents. It is necessary to check the significance of individual terms and determine whether it remains the same or changes over time.

The following analysis of the idea of “forced labor” is based on tracing its development. We have to check whether it underwent evolution and, if yes, then in which direction: whether this evolution was due to the development of this concept or to practical considerations that affected this idea. We do not approach the forced labor of Jews as a subset of forced labor in general, meaning that Jews should work just as other population groups should work. The very fact that the one regulation was established for Jews and another for the Poles testifies that there was no equality and that for the Jews there was a different kind of work and a different ideological basis for its establishment. However, legislation gives only a partial answer to the question of why there were differences in the types of forced labor. It is also about the fact that besides coercion to work, the implementation of this notion was changing. The very idea of what “forced labor” should be was also evolving. According to Wagner:

... in the twelve years of Nazi rule, the economic, political and social framework conditions of forced labor gradually changed: it was constantly adapted to the changing requirements of the Nazi power machinery, and took on increasing economic importance over the course of the war.<sup>17</sup>

The framework of forced labor of Jews in October 1939 in the General Government was very different from the scheme of forced labor in October 1943. This also concerned the forced labor of Poles and other nationalities. It is therefore important to examine the mutual correlation of ideas and praxis. Reference groups that can be used are concentration camp prisoners, POWs (including Soviet POWs), Polish workers and Polish forced laborers, *Ostarbeiter*, youth brigade of *Baudienst*, workers of the *Organisation Todt* (OT), and DAF workers.

For analytic purposes, we may make a comparison with other areas of Central and Eastern Europe under German occupation: part of Warthegau, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, and *Reichskommissariat Ostland*. A partial analogy can be made between the working conditions of forced laborers and the

17 Wagner, “Forced Labor,” 181.

working conditions in the camps in the Reich. Assessment of other areas, which spent less time under the German occupation or where the branches of the Nazi state apparatus were not so well developed, does not seem appropriate.

In the discussion of forced labor, it is also important to raise issues of economic models applied in occupied territories. In these areas, a war economy was introduced, which was an extension of the model that prevailed in Germany before the war. It was a planned economy where, despite the existence of private property, the state regulated the production profile, allotted raw materials, and often was the recipient of the finished products. The state also controlled the level of profit. In order to function well in such a system, companies struggled for large military orders, receiving allocations of raw materials and forced laborers. Forced labor meant cheap labor, which was important for the computation of profits. If all other factors were regulated by the state, reducing labor costs could significantly affect the amount of profit, and a sudden increase in labor cost could incur great losses. Additionally, in large ghettos, a certain isolated economic system existed. It had its circumstances and its characteristics, even though it was associated with the external environment. It was a forced system created by existing legislation that isolated and persecuted the Jews. The ghetto was not based on an autarchic system, because there was no sufficient economic basis and no natural resources; therefore, it was dependent on an exchange with the external environment.

This research demonstrates the *modus operandi* of the Nazi system of power, which suffered from massive bureaucracy, conflicts of interest between different institutions, and a total destruction of human and moral values—all of which led to extensive degeneration.

This research intends to show the fate of Jews in the Nazi system as compared to other population groups, especially the Poles. The Jews showed great activity and initiative, at least during the first stretch of the war. Later on, the Jews became more passive because they had no possibility of influencing decisive factors. Their actions lacked any characteristic of collective activity, but rather presented individual or small group initiatives. Uprisings and revolts of the Jews in the General Government did not contribute to the improvement of their situation; on the contrary, they accelerated the extermination. However, the Jews saw undisputed successes in their struggles and, despite their final subjugation, achieved a great moral victory.

Adopting a macro perspective on the problems of forced labor and economic policy in the General Government, this research gives few examples of individual actions and approaches. Yet, despite this limitation, the human element is revealed. The victims of the forced labor system had to function under

great pressure; in many cases they depended only on luck. Nonetheless, they also had some possibilities to manipulate their situation, despite the apparently restricted possibility of any action or initiative.

Although it is not a treatise on morality, undoubtedly this work will illustrate an inhumane and cruel battle against a people who, due to their origin, religion, or ethnicity, had been deprived of the right to live. Even so, they tried to survive and believed it was possible. Their struggle against evil and a belief in human values helped some of the persecuted to survive. This work can serve as a case study of the exploitation of social, ethnic, and religious groups defenseless against modern state mechanisms. Our research shows to what extent such exploitation can, in the absence of a democratic apparatus, affect a balance of power in a country.

## THE TYPES OF FORCED LABOR: CATEGORIZATION

Our in-depth discussion is accompanied by an appendix that contains statistical tables supplying quantitative backup data for our assertions. Two maps are also provided to help the reader visualize the scope and boundaries of the General Government. We can define different forms of forced labor by classifying cases by the place of execution, ethnic composition of forced laborers, type of work, organizing agent, economic sector, the form of the regime, the form of coercion and so forth. Later in the discussion, many of these terms and forms will be used on a regular basis.

Forced labor, in terms of organizational forms, can be divided into the following types: work in places of residence, ghettos, labor camps and other types of camps, outposts or labor detachments (in German, *Dienststellen*, or, in Polish, *placówki*).

Evolution of forced labor due to the progressive restrictions of freedom can be divided into the following categories: obligation to work (*Arbeitspflicht*), forced labor (*Zwangsarbeit*), and slave labor (*Sklavenarbeit*).

Categorization of the camps can be made according to the following criteria:

- Period of their existence: temporary (provisory), permanent, working commandos.
- Ethnic composition: Jewish (*Julag* or *Judenlager*), non-Jewish, mixed.
- Parent/organizing agent: SS, Army (*Wehrmacht*, *Heeres*, *Luftwaffe*), civil administration, private firms.

- Typical names, which include: *Arbeitslager* (labor camp), *Zwangsarbeitslager* (ZAL, forced labor camp), *Julag* (Jewish camp), *Straflager* (penal camps), and *Kriegsgefangenenlager* (POW camp).
- Forms of work, depending on the industry: infrastructure (roads, railways, bridges, water management), industry (military, civil, heavy industry, light industry), mining, agriculture (field work, support for existing property).

In classifying by paid wages, cases of forced labor can be divided into work for no compensation, work in exchange for full pay, and work in exchange for accommodations.

Another ground for division is the nature of employment: hired workers (*pracownicy wolnonajemni*), workers performing forced labor (substitutions for those originally called up to perform forced labor), penal workers (prisoners, convicts, prisoners of concentration camps), and prisoners of war (POWs).

## FORCED LABOR IN OCCUPIED POLAND

Jews were first forced to work at the beginning of the occupation, so that a concept of forced labor was required early in the course of war. When during war it is necessary to perform some urgent work, civilians are often conscripted for this purpose. We have to mention the German anti-Semitic propaganda campaigns in September 1939, and the direct contact between German soldiers with Orthodox and traditional Jews, with whom they were not intimate in Germany. This contact plus the propaganda made possible the German soldiers' practical application of the German experience directly on the object of the propaganda. In wartime, there were additional elements in play as well—force and vulnerability.

When the creation of the General Government was proclaimed on October 26, 1939, two important pieces of legislation were published that announced the introduction of forced labor for Jews (*Zwangsarbeit*) and the obligation to work for the Poles (*Arbeitspflicht*). This last term poses some difficulties, because in Germany there was also an obligation to work for the Germans. Nevertheless, it is difficult to compare the situation of Germans in Germany and that of people in annexed or occupied territories, such as the situation of Poles in the General Government. Particularly difficult was the situation of Poles in the areas annexed to the Reich, where they were deported en masse and persecuted. In the General Government, in the initial period of occupation, the Poles were the majority population; therefore, their persecution

was more political than economic. However, after a while, when there was an increased demand for labor in Germany, the initial obligation to work often evolved into forced labor. Polish workers, especially in Germany, were subject to many restrictions. In particular, this concerned the rural population which, in the early years of the occupation, was not obliged to work (although later the situation was exacerbated). A special form of forced labor was labor battalions, bearing the name of the Polish Service of Construction in the General Government (*Polnischer Baudienst im Generalgouvernement*), which mobilized young men of military age.<sup>18</sup> Similar organizations were created for the Mountaineers (*Goralische Heimatsdienst*), whom the German authorities wanted to isolate from the rest of the Poles; furthermore, they were considered a separate ethnic group. The Ukrainians in the General Government worked in the Ukrainian Homeland Service (*Ukrainischer Heimatdienst* or *Ukrains'ka Sluzhba Bat'kivschyni*). These organizations were modeled after the German labor battalions of the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*, RAD).

A separate form of forced labor was the work of prisoners of concentration camps (*KZ Häftlinge*) and detainees in prisons, who during the war were also transferred to concentration camps or penal labor camps administered by the SS and police leaders in the districts. Throughout the war, convicts were sent to concentration camps for the time required to serve their sentence. These prisoners could be released after completing their punishments. Later, releases from the concentration camps were annulled and prisoners' sentences were not limited in time, becoming life imprisonment. Penal labor camps organized by the SS commanders and police leaders in the districts of the General Government were intended for both Poles and Jews.

## REVIEW OF RESEARCH LITERATURE

The first post-war text concerning forced labor during World War II and the Holocaust appeared by 1946.<sup>19</sup> The author of this text not only gave a general description of different of Nazi camps, but also attempted to make a classification of labor camps. The article also contains one of the first lists of labor camps in post-war Poland. It is quite characteristic that most post-war publications in Poland did not use wartime administrative division, but rather the new regional

18 Mściśław Wróblewski, *Slużba Budowlana (Baudienst) w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1940–1945* (Warsaw: PWN, 1984).

