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# The imagined ethno-racial border and the expulsion of Jews from western Poland, 1939-41[*]

**Hugo Service, University of York**

Before Germany turned to genocide against Jews in the second half of 1941, Nazi leaders attempted in 1939-41 to find a 'solution' to the 'Jewish question' in German-occupied Poland through mass expulsion. The objective, made clear in multiple plans from Berlin in autumn and winter 1939, was to remove all Jews and a large part of the non-Jewish population from Germany's 'incorporated eastern territories' (eingegliederte Ostgebiete) – the western part of Poland formally incorporated into Germany through Hitler's decree in October 1939. Their confiscated properties would be handed to ethnic German 'resettlers' from Soviet-controlled parts of Eastern Europe. The Jews and Poles were to be sent to the so-called *Generalgouvernement,* the separate colonial-style entity which Germany established in central Poland. In practice, for a range of reasons, the uprooting of Jews was only partially carried out. Approximately 400,000 people were deported to the *Generalgouvernement* in 1939-41, no more than one quarter of whom were deemed Jewish. This left around 400,000 to 450,000 registered Jews remaining in the incorporated eastern territories when, in spring 1941, these mass expulsions were stopped for military and economic reasons.[1]

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Yet there was part of the incorporated eastern territories where very few registered Jews remained: the western half. This was partly because, even before the war, far smaller numbers of Jewish people had lived there compared to the eastern half of these territories. This meant that the deportations of 1939-41 were probably bound to be more comprehensive in removing Jews from the western half than from the eastern half. But a further factor also helps to explain this. Scholars in this field have generally not recognised the role played by two defunct 1914 borders in determining the manner in which the Nazi German authorities attempted to transform the ethnic and racial composition of the incorporated eastern territories in the early war years. Namely, Germany's 1914 eastern border and, in the south, pre-First World War Austria's border between Silesia and Galicia. Together these 1914 borders formed, for Nazi wartime elites, a boundary splitting the incorporated eastern territories down the middle, north to south, with people living west of it deemed overwhelmingly German or Germanizable and those living east of it seen as mostly Polish or Jewish (see Map 1).[2] This imagined ethno-racial boundary was expressed not in legislation or public announcements, but rather in practical policies of forced migration and pressured assimilation. Put another way, while Nazi leaders chose (after weeks of indecision) to push the Reich's new eastern border far eastwards in early November 1939, their population policies on the ground in 1939-41 revealed a more limited conception of the lands which were truly – racially and ethnically – part of Germany, demarcated by the 1914 borders.[3] One key aspect of this was that Nazi elites gave greater priority to the uprooting of Jews from territories west of this perceived ethno-racial boundary than those east of it in 1939-41.

The largest province in the incorporated eastern territories was the Wartheland and the imagined ethno-racial boundary cut straight down the centre of it, north to south. Michael Alberti has demonstrated that although the Wartheland's authorities gave main priority during the mass deportations of 1939-41 to expelling non-Jewish Poles to the *Generalgouvernment* in

order to vacate their properties for ethnic German resettlers arriving from Eastern Europe, they also placed great importance on making the Wartheland's western half 'Judenrein' (free from Jews). The number of registered Jews residing in the western half by late 1939 was small, so it was no great task in practice to remove the overwhelming majority of them to the *Generalgouvernement*, as happened during the Wartheland's first mass deportation operation of December 1939. In contrast, east of the perceived ethno-racial boundary in the Wartheland, only the registered Jews living in and around the cities of Lodz (Łódź) and Kalisch (Kalisz) were targeted during this first operation; not a single Jewish person living anywhere else in the province east of that boundary was deported. Further deportations in 1940-41 focused overwhelmingly on non-Jewish Poles, with very few Jewish residents affected, so that over 250,000 registered Jews (well over half their pre-war number) were still residing in the Wartheland's eastern half by the time the deportations ceased in March 1941.[4]

A quite similar story can be told for the province of Danzig-West Prussia. Unlike the Wartheland, its incorporated territory (taken from both Poland and the Free City of Danzig/Gdańsk) lay almost entirely west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary. As in the western half of the Wartheland, the number of registered Jews living there was small: roughly 4,000 at the time of the German invasion. Again, the primary objective for the Nazi German authorities during the mass expulsions from October 1939 onwards was to relocate non-Jewish Poles to the *Generalgouvernement* in order to hand their properties to ethnic German resettlers. Yet the removal of remaining Jews was also deemed very important and in practice almost every Jewish resident living in the incorporated part of the province was sent to the *Generalgouvernement* by early 1941.[5]

