Introduction

Jonathan Huener and Andrea Löw

German occupation during World War II brought terror, suffering, and death to Poland. Nearly all in occupied Poland lost relatives or friends. Nearly all witnessed violence and brutality. Poland suffered the highest percentage of human losses during World War II: between 5.6 and 5.8 million Polish citizens—more than 16 percent of the population—lost their lives between 1939 and 1945. Of them, nearly 3 million were Jews, representing about 92 percent of the prewar Jewish population. The Holocaust was centered in occupied Poland, where Jews were killed in massacres, in labor camps, in the concentration and annihilation camps Auschwitz and Majdanek, and in the killing centers Chełmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof), Treblinka, Bełżec, and Sobibór. These experiences were traumatic, and they have overshadowed Polish society for decades. They are also the source of controversy and debates that continue to the present day.

Poland suffered under two occupation regimes. The German Army marched into Poland on 1 September 1939, and its Soviet ally invaded the country from the east on 17 September. Until Hitler broke his nonaggression pact with Stalin in June 1941 by invading the Soviet Union, Poland had to endure both Nazi and Soviet occupation. For nearly two years, Poland's eastern territories were under Soviet rule, which was deadly as well for many Polish citizens. The Katyń massacre was the most infamous of Soviet crimes against the Polish people, but tens of thousands of others suffered incarceration, forced labor, and deportation to Siberia. The Soviet occupation of eastern Poland is of course an important topic itself; this volume, however, concentrates on the German occupation.[1]

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Hitler stated before the war had started that one principal goal of the war and occupation of Poland was to eliminate representatives of the Polish elites. And indeed, the occupation was deadly for many of them. On 22 August 1939, Hitler informed members of the Wehrmacht leadership who had been summoned to his Obersalzberg retreat of the expectations for German soldiers during the imminent attack on Poland: "Have no pity," Hitler reportedly urged his generals. "Brutal attitude. Eighty million people shall get what is their right. Their existence has to be secured. The strongest has the right. Greatest severity [*Größte Härte*]."[2] One of the generals present at this meeting noted in his diary: "Führer is determined to finish with Poland,"[3] while the Chief of the German General Staff, Franz Halder, recorded Hitler's most important demands to his military leaders. Halder noted, among other things: "Goal: Annihilation of Poland, that is, destruction of active power. We are not setting out just to reach a specific line or establish a new frontier, but rather we seek the annihilation of the enemy, which we must pursue in ever new ways."[4] This left little room for misunderstanding, for at issue here was not merely crushing the enemy army and conquering territory but destroying Poland. The German forces were to take brutal action and destroy the enemy permanently. International law and humanitarian considerations had no place, and this was clear before even the first German soldier had set foot on Polish soil.

Immediately after the war, Polish historians began to analyze the German invasion and occupation, and their effects on the ethnic Polish population. By contrast, the work of scholars from other countries tended to concentrate on the persecution of the Polish Jews.[5] In more recent decades, however, scholars' perspectives have become broader as they have confronted violence against the non-Jewish Polish population, the brutal actions against both Jews and Poles during the invasion and early occupation, and massacres of the Polish civilian population.[6]

With the German-Soviet Border and Friendship Treaty of 28 September 1939, about half of Poland's territory fell under German occupation along with about two-thirds of the population, including two-thirds of the Polish Jews. Until 25 October, occupied Poland was under military administration; the following day the German Reich annexed the western Polish territories, the Regierungsbezirk ("administrative district") Zichenau, and in the remaining part of German-occupied Poland, it established the "General Government of the Occupied Polish Territories," or General Government. The three western territories annexed to the Reich—the "Reichsgau Wartheland" or "Warthegau" in the cen-

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ter, East Upper Silesia in the south, and the "Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen" in the north—were marked for aggressive economic, cultural, and racial Germanization.[7] Jews and Poles in these regions were subject to "resettlement"—a brutal program of deportations into the General Government begun already in late 1939. In light of protests from the Governor General Hans Frank, the transports were halted, with the result that in many places Jews were forced to live in ghettos. These were intended as a temporary measure until local administrators would, by means yet to be determined, be in a position to rid cities and towns of their Jewish populations.[8]

For most ethnic Poles—whether in the annexed territories, in the General Government, or in territories further east occupied after the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941—Nazi rule meant years of discrimination, material deprivation, exploitation, or death by malnutrition, disease, deportation, incarceration, or execution. To be sure, conditions for Poles varied according to region, circumstance, and the policies and practices of individual Nazi authorities and administrators, but the brutality of the occupation was universal across the Polish lands.