19 Zofia Czyńska and Bogumił Kupść, "Obozy zagłady, obozy koncentracyjne i obozy pracy na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945," *BGKBZNwP I* (1946): 11–62.

division in districts (*województwa*). It was without doubt influenced by a regional network of the branches of the main Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (*Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*, GKBZHP). The bulletin of the Main Commission (*Biuletyn GKBZHP*) published some other articles concerning forced labor and labor camps.<sup>20</sup> In the post-war period, there were books published concerning economic aspects of the German occupation in Poland. Among the researchers writing on those subjects were authors linked to the Western Institute in Poznań and Main Commission: Waław Jastrzębowski,<sup>21</sup> Tadeusz Kłosiński,<sup>22</sup> and Czesław Łuczak.<sup>23</sup> During the following years more books appeared about the Holocaust period, but already written in the spirit of Stalinism.<sup>24</sup> Their authors emphasized the importance of the communist organizations and interpreted history according to Marxist ideology. In the beginning of the 1950s, Tatiana Berenstein begun to publish numerous articles, many of which explored economic exploitation of Jews and forced labor.<sup>25</sup> At the end of the 1950s, she began to write about labor camps for Jews in the district of Lublin<sup>26</sup> and continued during the 1960s with an article about Jewish forced labor in Warsaw,<sup>27</sup> followed by work on extermination and forced labor of Jews in the district of Galicia.<sup>28</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, the Jewish Institute in Warsaw (ŻIH), which continued the work of the Central Jewish Historical Commission from 1944–1947, became practically the only institution researching the

20 Zdzisław Łukaszewicz, "Obóz pracy w Treblince," *BGKBZNwP* III (1947): 107–22.

21 Waław Jastrzębowski, *Gospodarka niemiecka w Polsce 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1946).

22 Tadeusz Kłosiński, *Polityka przemysłowa okupanta w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1947).

23 Czesław Łuczak, *Przyczynki do gospodarki niemieckiej w latach 1939–1945* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1949).

24 Artur Eisenbach, *Hitlerowska polityka eksterminacji Żydów jako jeden z przejawów imperializmu niemieckiego* (Warsaw: ŻIH, 1953).

25 Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "Hitlerowskie dyskryminacje gospodarcze wobec Żydów w Warszawie przed utworzeniem getta," *BŻIH* 2/4 (1952): 156–90; Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "O hitlerowskich metodach eksploatacji gospodarczej getta warszawskiego," *BŻIH* 4/8 (1953): 3–52; Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "O niektórych zagadnieniach gospodarczych w tzw. Generalnej Guberni w świetle 'Dziennika Franka,'" *BŻIH* 9–10 (1954): 236–87.

26 Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w dystrykcie lubelskim," *BŻIH* 24 (1957): 3–20.

27 Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa Żydów w Warszawie w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH* 45–46 (1963): 42–93.

28 Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)," *BŻIH* 61 (1967): 3–58; Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, "Praca przymusowa ludności żydowskiej w tzw. Dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1944)," *BŻIH* 69 (1969): 3–45.

Holocaust and Judaism in Poland. Apart from the books published by the Institute, the *Biuletyn ŻIH* (BŻIH) became the main scientific journal where this research was published. Besides Berenstein, BŻIH published articles written by Brenner,<sup>29</sup> Datner,<sup>30</sup> and Rutkowski.<sup>31</sup> In mid-1965, the journal *Zeszyty Majdanka* was launched by the State Museum in Majdanek, which quickly became one of the most important scientific journals concerning the period of World War II and the Holocaust. This journal featured articles about economic exploitation,<sup>32</sup> forced labor,<sup>33</sup> POWs,<sup>34</sup> and the German administration in occupied Poland.<sup>35</sup> In the 1960s and beyond, BGKBZHP (*Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*, or, in English, Bulletin of the Main Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland) continued to publish articles on economic aspects of the German occupation and forced labor, but mainly concerning Poles or the general population.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s, important books were published about economic aspects of the German occupation. One of the leading scholars of that period was Czesław Madajczyk, who published, among others, monumental works such as *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*<sup>37</sup> and *Faszyzm i okupacje*.<sup>38</sup>

29 L. Brenner, "O pracy przymusowej ludności żydowskiej w Częstochowie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *BŻIH* 22 (1952): 45–60.

30 Szymon Datner, "Sonderkommando 1005 i jego działalność ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem okręgu białostockiego," *BŻIH* 100 (1976): 63–78.

31 A. Rutkowski, "Hitlerowskie obozy pracy dla Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim," *BŻIH* 17–18 (1956): 106–26.

32 Bronisław Wróblewski, "Obóz w Budzynie," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 5 (1971): 179–189.

33 Czesław Madajczyk, "Lubelszczyzna w polityce okupanta," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 2 (1967): 5–18; Czesław Rajca, "Lubelska filia Niemieckich Zakładów Zbrojeniowych," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 4 (1969): 237–300; Józef Kasperek, "Początki organizacji i działalności urzędów pracy na Lubelszczyźnie (październik 1939—styczeń 1940)," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 6 (1972): 130–150; Józef Kasperek, "Zarys organizacyjny Arbeitsamtów w dystrykcie lubelskim w latach 1939–1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 7 (1973): 94–117; Józef Kasperek, "Metody werbunku do przymusowych robót w III Rzeszy na terenie dystryktu lubelskiego w latach 1939–1944," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 8 (1975): 52–99; Mściław Wróblewski, *Śłużba Budowlana*.

34 Szymon Datner, "Obozy jenieckie na Lubelszczyźnie w latach okupacji niemieckiej," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 3 (1969): 235–37.

35 Czesław Szczepańczyk, "Centralny Urząd Rolniczy—Landwirtschaftliche Zentralstelle," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 7 (1973): 121–58.

36 Szymon Datner, "Wydanie ludności polskiej na roboty niewolnicze do Niemiec," *BGKBZHP* XVI (1967): 17–64; Szymon Datner, "Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu na jeńcach wojennych w zakresie pracy," *BGKBZHP* XVII (1967): 7–100.

37 Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce* (Warsaw: PWN, 1970).

38 Czesław Madajczyk, *Faszyzm i okupacje 1938–1945: Wykonywanie okupacji przez państwa Osi w Europie*, vol. 1, *Ukształtowanie się zarządów okupacyjnych* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1983), and vol. 2, *Mechanizmy realizowania okupacji* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1984).

Madajczyk also wrote some important studies about Generalplan Ost<sup>39</sup> and the General Government.<sup>40</sup> Czesław Łuczak also researched economic aspects of the occupation.<sup>41</sup> During the 1970s, more books were published about the monetary and fiscal policy of the German authorities in Poland by Franciszek Skalniak<sup>42</sup> and Karol Ostrowski.<sup>43</sup> In 1976, Alfred Konieczny published an important collection of documents on forced labor of Poles.<sup>44</sup> It is important to stress that during the communist period in Poland, there was a tendency to speak about Poles or Polish citizens (including Polish Jews) and not Jews. Toward the end of 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, important books were published about forced labor and the German arms industry in the district of Kielce by Kaczanowski,<sup>45</sup> Meducki,<sup>46</sup> and Pietrzykowski<sup>47</sup>. Herbert Szurgacz published in 1979 his study about forced labor of Poles under the Nazi occupants in 1941.<sup>48</sup> One of the most important publications of this period in Poland was an encyclopedia or lexicon of Nazi camps in the Polish territories from 1939 to 1945, published in 1979.<sup>49</sup> This book gave very short descriptions of many camps, including labor camps for Poles and for Jews, which until then were literally unknown. During the 1980s, relatively few publications appeared concerning the question of forced labor and various

39 Czesław Madajczyk, *Generalplan Ost* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1962).

40 Czesław Madajczyk, *Generalna Gubernia w planach hitlerowskich: Studia* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961).

41 Czesław Łuczak, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna hitlerowskich Niemiec w okupowanej Polsce* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1979).

42 Franciszek Skalniak, *Polityka pieniężna i budżetowa tzw. Generalnego Gubernatorstwa narzedziem finansowania potrzeb III Rzeszy* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości. Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1976); Franciszek Skalniak, *Stopa życiowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie okupacji na terenie Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Warsaw: Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości. Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1979).

43 Karol Ostrowski, *Hitlerowska polityka podatkowa w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Kraków: PWN, 1977).

44 Alfred Konieczny, ed., *Praca przymusowa Polaków pod panowaniem hitlerowskim, 1939–1945, Wybór źródeł i opracowanie* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1976).

45 Longin Kaczanowski, *Hitlerowskie fabryki śmierci na Kielecczyźnie* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1984).

46 Stanisław Meducki, *Przemysł i klasa robotnicza w dystrykcie radomskim w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej* (Kraków: PWN, 1981).

47 Jan Pietrzykowski, *Łowy na ludzi: Arbeitsamt w Częstochowie* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 1968).

48 Herbert Szurgacz, *Przymusowe zatrudnianie Polaków przez hitlerowskiego okupanta w latach 1939–1945: Studium prawnopolityczne* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1971).

