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Series: National Socialist Racism and Genocide; Photographic Sociology and Research Methodology by Miriam Y. Arani (2)

Translated and edited by Gita Marta Yegane Arani

This series:
This series is dedicated to the research and legacy of my sister Dr. Miriam Yegane Arani / Miriam Y. Arani – born in Siegen-Weidenau on 23.01.1964 – passed away in Frankfurt am Main on 16.07.2019. My sister chose in her work on National Socialist racist policies, foremostly as implemented in the so called Reichsgau Wartheland, a criminological approach, through the development of a historiographical-sociological methodology for the analysis of photographic materials in conjunction with the study of archival materials through source-critical and contextualized photo-historical proofs of authenticity. Meanwhile Miriam took a pedagogical approach to thus facilitate the introduction of the difficult subject matter in order to provide a broad, informed perspective on the events, especially in the "Reichsgau Wartheland", in a way which should be equally accessible to every interested reader.

Tags: national socialism, ns racism, photography, sociology, methodology

Contents

Excerpts from:

Miriam Y. Arani: Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder von Deutschen und Polen im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Region Wielkopolska, Hamburg 2008.

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Correction / erratum

In the first issue of this series in:
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it should be under > chapter V. 1d >
d. photographs of persons for identification purposes……. 533
photographs in Gestapo card indexes and collections I: German resistance (540); photographs in Gestapo card indexes and collections II: Polish forced laborers (545);

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Miriam Y. Arani: Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder von Deutschen und Polen im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–1945. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Region Wielkopolska, Hamburg 2008.

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Photographs in card indexes and collections of the Gestapo I: German Resistance

The previously discussed identification service photographs of persons produced by the SS and police apparatus during World War II indicate that their design was highly standardized, but by no means completely unified. This becomes even clearer if one goes beyond the production and further use of photographs by the criminal police and also includes the handling of photographs of deviant persons in the National Socialist sphere of rule by the Secret State Police and the Race and Settlement Main Office of the SS.

The various offices of the RSHA [Reich Security Main Office], including the Criminal Investigation Department and the Gestapo, were able to draw on meticulously kept, extensive card indexes, files and other compilations of material in their investigations, which often included photographs. As the political police of the National Socialist state, the Gestapo collected information and material on all "political opponents" of National Socialism in order to persecute them and, in a large number of cases, to completely destroy their existence. On January 1, 1939, the main index of the Secret State Police Office in Berlin contained about two million cards with personal data and about 650,000 associated files, to which were also attached "confidentially recorded" or "officially produced" photographs of the persons concerned. In addition, the Gestapo created special photo collections on political opponents, especially Communists and Social Democrats. [258] The collected photographs included clippings from private photographs that had been confiscated during house searches or arrests. The photographic images from the Gestapo's card indexes, files, and special collections were used for comparison with other photographs or descriptions of persons and were presented during interrogations, sometimes in the form of entire "crimimals albums" ["Verbrecheralben"]. [259]

One "criminal album" from the point of view of the Gestapo, created during the war years in their Berlin headquarters, is the album on a German resistance group that was called the "Rote Kapelle" ("Red Orchestra") by the Gestapo and the foreign/defense office of the OKW [Oberkommando der Wehrmacht]. [260] Behind the term "Rote Kapelle" was an oppositional network in Berlin around Harro Schulze-Boysen, a lieutenant colonel in the Air Force, and Dr. Arvid von Harnack, a national economist and senior government councillor in the

Ministry of Economics. [261] In 1942, the Gestapo worked on a collection of various oppositional groups in Department IV A 2 in an investigation complex entitled “Bolshevik High and Treasonous Organizations in the Reich and in Western Europe (Red Kapelle).” These groupings were not linked by a tightly and hierarchically organized party-political organization, but formed an informal network that brought together people of socially and culturally heterogeneous backgrounds for the exchange of opinions and oppositional activities against the National Socialist dictatorship. The first contacts of this network had already formed in the first years under National Socialist rule; the loosely connected circles of friends, discussion groups and leisure communities grew together after 1939 into a larger, multifaceted oppositional network – until its violent dismantling by the Gestapo in the fall of 1942. The previous findings about the members of this resistance group, as summarized by Jürgen Danyel, show that the informal organizational network known as the “Rote Kapelle” resisted any assignment to a party-political camp. [262] It involved at least three different opposition circles, between which only loose connections existed:

- around the initially independent resistance circles around Harro Schulze-Boysen on the one hand and Arvid von Harnack on the other; the two groups did not become more closely intertwined until 1939;
- around the Legation Councilor Rudolf von Scheliha and his confidants in the German Foreign Office,
- around a network of intelligence-bases, established in Western European cities by the Polish Communist Leopold Trepper on behalf of Soviet military reconnaissance since 1938, and a circle of people in Berlin who had already been active in intelligence work for the Soviet Union before 1933.

The various groups in Berlin were linked primarily by overlapping circles of friendship in which people from different milieus came together to exchange opinions, make contact with other opponents of Hitler, help the persecuted, document violent National Socialist crimes, and distribute pamphlets calling for resistance. The motivation of those involved was based on religious or political (communist, social democratic and liberal) convictions. The oppositional tendencies in the various circles of friends around Harnack and Schulze-Boysen were triggered, among other things, by their own experiences with National Socialist violence or by a principled aversion to National Socialist ideology. In the oppositional network, free discussions of new thoughts and drafts were possible; it opened up a social free space for the participants in the face of the pressure of conformity of the National Socialist dictatorship, in which they could assert their ethical or political identity and personal integrity. In total, the ramified oppositional network of interconnected circles comprised 50 to 100 people.

Fig. V.105: Gestapo Berlin, identification service person photography of Stanislaus Wesolek, October 1942 (From: Griebel et al. 1992, p. 50)

From 1940 onward, the group around Harnack and Schulze-Boysen intensified their resistance activities and, in their search for possible cooperation partners against Hitler and the National Socialist regime, intensified their connections with illegal communist circles. Leopold Trepper sent Anatoly Gurevich to Berlin to meet Harro Schulze-Boysen in August 1941; the messages that Gurevich received from the Berlin resistance group during the conversation with Schulze-Boysen were radioed from Brussels to Moscow; therein consisted the entire “radio traffic” of the “Red Kapelle” with the Soviet Union, which later on was later embellished by the political right with numerous legends.

In the fall of 1942, the resistance group around Harnack and Schulze-Boysen was uncovered by the Gestapo and the Office of Foreign Affairs/Defense of the OKW, since the Gestapo monitored all bases of Soviet military intelligence. [263] Beginning on August 31, 1942, the Gestapo arrested more than a hundred men and women who belonged to the inner circle or wider circle of the “Rote Kapelle” in a large-scale arrest operation in Berlin. The subsequent investigation was in the hands of a special commission. The Gestapo was puzzled by the individuals it came across in its investigation of the organization, which was supposedly controlled from abroad: a ministry official, a Wehrmacht officer, many artists, and numerous women. These were groups of people whose loyalty to National Socialism they had expected. During the interrogations, those arrested declared that they had acted in responsibility for the continued existence of the German nation. Still in December 1942, a series of trials began before the Reichskriegsgericht in which more than 50 members of the Berlin resistance network were sentenced to death as "traitors to the people" [“Volksverräter”] and executed in Berlin-Plötzensee. [264]

Among those arrested was, for example, Stanislaus Wesolek (Fig. V.105), a cutter and carpenter born in Posen in 1878, who had joined the KPD in 1919 and had lived in Berlin-Kreuzberg since 1927 with his wife Frida, their three children and his parents-in-law. He was

arrested by the Gestapo together with his wife and his father-in-law Emil Hübner in the apartment they shared, sentenced to death by the Reich War Court for high treason and espionage, and executed in Berlin-Plötzensee on August 5, 1943. [265]

Fig. V.106: Gestapo Berlin, identification service person photography of Rudolf von Scheliha, October 1942 (From: Griebel et al. 1992, p. 46).

Also arrested was the aforementioned Legationsrat Rudolf von Scheliha (Fig. V.106). He had been born in Silesia in 1897, had enlisted as a war volunteer in 1918 after attending a grammar school. From 1919 to 1921, he studied law in Breslau (Wroclaw) and Heidelberg, stood up against anti-Semitic tendencies in German higher education as chairman of the student parliament, and took part in the Upper Silesian Uprising in May 1921. From 1922 he worked for the Foreign Office, in whose service he was finally accepted in 1924. After assignments in Prague and Turkey, Scheliha was assigned to Poland from 1932, and from the end of that year to the embassy in Warsaw. In July 1933 he joined the NSDAP, but within his large circle of acquaintances he also had many contacts with opponents of the National Socialist regime and, as an embassy employee, helped them to be released or to leave the country. From August 1939 on, he was entrusted with the “observation and combating of Polish inflammatory propaganda” in the Information Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin. Through his professional duties, he became aware of Nazi crimes in Poland and used his official leeway to support persecuted members of the Polish intelligentsia. Scheliha was temporarily head of the Information Department and, from 1941, group leader responsible for nine country departments; his own area of work was “Central, Northern, and Eastern Europe.” In 1941 and 1942 he traveled to Switzerland several times and passed on von Galen's sermons against the euthanasia of the National Socialists; he also supported the dissemination of news about the mass murder of Jews. On Oct. 29, 1942, he was arrested in his office by the Gestapo, sentenced to death by the Reichskriegsgericht for treason on Dec. 14, 1942, and executed in Berlin-Plötzensee on Dec. 22, 1942. [266]

Fig. V.107: Gestapo Berlin, identification service photograph of Libertas Schulze-Boysen, September 1942 (From: Griebel et al. 1992, p. 11).

Harro Schulze-Boysen's wife was also imprisoned by the Gestapo in 1942. Libertas Schulze-Boysen (Fig. V.107), who had been born in Paris in 1913, had attended a girls' lyceum in Zurich and many European countries, and spoke several languages. She initially sympathized with National Socialism and, after working as a press officer for the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film company in Berlin, enlisted in the Reich Labor Service in 1935. After her marriage to Schulze-Boysen in 1936, she worked as a freelance writer for the theater and the press and, together with her husband, invited various guests to their shared apartment for casual conversations on cultural or philosophical topics. From 1941, she worked at the German Cultural Film Center [Deutsche Kulturfilmzentrale], which was under the Ministry of Propaganda. Here she secretly collected photographic images of German crimes in Eastern Europe, offering home leave from the Eastern Front – soldiers, officers, SS men – to develop their photographic films free of charge in the darkroom of the Kulturfilmzentrale. She secretly made duplicate prints for her own photo archive of the photographs she considered particularly meaningful. Libertas Schulze-Boysen friendly engaged the men who gave her the films in conversation, so that she also learned their names and addresses. The photographs she collected mainly concerned violent crimes against the civilian population in the Soviet Union. The secret collection of photographs with the written notes was to be used after the war to shed light on the crimes of the Nazi regime and to provide evidence for an indictment of the perpetrators. The members of Schulze-Boysen's group showed these photos during the war, among others to young Germans who had already begun to have doubts about National Socialism, in order to make the inhumanity of this dictatorship more palpable to them. When her husband had already been arrested, Libertas Schulze-Boysen destroyed all photographs and records. She was arrested on the train on September 8, 1942, while fleeing Berlin, sentenced to death in December 1942 by the Reichskriegsgericht for high treason, favoring the enemy, and espionage, and executed in Berlin-Plötzensee on December 22, 1942. [267]

Pictured here are some of the identification photographs taken of the prisoners by the Gestapo after the arrest operation. The Gestapo filled a whole album with such photographs of persons whom they assigned to the “Rote Kapelle”. All the photographs in the album on the "Rote Kapelle" were taken at the headquarters of the Secret State Police Office [Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt] (Gestapa) - part of the RSHA - at Prinz-Albrecht-Str. 8 in Berlin, in a specially designated room. The signatures included in the picture are probably the internal signatures of the Gestapo headquarters at Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8. The taking of three-part photographs of the head of the person in question was part of the usual police procedure for the registration of arrested persons for identification purposes; in addition, full-figure photographs appear to have been taken while the person was standing. A comparison of the individual arrest dates with the sequence of photo numbers in the Gestapo album on the “Rote Kapelle” shows that a large number of photos were not taken immediately after the arrest, and that a large number of arrestees were photographed on individual days. The photographs taken for identification purposes were taken either when the prisoners were brought in or later in the course of their pre-trial detention on the occasion of an interrogation. [268]

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Footnotes

[257] Cf. IPN-AGK Photographs on the Polen-Jugendverwahrlager Lodz. [Polish Youth Detention Camp Lodz].