Poles lived in constant danger; Jews in Poland would, over the course of the occupation, be marked for total, systematic annihilation. Even if the National Socialists' initial goal was the subsequent deportation of Jews to the East, hundreds of thousands died in the ghettos of disease and starvation. Some German officials were in favor of exploiting the Jews in the ghettos as forced laborers for the Wehrmacht and German industry for as long as possible; others regarded the ghettos as places of the Jews' "indirect annihilation."[9]

After the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, the extermination process turned to direct annihilation. Mobile killing units known as *Einsatzgruppen*, which had also been deployed during the invasion of Poland in 1939, shot thousands of Jews—first Jewish men, but soon also women and children—as German forces advanced eastward. The Nazis began erecting killing centers on Polish soil at the end of 1941. The Chełmno (Kulmhof) killing center in the Reichsgau Wartheland began operations in December of that year, followed by the "Operation Reinhard" killing centers in the General Government: Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka.[10] For several decades after the war, these annihilation camps received far less scholarly attention than two other concentration camps with killing facilities attached: Majdanek, located outside the Polish city of Lublin, and especially Auschwitz. Located in

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annexed East Upper Silesia and originally intended for Polish political prisoners, Auschwitz was an enormous complex of camps with prisoners from across the European continent and became the largest single site for the annihilation of European Jews.[11]

In recent decades (more precisely, since the 1990s), scholarship on the German occupation and the Holocaust in Poland has developed in significant ways. The growing accessibility of archival collections, a new generation of researchers in Poland and beyond, an ever-growing number of scholars able to work in the Polish, Yiddish, and German languages, and innovative methodological approaches to questions old and new have both broadened and deepened the historiography in the field. The chapters in this volume reflect these impulses and opportunities.

An especially important trend in recent years has been research into the social history of occupation and persecution in the Polish lands. Through analysis of *Alltagsgeschichte*, or the history of everyday life, Jews especially have come into focus as individuals with agency and manifold reactions to persecution, as opposed to depictions of Jews—common in earlier scholarship—as anonymous or passive victims, or in relation to discussions of the Jewish Councils and their cooperation with the German authorities. An emerging literature has therefore emphasized Jewish interpretations of persecution, Jewish strategies of survival, and analytical categories such as gender, age, and class.[12]

Scholars have also increasingly emphasized the reactions of the non-Jewish Polish population to occupation and persecution, and the various ways Poles interpreted their situation. Building upon a substantial Polish-language literature, local and "micro" studies of the occupation, in combination with analyses of the history of everyday life, have revealed in new contours the experiences of Poles, Jews, and their relationships to one another. Occupation and persecution brought about a world of terror and fear that enabled human behaviors both diverse and complex, and the last decades have thus seen an increase in research on the social dynamics of occupation and persecution within and among different groups. Recent research has also come to address different reactions to the occupation, different forms of cooperation with and resistance against the occupier, and the motivations behind such varied responses. Adding nuance to the categories of perpetrators, victims, and bystanders that Raul Hilberg introduced decades ago,[13] researchers have now more effectively analyzed social processes and dynamics, acknowledging the ever-changing behavior of actors confronted with terror and violence, persecution and death.[14]

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The German occupiers created the conditions for the persecution of the Jews in occupied Poland. Without war and German occupation, the Holocaust would not have been possible. For various reasons, however, parts of the Polish population helped the Germans in their murderous actions. The complicated relationship between different groups in occupied Poland, especially the Polish-Jewish relationship and the question of how Poles reacted to the persecution and murder of Jews, has for decades been at the center of heated debates. In recent years, research in Poland, and in some cases research by North American scholars of Polish origin, has shown the manifold reactions by rural Polish populations to the fate of their Jewish neighbors.[15] Their work has broadened our knowledge of the Holocaust in the Polish lands in profound ways, even as it has elicited in Poland strong reactions from voices in both the academy and in government circles and agencies.