49 Czesław Pilichowski, ed., *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warszawa: PWN, 1979).

aspects of the Nazi economy during the war. Likely, this was due to the period of great changes that took place in Poland in the beginning of the 1980s and the development of new trade and the political movement of Solidarity. Moreover, on December 13, 1981 a state of emergency was announced, which included the return of censorship and great limitations of movement and possibilities of travel abroad, as well as lack of open use of the archives. It should be stressed that until the end of the 1980s, most researchers engaged in research of the period of Nazism were in some way linked to the establishment—only because of this did they have open access to the archives. Many of those researchers were employees of the Main Commission for Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (GKBZHP) and martyrological museums at Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Stutthof. Jewish researchers and researchers of Polish origin dealing with Jewish subjects were active mainly in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Among the few publications of the 1980s, we may quote those of Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz,<sup>50</sup> himself a survivor of Nazi camps, Ryszard Gicewicz,<sup>51</sup> or Władysław Misiuna.<sup>52</sup>

The 1990s saw the new research of Józef Marszałek, a scholar employed at the State Museum in Majdanek.<sup>53</sup> His important work on forced labor camps in the General Government was published in 1998,<sup>54</sup> after his early and unexpected death in 1995. A summary of his research was published in English in 2001.<sup>55</sup> Also in the 1990s, yet another researcher from Lublin, named Tadeusz Radzik, published his papers and a book about the Lublin ghetto.<sup>56</sup>

50 Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, "Forced Labor and Sabotage in the Nazi Concentration Camps," *The Nazi Concentration Camps* (1984): 133–42.

51 Ryszard Gicewicz, "Obóz pracy w Poniatowej (1941–1943)," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 10 (1980): 88–104.

52 Władysław Misiuna, "Wspomnienia o dziewczętach z obozu pracy dla Żydów w Radomiu," *BŻIH* 1/149 (1989): 91–99.

53 Józef Marszałek, "Rozpoznanie obozów śmierci w Bełżcu, Sobiborze i Treblince przez wywiad Armii Krajowej i Delegatury Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj," *BGKBZHP XXXV* (1993): 36–52; Józef Marszałek, "The camp of Zarzecze near Nisko in the system of Jewish labor camps," in *Akce Nisko* (1995): 139–147; Józef Marszałek, "System obozów śmierci w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie i jego funkcje (1942–1943)," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 17 (1996): 17–35.

54 Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998).

55 Józef Marszałek, "Labor camps in the General Government, 1939–1945," *Pro Memoria* 11 (2001): 37–42.

56 Tadeusz Radzik, "Praca przymusowa ludności żydowskiej na przykładzie obozu pracy w Bełżcu w 1940 r.," in *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich: Materiały z konferencji*, Kraków, 21–23 XI 1995, ed. Krzysztof Pilarczyk (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1997), 307–19; Józef Marszałek, *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 1999).

Since the beginning of the new century, many researchers of the younger generation begun to publish their books and articles. In 2001, Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak published their monumental work on the Warsaw Ghetto.<sup>57</sup> In 2003, Barbara Engelking and her colleagues established a new Center for Holocaust Research at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Since then, the members of the Center, as well as many other researchers, have published many books and articles on the Holocaust in Poland. For example, Marta Janczewska published her study about forced labor camps in the district of Warsaw.<sup>58</sup> Edward Kopówka,<sup>59</sup> Sebastian Piątkowski,<sup>60</sup> and Krzysztof Gibaszewski<sup>61</sup> also published books and articles about different labor camps in the General Government. Beata Macior-Majka published a book on *Generalplan Ost* and its economic and political aspects.<sup>62</sup> Witold Mędykowski published a study concerning forced labor of POWs during World War II.<sup>63</sup> Although Anna Ziółkowska's research concerned not the General Government but Warthegau, she also explored the transfer of workers from Warthegau to the General Government, and thus her work is worth mentioning.<sup>64</sup>

In 2009, two researchers from the State Museum in Majdanek, Wojciech Lenarczyk and Dariusz Libionka, published one of the first books containing studies and documents on the Operation *Erntefest*, during which about 42,000 were executed on November 3 and 4, 1943 in Majdanek, Poniatowa, and Trawniki. This volume also contains some articles about labor camps

57 Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *Getto warszawskie: Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2001).

58 Marta Janczewska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów na terenie dystryktu warszawskiego," *Prowincja noc* (2007): 271–320.

59 Edward Kopówka, "Obozy pracy przymusowej w Szczegłacinie i Bartkowie Nowym k. Siedlec," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 204 (2002): 515–19.

60 Sebastian Piątkowski, "Obóz pracy w Bliżynie (1942–1944)," *Zeszyty Majdanka* 21 (2001): 97–112; Sebastian Piątkowski, "Żydowscy robotnicy przymusowi w radomskiej fabryce obuwia 'Bata' (1941–1943)," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 227 (2008): 322–33.

61 Krzysztof Gibaszewski, *HASAG: Historia obozu pracy w Skarżysku Kamiennej* (Skarżysko Kamienna: Muzeum im. Orła Białego, 2011).

62 Beata Macior-Majka, *Generalny Plan Wschodni: Aspekt ideologiczny, polityczny i ekonomiczny* (Kraków: Avalon, 2007).

63 Witold Mędykowski, "Pomiędzy euforią a klęską: Polityka zatrudnienia jeńców wojennych w przemyśle zbrojeniowym III Rzeszy," *Lambinowski Rocznik Muzealny* 31 (2008): 7–28.

64 Anna Ziółkowska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Poznańskim w czasie okupacji Hitlerowskiej," *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich* II (2000): 313–23; Anna Ziółkowska, *Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów w Wielkopolsce* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2005).

liquidated during this action, such as Majdanek, Lipowa 7 in Lublin,<sup>65</sup> Poniatowa,<sup>66</sup> Trawniki, Dorohucza,<sup>67</sup> and Budzyń.<sup>68</sup>

On the other hand, the literature outside Poland concerning economic aspects and forced labor had a different trajectory. Already, during the war, books appeared dealing with economic exploitation and forced labor.<sup>69</sup> During the first years after the war, coming to terms with Nazism was determined by a number of significant events—namely, the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945–1946, during which many leaders of Nazi Germany were put on trial. Among them were people responsible for the economy and forced labor, such as Hermann Göring, Albert Speer, Alfred Rosenberg, Fritz Sauckel, and Hans Frank. After the main trial, smaller trials took place during the years 1945–1949, some of them concerned with different aspects of economic life and exploitation of forced labor. Worth mentioning is the trial of Oswald Pohl and WVHA, and the trials of Friedrich Flick, Alfred Krupp, and IG-Farben. The trial of Oswald Pohl and WVHA in particular touched many economic aspects of exploitation of forced and slave labor of prisoners in concentration camps. As a consequence of the Nuremberg trials, thousands of documents were published that would serve as a basis for future research.<sup>70</sup>

During the postwar period, many important books appeared about World War II, Nazism, and the resistance. A study of fundamental importance was published in 1961 by Raul Hilberg.<sup>71</sup> This monumental work was based on thousands of documents captured by the Americans and stored in Alexandria. Yet another important event took place the same year: the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem, during which many Jewish witnesses appeared. The Nuremberg and Jerusalem trials changed perspectives on Nazism and marked a new period

65 Wojciech Lenarczyk, “Obóz pracy przymusowej dla Żydów przy ul. Lipowej w Lublinie (1939–1943),” *Erntefest 3–4 listopada 1943—zapomniany epizod Zagłady*, ed. Wojciech Lenarczyk and Dariusz Libionka (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2009), 37–71.

66 Ryszard Gicewicz, “Obóz pracy w Poniatowej (1941–1943),” in Lenarczyk and Libionka, *Erntefest*, 211–28.

67 Witold Mędykowski, “Obóz pracy dla Żydów w Trawnikach,” in Lenarczyk and Libionka, *Erntefest*, 183–210.

68 Wojciech Lenarczyk, “Obóz pracy przymusowej w Budzynie (1942–1944),” in Lenarczyk and Libionka, *Erntefest*, 261–86.

69 John Price, *Organised Labor in the War* (New York: A. Lane, 1940).

70 *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, 14 October 1945–1 November 1946* (Nuremberg: International Military Tribunal, 1947).

71 Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Harper & Row, 1961).

in Holocaust research. In the 1960s and 1970s, many new documents and studies were published. Among them are the diaries of Adam Czerniakow,<sup>72</sup> documents from the Lublin ghetto,<sup>73</sup> and the monumental work of Yeshayhu Trunk, entitled *Judenrat*.<sup>74</sup>

Among the researchers who began to study economic aspects of the Nazi period was Georg Enno. He published in 1963 a study of economic enterprises of the SS.<sup>75</sup> He was followed by a researcher from East Germany, Eva Seeber, who in 1964 published a book about the labor of Polish citizens, especially from the General Government, employed in the German war economy.<sup>76</sup> A year later, Hans Buchheim and Martin Broszat published the book *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, where one chapter was dedicated to Nazi concentration camps, including forced labor of the prisoners.<sup>77</sup> In 1968, Edward Homze published a book about foreign labor in Nazi Germany.<sup>78</sup> The same year, Dieter Petzina published his book about policy of autarchy in Nazi Germany, which was intended to protect Germany from international blockade.<sup>79</sup>

During the 1980s and 1990s, Götz Aly and Susanne Heim published a number of studies concerning the reasons for extermination of Jews. Those discussions were a kind of continuation of *Historikerstreit*, which took place in Germany in the 1980s.<sup>80</sup> In 1983, Götz Aly published a study entitled *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Enlösung?*<sup>81</sup>

72 Adam Czerniakow, *Warsaw Ghetto Diary* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1968).

73 Nachman Blumental, ed., *Documents from the Lublin Ghetto: Judenrat without Direction* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1967).

74 Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

75 Enno Georg, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963).

76 Eva Seeber, *Zwangsarbeiter in der faschistischen Kriegswirtschaft: die deportation und Ausbeutung polnischer Bürger unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lage der Arbeiter aus dem sogenannten Generalgouvernement (1939–1945)* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1964).