[258] Coburger 1992, p. 319.

[259] Coburger 1992, pp. 318, 320f.

[260] Griebel et al. 1992. Unlike other documents, the album was not destroyed in the last days of the war by its creators, the Gestapo, themselves. It also survived the heavy air raids in April/May 1944, during which large parts of the Gestapo headquarters were destroyed, as well as a heavy bombing raid on February 3, 1945, during which the building burned out completely. The album was last located in the basement of the building, where it was found in the first days of peace; according to Coburger 1992, p. 321 with further literature references and information on the album's tradition.

[261] Danyel 2004. The following account of the facts is based on a recent publication by Jürgen Danyel. For details, see also: Hans Coppi, Jürgen Danyel, Johannes Tuchel (eds.): Rote Kapelle im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus. Berlin 1994. The instances of persecution in the Nazi state portrayed the Berlin resistance group as “paid traitors to the country” and as a Soviet espionage base controlled from Moscow among several others in Western Europe. The German resistance group known as the “Rote Kapelle” was surrounded by Nazi propaganda and, during the Cold War, legends of constant radio communication between Berlin and Moscow. In reality, however, radio communication failed after the

group's first attempt at radio communication due to a lack of technical knowledge on the part of those involved. There was only one several-hour conversation in August 1941 between a member of Soviet military intelligence and Harro Schulze-Boysen, in which the latter relayed information on the German fuel situation, aircraft production, chemical warfare, and the successes of German defenses. The decisive motivation for Harnack and Schulze-Boysen to pass military information to the Soviet Union had been Hitler's plans to attack the Soviet Union; they considered victory over Hitler possible only with support from a militarily and economically strong outside power. Thus, in March 1941, Harnack had sought contact with a secretary at the Soviet embassy in Berlin, where he eventually obtained two radio sets. Since no radio messages from Berlin subsequently arrived in Moscow, the General Staff's military intelligence service (GRU), which had bases in Western Europe, was called in.

[262] See Danyel 2004, cf. EdN, p. 705.

[263] The group around Schulze-Boysen and Harnack first came into the Gestapo's field of vision in February 1942, prompted by a leaflet demanding the immediate evacuation of the occupied Soviet Union and a peace settlement that would preserve Germany within the borders of spring 1939.

[264] Cf. EdN, p. 705 and Friedemann Bedürftig, Lexikon Drittes Reich. Hamburg 1994. p. 301.

[265] Griebel et al. 1992, pp. 50, 234-235.

[266] Griebel et al. 1992, pp. 46, 250-251. See also: Ulrich Sahm, Rudolph von Scheliha. Ein deutscher Diplomat gegen Hitler. Munich 1990.

[267] Griebel et al. 1992, pp. 11, 66-67; Kerbs et al. 1983, pp. 197f.; Danyel 2004, p. 404.

[268] Coburger 1992, p. 318f. The full-figure photographs are not reproduced in the 1992 publication. Two such photographs are found outside the album in surviving files. Other full-figure photographs with similar picture signatures are known from the files on the resistance group Europäische Union. In September 1933, the signature “Gestapa 1 IX 1933” was assigned. In the course of the following years, the signature was slightly changed a few times by rearrangements, but retained as characteristics information on year, month and serial number. From the year 1935, among others, the signature “Gestapa 381 August 35” is known. Presumably, a new series was started after the serial number 999, because the pegboard did not allow for four-digit numbers. In one case (Walter Husemann) it is known that the “photo session” was delayed because he had attempted to jump out of the window during an interrogation, dragging an officer with him. During this suicide attempt, Husemann sustained serious injuries, with which he was left in a cell. His condition was apparently also considered unsuitable for a Gestapo photograph. Coburger 1992, p. 319.

[Pages 540-544.]

Band II. Aus Kapitel VI: Polnische Urheber, Sammler und Distributoren von Fotografien zwischen Anpassung, Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand

Volume II. From Chapter VI: Polish Authors, Collectors and Distributors of Photographs between Adaptation, Self-Assertion and Resistance

[Excerpt: pp. 625-629]

VI. Polish Authors, Collectors and Distributors of Photographs between Adaptation, Self-Assertion and Resistance

The preceding chapters described how the Nazi occupation administration in the Reichsgau Wartheland excluded Poles from the press and publishing industry and also as business owners in economic life and confiscated the assets of all Polish publishing houses, printing houses and photographic businesses. In addition, the German civil administration also banned the Poles in the Warthegau from private use and possession of cameras from June 1941. Arthur Greiser, as head of the civil administration at the military commander, had already announced during his first major speech in Posen in the fall of 1939 that now the Germans would be the “masters” and the Poles their “servants”. There was to be a principled legal inequality between Germans and Poles, which was outlined in the aforementioned November 1939 memorandum of the NSDAP's Racial Policy Office [Rassenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP] and largely realized in the following years in the Reichsgau Wartheland. [1]

The anti-Polish and anti-Jewish population policy of the National Socialist occupying power was only rarely and extremely selectively addressed in the legal German press of the time. The Ostdeutscher Beobachter mainly presented news concerning “Germans” in the sense of National Socialism and German “reconstruction” in the new Gau. [2]

From the Poles' point of view, September 1939 marked the beginning of a reign of terror that far exceeded what they had feared on the basis of previous experiences of conflict with the German nation. The reconstruction of the related photographic imagery of Polish authors faces far greater difficulties in finding sources than the reconstruction of the then omnipresent National Socialist propaganda imagery. The majority of the photographic primary sources from the Reichsgau Wartheland found in German and Polish depositories were photographs by German authors. The share of photographic images of Polish originators amounted to only about 10% in total, compared to a share of about 90% of photographs of certainly German or very probably German originators. The photographs of Polish originators had all been handed down in Polish depositories; not always, but often, the name of the photographer was also recorded when the images were inventoried. However, there are no written sources on the production contexts of these photographic images.

All Polish contemporary witnesses interviewed by the author who took photographs or collected photographs in the Warthegau at that time generally took much stricter security

precautions than was the case, for example, with the Berlin resistance group “Rote Kapelle.” [3]

While Libertas Schulze-Boysen made written notes on the front-line photographs of German homecomers that she collected in Berlin, the Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland, who collected comparable photographs during the war, generally did not make written records of them. The Polish resistance organizations did not leave behind any written documents, as they could have fallen into the hands of the National Socialist persecution apparatus. For this reason, the following explanations are based primarily on an analysis of the photographic material identified, on statements by Polish contemporary witnesses, and on reflections on the significance of what was portrayed photographically by the Polish originators, collectors, and distributors, which result from a comparison with the contemporaneous “German” photographic publicity and with the secondary historical literature on Polish policy in the Warthegau.

1. thematic overview of various producers, collectors and distributors

As already indicated, the Polish creators, distributors and collectors of the surviving photographs can only be partially named. Apart from a few Poles who were more closely involved in resistance organizations, there were a large number of Poles who, to all appearances, did not join any underground organization, but who nevertheless acted in contradiction to the standards of the National Socialist occupying power in their handling of photographs. The members of Polish resistance groups, who also purposefully produced and forwarded photographs as part of their conspiratorial activities, formed a minority. A much larger number of Poles secretly photographed or, as photo lab workers, secretly duplicated photographs of Germans which were of outstanding importance from the Polish point of view. Among the Poles in the Warthegau, three groups of people can be roughly defined who produced, reproduced, passed on and disseminated photographic images under National Socialist occupation in the Wielkopolska region:

1. Poles who took photographs privately or collected photographs without a clearly defined political objective. Also included in the analysis are photographs by unknown German authors who captured certain phenomena of the National Socialist occupation period, which were of such high interest to Polish society that these photographs were handed down and published by Poles after 1945.

2. Poles who actively and in an organized manner participated in the resistance against the National Socialist occupying power. Because of the relatively small proportion of institutionally surviving photographs of Polish originators, privately surviving photographs of the Polish Scouts in Resistance 1939-1945 (Szare Szeregi) were included here. [4]

3. Poles who officially worked in German photographic enterprises and pursued their own goals in parallel to their official work assignment.

In the following, significant events and political developments will first be explained from the social perspective of the Polish population on the basis of corresponding photographs by Polish authors or Polish collectors and distributors. The term “collector” is used here to refer to all those persons who – regardless of whether they took photographs themselves or not – accumulated photographs of other originators in their private space to a significant degree. The term “distributors” is used here to refer to all those persons or organizations who deliberately reproduced photographs and forwarded them to third parties who had not previously been in possession of such photographs. Following the overview of some significant pictorial themes from the social perspective of the Polish population, is an outline of the working conditions and activities of Polish photo lab workers in German photo businesses in Poznan and the work of the Polish resistance organization Szare Szeregi in relation to their photographic legacies from the Wielkopolska region.

Fig. VI.01: Florian Zajac, house at ul. Wyspianskiego 18 after the German air raid in Poznan (Posen), September 1, 1939. Silver gelatin paper 8 x 5.5 cm (APP-PZZ Sign. 32)

Fig. VI.02: Florian Zajac, house at ul. Matejki 5 after the German air raid in Poznan (Posen) September 1, 1939. silver gelatin paper 8 x 5.5 cm (APP-PZZ Sign. 32)

Visible works of physical destruction

One of the photographs taken by Florian Zajac [5] on the first day of September 1939 in the center of the Polish city of Poznan (Posen) shows an apartment building partially destroyed by a German air raid on Poznan from a ground-level perspective (Fig. VI.01). Another photo of his, taken from a window, shows another residential building in the city center destroyed by a bombing raid (Fig. VI.02). Not many such photos survived from Poznan, as the city was hardly bombed at the beginning of the war. The small Polish town of Wielun (1939-1945: Welun or Welungen) in the area of the later Reichsgau Wartheland suffered most from the German air raids on September 1, 1939. Three quarters of the buildings in this small town were destroyed by the German Luftwaffe in the time of approximately one hour with 70 tons of bombs from the Sturzkampfgeschwadern 2 (“Immelmann”), 76 and 77; the German pilots strafed the fleeing Polish inhabitants from low altitude with airborne weapons. [6]

At the beginning of the war, buildings destroyed by the effects of war in the area of what was to become Warthegau were photographed by both Poles and Germans invading the country. The sudden extraordinary destruction was picture-worthy for Germans and Poles equipped with cameras, as long as they themselves were not directly threatened in their existence by the fighting. A large number of German soldiers arriving in Poland were able to take photographs in the shadow of the front without any hesitation, comparatively speaking. The inhabitants of the Polish town of Wielun, on the other hand, were so severely threatened in the fundamentals of their existence by the German military attack that they were no longer able to photograph what threatened their lives.