Conversely, the small amount of incorporated territory added in autumn 1939 to the province of East Prussia, which Berlin labelled the Zichenau District, lay almost exclusively east of the perceived ethno-racial boundary. This area had contained around 80,000 registered

Jews on the eve of the war and although many thousands were uprooted to the *Generalgouvernement* during the mass expulsions of 1939-41, around half remained living there after spring 1941. This is to say the Nazi German authorities did not in practice attempt to realize the 'Judenrein' objective in this territory east of the ethno-racial boundary.[6]

The central purpose of this article is to examine the equivalent process in the province of Silesia, which differed markedly from that elsewhere in annexed western Poland. As in the Wartheland, for Silesia's officials the ethno-racial boundary ran vertically straight down the middle of its incorporated territory (see Map 2). Only in Silesia was the imagined ethno-racial boundary formed not wholly by Germany's 1914 eastern border, but also – south of the town of Auschwitz (Oświęcim) – by a historical border that had divided Austrian Silesia and Galicia within pre-First World War Austria.[7] The attempt to uproot all remaining Jewish residents living west of the boundary took place in May to June 1940. Unlike elsewhere in annexed western Poland, it was not bound up in either its planning or execution with the settling of ethnic German resettlers in the region. In stark contrast to the other three provinces, in Silesia's incorporated territory this mass displacement operation did not take the form of expulsions to the *Generalgouvernement*. Rather, Jewish residents were expelled *within* Silesia's incorporated territory, from west to east across the perceived ethno-racial boundary. Or, to use the terms of Silesia's wartime officials, they were expelled from 'the Old Silesian area' to the the *Ostkreise* (eastern counties). For clarity, we shall refer to the former in this article as East Upper Silesia, but continue with *Ostkreise* for the latter.[8]

This expulsion has never been studied in detail, although scholars such as Aleksandra Namysło, Sybille Steinbacher and Alfred Konieczny have each made important contributions laying the path for the present study. Those few scholars who have addressed this topic in more than a single sentence have been silent or hazy on when, how and why it happened. Of the few scholars who have paid it any attention, all but Namysło seem to assume that all remaining

Jewish residents of East Upper Silesia were uprooted. As will be shown below, while the Nazi German authorities did prioritize the removal of Jewish residents from the larger pre-First World War German part of this region, this did not ultimately happen in the smaller pre-First World War Austrian part.[9]

Recent scholarship on the fate of Jewish people in annexed western Poland has stressed the direct practical linkages on the ground between the arrival of hundreds of thousands ethnic German resettlers from the Soviet sphere and the ultimately abortive efforts to expel much larger numbers of Jewish and non-Jewish Poles to make space for them.[10] What has never really been addressed is how far the related policy of ethnically screening and coercively assimilating – 'Germanizing' – a large part of the indigenous population also played a role in the fate of Jewish people there. This article will argue that in the years before genocide this policy had a significant bearing on what happened to the Jewish people living west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary. It will demonstrate that in the case of Silesia this contributed to inducing the province's SS and Security Police leadership to decide on the expulsion of Jews *within* Silesia's incorporated territory, from west to east across the perceived ethno-racial boundary, in early summer 1940. More broadly, this article will contend that although scholars are right to point out that the Nazi leadership soon dropped its early wartime objective of removing *all* Jews from *all* territories incorporated into Germany because of the priority given to removing non-Jewish Poles from properties deemed especially suitable for ethnic German resettlers, it held firm to a more specific aim of making the territories lying west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary 'Judenrein'. This reflected an underlying assumption among Nazi wartime elites that the lands located west of this boundary formed the racial and ethnic core of the expanded German Reich. Relating the distinctive case of Silesia to wider patterns across annexed western Poland, this article will first examine the background to the early summer 1940 expulsion action, then address how it panned out in practice and finally look at how we can explain it.