77 Martin Broszat, "Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945," in *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, ed. Martin Broszat (Freiburg: Walter-Verlag, 1965).

78 Edward L. Homze, *Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).

79 Dieter Petzina, *Autarkiepolitik im Dritten Reich: Der nationalsozialistische Vierjahresplan* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1968).

80 Martin Broszat and Saul Friedländer, "A Controversy about the Historicization of National Socialism," *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 1–47.

81 Götz Aly et al., *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: Gibt es eine Ökonomie der Enlösung?* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1983).

During the following years, Götz Aly and Susanne Heim published a number of other studies in German and English dealing with the questions of social policy, economy, forced labor, rationalization, planning, and the extermination of Jews.<sup>82</sup> Christian Gerlach also studied the link between the problem of nourishment and extermination.<sup>83</sup> In the mid-1980s, one of the leading researchers of forced labor in Nazi Germany, Ulrich Herbert, began to publish his works.<sup>84</sup> During the 1990s, a number of new researchers published their works concerning German administration, forced labor, and the murder of Jews.<sup>85</sup>

In 1993, a young German researcher named Dieter Pohl began to publish his works. Pohl begun his career with a study of the Lublin District.<sup>86</sup>

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- 82 Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, "The Economics of the Final Solution: A Case Study from the General Government," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 5 (1988): 3–48; Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, eds., *Bevölkerungsstruktur und Massenmord: Neue Dokumente zur deutschen Politik der Jahre 1938–1945* (Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1991); Götz Aly, *Endlösung: Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1995) (English edition: "Final Solution": *Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of European Jews* [London: Arnold, 1999]); Aly Götz and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1995) (English edition: *Architects of Annihilation: Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2002]).
- 83 Gerlach, Christian, *Krieg, Ernährung, Völkermord: Forschungen zur deutschen Vernichtungspolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Hamburger Edition, Hamburg, 1998.
- 84 Ulrich Herbert, *Fremdarbeiter: Politik und Praxis des Ausländer Einsatzes in der Krieg des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz, 1986); Ulrich Herbert, *Arbeit, Volkstum, Weltanschauung: Über Fremde und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1995); Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler Foreign Workers: The Forced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ulrich Herbert, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik 1939–1945: Neue Forschungen und Kontroversen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1998); Ulrich Herbert, "Zwangsarbeiter im 'Dritten Reich' und das Problem der Entschädigung: Ein Überblick," in *Die politische Ökonomie des Holocaust* (2001): 203–38.
- 85 Konrad Kwiet, "Forced Labor of German Jews in Nazi Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991): 389–410; Richard Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (London: Bodley Head, 1991).
- 86 Dieter Pohl, *Von der 'Judenpolitik' zum Judenmord: Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1993); Dieter Pohl, "Rola dystryktu lubelskiego w 'ostatecznym rozwiązaniu kwestii żydowskiej,'" *Zeszyty Majdanka* 18 (1997): 7–24; Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997); Dieter Pohl, "Die Ermordung der Juden im Generalgouvernement," *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik* (1998): 98–121; Dieter Pohl, "Die Grossen Zwangsarbeitslager der SS- und Polizeiführer für Juden im Generalgouvernement 1942–1945," in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, ed. Christopher Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Vlg, 1998), 415–438; Dieter Pohl, "Ukrainische Hilfskräfte beim Mord an den Juden," in *Täter der Shoah*:

In the mid-1980s, yet another leading scholar of the Holocaust, Christopher Browning, began to publish.<sup>87</sup> However, his important studies concerning the path to the final solution and question of labor were published later—in the 1990s and during the first decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>88</sup> His monumental study, titled *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942*, was published in 2004.<sup>89</sup> During the 1990s, other scholars took interest in forced labor and labor camps. Among them was an Israeli scholar, herself a survivor of the HASAG labor camp in Skarżysko Kamienna and in Leipzig, Felicja Karay. Her study, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp*,<sup>90</sup> deals not only with the labor camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna, but also with the functioning of the HASAG Company and a complex of many different labor camps in the district of Radom. In her other studies she researched additional labor camps in the General Government and other territories.<sup>91</sup> Since the early 1990s, Wolf Gruner has written a series of publications concerning forced labor in Nazi

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*Fanatische Nationalsozialisten oder ganz normale Deutsche?*, ed. Gerhard Paul (Göttingen: Wallstein Vlg, 2002); Dieter Pohl, “Die ‘Aktion Reinhardt’ im Licht der Historiographie,” in: *Aktion Reinhardt* (2004): 15–47; Dieter Pohl, “Die Stellung des Distrikts Lublin in der ‘Endlösung der Judenfrage,’” in: *Aktion Reinhardt* (2004): 87–107.

- 87 Christopher Browning, *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1985).
- 88 Christopher Browning, “Nazi Germany’s Initial Attempt to Exploit Jewish Labor in the General Government: The Early Jewish Work Camps 1940–41,” *Die Normalität des Verbrechens* (1994): 171–85; Christopher Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Christopher Browning, “Jewish Workers in Poland: Self-Maintenance, Exploitation, Destruction,” in *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, ed. Christopher Browning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 58–88; Christopher Browning, “Jewish Workers and Survivor Memories: The Case of the Starachowice Labor Camp,” in Browning, *Nazi Policy*, 89–115; Christopher Browning, “‘Alleviation’ and ‘Compliance’: The Survival Strategies of the Jewish Leadership in the Wierzbni Ghetto and Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” *Gray Zones* (2005): 26–36.
- 89 Christopher Browning, with contributions by Jurgen Matthaus, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939–March 1942* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).
- 90 Felicja Karay, *Death Comes in Yellow: Skarżysko-Kamienna Slave Labor Camp* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996).
- 91 Felicja Karay, “Spór między władzami niemieckimi o żydowskie obozy pracy w Generalnej Guberni,” *Zeszyty Majdanka* 18 (1997), 27–44; Felicja Karay, “The Conflict among German Authorities over Jewish Slave Labor Camps in the General Government,” *Yalkut Moreshet* (1999): 1–28; Felicja Karay, “Women in the Forced-Labor Camps,” in *Women in the Holocaust*, ed. Dalia Ofer, Lenore J. Weitzman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 285–309; Felicja Karay, “Żydowskie obozy pracy w czasie ‘akcji Reinhardt,’” in *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, ed. Dariusz Libionka (Warsaw: IPN,

Germany and the occupied territories.<sup>92</sup> More focused studies on Galicia were published by Thomas Sandkühler.<sup>93</sup> At the end of the 1990s, Bogdan Musiał published important studies concerning the German administration of the General Government as well as the decision-making process leading to the *Aktion Reinhardt*.<sup>94</sup> In 1998, Hedwig Singer published her essential book about *Organisation Todt*.<sup>95</sup> The same year also saw the publication of an important lexicon of Nazi concentration camps, labor camps, and labor *kommandos*.<sup>96</sup>

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, there has been an intensive development of research concerning forced labor, mainly in Germany and neighboring countries. Jan Erik Schulte published his important studies, continuing his thesis of extermination through labor.<sup>97</sup> During the

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2004), 248–60; Felicja Karay, “Heaven or Hell? The Two Faces of the HASAG-Kielce Camp,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 32 (2004): 269–321.

92 Wolf Gruner, “Der Beginn der Zwangsarbeit für arbeitslose Juden in Deutschland 1938–39,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 37/2 (1989): 135–151; Wolf Gruner, “Terra Incognita?: The Camps for Jewish Labor Conscription (1938–1943) and the German Population,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 24 (1994): 3–42; Wolf Gruner, *Der geschlossene Arbeitseinsatz deutscher Juden: Zur Zwangsarbeit als Element der Verfolgung 1938–1943* (Berlin: Metropol Vlg., 1997); Wolf Gruner, *Die Organisation von Zwangsarbeit für Juden in Deutschland und im Generalgouvernement 1939–1943, eine vergleichende Bestandsaufnahme* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 1995); Wolf Gruner, *Jewish Forced Labor under the Nazis: Economic Needs and Racial Aims, 1938–1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

93 Thomas Sandkühler, “Endlösung” in Galizien: *Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Bertold Beitz, 1941–1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996); Thomas Sandkühler, “Zwangsarbeit und Judenmord im Distrikt Galizien des Generalgouvernements: Die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz,” in *Konzentrationslager und deutsche Wirtschaft 1939–1945*, ed. Hermann Kaienburg (Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 1996), 239–62; Thomas Sandkühler, “Das Zwangsarbeitslager Lemberg-Janowska 1941–1944,” in *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager II* (1998): 606–35; Thomas Sandkühler, “Rozpoczęcie ‘ostatecznego rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej’ w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie na przykładzie dystryktu galicyjskiego w latach 1941–1942,” *Zeszyty Majdanka* 19 (1998): 7–33.

94 Bogdan Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin, 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999); Bogdan Musiał, “The Origins of ‘Operation Reinhardt’: The Decision-Making Process for the Mass Murder of the Jews on the Generalgouvernement,” *Yad Vashem Studies* (2000).

95 Hedwig Singer, *Organisation Todt* (Osnabrück: Biblio), 1998.

96 Martin Weinmann, Ane Kaiser, and Ursula Krause-Schmidt, eds., *Die Nationalsozialistische Lagersystem (CCP)* (Frankfurt a. M.: Zweitausendeins, 1998).