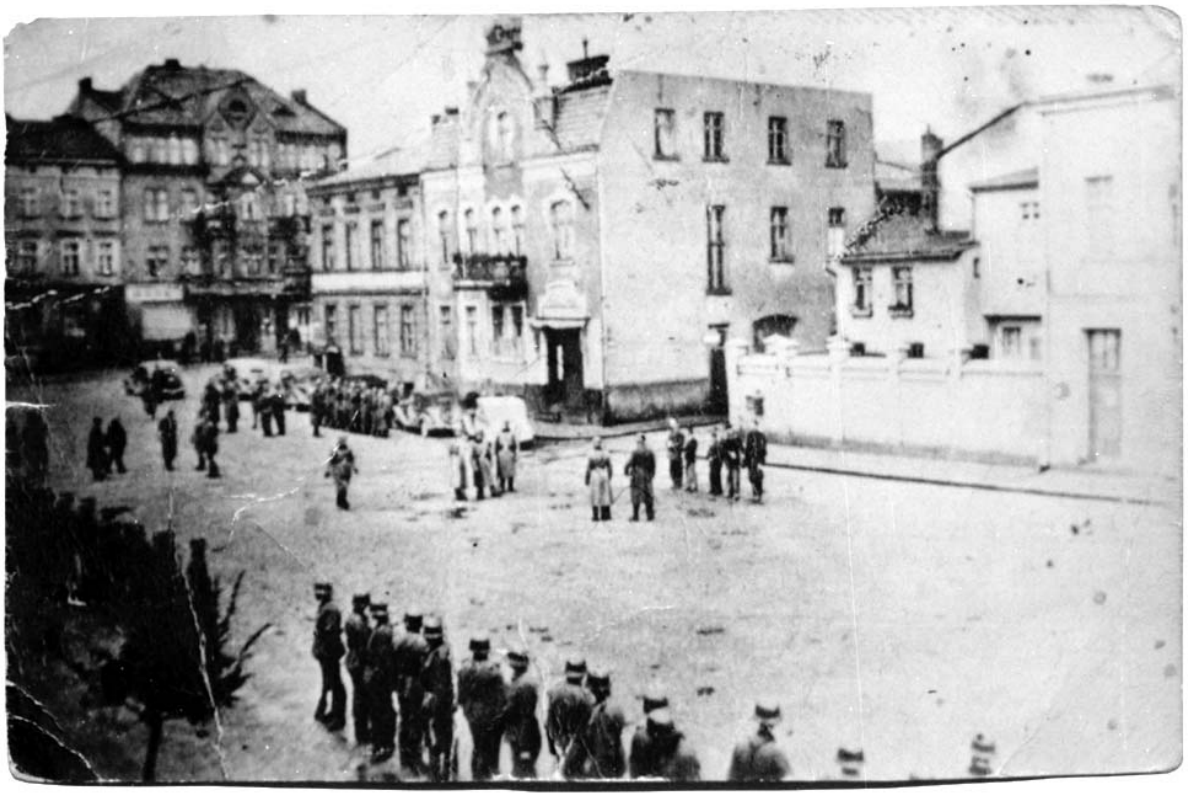

Fig. VI.03: unknown Polish photographer, public shooting of the five Poles Stanislaw Bednarz, Wiktor Bilon, Jozef Furmanek, Wojciech Kwiatkowski and Jan Pietraszewski on the market square in Szamotuly (Samter) by Einsatzgruppe VI of the Sipo, October 13, 1939. silver gelatin paper 9.1 x 13.9 cm. Condition: Bumped edges, small creases (MZGwS o. Inv. Nr.)

Other extraordinary events of the highest importance, which were also photographed by Poles, but quite predominantly by Germans, were the public executions of Polish "hostages" carried out by German executive forces after the occupation. The resistance of the Polish population, expected by the National Socialist regime, was to be broken by having Polish hostages vouch with their lives that no Pole would do violence to a German. As early as September and October 1939, uniformed German units carried out public shootings of selected Poles in small towns in the Poznan region. Often, German uniforms rounded up the inhabitants of the respective town to watch the execution.

Arthur Greiser, as the head of the civil administration, during the time of the German military administration (1.9.-25.10.1939), urged that more Poles be publicly executed in the military district of Posen. In his guidelines for the administrative structure, he gave a secret instruction according to which the new German district administrators and mayors should constantly demand the public execution of Poles. The new district administrator of Samter (Szamotuly), Otto Schulze-Anné, followed this instruction and convened a special court in Samter on October 12, 1939, staffed by members of Einsatzgruppe VI of the Sipo and the SD. This court sentenced ten Poles from the nearby village of Otorowo to death because on the night of October 11-12, the swastika flag on the Otorowo office building had been replaced by a Polish flag. Ten German executive forces shot five of the convicts still on October 12 in Otorowo in the evening at the church. The remaining five Poles were shot by a German gendarmerie detachment in the marketplace in Samter in the morning hours of October 13. For this purpose, the German police closed off the streets leading from the marketplace. On October 17, 1939, the new district administrator Schulze-Anné wrote in a secret report to Arthur Greiser that the Poles were still shouting patriotic slogans shortly before their deaths. [8]

The photograph shows that the square where the execution took place was surrounded by German uniforms with steel helmets. It is a shot from above, looking down over the uniformed and armed Germans. They were standing downstairs in front of the house where the photographer was. The picture captures a moment before the execution. In the centre of the picture, in front of a light-coloured wall on the right, the five Polish men that were to be executed can be seen. Neither they nor those carrying out the execution can be personally identified in this photograph, as the scale of the image is too small to determine the appearance of individuals with sufficient accuracy. The photographic image was taken from a great distance, which provided cover and security for the photographer. The German executive forces cordoned off a wide area of the marketplace, and inside the cordon only persons admitted to that area by the guards could take photographs. One may assume that these were usually only Germans who were on good terms with those carrying out the execution. It was very likely too risky for Poles to take photographs in this cordoned-off area.

A comparatively large number of photographic records of public executions under National Socialist occupation were located in the Polish depositories. Most of these photographs most likely originate from German authors. The histories of these photographs show that many Poles, faced with the great risk of photographing an execution themselves, found another way to come into possession of photographs of such executions: They reproduced corresponding photographs of Germans that passed through their hands. Polish reproductions were found, for example, in the case of the following execution, of which a German submitted a contemporary paper print of a photograph to the Federal Archives [Bundesarchiv] after 1945 (Figs. III.38 and VI.04). It is a photograph that was published after 1945, mainly in Poland and more rarely in Germany. [9] The unknown German who photographed this execution in Kornik (Burgstadt) subsequently submitted his film to a local photo lab for development and enlargement. Here worked the Pole Zbigniew Wojciechowski, who, according to the order,

made the prints requested by the German. Moreover, he additionally copied the photograph – without the knowledge of the client – in order to forward it in the Polish underground. [10] [...]

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Footnotes

[1] See Chapter IV.1: The national socialist racial ideology as a basis of the Poland policy in the Reichsgau Wartheland.

[2] Cf. Chapter III, National Socialist Press Control [Presselenkung] and Photographic Publicity.

[3] Cf. Chapter V.1.d.: Photographs of persons for identification purposes, photographs in Gestapo card indexes and collections I.

[4] The Polish owners of photographic documents of this organization in the Wielkopolska region mostly did not hand them over to state institutions during the Polish People's Republic. See here in the chapter the last section on the "Szare Szeregi."

[5] Cf. list of photographers in the appendix.

[6] See German Historical Institute Warsaw 2005, pp. 69-71. Contrary to the claim published in National Socialist Germany at the time that a Polish cavalry brigade was stationed in Wielun, no Polish military was stationed there at all. Rather, the first targets of the German pilots were residential buildings in the center of the town. The city hospital marked with a Red Cross, sacral monuments such as a 13th century church and a synagogue fell victim to the German air raid. The later German district leader of Wielun stated that the town had 16,000 inhabitants, all of whom had fled except for 200.

[7] This photograph was already published in Poland in 1967 based on a technically better original; see Datner 1967, p. 592.

[8] DO XIII, Doc. I-3, pp. 2f.; Nawrocki 1966, pp. 211f.; Datner 1967, p. 536; Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu pp. 233, 235; Luczak 1993, p. 23. According to Szymon Datner, Gendarmerie Master Konrad Wegner was responsible for carrying out the execution. According to Polish-language research, the five Poles executed in Samter were Stanislaw Bednarz, Wiktor Bilon, Jozef Furmanek, Wojciech Kwiatkowski, and Jan Pietrzaszewski. They were buried in a mass grave on the Catholic cemetery in Samter (Szamotuly).

[9] Published, among others, in: 1939-1945. we have not forgotten 1961, p. 26; DO XIII, Doc. I-96, p. p. 88; Luczak 1966, p. 79, fig. 13; Wronski/Zwolakowska 1971, p. 20, fig. 4;

Nawrocki 1972, fig. 1; Luczak 1990, Doc. I-96, p. 88; Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1996, p. 29.

[10] Oral information from Dr. Marian Wozniak, Fundacja Armii Krajowej w Poznaniu, Poznan 1996.

Band II. Aus Kapitel VI: Polnische Urheber, Sammler und Distributoren von Fotografien zwischen Anpassung, Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand

Volume II. From Chapter VI: Polish Producers, Collectors and Distributors of Photographs between Adaptation, Self-Assertion and Resistance (625)

[Excerpt: pp. 729-752]

Culture an Education

Other important areas in the resistance activities of the Szare Szeregi in the Warthegau were culture and education. In order to adequately assess the significance of the Szare Szeregi's cultural activities in Poznan and their importance for Polish society, it is necessary to consider the occupation policy background against which these activities unfolded. National Socialist cultural policy in the Warthegau followed in its basic features a völkisch-racial ideology, which was expressed in the fact that the various "ethnic groups" were allowed cultural activity only in accordance with their classification in the National Socialist racial hierarchy. Adolf Hitler and the top officials of the NSDAP believed that foreign peoples, such as the Poles, should not be educated to "German" culture because otherwise they might acquire leadership knowledge ["Führungswissen"], which was to be prevented. To the Poles, the Nazi occupation forces conceded at most "low-level" culture; "highlevel" culture was to be reserved exclusively for "Germans" or "north-racial" ["nordrassischen"] peoples. This racially based cultural policy of the National Socialist occupiers was implemented more rigorously and radically in the "incorporated eastern territories" than in the General Government administration ["Generalgouvernement"] since the former Polish western territories were to be completely "Germanized." Reichsstatthalter Greiser pursued the anti-Polish cultural policy most consistently in his "model gau" Wartheland: the cultural and educational offerings established here from 1939/40 onward were for the benefit of "Germans" only. Poles were completely excluded from the generously funded "German" cultural life. The German civil administration proceeded as if Polish culture had never existed. Poland's material cultural assets were looted and destroyed, and the Poles themselves were forbidden any cultural activity in the Warthegau. The previously existing Polish education system was dismantled, and the Poles were excluded from acquiring education. The Nazi occupying power denied the "alien" ["fremdvölkischen"] Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland any civic school and university education in order to prevent any future resistance against the German occupiers. The occupying power also denied the Poles participation in cultural life: by destroying Polish culture, by forbidding Poles to participate in the cultural life of the Germans, and by forbidding Poles to engage in self-determined cultural activity. The

German occupying power enforced the underlying cultural hegemonic claim against the Poles by police means. Any memory of the Polish nation and history in the public sphere and in the consciousness of the population was to be annihilated. For this purpose, Polish monuments were demolished, Polish place and street names were exchanged for German ones, and so forth. The Poles in the Gau were to be educated into a mass of unresistant labor slaves, they were to be denationalized and de-culturalized. National Socialist cultural policy strove to turn them into a population group without intelligence and without national memory. Against the background of these goals, any cultural activity by Poles appeared to the National Socialist rulers in the Warthegau as acts of political resistance. [210]

Fig. VI.151: Unknown photographer (he can be seen on the left in the picture field at the level of the pianist's neck in the mirror), concert and poetry recitation. Professor Janina Thomas is playing music by Chopin on the grand piano. Poznan, May 6, 1942. silver gelatin print 9 x 13,5 cm (SSW V/1)

The central and at the same time racist doctrine of all National Socialist statements about "Polish" culture was: Poland's culture was created mainly by Germans; the Poles themselves did not create culture. In those cases where the creative ability of Polish artists was difficult to dispute, German racial experts tried to prove that the artist in question was of "German" descent. The best-known example of this is the Nazi regime's treatment of the works and origins of the Polish composer Frederic Chopin: first, his music was banned, and from 1943 Chopin was claimed to be a composer of "German" descent and a representative of "German" musical culture. [211]

Under the pretext of preserving and researching “German” culture, the National Socialist regime carried out art theft on a considerable scale in occupied Poland. In the Warthegau, representatives of the German occupying power had Christian sacred art from the Gniezno Cathedral transported to the territory of the Reich (“Reichsgebiet”) and systematically searched museums, castles, farms, collections, libraries, and private residences for works of art and valuables. Responsible for the art theft and the further administration of the looted property were, among others, the “General Trustee for Securing German Cultural Property in the Incorporated Eastern Territories” [“Generaltreuhänder für die Sicherung deutschen Kulturgutes in den eingegliederten Ostgebieten“] appointed by the Main Trust Office East (“Haupttreuhandstelle Ost“) in December and the SS organization “Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft Ahnenerbe e.V.” in Berlin. The Nazi occupying power confiscated works of art and valuable objects in Polish-Christian and Polish-Jewish possession under the pretext of securing “German” culture.