**Background to the 1940 expulsion action**

The wartime uprooting of Jewish residents from East Upper Silesia started not with expulsion or deportation, but with mass flight to escape the invading German forces. There were probably well over 20,000 people who regarded themselves as Jewish living in East Upper Silesia on the eve of the German invasion.[11] The flight eastwards of civilians from this region started in the days preceding the invasion, but transformed into a mass movement following the German attack of 1 September 1939. Being one of the key locations where German forces concentrated their assault on Poland, East Upper Silesia's civilians took flight in higher numbers than most other parts of Poland. Many of these people returned once the *Wehrmacht* had reached their places of refuge, but while most non-Jews had probably returned by October, only a minority of Jewish refugees ever came back – instead taking up residence in locations with large Jewish populations, including nearby towns, such as Sosnowiec and Będzin, but also further afield, especially Kraków and Lwów.[12] Based on the available evidence it is probable that a little under half of the Jewish people living in East Upper Silesia before the German invasion were still, or once more, living there by October 1939.[13]

German forces had occupied the whole of East Upper Silesia within four days of their invasion. They were accompanied by SS *Einsatzgruppen*, which carried out a wave of anti-Jewish murder, violence and destruction, including the burning of synagogues. In mid-September 1939 the army ordered the expulsion of the region's Jews into eastern Poland, but this failed to happen. New regional and local civilian authorities were established in the course of September and they quickly began to implement further anti-Jewish measures, including confiscations of money and property and a region-wide evening curfew. At the same time, the

Gestapo established Jewish so-called 'councils of elders' in all main towns as tools for controlling and coercing the Jewish population.[14]

This new reality prompted many hundreds of Jewish residents who had chosen to remain in East Upper Silesia during the German invasion, and even many who had returned from flight, to depart eastwards in late September and October 1939 – heading to the nearby towns with much larger Jewish populations or to Soviet-occupied Lwów. East Upper Silesia's Jewish population thus diminished still further. For example, in the city of Königshütte (Chorzów) and neighbouring localities, the remaining Jewish population dropped from around 2,200 in late September to only 1,191 by mid-October. But this new outflow petered out from early November, as the German authorities gained greater control over occupied territories.[15]

The enforcement of a new 'police border' along Germany's eastern frontier very likely played a key role in this. For most of its course, this border simply replaced the now defunct 1939 international border between Germany and Poland, thus functioning as a boundary between so-called *Altreich* (Old Reich) Germany[16] and the incorporated eastern territories. Aimed at preventing free movement of people into core Reich territories, it required passes for crossing, much like the international border it replaced. But in two places it strayed off the line of the 1939 German-Polish border. Firstly, around Danzig it followed the path of the 1939 international border between Poland and the Free City of Danzig/Gdańsk.[17] Secondly, in the province of Silesia, it ran southwards along Germany's 1914 eastern border until around Auschwitz town, then continued southwards through pre-First World War Austrian territory. This is to say, in this province alone the police border matched the imagined ethno-racial boundary separating East Upper Silesia from the so-called *Ostkreise*, giving that boundary a very tangible reality not seen elsewhere. The police border also gave both East Upper Silesia and the former Free City of Danzig/Gdańsk a quite distinctive legal status, somewhere between *Altreich* and 'incorporated' territories.[18]

It was in this context that the first active effort to deport Jews from East Upper Silesia took place. In late September, the Third Reich's Security Police chief Reinhard Heydrich instructed his subordinates to prepare for the 'concentration' of Jews throughout German-occupied Poland, including their comprehensive removal from Danzig, West Prussia, Posen (Poznań) and East Upper Silesia.[19] Then in early October, Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller ordered his subordinate, Adolf Eichmann, to look into deporting 70,000 to 80,000 Jews from all of Silesia's incorporated territory (both sides of the perceived ethno-racial boundary). Eichmann was already in charge of facilitating Jewish emigration in Vienna and Prague and during the next fortnight proceeded to organize a set of 'pilot' deportations from Kattowitz (Katowice), Vienna, Mährisch Ostrau (Ostrava) and Prague, targeting Jewish men. He chose as their destination Nisko am San in the *Generalgouvernement*. The intention was to use these men to construct a transit camp near Nisko, which later deportees could pass through on their way to a planned 'Reich Ghetto' in central Poland. The ultimate aim was to initiate mass deportations from the entire expanded German Reich once the first deportations had proven this viable. However, Himmler stopped the deportations before this could happen. In total, only six trains were sent to Nisko between 18 and 27 October 1939, two each from Kattowitz, Vienna and Mährisch Ostrau, transporting a total of approximately 4,760 Jewish men on freight wagons. On arrival, some of the men were deposited near Nisko to help build the camp, but most were marched violently to the boundary with Soviet-controlled eastern Poland and ordered to cross it or be shot.[20]