The contributions to this volume, although not overtly intended to contribute to the above debates and controversies, do nonetheless challenge conventional paradigms by asking new questions, engaging new sources, and employing new methodologies—all reflecting current trends in the recent historiography on the German occupation of Poland. For her chapter on the Łódź and Warsaw ghettos, Andrea Löw has mined a diverse array of sources that reveal how Jews documented their experiences in these two contexts. These sources—chronicles, diaries, photographs, encyclopedia articles, and the analyses of professional historians—make it possible, according to Löw, for scholars today to write an "inner history" of the ghettos and those who lived in them. In the absence of a consistent typology of the ghetto, such sources are decisive in accounting for the dramatic diversity of experience both within individual ghettos and between them. Warsaw and Łódź, as the two largest ghettos in the Nazi empire, offer an abundance of Jewish sources for the researcher, especially with respect to journalistic and scholarly analyses. Moreover, the archives established in these two ghettos are of tremendous importance to the historian, for they represent, in Löw's words, "the largest systematic endeavors to document life and death during the Holocaust." Whether the *Chronicle* and *Encyclopedia* emerging from the Łódź ghetto archive, the photographic documentation of the Łódź ghetto's Statistical Department, or the sophisticated accounts of trained historians in the Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto, sources such as these reveal the complex social reality of everyday life in the ghettos and counter conventional interpretations of ghetto prisoners as passive victims. Equipped with this documentation, historians are able,

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in Löw's words, to "give ghetto life a human face, describing human submission, suffering, and death, but also human agency, resilience, and, in certain forms, resistance."

Natalia Aleksiun is also concerned with agency and resistance, but in different forms and in a different context—that of Jews in hiding or passing as "Aryans" under the occupation. Relationships—emotional, intimate, and perilous—are the focus of her chapter, in which she explores love and dependence among Jews and non-Jews in eastern Galicia. Although there is, as Aleksiun notes, a growing literature on "mixed marriages" in the context of the Holocaust, such relationships in eastern Europe have thus far received little scholarly attention. Relying extensively on ego documents such as diaries, memoirs, and post-Holocaust testimonies, Aleksiun locates and interprets these sources in the complex social matrices of prewar East Galicia, the Soviet occupation from 1939 to 1941, and the German occupation from 1941 to 1945, analyzing throughout how "the context of the Holocaust shape[d] private expressions of emotions when public displays become impossible." As Aleksiun demonstrates, traditional hostility toward Jews, legal restrictions imposed by the German occupiers, and the multiple ways in which Jews in relationships with Gentiles were vulnerable to intimidation, abuse, and violence meant public acknowledgement or disclosure of these relationships were undertaken at great risk. Eluding such risk, and surviving, necessitated reliance or dependence not only on non-Jewish partners, but also on complex and fragile networks of assistance and rescue. The individual stories in this chapter—eight in all—are compelling. They illustrate the power disparities inherent in Jewish-Gentile relationships; they reveal the dangers of exposure, sexual abuse, and extortion; and they expose the anti-Jewish hostility of the broader population. But they also reveal unique forms of altruism, individual and collective courage, and, in some cases, the resilience and endurance of commitment between partners and within the broader "emotional communities" that supported them.

Maren Röger's contribution to this volume likewise explores forbidden intimate relationships, but her focus is on sexual encounters involving German men and Polish women. Situating her analysis in the context of the German occupation and the new racial, material, judicial, and gender power relations that accompanied it, Röger accounts for the oppressive and often brutal manifestations of Nazi *Sexualpolitik* in occupied Poland—but also its paradoxes. Because Poles and Jews were, according to Nazi ideology, on a racial level lower than that of the