The concept of “securing German cultural property” [“Sicherung deutschen Kulturguts”] was so broadly defined in the Reichsgau Wartheland from 1939 to 1945 that it actually resulted in the confiscation of all art and valuables from Polish and Jewish ownership. In 1941, Reichsstatthalter Greiser enforced a district-specific Gau claim to the on-site utilization of Polish art and valuables confiscated in the Wartheland; since then, the “General Trustee” [“Generaltreuhänder”] of the Haupttreuhandstelle Ost has limited himself to transporting only the more valuable confiscated objects into the Reich territory [“Reichsgebiet”]. [212]

Fig. VI.152: Zdzislaw Kolodziejczak, The academic circle of the Szare Szeregi at a meeting on the occasion of St. Andrew's Day (Andrzejki). In the back row second from right: Edward Serwanski; in the front row second from left: Aleksandra Markwitz. Poznan, November 1942. Reproduction (SSW V/4)

The cultural activity of Poles under German occupation in the Warthegau was only partly made impossible by expressed prohibitions. Of decisive importance for the destruction and prevention of Polish cultural life was the dismantling of all Polish cultural institutions, the state-organized theft of their property, and the repressions against well-known Polish cultural workers. The basic decrees for this were issued by Arthur Greiser already as Chief of the Civil Administration at the Military Commander in September and October 1939. All Polish cultural institutions in the area of the later Warthegau were confiscated by the Treuhandstelle Ost in order to hand them over to “Germans”. [213] On the basis of the confiscated assets of Polish cultural institutions, the National Socialist occupying power pursued the “Aufbau” [“construction”] of a “German” cultural life in the Reichsgau Wartheland.

Fig. VI.153: Zygmunt Zuraszek, Szare Szeregi celebrate "Andrzejki" (St. Andrew's Day) - wax casting. Poznan district of Krzyzowniki, 1942 (?). Reproduction (SSW V/6)

Already in the first months after the German occupation of Poland, "German" theaters began operating in Poznan and Lodz (Litzmannstadt). In mid-October 1939, the large theater near the castle in Poznan was opened as "Deutsches Theater" ["German Theater"]. In Lodz, a German theater began operating in January 1940. The "Deutsches Theater" in Posen was extensively rebuilt after a few performances and finally reopened in March 1941 as the "Reichsgautheater" with a "Führerloge". During his speech on the occasion of the opening of the "Reichsgautheater" in Posen, Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels referred to the German theaters "in the East" as "the firm castles of our will to colonize" ["die festen Burgen unseres Kolonisationswillens"]. [214] Reichsstatthalter Greiser aimed to turn the Gau capital of Posen into a "showcase of the Warthegau" ["Schaufenster des Warthegaus"] in which "German culture" was to be given prominence. German high culture was to be offered to the German occupying society in Posen and the cultural hegemony of "Germanness" was to be demonstrated to the Poles. To this end, the National Socialist occupation administration provided generous funding and held series of events lasting several days, such as the "Ostdeutschen Kulturtage" ["East German Culture Days"]. [215]

Financially, the German civil administration very generously supported, for example, the "German" musical life in Warthegau. During the occupation period 1939-1945, several German orchestras, NSV concerts and music weeks were organized. The Reichsstatthalter's

wife, the pianist Maria Greiser-Korfer, also performed at WHW and NSV concerts in Wartheland. Reichsstatthalter Greiser especially promoted the “German” music school system, so that by 1944 more than 20 music schools for about 3,000 “German” children and young people had been established in his territory. In addition, the Hitler Youth in the Wartheland developed numerous musical activities in the form of “HJ-Bannorchestern”, small “Spielscharen” and “Fanfarenzügen”. The musical activities of the German occupational society were intended to strengthen the sense of community among the “Germans” in the Gau and to promote the integration of Germans from the Reich, the people, and abroad [“Reichs-, Volks- und Auslandsdeutschen”]. [216]

Fig. VI.154: Zygmunt Zuraszek, Szare Szeregi celebrate “Andrzejki” (St. Andrew's Day) – fortune telling game with shoes. Poznan district of Krzyzowniki, 1942 (?). Reproduction (SSW V/7)

Against the background of the National Socialist cultural policy in the Warthegau, which denied Poles access to all cultural institutions – museums, exhibitions, concerts, theaters and cinemas – the high value that the Szare Szeregi attached to culture and education in their political underground work becomes clearer. The members of this Polish resistance group were very interested in cultural activities and in the transmission of Polish culture. Since, as Poles, they were forbidden to attend official cultural events and institutions in the Warthegau, they developed their cultural activities mainly in private rooms. While the young Poles who had joined the Szare Szeregi usually made excursions into the countryside in their free time in

the spring and summer, they more commonly organized meetings and events in private homes in the fall and winter. [217] Mieczyslaw Knapski photographed, among other things, one of the private concerts they organized (Fig. VI.150). Another photograph shows a Polish musician playing music by Chopin on the piano during one of such clandestine meeting (fig. VI.151). Since Frederic Chopin's compositions and some Polish songs had been banned by the National Socialist occupation forces, the Szare Szeregi made sure – before such music was played – that the German apartment neighbors were absent or otherwise (out of solidarity or ignorance) "tolerant." [218] Moreover, the Szare Szeregi secretly organized small celebrations during the period of occupation in the Warthegau, especially on national and religious holidays. Music was also played and sung at these celebrations, but often only quietly because of the National Socialist bans on Polish music. [219]

The safest place to take photos after the ban was in private interiors. [220] The Szare Szeregi in Poznan often met in groups of five to seven people. For security reasons, these meetings took place in constantly changing apartments. Less frequently – about twice a year, they met in larger groups of about twenty people. Mieczyslaw Knapski also reported on the security measures they took for some of their group photos: when a group was photographed, everyone would quickly line up for the picture and then disperse as quickly as possible. If a very large group was being photographed in a private apartment, one person would leave immediately after the picture was taken with the camera and film so that nothing could be found by the German police during a search. [221]

Fig. VI.155: Mieczyslaw Knapski, Szare Szeregi at a secret joint Christmas party. Poznan, December 1942. The photo was taken with a self-timer; the then 19-year-old photographer can be seen at the far right of the picture. New print from old 35mm negative (private property Mieczyslaw Knapski)

Comparatively many of the identified photographic images show members of the Szare Szeregi in Poznan on religious holidays, namely St. Andrew's Day ("Andrzejki"), Christmas, and Epiphany. A photograph by Zdzislaw Kolodziejczak [222] (fig. VI.152) shows a group of the academic circle of the Szare Szeregi on St. Andrew's Day in 1942. If one looks more closely at the background of the group photograph, one can make out the light-proof windows of the room in which those depicted were staying.

St. Andrew's Day is celebrated on November 30 and coincides with the end of the church year, which begins on Advent 1. Andrew is a martyr mentioned in passing in the Christian Acts of the Apostles. According to the Catholic faith, on St. Andrew's Day it is supposed to be possible to see into the future; therefore, on this day oracle customs are traditionally practiced by Catholics. In the Wielkopolska region, which is the subject of this study, it was common among Polish Catholics in the first half of the 20th century to cast wax figures and perform some other fortune-telling games on St. Andrew's Day. A photograph by Zygmunt Zuraszek [223] from the occupation period shows members of the Szare Szeregi in Poznan casting wax on St. Andrew's Day: hot wax was poured into a pot of cold water and the resulting wax figures were interpreted as symbolic indications of the future (Fig. VI.153). Another photograph shows the young Poles engaged in another popular contemporary

oracular custom: lining up shoes one after the other was supposed to predict who would be the next to marry (Fig. VI.154).

Fig. VI.156: unknown photographer, group 21 PDM of the Szare Szeregi during a musical performance in a private apartment during the Christmas holidays. Poznan, Christmas 1943 (?). Reproduction (SSW V/8)

The Szare Szeregi also held small clandestine celebrations on Christmas holidays. In December 1942, Mieczyslaw Knapski [224] photographed one such gathering with a self-timer. The photographer, then 19 years old, can be seen on the far right of the picture (Fig. VI.155). A photographic image of another group during the Christmas holidays shows them performing music in an apartment. Two young men visible in the foreground are playing the accordion, a loud and mobile keyboard instrument that was very popular at the time. The four young men in the background are all looking together into a book of lyrics and sheet music that the second from the left is holding in his hands (Fig. VI.156). A photograph has also survived from the day of the Three Kings in January 1943. It shows members of the Academic Circle of the Szare Szeregi in Poznan after the election of the “Almond King” (krol migdalowy): it is the first man from the right in the back row, who can be recognized by a shiny metallic crown on his head (Fig. VI.157).

Fig. VI.157: Zdzislaw Kolodziejczak, Academic Circle of the Szare Szeregi on the Day of the Three Kings after the election of the "Almond King" (krol migdalowy). In the front row second from left: Aleksandra Markwitz. Poznan, January 1943. reproduction (SSW V/5)

Polish Resistance against the National Socialist Educational Policy

The complete restructuring of the educational system in the newly formed administrative unit can also be included in the National Socialist cultural policy in the Reichsgau Wartheland. In the military district of Posen, schooling for German children was resumed as early as the beginning of October 1939. At first, it was only a small number of schools with relatively few students, mainly children of members of the former German minority in Poland. Since the willingness of "Reich Germans" ["Reichsdeutschen"] to settle permanently in the new "eastern territories" ["Ostgebieten"] also depended on whether a fully developed educational system was available, the German civil administration pushed ahead with the establishment of a multilevel school system – corresponding to that in the Reich territory ["Reichsgebiet]. The number of school-age "German" children in the Gau rose steadily as a result of the foreign Germans ["Auslandsdeutschen"] resettled "home to the Reich" ["heim ins Reich"] and arriving in the Warthegau. Between 1939 and 1945, elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, vocational schools, technical schools and the "Reichsuniversität Posen" were opened here for German children and youth. In the Gau area, 1,100 elementary schools with 90,000 students and 1,850 teachers, 22 middle schools with 18,000 students, and 25 high schools with 5,530 students and 542 teachers were established. In addition, several vocational schools

were opened in Poznan and Lodz (Litzmannstadt). In Reisen (Rydzyna) near Lissa (Leszno), the first Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt (Napola) in the Warthegau was opened in April 1940. All these educational institutions were open only to “Germans”; there were 40 to 48 students to one teacher. Throughout the occupational period, the German civil administration of the Warthegau complained about a shortage of German teachers. The teachers seconded from the territory of the Reich seemed unsuitable to the National Socialist rulers and local Germans, since the majority of them were German women. The "teacher shortage" caused by the German civil administration itself - due to the dismissal of all Polish teachers and the derogatory attitude towards women - was compensated by using German students and BDM girls as assistant teachers. [225]