From Kattowitz, at least 875 individuals were transported on 20 October and over 1,000 seven days later. These were men and boys aged around 15-60 years. Exempted were men in so-called 'mixed marriages' with non-Jewish women – who were often released only after being being gathered ready for transportation. The deportees were collected from towns and villages across East Upper Silesia – especially from Kattowitz, Königshütte (Chorzów), Bielitz

(Bielsko) and Teschen (Cieszyn, Těsín) – as well as from two *Ostkreise* towns adjoining this region, Sosnowitz (Sosnowiec) and Biala (Biała). Notwithstanding the longer term aims of this project, however, Jews living in Germany's *Altreich* territories were explicitly exempted from these deportations. In the province of Silesia, this meant, for example, that Jewish men living around Königshütte were deported eastwards, whereas those living just a few kilometres to the north and west were not. Another key feature of the Nisko deportations in Silesia was that their practical implementation on the ground was left up to the local Jewish 'councils of elders'. This included registering the men, ensuring all appeared for deportation, gathering large funds from local Jewish people to pay for it, feeding the deportees before departure and collecting work equipment and food to send with them.[21]

With the end of the Nisko deportations and simultaneous petering out of migration eastwards, the size of East Upper Silesia's remaining Jewish population stabilized at around 5,200 to 5,500 from mid-November 1939 through to late spring 1940.[22] With most of the remaining men deported, these were mainly women, children and elderly men.[23] During autumn and winter 1939, Reich Commissar for Consolidating German Ethnicity, Heinrich Himmler, and the man he entrusted with steering population policy in the incorporated eastern territories, Reinhard Heydrich, issued a series of plans for deporting all Jews, and part *or* all of the non-Jewish Polish population to the *Generalgouvernement*, and for replacing them with ethnic German resettlers from the Soviet sphere. Within Silesia, deputy provincial president Fritz-Dietlof von der Schulenberg and SS chief Erich von Bach-Zelewski compiled their own plans to deport 120,000 Jews and 100,000 non-Jewish Poles from the province's incorporated territory, in order to make space for many tens of thousands of German settlers. But while thousands of resettlers began arriving in the southern part of East Upper Silesia from Soviet-occupied Volhynia in January 1940, the big plans for mass deportation failed to bear fruit.[24]

At the start of December 1939, the Gestapo announced that in a few days time all remaining Jews living in and around Kattowitz, Königshütte, Bielitz, Teschen, Rybnik – and probably in fact every location in East Upper Silesia – would be deported to the *Generalgouvernement*, but then cancelled these actions, possibly after a collective bribe was paid by the region's Jewish councils.[25] Days later Bach-Zelewski ordered that all Jews aged over ten in Silesia's incorporated territory must henceforth wear a white armband or badge bearing a blue star and all Jewish shops, cafes and similar businesses must display a large black or blue star.[26]

So while mass deportations of both Jewish and non-Jewish Poles to the *Generalgouvernement* were well underway elsewhere in annexed western Poland by this time, similar plans developed for Silesia's incorporated territory were hitting obstacles at the turn of 1939-40. Three factors help to explain this. First, Berlin's deportation priorities had shifted by late 1939 to finding accommodation for ethnic German resettlers in rural areas – meaning primacy was given to deporting people from the largely rural Wartheland over other provinces. Second, the northern parts of East Upper Silesia and the *Ostkreise* area contained huge coal-mining and metal industries, together forming the second most important industrial zone in the expanded German Reich. There was therefore a general acceptance in Berlin and Silesia that the authorities could not embark on remoulding the population here with the same reckless abandon shown by Arthur Greiser's authorities in the Wartheland.[27]