97 Jan Erik Schulte, “Zwangsarbeit für die SS—Juden in der Ostindustrie GmbH,” in *Ausbeutung, Vernichtung, Öffentlichkeit*, ed. Norbert Frei (Munich: Saur, 2000); Jan Erik Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001).

same period, other authors published studies supporting the same idea.<sup>98</sup> In the first decade of the twenty-first century, many studies appeared concerning the Nazi economy, and in particular, the economic enterprises of the SS (such as the volumes written by Allen and Fear).<sup>99</sup> Among the other authors writing about the Nazi economy were Wolfgang Benz,<sup>100</sup> Herman Kaienburg,<sup>101</sup> Ingo Loose,<sup>102</sup> and others.<sup>103</sup> In those years, several biographies of Odilo Globocnik were also published, which naturally deal with economic enterprises that he headed.<sup>104</sup> Studies by Finder, Bender, Browning, and Wenzel were dedicated to labor camps in the General Government.<sup>105</sup> In 2005, Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel published a multivolume book about Nazi concentration camps, which also explored labor camps.<sup>106</sup> In 2008, an important collection of documents from the

98 Joel Koteck, Pierre Rigoulot, eds., *Das Jahrhundert der Lager: Gefangenschaft, Zwangsarbeit, Vernichtung* (Berlin: Propyläen, 2001); Jörg Echtenkamp, *Die deutsche Kriegsgesellschaft: 1939 bis 1945: Politisierung, Vernichtung, Überleben*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: DVA, 2004); Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, ed. Ray Brandon, Wendy Lower (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 190–223.

99 Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor and the Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Jeffrey Fear, "The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor and the Concentration Camps," *Business History Review*, June 30, 2004.

100 Benz, "Zwangsarbeit im nationalsozialistischen Staat," 3–17.

101 Hermann Kaienburg, "Zwangsarbeit von Juden in Arbeits- und Konzentrationslagern," in *"Arisierung" im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Irmtrud Wojak and Peter Hayes (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus Verlag, 2000), 219–40; Hermann Kaienburg, *Die Wirtschaft der SS* (Berlin: Metropol, 2003).

102 Ingo Loose, "Credit Banks and the Holocaust in the 'Generalgouvernement,' 1939–1945," *Yad Vashem Studies* 34 (2006): 177–218.

103 Joachim Neander, "The SS and the Economics of Genocide," *Yad Vashem Studies* 32 (2004): 449–67; Hans-Christian Petersen, *Bevölkerungsökonomie—Ostforschung—Politik: eine biographische Studie zu Peter-Heinz Seraphim (1902–1979)* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2007).

104 Joseph Poprzeczny, *Globocnik—Hitler's Man in the East* (London: McFarland & Company, 2004); Berndt Rieger, *Creator of Nazi Death Camps: The Life of Odilo Globocnik* (London: Valentine-Mitschell, 2007).

105 Gabriel N. Finder, "Jewish Prisoner Labor in Warsaw after the Ghetto Uprising, 1943–1944," *Polin* 17 (2004): 325–51; Mario Wenzel, "Ausbeutung und Vernichtung: Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden im Distrikt Krakau 1942–1944," *Dachauer Hefte* 23 (2007): 189–207; Christopher Browning, *Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave Labor Camp* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010); Sara Bender, "Jewish Slaves in Forced Labor Camps in Kielce, September 1942–August 1944," *Polin* 23 (2011): 437–63.

106 Wolfgang Benz, Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1–9 (Munich: Beck, 2005).

Nazi period began to be compiled in a volume, edited by Susanne Heim, Ulrich Herbert, Hans-Dieter Kreikamp, Horst Müller, Dieter Pohl, and Hartmut Weber.<sup>107</sup> During that period, few research works concerning particular districts of the General Government were written or published. Among those that appeared, especially significant are the dissertation of David Silberklang about the Lublin District,<sup>108</sup> the work of Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk about the district of Radom,<sup>109</sup> and Sara Bender's study about Kielce and its surroundings, published in Hebrew.<sup>110</sup>

After 2010, the research of forced labor intensified due, among other causes, to research launched by the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future" (*Stiftung Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft*, EVZ). A catalogue of the exhibition "Forced Labor" appeared in 2010, containing some important overviews written by leading researchers.<sup>111</sup> In 2013, two books were published by the participants of this program.<sup>112</sup> In the same year, a volume edited by Dieter Pohl and Tanja Sebta was published<sup>113</sup> containing some essential studies by the participants of the historical program of the EVZ.<sup>114</sup> In 2013,

107 Susanne Heim, Ulrich Herbert, Hans-Dieter Kreikamp et al., eds., *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, vol. 1–7 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008–2012).

108 David Silberklang, *The Holocaust in the Lublin District*, PhD thesis (Jerusalem, 2003, subsequently published as *Gates of Tears: The Holocaust in the Lublin district* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2013).

109 Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, *Judenmord in Zentralpolen: Der Distrikt Radom im Generalgouvernement 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Deutsche Historische Institut, and Darmstadt: Forschungstelle Ludwigsburg der Universität Stuttgart, 2007).

110 Sara Bender, *Be-Eretz Oyev: The Jews of Kielce and the Vicinity during World War II—1939–1945* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2012). An English version is due to appear in 2018 (Boston: Academic Studies Press).

111 Wagner, "Forced Labor"; Andreas Heusler, "Forced Labor in the Nazi War Economy: The Genesis of a Research Genre," in Knigge et al., *Forced Labor*, 194–201; Dieter Pohl, "Forced Labor in Occupied Eastern Europe—A Research Overview," in Knigge et al., *Forced Labor*, 202–7; Manfred Grieger, "Extermination and Work under the Nazi System of Forced Labor," in Knigge et al., *Forced Labor*, 208–19.

112 Dierl Florian, Janjetović Zoran, and Linne Karsten, *Pflicht, Zwang und Gewalt: Arbeitsverwaltungen und Arbeitskräftepolitik im deutsch besetzten Polen und Serbien 1939–1944* (Essen: Klartext, 2013). Dieter Steinert, *Deportation und Zwangsarbeit: Polnische und sowjetische Kinder im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland und im besetzten Osteuropa 1939–1945* (Essen: Klartext, 2013).

113 Dieter Pohl and Tanja Sebta, ed., *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers Europa: Besatzung-Arbeit-Folgen* (Berlin: Metropolis, 2013).

114 Dieter Pohl and Tanja Sebta, "Nationalsozialistische Zwangsarbeit außerhalb des Deutschen Reiches und ihre Folgen," in Pohl and Sebta, *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers Europa*, 13–22; Ulrich Herbert, "Zwangsarbeit im 20. Jahrhundert," in Pohl and Sebta, *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers*

a young German researcher working on various aspects of forced labor, an author of many articles about forced labor, Stephan Lehnstaedt,<sup>115</sup> edited *Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos* with Jürgen Hensel, which contains various studies concerning the General Government and the question of forced labor in general.<sup>116</sup> At the end of 2013, yet another volume appeared, edited by Imke Hansen, Katrin Steffen, and Joachim Tauber, with articles concerning forced labor and economic life in the ghettos of Eastern Europe.<sup>117</sup> Some recent studies explore compensations for forced labor in camps and ghettos.<sup>118</sup>

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*Europa*, 23–36; Karsten Linne, “Struktur und Praxis der deutschen Arbeitsverwaltung im besetzten Polen und Serbien,” in Pohl and Sebta, *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers Europa*, 39–61; Mario Wenzel, “Die Arbeitslager für Juden im Distrikt Krakau des Generalgouvernements 1940–1941,” in Pohl and Sebta, *Zwangsarbeit in Hitlers Europa*. 173–194.

- 115 Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Die deutsche Arbeitsverwaltung im Generalgouvernement und die Juden,” in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 60 (2012): 409–40; Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Jewish Labor in the Smaller Ghettos in the Warthegau Region,” in *Yad Vashem Studies* 38/2 (2010): 47–84; Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Coercion and Incentive: Jewish Ghetto Labor in East Upper Silesia,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24 (2010): 400–430.
- 116 Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Zwischen Profitgier, Überleben und Rente: Überlegungen zur einer Geschichte der *Arbeit in nationalsozialistischen Ghettos*,” in *Arbeit in den nationalsozialistischen Ghettos*, ed. Jürgen Hensel and Stephan Lehnstaedt (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2013), 11–29; Witold Mędykowski, “Wie überdauerte ein Ghetto? Mikroökonomische Aspekte,” in Hensel and Lehnstaedt, *Arbeit*, 53–69; Ingo Loose, “Die Bedeutung der Ghettoarbeit für die nationalsozialistische Kriegswirtschaft,” in Hensel and Lehnstaedt, *Arbeit*, 71–90; Giles Bennett, “Die Arbeitsbedingungen der Warschauer Juden 1941–1942: Max Bischof und die Transferstelle Warschau,” in Hensel and Lehnstaedt, *Arbeit*, 91–110; Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Generalgouvernement: Ideologie und Ökonomie der Judenpolitik,” in Hensel and Lehnstaedt, *Arbeit*, 159–80; Mario Wenzel, “Die Umwandlung von Ghettos in Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden: Das Beispiel des Distrikts Krakau im Generalgouvernement 1942–1944,” in Hensel and Lehnstaedt, *Arbeit*, 361–73.
- 117 Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Jüdische Arbeit in Generalgouvernement, Warthegau und Ostoberschlesien,” *Lebenswelt Ghetto: Alltag und Soziales Umfeld während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung*, ed. Imke Hansen, Katrin Steffen, and Joachim Tauber (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Vlg., 2013), 210–25; Mędykowski, “Der jüdische Kampf um Lebensunterhalt,” 226–41; Wolfgang Benz, “Ghetto: Topographie—Strukturen—Funktion,” in Hansen et al., *Lebenswelt Ghetto*, 24–36; Martin Dean, “Regional Pattern of Ghettoisation in the Annexed and Occupied Territories of the Third Reich,” in Hansen et al., *Lebenswelt Ghetto*, 37–51.
- 118 Constantin Goschler, “The Struggle for Recognition and Compensation of Forced Laborers,” in *Forced Labor: The Germans, the Forced Laborers and the War*, ed. Volkhard Knigge et al. (Weimar: Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald u. Mittelbau-Dora, 2010), 230–41; Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Geschichte und Gesetzesauslegung: Zu Kontinuität und Wandel des bundesdeutschen Wiedergutmachungsdiskurses am Beispiel der Ghattorenten* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2011); Stephan Lehnstaedt, “Ghetto Labor Pensions: Holocaust Survivors and Their Struggle for Compensation in the 21st Century,” *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 283 (2011): 191–210.