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Germans, sexual encounters with them were prohibited. Such liaisons nonetheless occurred in various forms, which Röger groups into the categories "commercial," "consensual," and "forced." Despite the ban on such contacts, the German authorities quickly organized brothels for military personnel, with the justification that a system of regulated prostitution would reduce the likelihood of both sexual assault and consensual relations—a system of, in Röger's words, "prohibition with deliberate exceptions." The women in the brothels were mostly Poles and never Jews; some were professional prostitutes assigned to these establishments, while others were Polish women who were forced into the brothels as punishment for having sexual relations with a German man. As Röger emphasizes, the categories of "commercial," "consensual," and "forced" were not distinct or fixed. Consensual relationships between German men and Polish women often involved bartering, and sometimes provided economic benefits for women. Moreover, intimacy could, for women, be motivated by desire, love, economic necessity, or a combination thereof, thus blurring the line between consensual and coercive contact. Violent sexual coercion occurred in a variety of settings: in the workplace, in the context of German men attending to "official duties" such as confiscations or searches, in prisons, and especially for Jewish women, in ghettos and camps. The German authorities believed sexual violence undermined both discipline and the credibility of the occupation regime, and therefore did not encourage it, but in clear disregard of the victims, they also chose not to confront it in any consequential way. All relationships between German men and local women, as Röger concludes, "arose within a clearly structured arena of power" in which the men were empowered politically as occupiers over the occupied, racially as members of the "master race" over the "subhuman," and in terms of gender relations, as men over women.

Like Maren Röger, Jonathan Huener is concerned in his chapter with the treatment of ethnic Poles, but in the context of *Kirchenpolitik*, or National Socialist policy toward the churches. The persecution of the Catholic Church, which the authorities regarded as a bastion of Polish national sentiment, is well known, but Huener accounts for the significant differences in Nazi policy across the various regions of German-occupied Poland. In the Reichsgau Wartheland, where the regime's measures against the church were most aggressive, nearly all Catholic churches were closed during the occupation, countless prohibitions restricted access to the church and its ministries, and the clergy were subject to executions in the early stages of the war and mass incarceration

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thereafter. The distinct brutality of *Kirchenpolitik* in the Wartheland was linked to Gauleiter Arthur Greiser's efforts to establish it as a *Mustergau*, or "model Gau," serving as a testing and proving ground for any variety of policies subsequently to be enacted elsewhere in the Reich. Huener also argues that Nazi measures against the Catholic Church (and, significantly, also against Polish Lutherans) in the Wartheland were but one aspect of a broad and extensive Germanization process to be undertaken there. Germanization was, of course, on the agenda elsewhere, but in other areas of occupied Poland—in the annexed territories of Danzig-Westpreußen and East Upper Silesia, and in the General Government—treatment of the churches was less aggressive. Initially brutal in the Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreußen, church life was largely restored there over the course of the occupation, while persecution of the church in overwhelmingly Catholic East Upper Silesia was mild compared to the Wartheland. In both territories, the goal appears to have been to make the Catholic Church more "German," whereas in the *Mustergau*, the Nazi authorities aimed to reduce the church to virtual inactivity and, in the longer run, to supervise its demise. *Kirchenpolitik* in occupied Poland was, as Huener concludes, both marked by inconsistency and guided by expediency, but it was in the Wartheland that it was to function as a template for the future postwar Reich.

The chapter by Tomasz Frydel confronts the controversial role of the Polish "Blue" Police during the German occupation. Officially named the "Polish Police in the General Government," the Blue Police—so named because of the color of their uniforms—were subordinated to the German police and frequently participated in actions against both Jews and ethnic Poles. These included searches, arrests, roundups for forced labor, killings, and participation in the *Judenjagd*, or "Jew Hunt," which the author refers to as the "third stage" of the Holocaust in Poland. Frydel's analysis dispenses with the neat reductive categories of perpetrator, collaborator, or antisemite, and moves beyond convenient generalizations of their behavior and what he characterizes as a "monolithic understanding of the Polish Police as the foot soldiers of a hateful antisemitism." Instead, he stresses the importance of individual agency, circumstance, and "situational as opposed to dispositional factors." Relying on records from postwar trials and the testimonies of Jewish survivors, Frydel argues that the actions of the Polish Police were influenced by three main factors: German power and authority, the Polish underground resistance, and the local population. As an extension of the Order Police and, in his words, "[h]arnessed to the Nazi machinery of

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destruction," the Blue Police both as an organization and as individuals had only limited autonomy. Facing the possibility of punishment by the underground for participation in crimes against the local population, yet also frequently cooperating with resistance forces in gathering and passing along intelligence, the Polish Police responded to complex and dynamic forces, aiding both Jews and Poles in some cases, and participating in actions against them in others. Functioning as "protectors" of communities in the absence of legitimate state authority, they could warn Jews and Poles of impending roundups, or assist or turn a blind eye to fugitives. Throughout, however, their behavior was profoundly influenced by the racial hierarchy imposed by the occupation regime and its genocidal policies: Jewish and Polish lives remained of differing value, and protection of Poles had a higher priority.