Third, Nazi Party and state officials arrived in Silesia's incorporated territory in September 1939 carrying a well-worn German nationalist belief that the large majority of people living west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary were in some sense German. In reality only a minority, concentrated especially in East Upper Silesia's northern industrial area, regarded themselves as German or spoke German as their first language. The majority exhibited what many contemporaries in both Germany and Poland felt was a sort of

indifference towards any national identity. Most spoke a variant of the region's west Slavic dialect, though often alongside standard Polish or a local German dialect as a second and/or third language. These distinctive linguistic circumstances and a perception that many locals showed ambivalence or hostility towards the new order, caused many German officials to lose confidence in the belief that most locals were Germans. They raised serious doubts when over three quarters of the region's population declared themselves Germans in Himmler's Police Residents Survey, an ethnic census hastily implemented across annexed western Poland at the turn of 1939-40. Yet these officials were also unwilling to swing the other way by recognising most residents as Poles. These considerations help to explain why decision-makers hesitated from seeking to undertake mass deportations against 'Poles' here in the early phase of the war.[28]

It is important to recognize that this hesitance only applied to non-Jews. East Upper Silesia's largely urban Jewish population tended to be considerably more germanophone than the rest of the population, but a very large proportion also, or instead, spoke Polish or Yiddish, partly the result of very significant Jewish immigration from elsewhere in Poland during the interwar years. Yet whatever languages they used or national affiliations they professed, Jews in East Upper Silesia supposedly exhibited clear 'racial' differences. Indeed, so confident were Gestapo officers in Jewish 'racial' distinctiveness that they were happy to leave it almost entirely up to the Jewish councils of elders to identify and register Jews.[29] The same happened elsewhere in German-occupied Poland, contrasting significantly with practices in *Altreich* Germany since 1933, where officials devoted significant efforts to identifying Jews.[30] This perceived simplicity in identifying 'Jews' but not 'Poles' in East Upper Silesia helps to explain why the key decision-makers on deportation policy in Silesia's incorporated territory, from early 1940 onwards, kept the planning for deporting Jews entirely separate from that for

deporting non-Jewish Poles – deviating markedly from what happened elsewhere in annexed western Poland.

In late February 1940 the Kattowitz Gestapo Regional Headquarters (Geheime Staatspolizei Staatspolizeistelle) sent to local authorities a detailed plan for the mass deportation of almost all Jews from Silesia's incorporated territory to the *Generalgouvernement*, but acknowledged that there was no prospect of this happening 'for the time being'. In late March 1940, hostility from the *Generalgouvernement*'s chief, Hans Frank, to the mass influx of deportees into his realm, and other factors, prompted Hermann Göring to suspend deportations throughout Germany's incorporated eastern territories (although this did not apply to the deportations from the Wartheland already planned as part of the so-called 'second short-range plan').[31]

Within weeks, the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ devised a very different expulsion plan. On 18 April 1940 it sent a circular to local authorities announcing the 'resettlement' of Jews *within* Silesia's incorporated territory, from east to west across the perceived ethno-racial boundary. They were to be transported from fourteen towns located throughout East Upper Silesia to four *Ostkreise* towns – namely Chrzanow (Chrzanów), Trzebinia, Olkusch (Olkusz) and Zawiercie (see Map 2). This would happen using designated carriages of normal passenger trains, all departing between 10 and 21 May 1940. The Jewish councils of elders were to be given full responsibility for carrying out this expulsion, with Gestapo and local police officers 'merely supervising and ensuring order is maintained for the transports'. All Jews living in East Upper Silesia were to be expelled. The only exemptions would be Jewish women in so-called 'mixed marriages' with non-Jewish men, Jewish men in child-bearing 'mixed marriages' and, by implication, the children of these marriages.[32]

The term the Gestapo used in their circular to refer to East Upper Silesia was the 'Old Silesian area'. This distinguished it from the *Ostkreise* area – territories which had never been