The children of the foreign German resettlers in the Warthegau were often initially taught in the resettlement camps by teachers from the region of origin. The German occupation administration established boarding and residential schools [Heimschulen] in the newly formed Gau, in addition to the usual types of schools found in the Reich territory, in which selected children of expatriate German resettlers [“auslandsdeutschen Umsiedlern“], members of the German minority and Polish children judged to be “north-racial” [“nordrassich”] were to be “re-educated” into “German” children under constant control: they were to be deprived of “Polish influences” and prevented from using the Polish language. [226] In the second half of the occupational period, German language courses were also held for adult “ethnic Germans” [“Volksdeutsch”]. A part of the former German minority in Poland had been classified as “German” solely on the basis of family descent, but their colloquial language was Polish. These were usually the members of DVL [“Deutsche Volksliste”] groups 3 and 4 in the Warthegau. Language courses were set up for them from 1943 as part of the “Volkstumspolitische Erwachsenenbildung” [adult education in the line of “Volk”-policies] program. The NS-Frauenschaft played a central role in this ‘language promotion’, which was partly carried out by coercion: it taught the German language and the National Socialist worldview to “language-endangered” women in sewing, baking and cooking courses at the NSDAP Gauschulungshaus Posen. [227]

Before the German attack on Poland, a Polish university existed in Poznan (Posen); it had already been closed by the German occupation forces in September 1939. On September 11, 1939, the Faculty of Medicine was occupied by Germans; from the Faculty of Chemistry, larger and more expensive equipment was taken away to the territory of the Reich. On September 21, 1939, the main building (Collegium Minus) was sealed by the Gestapo; all Polish members of the University were dismissed. The Polish scientists were resettled in the Generalgouvernement, imprisoned, or executed as part of the “political purge” [“politische Flurbereinigung”]; as a result of the German occupation, about 70 scientists of the university lost their lives. [228]

Although there were limits to the establishment of new scientific institutions under wartime conditions, Reichsstatthalter Greiser was able to push through the opening of a new university in Posen and several non-university research institutions in the Reichsgau Wartheland. As early as October 1939, Greiser had approached Adolf Hitler for the purpose of founding a

National Socialist university in Posen, who finally decreed its establishment. The ceremonial founding act of the "Reichsuniversität Posen" took place on April 20, 1941, Hitler's birthday. It was the first purely National Socialist university to be founded. It was to be a "model example of National Socialist cultural policy" and, as a center of German "Ostforschung," to provide scientific support for the eugenic "Volkstumspolitik" in the Eastern Occupied Territories. [229] Teaching and research at this university was dominated by the disciplines that served to secure and expand National Socialist power: Law, Economics, Technology, Medicine, and Agriculture. The philosophical subjects were reduced to "volkswissenschaftliche" aspects: "Volkskunde" and racial studies, history and language of the Jews. The historical science pursued here served the political goal of proving historically the superiority of "German" culture. [230]

After the official founding of the "Reichsuniversität" in Posen, 191 students were enrolled in the summer semester of 1941; by the summer of 1944, there were already 1,228 students. The majority of them came from the territory of the Reich, and over 60% of them were women. The majority of the men studying here were invalids of the Wehrmacht. Poles in the Gau were denied access to this new university. Applicants to the "Reichsuniversität Posen" had to present, in addition to a high school diploma, an "ancestral passport", they were not allowed to have Jewish or Polish relatives, they had to have been members of a Nazi youth organization before 1939, etc. [231]

The cultural policy of the National Socialist occupying power in the Warthegau also included a complete dismantling of the Polish educational system. In order to fundamentally prevent the emergence of intelligentsia among the Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland and to re-educate the Poles into a "working people" ["Arbeitsvolk"] devoid of history and culture, the Polish population was systematically denied access to the educational system. The German civil administration had all Polish schools and colleges in the area of the later Warthegau closed after the occupation of the area in 1939 and subsequently dissolved them completely. The Nazi occupiers did not publicly proclaim that they would destroy Polish educational system, but they enforced this low-key by closing Polish educational institutions under various pretexts and not reopening them. As late as September 1939, Greiser, as head of the Civil Administration, arranged with the military commander for the closure of all Polish schools and the dismissal of all Polish teachers. [232]

In place of the previously existing Polish educational institutions, the National Socialist occupying power created so-called "Pole schools" ["Polenschulen"] in the Reichsgau Wartheland. This was a curriculum radically mutilated on the basis of racial-ethnic ideology for the training of Polish labor slaves for the Germans, who were supposed to be as ignorant as possible. The "Pole schools" opened by the German civil administration in the Warthegau corresponded conceptually most exactly to the ideas of Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police, Heinrich Himmler, which he had formulated in 1940 in his "Thoughts on the Treatment of the Foreign Peoples in the East" ["Gedanken über die Behandlung der Fremdvölkischen im Osten"]: [233] "The aim of this elementary school must be merely: simple calculation to a maximum of 500, writing the name, a teaching that it is a divine

command to be obedient to the Germans and to be honest, hardworking and well-behaved. Reading I do not consider necessary." [234]

The schooling of Polish children and young people in the Warthegau was largely determined by a decree issued by Viktor Böttcher, the "Posener Regierungspräsident" ["president of the Posen government"], which outlined the basic principles of "German" schooling for Poles. According to it, Poles were to be prevented at all costs from obtaining an education that might enable them to pass themselves off as Germans. Polish children were to be taught only two to three hours a day in classes as large as possible. Contrary to Hitler's ideas, they were to be educated in the Warthegau primarily in "order, cleanliness, discipline and decency." They were to be taught the German language only to the extent that they understood oral and written work instructions. Under no circumstances were they to learn error-free German, so that their poor German would make them recognizable as Poles. [235]

In effect, the German civil administration in the Reichsgau Wartheland was very slow to set up a few such "Pole schools". In general, priority was given to the establishment of schools for German children and adolescents. Only in a few districts of the Warthegau "Polish schools" were established. Four such schools were located on the outskirts of the city of Posen and reached about 10,000 children between the ages of 9 and 13. In them, Polish children were 'taught' for two to three hours on weekdays by German assistants, for example by daughters or wives of local Germans; there were about 100 to 150 pupils to one teacher. According to the ideas of the German civil administration, the school attendance of Polish children was to be limited to three to five years. Sports, music, history and geography were completely excluded from the curriculum. The children were to be taught only elementary knowledge of the four basic arithmetic concepts, weights and measures, agricultural plants and farm animals. The focus of the lessons was on "practical work exercises," i.e., the Polish children were assigned to collect plants or old materials, to clean green areas, and to work in fields, forests, and gardens. [236]

The National Socialist occupation forces pursued a racist language policy towards Polish children and young people in the Warthegau, refusing them lessons both their native language and the new official language. Viktor Böttcher, the district president of Posen, told the Reich Ministry of Education in 1940 that the aim in Warthegau was to "eradicate Polish culture and language". In November 1940, Reich Governor Greiser considered a general ban on the Polish language unfeasible, but at the same time he was opposed to teaching the German language to Polish children and young people to the same extent as to Germans. On Greiser's instructions, only German vocabulary, but no German grammar, was to be taught in the "Polenschulen." [237]

The National Socialist occupation administration in the Warthegau did not continue the previously existing Polish school system with the "Polenschulen", but sacked, displaced and murdered the Polish teachers. They created a new type of school specifically for the "Fremdvölkischen" ["foreign peoples"] in the Gau, who were now to be taught separately from the "Germans." School education for Polish children and youth was mutilated beyond

recognition by lowering the level of instruction to pre-bourgeois conditions. Young Poles were to be taught their inferior status at an early age in order to consolidate the hegemony of the German occupying society. The “Polenschulen” served the political goal of counteracting the formation of gangs among the native children and youths who often roamed the streets and teaching them to become underintelligent workers. It should be noted that the illiteracy rate in the Poznan region in the early 1930s was not quite 3%, and 85% of all school-age Polish children in the region attended school before the war began. [238]

The Szare Szeregi in the Wielkopolska region gave great importance to the education of Polish children and youth. The secret education system was one of the most important and characteristic areas of the Polish resistance. Throughout German-occupied Poland, the Polish underground endeavored to build a clandestine education system that included Polish underground universities in Warsaw and Krakow. The secret education system of the Poles was highly developed, especially in the Generalgouvernement, but extended into the Warthegau and, along with illegally celebrated Polish cultural events and holidays, formed the basis of the Poles’ cultural self-assertion.

Since there was no possibility of organizing secret Polish university events in the Warthegau, the teachers and students resettled from Poznan founded the secret Uniwersytet Ziem Zachodnich (University of the Western Territories) in Warsaw in 1940 in agreement with the Polish underground authorities. The secret education system was intended to minimize the de-culturalization of Poles growing up and their deliberate stupidization, which the National Socialists were striving for. The secret education system was intended to minimize the de-culturalization of Poles growing up and their deliberate stultification, which the National Socialists were striving for. The organization of secret education in the Reichsgau Wartheland was more restricted than in the other annexed and occupied territories of Poland. The Polish population in the Warthegau was subject to the comparatively strongest control by the German occupying society. Due to the preceding “politischen Flurbereinigung” [“political cleansing”] and the expulsions of Poles, there was a shortage of Polish teachers for the secret classes. In the Warthegau, therefore, the secret education of Poles did not reach such a large scale as in other areas. The greatest development of secret education was in the Poznan area, where it encompassed several thousand children and young people. [239]

Fig. VI.158: Zdzislaw Kolodziejczak, youth group "Biedronki" of the Academic Circle of Szare Szeregi. In the front row, far right, Aleksandra Markwitz. Poznan, 1943 (?). New print from old negative (?) (SSW VII/2)

The Szare Szeregi organized secret lessons, auto-didactic learning groups, cultural and sporting events for Polish children and youth in Poznan and the Wielkopolska region in order to educate them in a patriotic and religious spirit and to prevent them from becoming illiterate. The Polish children were mostly taught by Polish youths; the older youths formed autodidactic learning groups to continue learning by themselves, since suitable teachers were rarely found. In Poznan, the Szare Szeregi had difficulty finding Polish teachers for a secret Polish high-school graduation committee. [240]

During the occupation, for example, Aleksandra Markwitz taught two groups of ten children and teenagers each in Poznan. The Polish pupils were supposed to learn, among other things, about the history and culture of the individual regions of Poland in the secret lessons of the Szare Szeregi. And they were not allowed to tell anyone that they were taking part in the secret lessons. [241] Markwitz founded a coeducational secret instruction group in Poznan in 1941 under the name "Biedronki" (fig. VI.158). The group consisted of a total of ten Polish boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 18. A second group, consisting exclusively of girls aged 12 to 14, was founded by Markwitz in 1942. [242] Mieczyslaw Knapski possessed photographs of a secret autodidactic learning group of the Szare Szeregi, whose meetings he himself attended; Knapski is the third from the left in the picture (Fig. VI.159). It is the same

group of people that was already seen at a small Christmas party in 1942 (Fig. VI.155). Mieczyslaw Knapski reported that at that time they were studying Polish literature, mathematics and English in their study group. [243] For those who, like Mieczyslaw Knapski, had attended a grammar school before the war, the occupation policy destroyed all opportunities to complete their schooling in an appropriate manner. The sixteen-year-old at the outbreak of the war was already twenty years old at the time when the photograph shown here was taken. One by one, each participant in this group prepared a topic for a meeting and lectured to the others about it.