No two events during the German occupation of Poland have commanded as much attention from historians as the 1943 uprising in Warsaw's ghetto and the 1944 Warsaw uprising of the Polish underground. In his chapter, Winson Chu traces the narrative trajectory of these two events that have come to be regarded as "moral victories" in the context of a "totalitarianism paradigm" that emerged decades ago and has seen new life in the scholarship and museums of contemporary Poland. Both uprisings were tragic: the overwhelming majority of Jews remaining in the Warsaw Ghetto were killed during and in the aftermath of the ghetto revolt, and as many as two hundred thousand died at the hands of the Germans in the 1944 uprising. It would appear the two events had much in common: both were events in which Jews and Poles, neglected by outside forces, fought and died; both could serve as "bedrocks of heroic narratives that overwrite the passive resistance of survival." Yet they are, Chu contends, historically incompatible, and it is in the context of the totalitarianism paradigm that they have been reconciled in a serviceable historical narrative—a narrative that emphasizes similarities between the Nazi and Stalinist regimes, a narrative that sees Poland as a victim of both, and a narrative that elides the Jewish experience of the ghetto uprising. As Chu writes, "the totalitarianism paradigm that focuses on Polish heroes and victims in the fight for independence is hard to reconcile with the experiences of Jews, who often suffered hostility or worse from Poles on the one hand, and, on the other, for whom the arrival of Soviet forces meant salvation rather than national subjugation or death." According to Chu, Poland's Warsaw Rising Museum and Museum of the Second World War, both opened in the last twenty years, are prime examples of the paradigm's contemporary currency in the

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public sphere—a reflection of the growing dominance of "nationalized" history both in Poland and elsewhere in eastern Europe.

Dariusz Stola's chapter is also concerned with the politics and culture of historical memory in Poland, as he traces the trajectory of Poland's debates on the Holocaust over the past eighty years. Stressing Poland's unique status as the main arena for the Holocaust, the challenges associated with the historically problematic role of "bystander," the importance of controversies over the Holocaust in the 1940s and in the communist era, and the transformative debates that have arisen over the last twenty-five years, his synthesis addresses developments in the historiography and in public manifestations of Holocaust memory. For Stola, universal proximity to the annihilation of the Jews in wartime led to diverse and psychologically complex responses on the part of non-Jews to the killing in their midst—on the part of individuals, on the part of resistance organizations, in the underground press, among intellectuals in the early postwar years, and, not least, on the part of state authorities in the communist era that followed, which saw the crimes against Jews on Polish soil marginalized or subsumed into the persecution of "Poles" or the citizens of many states. Stola then explores a transition period of the 1980s and 1990s marked by the responses to Claude Lanzmann's film *Shoah*, by the controversy surrounding a 1987 article by the literary historian Jan Błoński—largely a debate among Polish-Catholic intellectuals—and by the controversies surrounding the commemorative landscape of the Auschwitz memorial site. The reader will likely find especially compelling Stola's analysis of disputes over the Holocaust that have emerged over the past twenty-five years, initiated by the publication of *Neighbors*, Jan Gross' controversial account of the Jebwabne massacre in 1941, which, in Stola's words, "marked a dramatic shift in terms of Poles' understanding of responsibility for and participation in the Holocaust." In the years that followed, Poles would be forced to confront not only their victimization at the hands of the Germans but their complicity and even participation in the crimes of the Shoah. The backlash against *Neighbors* and Gross' subsequent publications was severe and led to claims that Gross, his defenders, and other scholars who have since challenged a national-heroic narrative of Poland's wartime experience have been engaging in an unjust "pedagogy of shame" surrounding the events of the Holocaust. That the debates of recent years have been aired largely in social media networks points to the disturbing conclusion—surely unsettling to the serious student of history—that controversies once characterized by efforts to persuade in the interest of

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reaching a common conclusion have now been superseded by a Manichaean "model of political competition" that works to lure the undecided and exclude the opposition, leading us perhaps back to what Stola describes, in relation to an earlier era, as a "dialog of the deaf."