## CHAPTER 1

# The War against Poland and the Beginning of German Economic Policy in the Occupied Territory

### THE OBJECTIVES OF THE WAR

One Germany's objectives during the Second World War was economic expansion in the new territories, which was generally referred to as *Lebensraum*. However, this concept represented much more than merely territory. It was, first of all, "living space for the German economy," bringing with it, apart from territory, a labor force, raw materials, and agricultural production. On May 10, 1939, the chief commander of the armed forces sent a letter to various OKW departments that was signed by Hitler. Attached to the letter were the "Instructions for the conduct of war and the economic security of their own."<sup>1</sup> Thus, parallel to the preparations for the military, were preparations for sustainability in economic terms. A conference in the Reich's Chancellery was held on May 23, 1939 to summarize preparations in economic terms. The report from this meeting was called the "Schmundt protocol."<sup>2</sup> During his speech, Hitler recalled again the validity of *Lebensraum* and said that the war was not really because of Gdańsk and the Corridor, but its objective was extension of living space in the east.<sup>3</sup> Also in other occasion, during a meeting with Mussolini in

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1 IMT, *Red Series* (C-120), vol. 1, 692.

2 IMT, *Red Series* (L-79), vol. 1, 693.

3 IMT, *Red Series* (C-120), vol. 1, 693.

August 1939, Hitler said: "For economic reasons also, Germany needed the foodstuffs and timber from these eastern regions."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the planned use of resources from the conquered territories, the exploitation of vast numbers of foreign workers was planned even before Germany went to war and was an integral part of the plan for waging an aggressive war. On May 23, 1939, a meeting was held in Hitler's study at the Reich's Chancellery. Hermann Göring, Erich Raeder, and Wilhelm Keitel were present. According to the minutes of this meeting, Hitler stated: "... the possession of extensive areas in the east will be advantageous. We shall be able to rely upon record harvests, even less in time of war than in peace. The population of non-Germans will perform no military service and will be available as a source of labor."<sup>5</sup>

Hitler did not think too highly of the Polish army; however, he feared that the delivery of arms from Western countries might weaken German supremacy. He was also speaking about the ethnic composition of Poland, which according to him, was composed of 14.5 million people belonging to various minorities like Germans, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Jews, and Ukrainians. Not all Poles were, according to him, "fanatics." He believed that such a large proportion of non-Poles significantly reduced the fighting strength of Poland. Therefore Poland could be "struck to the ground" in a very short time.<sup>6</sup> In conclusion, the fundamental objectives of the war against Poland were winning of war and the occupation of the Polish "living space." Detailed instructions on how to conduct the war and the management of the new living space had been issued in August, September, and October 1939.

Hitler's speech at a meeting of senior commanders of the Wehrmacht, which took place in Hitler's residence in Obersalzberg on August 22, 1939,<sup>7</sup> produced one of the most important documents relating to the conduct of the war in Poland. At this time, all preparations for war had been completed. Before making a final decision concerning the attack on Poland, Hitler rejected proposals of peaceful solution, blaming Poland for rejecting German demands. Speaking to senior commanders, Hitler said: "Destruction of Poland is in the foreground. The aim is elimination of living forces, not the arrival at a certain line. Even if war should break out in the west, the destruction of Poland shall be

4 IMT, *Red Series* (TC-77), vol. 1, 697.

5 IMT, *Red Series* (L-79), vol. 1, 875–76.

6 IMT, *Red Series* (TC-77), vol. 1, 696.

7 The Obersalzberg Speech. On August 22, 1939, Hitler addressed his commanders-in-chief at Obersalzberg, in IMT, *Red Series* (1014-PS), vol. 1, 702.

the primary objective.”<sup>8</sup> Hitler pointed out that the decision to attack Poland had been taken already in the spring.<sup>9</sup> Hitler explicitly said that the causes for the attack would be presented, regardless whether it was true or not. “When starting and leading a war, not justice but victory counts.”<sup>10</sup> Hitler also spoke about economic aspects of the war. “We need not be afraid of a blockade. The east will supply us with grain, cattle, coal, lead and zinc. It is a big arm, which demands great efforts.”<sup>11</sup> Given this, it was in a signed agreement with the Soviet Union that he said “They [Edouard Daladier and Neville Chamberlain] will not go beyond a blockade. Against that we have our autarchy and the Russian raw materials.”<sup>12</sup>

One of the most important passages is located at the point where Hitler stopped the discussions about the war was to address the behavior of German soldiers on the battlefield and his plans for population of conquered Poland. Hitler said: “Our strength lies in our quickness and brutality [. . .]. I have given the command and I shall shoot everyone who utters one word of criticism [. . .] and so for the present, only in the east have I put my death-head formations in place with the command relentlessly and without compassion to send into death many women and children of Polish origin and language. Only thus can we gain the living space (*Lebensraum*) that we need.”<sup>13</sup> Then Hitler continued: “For you, gentlemen, fame and honor are beginning as they have not for centuries. Be hard; be without mercy; act more quickly and brutally than the others. The citizens of western Europe must tremble with horror. That is the most human way of conducting a war. For it scares the others off.”<sup>14</sup>

Those words uttered to senior commanders leave no doubt as to the intentions of Hitler concerning the behavior of his troops and the conduct of war. It was to be brutal, involving the physical destruction of the enemy, which involved not only combatants, but civilians as well. Commanding violent behavior suggests that it will not be punished—quite the contrary. Therefore, the instructions for the conduct of war were released and passed on to the

8 Ibid.; IMT, *Red Series* (798–PS).

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 IMT, *Red Series* (1014-PS), vol. 1, 702; IMT, *Red Series* (798-PS); E. L. Woodward and Rohan Riftle, eds., *From Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919–1939*, 3rd series (London: HMSO, 1954), vol. 7, 258–60.

14 IMT, *Red Series* (1014-PS), vol. 1, 702; Woodward and Riftle, *From Documents*, vol. 7, 258–60.

soldiers. Of course, Hitler fulfilled his promises regarding both the reward of the soldiers and their impunity. At the beginning of October 1939, amnesty was announced for crimes committed by German soldiers during the campaign in Poland.<sup>15</sup>

When the war broke out, Hitler spoke in the Reichstag, where he explained the reasons for this war, charging Poland with complete responsibility. His statement, quoted below, is a denial of what he said at a secret meeting with senior commanders in Obersalzberg. On September 1, 1939 he said:

... I will not wage war against women and children. I have ordered my air force to restrict itself to attacks on military objectives. If, however, the enemy thinks he can draw from that *carte blanche* on his side to fight by the other methods he will receive an answer that will deprive him of hearing and sight.<sup>16</sup>

Hitler continued:

... and from now on, bombs will be met with bombs. Whoever fights with poison gas will be fought with poison gas. Whoever departs from the rules of humane warfare can only expect that we shall do the same. I will continue this struggle, no matter against whom, until the safety of the Reich and its rights are secured.<sup>17</sup>

On the same day, September 1, 1939, Hitler made a speech to the German armed forces, in which he also presented reasons for starting the war. He said:

I can see no other way but from now onwards to meet force with force. The German Armed Forces, with firm determination, will take up the struggle for the honor and the fundamental rights of the German people. I expect every soldier to be conscious of the high tradition of the eternal German soldierly qualities and to do his duty to the end. 'emember always and in any circumstances that you are the representatives of the National Socialist Greater Germany. Long live our people and the Reich.<sup>18</sup>

15 "Decree of Amnesty of the Führer and Chancellor of the Reich, of October 4, 1939," in Szymon Datner, *Crimes Committed by the Wehrmacht during the September Campaign and the Period of Military Government* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1962), 44.

16 *Speech by Hitler in Reichstag*, September 1, 1939.

17 Ibid.

18 IMT, *Red Series* (TC-54), vol. 1, 721.

In the speeches of August 22 and September 1, 1939, Hitler did not mention the Jews, but his attitude on this issue was obvious to all. On January 30, 1939, in his speech, Hitler told the Reichstag:

The Jewish race was created by God only for the purpose of being in a certain percentage of a parasite living body on the productive and the work of other nations. The Jewish race will have to adapt itself to sound constructive activity as other nations do, or sooner or later it will succumb to a crisis of an inconceivable magnitude. [. . .] Today I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!<sup>19</sup>

## BEGINNING OF THE WAR

The war began on September 1, 1939, at 4:45 a.m., with a cannonade from the cruiser Schleswig-Holstein on Westerplatte.<sup>20</sup> The German aviation began bombing cities and military facilities. The German army crossed the Polish border, attacking from three directions simultaneously: from the north: from west Pomerania and east Prussia, from the west, and in the south from the territory of Slovakia.<sup>21</sup> Before the attack, the Germans prepared a series of actions of sabotage and instigated hostile ethnic groups, for example Ukrainians.<sup>22</sup> On the same day, Hitler spoke to the Reichstag assembly, explaining objectives of the war. He presented them as follows:

I am determined: first, resolve the question of Danzig, second the question of the corridor, and thirdly, to ensure that in relation to Germany there will

19 Yitzhak Arad, Yisrael Gutman et al., eds., *Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland and the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1987), 134–35.