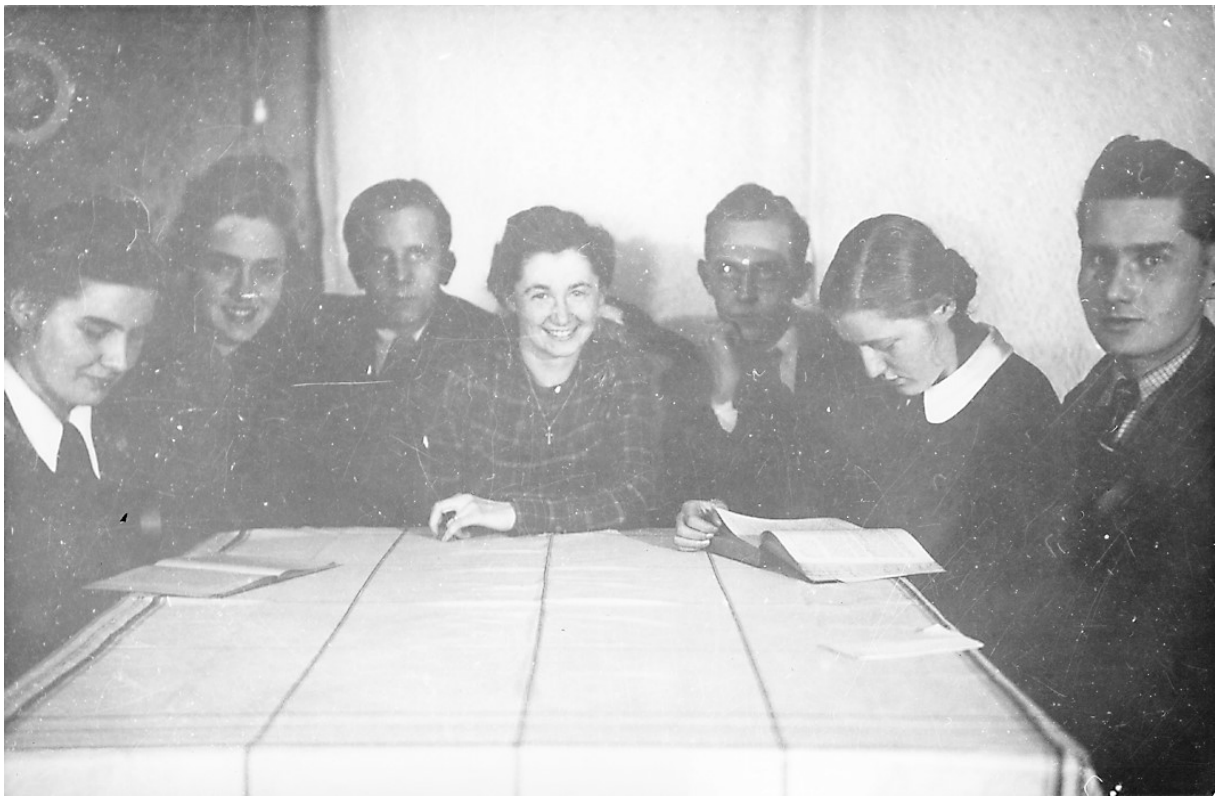

Fig. VI.159: Mieczyslaw Knapski, Secret autodidactic study group of the Szare Szeregi (samokszaltcenie). Poznan 1943. third from left: Mieczyslaw Knapski. New print after old Kleinbildnegativ (private property Mieczyslaw Knapski)

At first glance, the photo appears to be a shot of a gathering of neatly dressed urban middle-class youths waiting for the shutter to finally be pressed so they can continue with their conversation or other activities. Somewhat baffling is the tension between the emphatically well-groomed appearance of the persons and the extraordinarily sparse ambience, for example, the modest tablecloth that one would expect to find in a kitchen. The absence of any Nazi insignia, as well as any objects that could conceivably be considered attributes of the "German," is a vague indication that there are no Germans in this photograph. The entire group is facing the camera and visibly concerned with assuming an advantageous posture for the photograph: The girl in the center of the picture and a second one in the left half of the picture are smiling, the three young gentlemen are looking into the camera as if frozen. The presence of a camera changes the situation recognizably: the girls strive for a favorable 'photo

face'. In view of the camera, the two women with white collars and more rigid hairstyles on the left edge of the picture and in the right half of the picture seem to behave ignorantly. The girl on the left is looking at the pages of an open thin notebook and the one sitting on the right is studying a book with utmost concentration. Both of them, unlike the others, avert their gaze from the camera and turn it to a reading. With this behavior, they initially seem to deviate the most from the visibly intended positive self-portrayal of the group for the photographic shot. Yet they are the ones who, through their self-presentation, point a foreign observer to the purpose of the meeting: learning from books and written records.

Fig. VI.160: unknown photographer, Szare Szeregi during a joint discussion of class reading. The second from the right is Hieronim Lawniczak, the director of the local museum after 1945. Krotoschin (Krotoszyn) 1942. silver gelatin paper 6 x 9 cm (SSW VI/1)

Many of the photographs show the secret teaching groups in rooms darkened with curtains (see Fig. VI.158-161). On the one hand, others were not to be given an insight into the conspiratorial activities of the young Poles; on the other hand, blackout was mandatory during the war years. Secret study groups such as the one shown here met under the necessary security precautions in changing private apartments in Posen and in some other small towns of the Warthegau, such as Krotoschin (Fig. VI.160-161). The Polish children and their parents, as well as the juveniles, took great risks for the illegal education in the underground, since detection of their violation of the German regulations was punished with the utmost severity by the occupying National Socialist regime. [244]

In the photographs of the secret cultural events and of the secret classes of the Szare Szeregi, one always sees young Polish women and Poles in Sunday clothes, smiling in a friendly manner – for a nice photo, which should make them forget the sufferings of the time and remember the positive. In discussions with those people who showed the author such photographs, the fear was often expressed that ignorant viewers might think that "the Poles" were doing well during that time after all. In fact, the clothing of the young Poles can lead to a misunderstanding if Sunday clothes are mistaken for everyday wear. An example of this is a photograph showing Ryszard Nieborak, a trained lawyer and Boy Scout instructor, in his everyday work clothes in Posen in 1942 (fig. VI.162). He was born in 1915 in Rawich County, had graduated from law school in Poznan in 1937, and was licensed as a judge. He had already joined the Polish Scouts in 1924. Under the German occupation, Ryszard Nieborak was employed as a laborer and as an apprentice in construction companies. In the resistance, from 1941 he led a special sabotage group at the Szare Szeregi in Poznan; from 1942 he also led the sabotage group of the Poznan Armia Krajowa. On February 5, 1944, the Gestapo arrested Nieborak. He was held in the Gestapo House Prison (Dom Zolnierza) and Fort VII, and on June 29, 1944, he was shot in a mass execution at the Zabikowo camp. [245]

Fig. VI.161: unknown photographer, Szare Szeregi studying secretly – Polish lessons. Krotoschin (Krotoszyn) 1944. silver gelatin paper 6 x 9 cm (SSW VI/2)

The group portraits or photographic self-images of the Szare Szeregi fulfilled their personal needs for a – also visually – dignified existence. The photos shown here probably did not

primarily fulfill a documentary function, but rather formed a visible trace of their self-assertion against the National Socialist occupying power in the private imagery of the Polish scouts. The Szare Szeregi staged themselves – contrary to the National Socialist Polish policy – as members of the bourgeois middle classes. Moreover, the history of private photography shows that people do not usually include images of their personal suffering or the suffering of their neighbors in their private imagery. [246] Insofar, also for the Szare Szeregi, all representations of their personal suffering constituted a violation of boundaries.

The Destruction of Polish Books and Libraries

The possibilities of secret Polish education in the Warthegau were extremely limited, partly because no suitable books were available to those seeking to learn. Sometimes a group had only one book (Fig. VI.159), so that only one person from the group could work with the book at a time. Obtaining the books needed for the secret Polish study groups was a major problem. They made a special effort to save Polish books from confiscation and destruction in the shredder. [247] If photographic sources may be trusted in this regard, the secret autodidactic learning groups in Krotoschin were better equipped with books than those in Poznan (cf. Figs. VI.160-161). The Szare Szeregi built up a small, secret library in Poznan during the occupation.

Fig. VI.162: unknown photographer, a group of young Polish scouts during a break in their forced labor as construction workers. Second from left: Ryszard Nieborak. Poznan 1942. new print from old 6 x 6 cm negative (SSW X/6)

Since the German occupation forces confiscated and threatened to destroy all Polish books and libraries, they gathered as many books as possible from the libraries that still existed. Poles who worked in the waste paper collection centers at the paper mill notified others when they found books that might be suitable for clandestine education. Under conditions made more difficult by the high level of German control, an inconspicuous transfer of books required a great deal of organization; for example, a person would come to the waste paper collection point at an arranged time to have books thrown to him. At a book collection point from which the Polish books were to go to a paper mill to end up in the shredder, a teenage Polish scout “stole” several hundred books at once. From this stock, which was arranged thematically and expanded as far as possible, a small secret library of the Szare Szeregi in Poznan was created. [248]

The National Socialist cultural policy in the Warthegau also included the confiscation and destruction of all books and archival materials [249] in Polish possession. The confiscation of books did not take place with the same intensity as the theft of art, but it began already during the period of military administration and took place largely in secret during the years of occupational rule. On December 13, 1939, the Ostdeutscher Beobachter published a decree issued by the new Reich Governor Greiser, according to which all book collections and libraries in public and private ownership were to be reported and "secured". In the course of the following months, more than 1,500 book collections in the Gau area were reported and brought to a book collection center set up especially for this purpose. Some other books went directly to the paper mills or were otherwise destroyed. In particular, book stocks outside Posen were not even transported to the Posen collection point, but were destroyed on site. The "Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschaftungsstelle" (East German Land Management Office), newly founded by the occupying power, dealt with the books it found on confiscated Polish estates in this way, for example. Of the library of the Poznan Society of Friends of Science (Poznanskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Nauk), only 10% of the pre-war stock remained. The fact that Polish books of the interwar period were preserved in the Poznan University Library was due to the conservation goals of the then German library director, Dr. Alfred Lattermann (Fig. III.47). [250]

Responsible for the implementation of Greiser's decree of December 1939 was the provisional curator of the "Reichsuniversität Posen," Dr. Hans Streit. In 1940, he set up a book collection center in Posen's St. Michael's Church (Sw. Michala) (fig. VI.163-164) and appointed Dr. Jürgen von Hehn, a former employee of the Herder Institute in Riga, as its director. In the profaned church, a total of about 3 million books were delivered without pre-selection, which were piled up in the main room in a stack about 50 m long, 6 m wide and up to 4 m high. There was also a similar pile of books in the basement of the church, which had been built on the foundations of a former brewery. Hehn, assisted by nine unqualified assistants, sorted out all the Polish books; they were processed into waste paper in a Poznan paper factory (Poznan-Czerwonak). The staff of the book collection center consisted – except for one Pole – exclusively of Germans and non-Polish foreigners. The books left behind after the sorting process were placed on the shelves without any system. In addition to St. Michael's Church, the book collection center used three other churches in Posen for storage. By the fall of 1940 alone, the Posen book collection center delivered 77,000 kg of Polish books to the paper mill. The books that were not destroyed were assigned to the various institutes of the Poznan "Reichsuniversität" that was currently being founded. In 1941, Jürgen von Hehn was replaced as head of the office by Heinz Müller, who aimed for a somewhat more careful handling of the books from Polish possession. Nevertheless, in the end, the majority of all Polish books collected were destroyed or ruined by improper storage. During one of the rare Allied air raids on Poznan on May 28 and 29, 1944 (Pentecost), St. Michael's Church was destroyed by bombing, along with the books stored in it. [251]

A large coeval paper print (Fig. VI.163) shows the Posen book collection center that had been established in St. Michael's Church. From an elevated vantage point, one overlooks a large,

very high room filled with narrow rows of bookshelves. In the upper right of the picture, one can see a wall with window inlets that can be identified as stained glass windows because of their shape. In the center of the room and on the right side of the wall are large piles of books heaped up. On the back of the large-format paper print is a handwritten note in pencil in German: “Buchsammelstelle Posen, Hauptraum, 1942.” The photographic image was probably taken using the pre-existing room lighting with a long exposure time. The light sensitivity of photographic film at the time did not permit snapshots to be taken indoors; indoor photographs required long exposure times and/or artificial lighting. The photographic images allow us to assume that the photographer was able to select a suitable shooting location in the church and take pictures at his leisure. The photographer's location and the unusually large size of the contemporary paper print suggest that the surviving image was made by a professional or semi-professional photographer for an official presentation purpose – perhaps for an internal administrative documentation or exhibition. The contemporary inscription on the reverse as “Main Room” indicates that there were other rooms. Another photograph without a caption in the same inventory shows another room with a low and barrel-vaulted ceiling, also containing shelves filled with books (Fig. VI.164). The photograph shows that the underground cellar vaults of the church also served as book storage.