viewed as part of Silesia by any state in previous decades or centuries. But it also distinguished it from *Altreich* Silesia. This reflected the fact that a different policy for removing Jews was in place in *Altreich* Germany to the one operating in Germany's incorporated eastern territories. In *Altreich* Germany, since the mid-1930s the Nazi regime had pursued a policy of pressuring Jews to leave Germany 'voluntarily' through deliberate measures of persecution and impoverishment. In 1938 the Nazis deviated from this and attempted to expel Jews holding Soviet or Polish citizenship, but while 17,000 of the latter were expelled into Poland in late October 1938, the blocking of these actions by Warsaw and Moscow put Berlin off further attempts. Meanwhile the 'voluntary' approach was increasingly obstructed as fewer foreign states became willing to accept Jewish refugees and decreasing numbers of German Jews had the financial means to emigrate. Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939 opened up the possibility of expelling Germany's Jews to central Poland. But the Nisko plan failed to set this in motion and in December Heydrich stipulated that no 'Jews from the *Altreich*' should be expelled to the *Generalgouvernement*, only 'Jews from the new German eastern *Gaue*'. Despite this, around 1,300 Jews were deported to the *Generalgouvernement* from the *Altreich* province of Pomerania in February and March 1940. But Berlin seems to have viewed this Pomeranian expulsion as an exception, and this was reinforced by the foreign outrage it provoked. In these same months, Heydrich and other key Berlin officials repeated that Jews must only be deported eastwards from the incorporated territories not *Altreich* ones and, conversely, that emigration abroad should be prevented from the former and promoted from the latter (as well as from Austria and the Protectorate). For the next period this distinction was kept to.[33] How strongly is highlighted by the case of Silesia, since this province contained both types of territory. In its late February 1940 deportation plan, the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ instructed that even in towns in the *Altreich* Silesia bordering the province's incorporated territory, such as Beuthen, Hindenburg and Gleiwitz, 'legal emigration' abroad was the only means for removing Jews,

not deportation to the *Generalgouvernement*. Likewise, in its 18 April 1940 circular, it stipulated that *Altreich* territory was excluded from the expulsion from east to west *within* Silesia.[34]

## The 1940 expulsion action: process and extent

We will take up the matter of explaining the reasons behind this expulsion below, but first let us address what happened in practice. Teschen County, the southwestern corner of East Upper Silesia (see Map 2), had the greatest concentration of remaining Jewish residents in the region on the eve of the expulsion. Merin's Centre estimated there were around 1,750 Jewish people still living there, most of them in Teschen city itself but significant numbers also in the county's western half. The Kattowitz Gestapo HQ planned for Jews to be transported from there northeastwards to the *Ostkreise* town of Zawiercie in the course of just two days, 16 and 17 May 1940.[35] We have quite a good idea of how the expulsion unfolded in practice from fortnightly reports by Teschen County's town police stations (Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen). These indicate that the expulsions were underway as planned by 17 May, but continued far beyond the envisaged two days, well into June 1940. In four towns – Freistadt (Frysztat, Fryštát), Oderberg (Bogumin, Bohumín), Skotschau (Skoczów) and Trzynietz (Trzyniec, Třynec) – the police reported that all or almost all Jews had been expelled by the end of June, but stated that this had 'yet to be clarified' in the case of Teschen city itself. The police also indicated that they themselves played a significant role in implementing the expulsions: overseeing the gathering of expellees at collection points, apprehending anyone who failed appear, implementing luggage inspections and overseeing the loading of expellees onto trains.[36]

What the police reports do not clarify is where exactly the expellees were sent. The Gestapo's 18 April 1940 circular named the northern *Ostkreise* town of Zawiercie as the

destination for Teschen County's expellees and the police reports confirm that some were indeed sent there. But postwar testimonies by expellees reveal that Teschen County's Jewish residents could be relocated not only to Zawiercie itself but also to quite a large number of different villages and small towns in the broad vicinity of Zawiercie. For example, the train on which fourteen-year-old Ilza L. departed the village of Golleschau (Goleszów) in western Teschen County on 23 May 1940 picked up expellees from the nearby town of Skotschau along the way and dropped them off 9 kilometres short of Zawiercie, in the small town of Lazy (Łazy). Ilza L. and her mother remained on the train with other Golleschau expellees until Zawiercie, but were then transferred to the nearby village of Poremba (Poręba). Lili B. claimed that before her sister and parents departed, on separate trains, from Skotschau in late May 1940, they were actually given options of different towns near to Zawiercie to relocate to. She herself was transported on one of the last expellee trains to leave Teschen city, on 26 June, to the village of Zomkowitz (Ząbkowice), located some 18 kilometers south-west of Zawiercie.[37]