20 Andrzej Albert (Wojciech Roszkowski), *Najnowsza historia Polski 1914–1993*, vol. 1 (London: Plus Publications Ltd., 1994); Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*.

21 BA-MA, RW5-150, 172/673–172/677.

22 BA-MA, RW5-699, 2–3.

be a reversal of Polish position, which will provide peaceful coexistence and security!<sup>23</sup>

In the meantime, the situation deteriorated, and the Polish armies were in constant retreat. Warsaw became increasingly threatened by attack from the north, which forced the evacuation of the Polish government, state institutions, and the Bank of Poland's gold reserves from Warsaw. On September 6, Chief Commander Marshal Edward Śmigły-Rydz and his staff left the capital and moved to Brest. On the same day Colonel Roman Umiastowski, in a dramatic appeal, asked the young men to leave the capital for the east, where he called for the organization of a new line of defense.<sup>24</sup> Political leaders of party representatives also came to the east. Umiastowski's appeal had far-reaching effect: in addition to thousands of men who went east, whole families went in the same direction, in an atmosphere of fear and panic. The situation on the roads became even more difficult and refugees became an easy prey for the German airmen, who attacked civilian refugee columns. At that time, from September 7 to 9, the Soviet authorities announced mobilization in the European part of USSR.

On September 17, 1939, at 2.00 in the night, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs called for the Polish Ambassador to give him a notice informing that in the morning the Red Army had begun crossing the Polish border in its entire length in order to "take care of people in western Ukraine and western Belarus." In this situation, Marshal Edward Śmigły-Rydz commanded the Polish troops not to fight the Red Army troops. On the night of September 17 to 18, the Polish commander-in-chief crossed over the Romanian border. The Red Army disarmed Polish troops and captured the soldiers and officers. Only in some places did struggle break out between the Polish and Soviet troops. Some units, mainly from the region of Polesie, returned in the direction of the west intending to support the defense of Warsaw and in order not fall into the hands of the Red Army and be disarmed in the process. However, those units failed to get to Warsaw. In the meantime, as a result of heavy bombing that caused many

23 Doc. 2322-PS, Hitler's address to the Reichstag on the outbreak of war, September 1, 1939; USA-39; Adolf Hitler, *The Essential Hitler: Speeches and Commentary*, ed. Max Domarus and Patrick Romane (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2007).

24 L. Dobroszycki, M.M. Drozdowski, M. Getter, A. Słomczyński, eds., *Cywilna obrona Warszawy we wrześniu 1939, Dokumenty, materiały prasowe i relacje* (Warszawa: PWN, 1964); Marian Porwit, *Obrona Warszawy, Wrzesień 1939: Wspomnienia i fakty* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1959); Mieczysław Ciepiewicz and Eugeniusz Kozłowski, eds., *Obrona Warszawy 1939 we wspomnieniach* (Warsaw: MON, 1984); Mieczysław Ciepiewicz i Eugeniusz Kozłowski, eds., *Wrzesień 1939 w relacjach i wspomnieniach* (Warsaw: MON, 1989).

casualties and large damage, and the lack of food, water, and electricity, on September 26, 1939 it was decided to surrender Warsaw. The act of capitulation was signed on September 28, 1939. Soon, German troops entered the city. In the last days of September sporadic fighting was still going on. On October 5, 1939, Special Operational Group (SGO) “Polesie” under the command of General Franciszek Kleeberg capitulated, which marked the end of the war in Poland.

## OPERATION TANNENBERG

In 1939 German directions in order to carry out the extermination of the Polish leadership echelon (*Liquidierung der polnischen Führungsschicht*) and intelligentsia got the codename *Unternehmen Tannenberg*. In May 1939, in the Main Office of the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*), the head of the German Police, Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler, established a special cell called *Zentralstelle II/P (Polen)*, whose task was to draw up proscription lists of Poles (*Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen*)<sup>25</sup> who were considered particularly dangerous to the Third Reich. They were political activists; representatives of the clergy; leaders of political parties; people of science and culture; activists and fighters for the Polish state in disputed territories, from World War I, where plebiscites and armed uprisings (Śląsk/Schlesien, Poznań/Posen, Pomorze/Pommern) took place. On those lists were the names of 61,000 Poles.<sup>26</sup> In July 1939, an agreement was reached between *Oberkommando des Heeres* (OKH) and the head of *Sicherheitspolizei* and SD Reinhard Heydrich. Under the agreement, each of the five armies prepared to attack Poland was to obtain *Einsatzgruppe*, consisting of a Gestapo, Kripo (*Kriminalpolizei*), and SD men. After the outbreak of war in the first half of September, a further three sub-groups of about 2,700 people operating similarly were added.

At a conference held on September 21, 1939, referring to the ongoing operation *Tannenberg*, convened by the *Einsatzgruppen*, Heydrich said:

Solving of the Polish question—as has been repeatedly indicated—is to be varied: one way in relation to the leadership (Polish intelligentsia), another in relation to the workers and the lower layers of the Polish population. There are still no more than 3% of political leaders in the occupied territories.

25 *Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen* (Berlin: Reichskriminalpolizeiamt Berlin C2, Wederscher Mark 5/6, 1939).

26 Ryszard Majewski, *Waffen SS: Mity i rzeczywistość* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1977), 53.

And these 3% must be neutralized and sent to concentration camps. The *Einsatzgruppen* should draw up a list, on which they should place outstanding leaders and also lists containing the average layer of the Polish society: teachers, clergy, nobility, legionnaires, returning officers, and so forth. They must be arrested and deported to the remaining district (*Restraum*).<sup>27</sup>

Heydrich clearly expressed his murderous intentions. Interesting is the fact that in spite of obtaining the proxies for the elimination of elements deemed undesirable, he continued his provocative actions in order to cause difficulties and even paralyzing court actions. At the conference on September 21, 1939, he ordered:

Executions should be used only in case of necessary self-defense or in cases of attempts of escape. All other matters should be transferred to the martial courts. You should load military courts with so many applications, that they could not manage to deal with this C [Chef, i.e., Reinhard Heydrich] wants him to submit all the judgments of the military courts, ending with no conviction to death penalty.<sup>28</sup>

The *Einsatzgruppen* operating in Poland, in addition to the tasks relating to the liquidation of Polish activists, intellectuals and leaders also had duties concerning the Jews.<sup>29</sup> One of their obligations was causing forced migration of Jews to the Soviet zone in the first weeks of war, when the demarcation line between the German and Soviet occupation zone was not yet determined. Forcing resettlement on Jews took place by issuing specific instructions to leave the immediate locality. Particularly cruel to the Jews was the *Einsatzgruppe* under the command of Udo von Woyrsch, who committed numerous crimes, including in the vicinity of Przemyśl.<sup>30</sup> “Already in 1939, soon after the entry into Przemyśl, Germans gave an example of their methods of bandits slaughtering five hundred Jews, mostly from the intelligentsia.”<sup>31</sup>

27 Document from the Conference in Security Police Office of September 21, 1939, *BŻIH* 49 (1964): 68–73.

28 Ibid.

29 Jochen Böhrer, “Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy during the Polish Campaign: The Case of the *Einsatzgruppe* von Woyrsch,” *German Studies Review* 24 (2001): 35–54; Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology and Atrocity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 88–120.

30 Böhrer, “Nazi Anti-Jewish Policy.”

31 YVA, M.49.E/1938, 1, testimony of Marian Bień.

## IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDE OF GERMAN SOLDIERS TOWARDS THE JEWS

The beginning of the war ushered in a sharp change in the life of the Jewish population in Poland. Persecution of Jews in Germany and the territories occupied by Germany after 1938 now threatened Polish Jews, who were much more numerous than the Jewish communities of Germany, Austria, and the Protectorate. Polish Jews were also different from their brethren in the above-mentioned countries, where not all Jews were traditional and not all of them differentiated themselves from the rest of the country's population, even though the Jews who lived traditionally made up a fairly large faction of the Jewish community. For Polish Jews, the Germans invented a special term: *Ostjuden*—Eastern Jews, which indicated geographic area inhabited by those Jews, but also evoked a specific cultural meaning. It conjured up a different type of Jew: traditional in terms of clothing, appearance, including beards and side locks, but also traditional in terms of language and behavioral education. For a casual viewer, in many cases, the difference was enormous. While German Jews were not often distinguished by their appearance, in Poland the situation was completely different. Elements such as the appearance and behavior of traditional Jews were used in German propaganda for years. Especially since Hitler seized power, the anti-Semitic propaganda increased. Books, newspapers, and posters with cartoons where stylized images of Jews were portrayed were printed in millions of copies. Some features and characteristics of the Jewish body were much exaggerated: the propaganda materials showed great curved noses, odd-looking faces, beards and side locks. Often, such propaganda items were presented next to idealized drawings of the Aryan type: tall, athletic, with simple features and light hair, and neatly dressed. It was not only drawings and photos in newspapers and books that launched this type of the German man. There were also other means of propaganda everywhere—in film, painting, and sculpture. The work of Arno Breker is one of the best examples.<sup>32</sup>