Fig. VI.163: unknown photographer, „Buchsammelstelle Posen, Haupsraum, Zustand 1942“. Silver gelatin paper 21,5 x 29,8 cm (IZ Dok. IV-135/1)

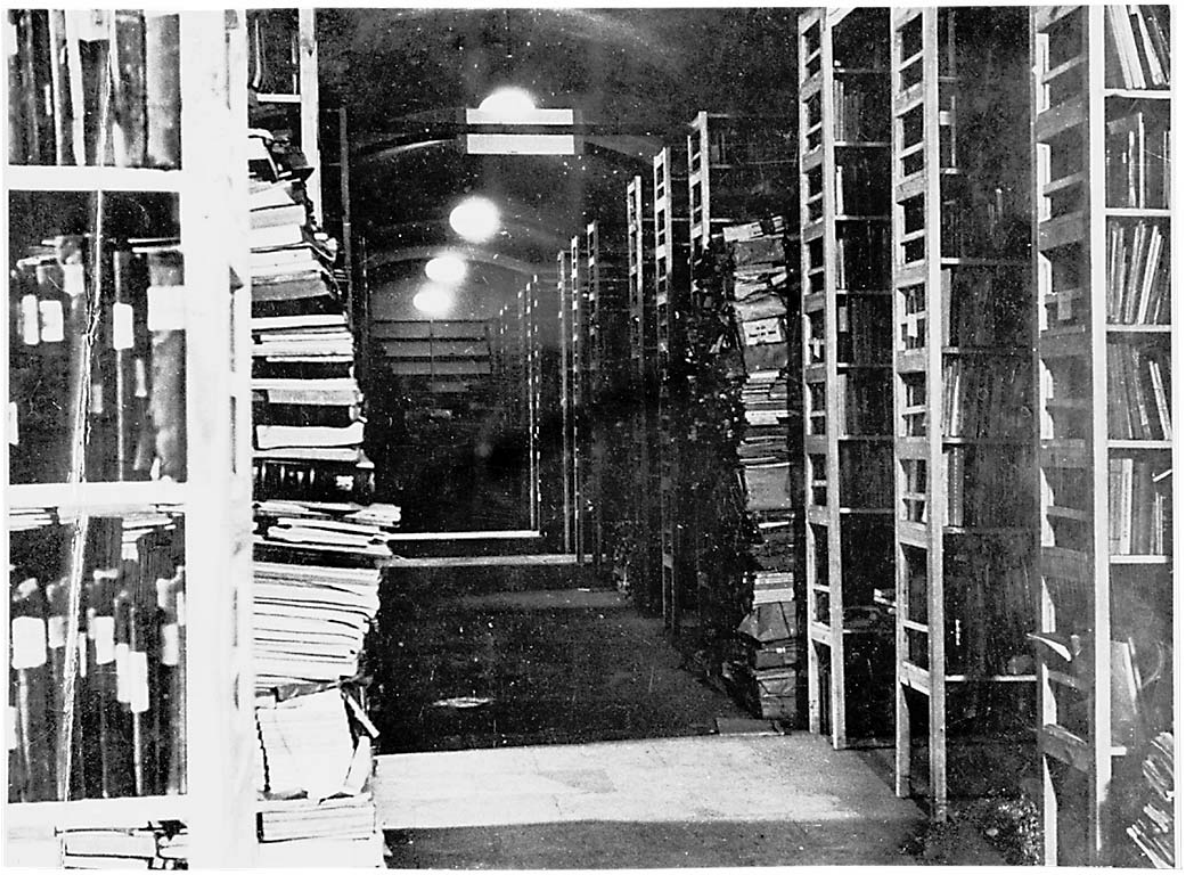

Fig. VI.164: unknown photographer, „Buchsammelstelle Posen – basement vault, Posen 1942“. Silver gelatin paper 21,6 x 29,5 cm (IZ Dok. IV-135/2)

Documentation and Foreign Information

As described in the chapter on press photography, the National Socialist occupational regime in the Reichsgau Wartheland only permitted a German press that had to comply with the specifications of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda [“Reichspropagandaministerium”] and the Gauleiter. All Polish publishers and printers had been closed and confiscated by the German occupation forces; Polish journalists could no longer legally work in their profession in the Reichsgau Wartheland. Since the Polish population had been banned from owning radios by the new rulers soon after the occupation of the area, the Szare Szeregi in Warthegau attempted to secretly listen to foreign broadcasts banned by the National Socialists (figs. VI.165-166). They then relayed the international news received over the radio in the form of simple underground journals (for example, sheets duplicated with matrices). [252] In addition, the Szare Szeregi in Poznan also organized the distribution of illegal periodicals, including Polska Narodowa; in connection with this, many links developed between the Polish Scouts and the Narodowa Organizacja Bojowa, i.e., the military wing of the nationalist-authoritarian underground organization Stronnictwo Narodowe. A large number of the Szare Szeregi in Poznan, however, apparently did not identify with this political group, but from the turn of 1939/40 participated in the underground organization Ojczyzna, which gathered the broadest

possible national camp based on Catholic ethics and had its center in the Wielkopolska region. [253]

Another very important field of work of the Szare Szeregi, apart from providing information about the events abroad and on the war fronts, was documentation, of which not much has survived. One of the first orders issued by the Commandant's Office of the Polish Scouts was to document the destruction of the Polish nation in the occupied territory. The Szare Szeregi in Poznan sent regular reports to the Commandant's Office of the Polish Scouts in Warsaw. Their reports on the crimes of the occupying forces were also sent to the representation of the Polish government-in-exile in occupied Poland. Some of the Szare Szeregi also engaged in military and economic espionage, i.e., they observed and documented army movements, transports, and weapon production as far as they could. In small towns, the Szare Szeregi specifically observed certain Germans or disseminated information among Poles about resettlements that were imminent in the near future. [254]

The Szare Szeregi in Poznan aimed at photographically documenting the destruction of Polish cultural assets and crimes against the Polish people. Their documentation project referred to a future use abroad: the documents of German crimes collected in occupied Poland were to be forwarded to the Polish government-in-exile in London via the Scouts' headquarters in Warsaw. In the Wielkopolska region, the Szare Szeregi pursued two strategies in photographic documentation: on the one hand, to take photographs themselves, and on the other hand, to reproduce the photographs taken by Germans. Since many Germans had their photographs developed in Poznan laboratories, where Polish lab technicians made the prints, this was the main source of photographs for the Szare Szeregi to document the crimes committed in Poland. The second source was photographs taken by themselves of the cultural destruction and crimes committed by the occupying forces. [255]

Fig. VI.165: unknown photographer, Szare Szeregi secretly listening to Polish-language broadcasts of Radio Toulouse and taking notes on the content. Obornik (Oborniki), April 1940. paper print in postcard format (SSW IV/1)

Of the more than 100 photographs shown in the exhibition “Szare Szeregi Wielkopolskie w zachowanych dokumentach 1939-1945”, 42 photographs were recorded for the present study. Of the recorded photographs, 24 had survived anonymously and 18 photographs could be assigned to identifiable authors from the Szare Szeregi circle [256]:

Karol Grzeskowiak [257],
Zdzislaw Kolodziejczak [258],
Zygmunt Zuraszek [259],
Mieczyslaw Knapski [260].

What security precautions the young Poles who had joined the Szare Szeregi took when photographing in the Reichsgau Wartheland emerged in part from the author's conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski. Knapski took photographs only under great security precautions during the occupation, and he did so even before Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland were officially prohibited from taking photographs. Knapski heard from his family that the possession and use of cameras was forbidden to Poles in 1941. It was reported that on Sundays in the Poznan Zoological Garden, the German police had taken away the cameras of all Polish visitors. Afterwards, notices were posted in the city asking Poles to turn in their cameras to the German police. Mieczyslaw Knapski did not hand in his cameras. In his estimation, most Poles in Poznan also did not turn in their cameras to the police. [261]

Fig. VI.166: unknown photographer, Szare Szeregi secretly listening to Polish-language broadcasts of Radio London and taking notes on their contents. Obornik (Oborniki), December 1940. paper print in postcard format (SSW IV/2)

Mieczyslaw Knapski usually took photos only when there were very few people on the street. It was safer for Poles to take photos in the places where there were no Germans. For example, Knapski photographed his friends often at a Catholic cemetery because it was visited only by Poles and not by Germans. In the summer, on Sundays, they made trips on foot to the river bank of the Wartha, about six to ten kilometers from the city; there were no Germans there either. [262]

When Mieczyslaw Knapski took photographs on the street in Poznan, he had two friends help him by covering him from both sides so that no one could see when he operated a camera. In this way he photographed the large Jewish labor camp Stadion in Posen (Fig. V.21), the conversion of a synagogue into a swimming pool (Fig. VI.63), and a prisoner-of-war camp for Frenchmen (Fig. VI.167). Based on the photographs alone, it cannot be reconstructed that the photographer brought in two other people for protection. [263] He was three to four meters away from the persons visible in the photograph of the Prisoner of War camp, and perhaps ten meters away from the camp entrance. The camp existed from about the end of 1940; it was disbanded in 1941. It was one of the provisional Prisoner of War camps set up by the German

Wehrmacht at the beginning and was located – near the present Warta Stadium – on ul. Bielnika, which no longer exists today. The French prisoners of war were used for earthworks on the bank of the Wartha river. [264]

Fig. VI.167: Mieczyslaw Knapski, POW camp for French prisoners of war at ul. Poznan, ca. 1940/41. New print from old negative (private property Mieczyslaw Knapski)

Mieczyslaw Knapski forwarded his photographs of the German Prisoner of War camp for Frenchmen to Warsaw. The Szare Szeregi regularly forwarded information about German activities in Poznan, including photographs, to their main command in the Generalgouvernement with the help of underground couriers. But communication between the Warthegau and the commandant's office in Warsaw was considerably hampered by the heavy police control of the Poles in the Wartheland; news from that area reached the headquarters of the Polish Scouts in the Generalgouvernement only sporadically. [265] An example of the documentation activities of the Scouts in the Warthegau and a successful flow of communication to London is a book publication entitled “Z pierwszej linii frontu,” edited in Warsaw in 1943 and published in Glasgow in the same year. The publication contains reports from Wielkopolska, including executions and expulsions; photographs were not published in this book. [266]

At least two photographs of a member of the Szare Szeregi in Posen were published in the second black book of the Polish government in exile in London. These are two photographs by Karol Grzeskowiak [267] of new signs in German-occupied Posen forbidding Poles to

enter certain spaces. Largely reproduced in full in the publication of the Government in Exile is a photograph by Grzeskowiak showing, very close up, a sign with the text “Playground for German Children Only” behind a barbed wire fence (Fig. VI.168). [268] The kindergartens and the playgrounds in the public areas of the city of Poznan were now to be reserved for German children alone, in accordance with the will of the German civil administration. [269] There were few designated children’s playgrounds at that time anyway, but now there were such signs at every playground in Posen. [270] German women with children came to the playgrounds and immediately chased away Polish children if they played there; German children also participated in chasing away Polish children. Mieczyslaw Knapski said that all Germans were so attuned that – as soon as they heard the Polish language – they asked, “What do you want here?” [271]

Fig. VI.168: Karol Grzeskowiak, Playground for Germans Only. Poznan, August 25, 1940. silver gelatin paper 6 x 9 cm (SSW III/1)

In particular, the further transmission route of the photographs forwarded by the Szare Szeregi from Poznan to the Generalgouvernement is unclear. The contemporary witnesses Aleksandra Markwitz-Bielerzewska and Mieczyslaw Knapski were not aware that at least two of Grzeskowiak's photographs from Poznan had been printed in the 1942 Black Book of the Polish government-in-exile, although they continued to research on the Szare Szeregi during the war years in their spare time in the early 1990s. Intermediates of the reproduction process of one of these photographs in the General Government were found in the archives of the Main Commission at the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw. [272]

Fig. VII.01: Oskar Fissel or Florian Maciejak (Atelier Fissel, formerly Maciejak): Two men of the NSDAP-SA with dog, Kosten (Koscian) 1939-1945. glass negative 10 x 15 cm (APP zespol 1424, sign. B 40-9)

Footnotes

[210] Cf. Pospieszalski 1946, p. 152; Serwanski 1970, p. 202; Madajczyk 1988, p. 33; Harten 1996, pp. 71-73, 86, 89, 97f., 170-172, 177.