In his concluding chapter, Ingo Loose explores the tension that has emerged in recent years between, on the one hand, the empiricism and new approaches to writing history that characterize, for example, the chapters in this volume, and on the other, the politics of history and memory in contemporary Poland. Reminding the reader of the prevalence of documentation about the German occupation and Holocaust, he issues a call for a persistent and rigorous reliance on the sources—those of perpetrators, bystanders, and especially victims—which can provide us with the "integrated histories" that have so effectively expanded the scholarship in recent decades. Advancing new topics and deploying new sources in historical research can, however, conflict with nation-affirming agendas in culture, the media, and especially politics, as Winson Chu and Dariusz Stola have made clear. In particular, Loose emphasizes the ways in which the current Polish government and its populist, national-conservative Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) party have engaged in a new *Geschichtspolitik* ("politics of history") with the goal of guiding and instrumentalizing current historical scholarship. Advanced through the work of state-financed organizations ("GONGOs") and the courts, this agenda, according to Loose, poses a threat to the exploration of new topics and the deployment of essential sources, especially those authored by Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The greatest challenge for the future will not be the acquisition and accumulation of knowledge, "but how we communicate this history, how we understand the degree of political influence and commercialization of the topic, and how we maintain our resilience against intentional disinformation, fake research, or intentionally revisionist views that contradict the sources." "Knowledge of historical events also depends to a large extent on the acceptance of a narrative," Loose contends, and it is the official privileging of redemptive narratives in the history of the occupation that poses a threat to the freedom and integrity of the historian's craft in the future.

Jonathan Huener is Professor of History, Leonard and Carolyn Miller Distinguished Professor of Holocaust Studies, and Director of the Carolyn and Leonard Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at the University

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of Vermont. He is author of *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939–1945* (Indiana University Press, 2021) and *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979* (Ohio University Press, 2003); and coeditor of *The Arts in Nazi Germany* (Berghahn Books, 2007), *Business and Industry in Nazi Germany* (Berghahn Books, 2004), and *Medicine and Medical Ethics in Nazi Germany: Origins, Practices, Legacies* (Berghahn Books: 2002).

Andrea Löw is Deputy Director of the Center for Holocaust Studies at the Institute for Contemporary History, Munich, and teaches at the University of Mannheim. In 2022 she was the J. B. and Maurice C. Shapiro Senior Scholar in Residence at the Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. She is author of *Juden im Getto Litzmannstadt: Lebensbedingungen, Selbstwahrnehmung, Verhalten* (Wallstein Verlag, 2006), coauthor of *Das Warschauer Getto: Alltag und Widerstand im Angesicht der Vernichtung* (C. H. Beck, 2013), and coeditor of *The Holocaust and European Societies: Social Processes and Social Dynamics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Notes

1. Among the few works in the German-language and English-language literature that treat both occupations are Jochen Böhler and Stephan Lehnstaedt, eds., *Gewalt und Alltag im besetzten Polen 1939–1945* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2012); Józef Garliński, *Poland in the Second World War* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1985); Halik Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Bogdan Musial, eds., *Genesis des Genozids: Polen 1939–1941* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004); Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, ed., *Polen unter deutscher und sowjetischer Besatzung 1939–1945* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2009). On various aspects of the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland, see the essays in Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve, eds., *Shared History—Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941*, vol. 5 of Leipziger Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007).
2. "Second Speech by the Fuehrer on 22 August 1939," translation of Document 1014-PS, Prosecution Exhibit 1102, in International Military Tribunal. *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10. Nuernberg, October 1946–April 1949*, vol. 10 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1951), 703. The exact text can-

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not be reconstructed beyond doubt. All commanders of the army groups and armies prepared for the attack on Poland were present at Obersalzberg.

3. Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb, Commander in Chief of Army Group C, quoted in Johannes Hürter, *Hitlers Heerführer: die deutschen Oberbefehlshaber im Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), 159.
4. Entry for 22 August 1939 in Franz Halder, *The Halder War Diary, 1939–1942*, ed. Charles Burdick and Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (Novato: Presidio Press, 1988), 31.
5. For an analysis of early historiography, especially by Polish scholars, see Dieter Pohl, "War, Occupation and the Holocaust in Poland," in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. Dan Stone (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 88–119.
6. See, for example, Dieter Bingen and Simone Lengemann, eds., *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen: eine Leerstelle deutscher Erinnerung* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2019); Jochen Böhler, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2006); Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology and Atrocity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003); Jürgen Matthäus, Jochen Böhler, and Klaus-Michael Mallmann, eds., *War, Pacification, and Mass Murder, 1939: The Einsatzgruppen in Poland* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014); Daniel Brewing, *Im Schatten von Auschwitz: Deutsche Massaker an polnischen Zivilisten 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016).
7. Two classic works on the occupation in general from a German scholar and a Polish scholar, respectively, are Martin Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1961), and Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, 2 vols. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), with the latter in German, abridged, as Madajczyk, *Die Okkupationspolitik Nazideutschlands in Polen 1939–1945*, trans. Berthold Puchert (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, 1988). On the German and Soviet occupations prior to the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, see Mallmann and Musial, *Genesis des Genozids*. On the General Government, see, for example, Jan Tomasz Gross' classic study, *Polish Society under German Occupation: The Generalgouvernement 1939–1944* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). For the Warthegau, see Michael Alberti, *Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Phillip T. Rutherford, *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles, 1939–1941* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007); Catherine Epstein, *Model Nazi: Arthur Greiser and the Occupation of Western Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Edward Serwański, *Wielkopolska w cieniu swastiki* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy "Pax," 1970); and Czesław Łuczak, *Pod niemieckim jarzmem (Kraj Warty 1939–1945)* (Poznań: Pracownie Serwisu Oprogramowania, 1996). See also Dieter Pohl, "Die Reichsgaue Danzig-Westpreußen und Wartheland: Koloniale Verwaltung oder Modell für die zukünftige Gauverwaltung?," in *Die NS-Gaue: Regionale Mittelinstanzen im zentralistischen "Führerstaat,"* ed. Jürgen John, Horst Möller, and Thomas Schaarschmidt (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007), 395–405; Ryszard Kaczmarek, "Zwischen Altreich und Besatzungsgebiet: der Gau Ober-

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8. Götz Aly, *Endlösung: Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1995); Gerhard Wolf, *Ideology and the Rationality of Domination: Nazi Germanization Policies in Poland*, trans. Wayne Yung (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020).
9. Christopher R. Browning, "Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland, 1939–41," *Central European History* 19, no. 4 (1986): 343–68; Browning, *Die Entfesselung der "Endlösung": nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik 1939–1942* (Munich: Propyläen, 2003). See also Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
10. On Chełmno and the "Operation Reinhard" killing centers, see Patrick Montague, *Chełmno and the Holocaust: The History of Hitler's First Death Camp* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). On the Operation Reinhard camps, see Yitzhak Arad, *The Operation Reinhard Death Camps: Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Der Kern des Holocaust: Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka und die Aktion Reinhardt* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2017); and Bogdan Musial, ed., *"Aktion Reinhardt": der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2004).
11. On Auschwitz, see Władysław Długoborski and Franciszek Piper, eds., *Auschwitz 1940–1945: Central Issues in the History of the Camp*, trans. William Brand, 5 vols. (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2000); Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Franciszek Piper and Teresa Świebocka, eds., *Auschwitz: Nazi Death Camp* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2004); Sybille Steinbacher, *Auschwitz: A History* (New York: Ecco, 2005).
12. Gustavo Corni, *Hitler's Ghettos: Voices from a Beleaguered Society, 1939–1944* (London: Arnold, 2003); Doris Bergen, Anna Hájková, and Andrea Löw, "Warum eine Alltagsgeschichte des Holocaust?," in *Alltag im Holocaust*, ed. Doris Bergen, Anna Hájková, and Andrea Löw (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013), 1–12; Imke Hansen, Katrin Steffen, and Jochen Tauber, eds., *Lebenswelt Ghetto: Alltag und soziales Umfeld während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013). For more literature on these issues see also Ingo Loose's concluding chapter for this volume.
13. Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).
14. See Frank Bajohr and Andrea Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European Societies: Social Processes and Social Dynamics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Christina Morina and Krijn Thijs, eds., *Probing the Limits of Categorization: The Bystander in Holocaust History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).
15. See, for example, Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy*

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