The propaganda and the political climate of Germany from the years 1933–1939 affected the consciousness of the young generation of Germans. After the elimination of pre-Hitler youth organizations and the establishment of Hitler Youth and related organizations such as BDM and *Jungvolk*, the majority of adolescents came under Hitler's influence for a longer or shorter

32 Jürgen Trimborn, *Arno Breker—Der Künstler und die Macht: die Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2011); B. John Zavrel, *Arno Breker—His Art and Life* (New York: Amherst, 1985); Peter Adam, *The Art of the Third Reich* (London: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1992).

period of time. Germans born in 1919, for example, who reached the age of 20 in 1939, spent a greater part of their youth in the above-mentioned organizations. These organizations not only dealt with sporting activities, developed interests, organized trips outside the city and summer camps, but also educated the German youth in the spirit of Nazism. In 1930s, the German youths spent the greater part of their time in school and in the Hitler Youth organizations in order to reduce the impact of the family. This educational activity was intentionally propagated by the Nazi leadership. The official propaganda and youth organizations exerted very strong influence on young people. Their activities had a great effect on the generation, which grew up in 1930s and became soldiers during the war of 1939, and supposedly caused generational differences in the prevailing mood of the Wehrmacht.<sup>33</sup>

A generation of young Germans educated in an atmosphere of anti-Semitic propaganda and convinced of its superiority was mobilized and sent to war against Poland. In the period preceding the war, German propaganda against Poland was very intense<sup>34</sup> and focused not only on the Free City of Gdańsk and the “Corridor.” It also alleged the persecution of Germans in Poland. Poland had been presented as a country that persistently acted unreasonably. Moreover, Poland had never enjoyed a positive evaluation from the Germans. Above all, Germany, irrespective of the reigning system and the ruling government, never reconciled with the loss of the lands, which belonged to Germany prior to the World War I, in favor of Poland. Therefore, slogans such as *Lebensraum*, used by Hitler, gained social acceptance quite easily. The Polish economy was regarded as primitive; the common term “Polish economy” (*polnische Wirtschaft*) meant mismanagement, mess, and laziness.<sup>35</sup> In German eyes, Poland was a hostile country that wanted to prevent the development of Germany. These two important elements of consciousness—anti-Semitism and the hatred of Poland—accompanied the German forces that invaded Poland in September 1939.

The Jews were depicted in German propaganda as parasites who profited from the hard work of others. They did not do the work themselves but

33 Jochen Böhrer, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu w Polsce: Wrzesień 1939: Wojna totalna* (Kraków: Znaki, 2009), 37–41.

34 *Ibid.*, 41–45.

35 Eugeniusz Cezary Król, *Polska i Polacy w propagandzie narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919–1945* (Warsaw: ISP PAN-Collegium Civitas-Rytm, 2010); Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, “The Holocaust and Population Policy: Remarks on the Decision on the Final Solution,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 24 (1994): 48–55.

gathered the fruits of hard labor done by other people. Their exploitation of others did not apply solely to economic benefits, but also to political and social ones. The actions of Jews in culture and the arts were considered as causing constant disgrace. Therefore, according to the propaganda, it was necessary to root out the Jews and get rid of them in order to protect the German people, the German culture, the economy, education, the administration, and so forth. In turn, the Poles were depicted as rough and thriftless people who should also learn from the German work ethic.

The beginning of the war also established the confrontation between propaganda and reality. It was an eye-to-eye meeting with the population in Poland and encounter with the Jews, who represented about 10% of the population. However, in cities and towns their percentage was significantly higher and amounted to several dozen percent. Therefore, the German newcomers were under the impression that there was a massive concentration of Jews in Poland. Many German soldiers met traditional Jews, whom so far they had only seen in the form of propaganda, for the first time in their lives.

Another important element accompanying the invasion of Poland (and later, the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe), was the contrast between what Germany wanted to achieve—to get rid of the Jews, to remove them from German society—and between what they actually found. As German control was established on new territories, the number of Jews under German rule did not reduce: on the contrary, the invaders only found more Jews.

After a period of fighting, German troops came in contact with many civilians. This encounter displayed an entire range of attitudes. The expression of these opinions was discovered in letters written to the soldiers' families in Germany. Large collections of correspondence have survived in archives.<sup>36</sup> A great number of German soldiers adopted the objectives of the war and considered it just and fair, designed to protect ethnic Germans. In relation to the local population—Poles and Jews—they felt contempt and hatred. Together with all the nation, they felt good and worthy to rule others, sure that their mission was to spread “civilization” in the east.<sup>37</sup>

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36 O. Buchbender and R. Sterz, eds., *Das andere Gesicht des Krieges: Deutsch Feldpostbriefe 1939–1945* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982); Alexander Rossino, “Destructive Impulses: German Soldiers and the Conquest of Poland,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11, no. 3 (Winter 1997): 351–65.

37 Rossino, “Destructive Impulses,” 353.

## VIOLENCE AGAINST THE JEWS

In order to collect weapons and ammunition in the occupied areas of the Poland, on September 12, 1939, the chief commander of the German armed forces, Walther von Brauchitsch, issued regulations to the civilians, calling for an immediate delivery of all weapons and ammunition to the nearest military and police posts. According to the regulation, storage of weapons and ammunition would be punished by death. Similarly, any acts of violence towards German soldiers were to be punished by death. Judgment, and its execution by the court, would take place immediately.<sup>38</sup>

Thereafter, an addendum was issued to the regulation of the Decree of September 12, 1939.<sup>39</sup> Regulations to ban the possession of weapons had become the basis for the search for hidden arms and ammunition by German soldiers. The sweep for the arms was conducted in public buildings as well as in private homes. In practice, it gave the Germans unlimited permission to enter homes and private residence and to take stock. During the search for weapons, robbery of private property was commonplace. German soldiers “preferred” Jewish homes where everything of value was robbed.

[. . .] looting took place in the city of [Warsaw] after the victory. The opportunity to take—and take more—is carried out gradually in the city in search of weapons inspections. These revisions, in some cases are carried out quite decently; in others, they are used for mass looting. This is the rule in Jewish neighborhoods—but not only there.<sup>40</sup>

Provocations and pretexts were employed in relation to the possession of weapons or taking part in armed resistance. Reinhard Heydrich wrote in a well-known *Schnellbrief* of September 21, 1939, inter alia: “As a justification for the concentration of Jews in cities should be administered, according to authoritative information, they took part in the partisan attacks and robbery.”<sup>41</sup>

38 The regulation on the possession of weapons on the September 12, 1939, issued by the supreme commander of Armed Forces von Brauchitsch.

39 Ordinance to supplement the Ordinance on the possession of weapons on September 21, 1939 (*Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete in Polen*, 9); Second Order of the supreme commander of the Armed Forces to supplement the Ordinance on the possession of weapons on October 6, 1939 (*Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten Gebiete in Polen*, 32).

40 Ludwik Landau, *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, vol. 1, *Wrzesień 1939–listopad 1940* (Warsaw: PWN, 1962), 25.

41 “Instructions by Heydrich on Policy and Operations Concerning Jews in the Occupied Territories, September 21, 1939,” in Arad and Gutman, *Documents on the Holocaust*, 173–78;

The method of searching for weapons is reflected in many testimonies of Jewish witnesses, who described the brutality with which the searches were carried out. German soldiers did not even care to justify their behavior in order to search for weapons. In practice, the searches were merely a common form of looting.

One of the methods aimed at protecting the German forces against the attacks by “partisans”<sup>42</sup> or hidden soldiers was taking hostages who were chosen from well-known personalities in occupied cities or representatives of municipalities. Among the hostages were also prominent Jews. The German troops announced that in case of attacks they would shoot the hostages. The arrest of hostages, in practice, served not only security exigencies, but often was used as an instrument of pressure on the local society, especially in order to force the local society or community to pay contributions or provide other material benefits. One of witnesses said: “On September 5, 1939 the German army entered Strzemieszyce. They began the persecution of Jews; they took hostages, tortured and beat them in order to get as much gold as possible.”<sup>43</sup>

Imposition of contributions on the civilian population of the occupied land was a legitimate act of the occupation forces in accordance with international law.<sup>44</sup> Contributions, however, were designed to meet the needs of occupying troops. According to the international norms, requests for contributions should be issued in writing by a general commander of the troops. They should be distributed proportionally, according to the most recent taxation. In World War II, contributions were often imposed on the Jewish community which did not take into account a balanced contribution of the population of a specific area of the occupied country. Such a way of collecting contributions can be considered collective responsibility. International law prohibited the use of collective responsibility in the form of fines.<sup>45</sup> Levying contributions was

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T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, A. Rutkowski, ed., *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej: Zbiór dokumentów* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), 27.

42 Böhler, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu*, 135–78.

43 YVA, M.49.E/1553, 2, testimony of Jerychem Frajman.

44 Marian Flemming, “Traktowanie ludności cywilnej i jeńców podczas działań wojennych w świetle norm prawa międzynarodowego,” *BGKBZHP XXII* (1987): 67; Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, Signed at Hague, 18 October 1907., Art. 51, in *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions and Other Documents*, ed. Dietrich Schindler and Jiří Toman (Geneva: Henri Dunant Institute, 1988), 90.

45 Flemming, “Traktowanie ludności cywilnej”; Convention (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, Signed at Hague, 18 October 1907, Art. 50, in Schindler and Toman, *The Laws of Armed Conflicts*, 89–90.