[211] Cf. Serwanski 1970, p. 214; Harten 1996.

[212] Cf. Brenner 1963; Luczak 1966, p. 191; Serwanski 1970, pp. 211-213; Kater 1971; Röhr 1989, p. 46; Biuletyn GKBZHwP IV, 1948, pp. 175f.; DO XIII, Doc.VI-3 and VI-4, p. 187. On 21. September 1942, Gauhauptmann Robert Schulz reported to the Reichsstatthalter on the distribution of confiscated art and valuables within the Warthegau: he had formed a commission of German officials from the cultural administration, which had held meetings in accordance with this. Confiscated paintings and sacral art were stored in the Poznan Cathedral (Katedra Poznanska); ecclesiastical equipment made of metal was to be handed over to the non-ferrous metal collection for further use after an inspection by the Gau Conservator. Since the processing of the art and valuables seized and stored in Poznan from Polish ownership was now complete, Schulz and the commission he had formed could now set about reviewing the seized cultural property in other places in the Gau; see Doc. XIII, Doc. VI-43, p. 216; cf. Serwanski 1970, p. 212.

[213] Cf. Serwanski 1970, p. 202f.; Luczak 1966, p. 189f.

[214] Cf. Harten 1996, p. 171; Schwendemann 2003, p. 102.

[215] See Schwendemann 2003, p. 102; Harten 1996, p. 172.

[216] Cf. Zimniak 1983, pp. 244, 251-253, 257; Harten 1996, p. 172f.

[217] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7 Dec. 1994, 12 Feb. 1995, 2 July 1996; conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and 24 June 1996; EKW, pp. 543-555.

[218] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996; conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and 24 June 1996.

[219] Conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996.

[220] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996.

[221] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996. When taking outdoor pictures in smaller groups, part of the group positioned themselves in such a way as to obscure the view on the photographer and the camera (Cf. Fig. VI.52).

[222] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[223] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[224] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[225] See Madajczyk 1988, p. 345; Klattenhoff 1992, p. 37; Hansen 1994, pp. 130, 142, 434; Harten 1996, pp. 189-191, 200, 202, 205-208 and notes 47, 211.

[226] See Hansen 1994, pp. 187ff, 193ff; Harten 1996, pp. 203f.

[227] Cf. DO IV, p. 144; Harten 1996, pp. 215-218.

[228] Cf. Bossowski 1955; Serwanski 1970, pp. 46, 205-207; Majer 1981, p. 392; Madajczyk 1988, p. 343; Harten 1996, p. 201; Matelski 1994, p. 117; Luczak 1996, pp. 291f., 294, 296.

[229] Cf. Majer 1981, p. 392; Madajczyk 1988, p. 343; Matelski 1994, p. 117; Harten 1996, pp. 157f., 201; Luczak 1996, p. 296; Schwendemann 2003, p. 102f. The authors listed here do not establish the connection, evident in the author's opinion, in the history of ideas between the eugenic conceptual worlds at the beginning of the 20th century and the "Volkstumspolitik" towards the Eastern European peoples, but mainly describe the subjects taught at the university.

[230] Cf. Kalisch/Voigt 1961, p. 205; Matelski 1994, p. 117f.; Harten 1996, p. 157f.; Schwendemann 2003, p. 103.

[231] Cf. Kalisch/Voigt 1961, p. 205; Majer 1981, p. 392; Burleigh 1988, p. 292; Matelski 1994, pp. 114f. (proportion of women); Harten 1996, pp. 160, 169, 201; Luczak 1996, p. 297.

[232] Cf. DO V, pp. 62f.; Serwanski 1970, pp. 46, 203, 205; Majer 1981, p. 392; Madajczyk 1988, p. 333; Klessmann 1989, p. 119f.; Harten 1996, pp. 188-193. The details of the dismantling of the Polish school system in a small town in the Warthegau region after the Nazi occupation in 1939 can be reconstructed, for example, for the town of Rawitsch (Rawicz) from contemporary German sources; see Serwanski 1970, p. 204; Harten 1996, pp. 199f.

[233] Cf. DO XIII, p. 329; Klessmann 1989, p. 120f; Luczak 1990, pp. 239, 252, 322f, 329-333; Matelski 1994, p. 119.

[234] Himmler according to Klessmann 1989, p. 120.

[235] Cf. DO V, pp. 312ff; DO XIII, pp. 252, 329, 332; Boberach 1984, vol. 14, pp. 5470f; Harten 1996, pp. 192, 194f.

[236] Cf. Serwanski 1970, pp. 203-205; Klessmann 1971, p. 44; Majer 1981, p. 393; Madajczyk 1988, pp. 344f.; Klattenhoff 1992, pp. 36f.; Matelski 1994, p. 119; Nawrocki 1995, pp. 8, 13; Harten 1996, pp. 191-193, 195-197, 200f. Viktor Böttcher expressly ordered the use of unqualified personnel in the "Polish schools" on 17.9.1940, since the trained German teachers were to be reserved for the "German" pupils.

[237] See DO XIII, p. 329; Harten 1996, pp. 211-214. A December 1941 report by the Higher SS and Police Leader Warthe asserted that Poles could "camouflage" themselves better if they were fluent in German; language was the only "external difference between the two ethnic groups."

[238] See Harten 1996, pp. 189-191.

[239] See Klessmann 1989, pp. 12, 123, 128f., 134; Madajczyk 1988, pp. 352, 347, 349; Nawrocki 1995, p. 18.

[240] Conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996; conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on Dec. 7, 1994, Feb. 12, 1995, July 2, 1996; see EKW, pp. 543-555; Nawrocki 1995, p. 17; Klessmann 1989, pp. 124f. The West German historian Christof Klessmann wrote that the quality of the secret lessons and of the examinations taken could not be judged by today's usual criteria because of the threat to the teachers of arrests and concentration camps, especially since the general living conditions of the Polish population did not exactly strengthen the will to study. However, in his estimation, those who took the risk of illegal teaching were consistently highly motivated, and in this sector of the Polish resistance, cases of denunciation were extraordinarily low; see Klessmann 1989, pp. 126ff.

[241] Interview with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996; EKW, pp. 543-555.

[242] EKW pp. 343f.

[243] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7 Dec. 1994, 12 Feb. 1995, 2 July 1996.

[244] Nawrocki 1995, p. 15.

[245] Aleksandra Bielerzewska, Szare Szeregi Wielkopolskie w zachowanych dokumentach 1939-1945, exhibition concept Poznan 1994. Cf. EKW p. 377 (on Nieborak).

[246] Cf. Starl 1995.

[247] Conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996; conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on Dec. 7, 1994, Feb. 12, 1995, July 2, 1996.

[248] Conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996; conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996; EKW, pp. 543-555.

[249] For example, the German occupation forces confiscated the archives of all Polish occupational organizations and Catholic institutions. The Poznan State Archives suffered numerous losses. The "Reichsarchiv" newly established by the occupying power in Poznan, moved numerous archival records out of fear of Allied bombing raids in 1943/44: to Poznan churches, elsewhere in the Warthegau, and also to the Reichsgebiet. Cf. Luczak 1966, pp. 215-219; Serwanski 1970, pp. 208-210, 212; Rutowska 1984.

[250] Cf. DO XIII, pp. 187, 202f., 206, 216f., 323, 344f.; Machmann 1963, p. 78; Serwanski 1970, pp. 45, 208-210, 215-217; Rutowska 1984, pp. 56-64; Madajczyk 1988, p. 336; Röhr 1989, p. 47; Madajczyk 1970, vol. II, p. 123; Luczak 1990, pp. 187, 202, 206, 216f, 323, 334; Matelski 1994, pp. 116, 119; Nawrocki 1995, p. 8. In general, on library policy in Nazi-occupied Poland: Rapmund 1993.

[251] Cf. Kalisch/Voigt 1961, p. 192; Serwanski 1970, pp. 208, 215f.; Rutowska 1984, pp. 58, 61f., 69; Nawrocki 1995, p. 14f. Apart from St. Michael's Church, the following were used as warehouses of the book collection center in Poznan: a chapel at ul. Koscielna, the Sw. Stanislaw Church in Poznan-Winiary, and the Sw. Malgorzata Church in Poznan-Srodka.

[252] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996.

[253] EKW, pp. 543-555; pp. 399-402 (on the "Ojczyzna" organization).

[254] EKW, PP. 543-555.

[255] Conversation with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and 24 June 1996. Not all Polish scouts who took photos were able to develop them themselves. In such cases, recourse was made to a liaison woman whom the Szare Szeregi had at Foto-Stewner, the largest photo house in Poznan.

[256] Aleksandra Bielerzewska, Szare Szeregi Wielkopolskie w zachowanych dokumentach 1939-1945, exhibition concept Poznan 1994.

[257] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[258] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[259] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[260] See list of photographers in the appendix.

[261] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996. Since Knapski took outdoor photographs after the ban on photography for Poland, he also got into a relatively dangerous situation once. In the spring of 1943, he was walking with friends through a forest to a nearby pond to take photographs. He had hung a camera with a long lens around his neck and the lens was peeking out the front of his coat. At a crossroads in the woods, they encountered a German Schupo. Knapski zipped up his coat in high anxiety, but the policeman took no offense at all with the group.

[262] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996. The movement radius of the Poles was very limited by the fact that they had to show an official permission to pass ["Passierschein"] in order to ride the trains. They were also forbidden to own bicycles and cars. This was another reason for their oftentimes long hikes.

[263] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996.

[264] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996. Later, larger, longer-term camps were established, which were not so close to the city.

[265] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996. Contact with Warsaw was maintained by Zygfryd Linda, after his arrest in 1943 by Edward Zürn; cf. EKW, pp. 543-555.

[266] Conversations with Aleksandra Bielerzewska in February 1995 and June 24, 1996; also EKW, pp. 543-555.

[267] Cf. list of photographers in the appendix.

[268] See Polish Ministry of Information 1942, pp. 410f. Fig. 109. The second picture by Grzeskowiak, in the present work Fig. IV.53, is also printed in the Black Book of the Polish Government in Exile – as a cropped enlargement – under the number Fig. 108.

[269] Cf. DO XIII, p. 335 (kindergartens); DO XIII, Doc. XIII-34, P. 374.

[270] See also IZ Doc.IV-24/3 (1 photo by Marian Olszewski: meadow with sign "Playground for German children only," Poznan, ca. 1940).

[271] Conversations with Mieczyslaw Knapski on 7.12.1994, 12.2.1995, 2.7.1996.

[272] See IPN-AGK 4066A (positive) and 4066B (negative). Possibly these are enlargements of microfilm on paper. On the dispatch of photographs from Warsaw in the form of microfilm 1939-1945, see Arani 1997 with further references.

About the author

Miriam Yegane Arani did her doctorate at the UDK in Berlin under the supervision of the photo historian Prof. Diethart Kerbs. Her work focuses on the survey and analysis of photo-historical materials from the NS period. Her dissertation dealt with the Reichsgau Wartheland, where the Nazis implemented "exemplary" oppressive measures against the native Polish population. Similar methods were soon to be used in the old Reich territories in an increased dimension against the antagonized parts of the German, especially the German Jewish population. In the "Reichsgau Wartheland", a German administrative unit newly formed from previously Polish territories after the military occupation, the Nazi regime realized its population and settlement policy plans for Eastern Europe in an exemplary manner.

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