Another key aspect the police reports do not shed light on is the role played by Jewish council of elders officials in these actions. In fact we know that the Gestapo compelled Jewish officials to play a very considerable role in the implementation of this expulsion throughout East Upper Silesia in May to June 1940. The background to this was that in December 1939 the Kattowitz Regional Gestapo HQ commissioned the leader of Sosnowitz city's Jewish council of elders, Moniek Merin, to begin setting up a regional Jewish authority to take care of Jewish matters throughout Silesia's incorporated territory. As Aleksandra Namysło has shown, during the next six months Merin constructed a sophisticated institution in Sosnowitz with numerous ministry-like departments and a bureaucracy employing hundreds of people. It was known as the Centre of the Jewish Faith Communities in *Ost-Oberschlesien* (the latter for Merin's Centre signified both East Upper Silesia and the *Ostkreise* area). He also subordinated each town's existing council of elders to his Centre, turning them into mere local branches –

though not without significant resistance from Kattowitz's council of elders. Henceforth Merin's Centre and subordinate councils did what they could, with very meagre resources, to construct welfare provisions and social facilities to replace the public ones from which Jewish people were systematically excluded. They could do little to limit the effects of blanket expropriation, freezing of financial assets and exclusion from normal employment – all of which plunged Jewish people into dire poverty from late 1939 onwards – but they did manage to prevent the truly lethal living conditions soon seen in the *Generalgouvernement*'s ghettos. At the same time, as intended by the Gestapo, Merin's Centre increasingly became a tool for the segregation, expulsion and labour exploitation of the Jewish population and, from 1942, genocide. As a *regional* Jewish authority not limited to a single town or city, Merin's Centre was unique in the whole of German-occupied Poland.[38]

Merin was informed by the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ of the plan to expel Jews from East Upper Silesia already on 10 April 1940 and ordered to begin preparing for it. He responded by creating a 'Resettlement Leadership' within his Centre, which coordinated the expulsion region-wide and sent representatives to supervise departures of 'resettlement' trains. He seems to have supervised departures personally on at least one occasion. At the same time, each town's council of elders created a 'resettlement committee' to handle the detailed practicalities locally, including ensuring every non-exempted Jewish resident appeared for transportation. These committees also remained in East Upper Silesia after the expulsion to assist with the 'liquidation' of Jewish property and businesses.[39]

Despite this region-wide coordination, however, the expulsion proceeded somewhat differently across East Upper Silesia. In the region's south-eastern corner, the western half of Bielitz County (the half lying west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary, see Map 2), there were probably around 1,200 registered Jews remaining on the eve of the expulsion – mostly in Bielitz city itself, though with a significant number also in the more northerly town of

Tschechowitz-Dziedzitz (Czechowice-Dziedzice). The Kattowitz Gestapo HQ's plan was to expel Jews from both towns and nearby villages in just two days, 21 and 22 May 1940.[40] As in Teschen County, however, the expulsion took much longer. According to local police, approximately 500 Jews were 'resettled in groups by the council of elders' from Bielitz city between 30 May and the end of June 1940. But whereas in Teschen County the expellees were transported to the town specified in the Gestapo's 18 April circular, or to nearby locations, in Bielitz County's western half this was not the case. It is possible that a minority were transported as planned to the *Ostkreise* town of Olkusch. But the evidence is that most, perhaps all, expellees were instead transported to much closer *Ostkreise* towns located *within* Bielitz County, *east* of the perceived ethno-racial boundary: mainly to Wadowitz (Wadowice), Andrichau (Andrychów) and Auschwitz town. There is also evidence from postwar testimonies by expellees and other witnesses that this localised expulsion process may have started before the Kattowitz Gestapo issued its 18 April 1940 circular and that expellees were given a choice about which town they relocated to.[41]

What about further north in Eastern Upper Silesia, what happened in its main city, Kattowitz? Merin's Centre estimated in May 1940 that there were only 830 Jewish residents remaining there and 180 in nearby Myslowitz (Mysłowice). The Gestapo's plan was to transport them all to the *Ostkreise* town of Chrzanow in a single day, 15 May 1940. Postwar testimonies by expellees and from a surviving official of the Kattowitz council of elders, S. Z., inform us that the expulsion did indeed start on 15 May, but then continued for the next six weeks. Residents of Kattowitz city were expelled on a street-by-street basis, receiving a few days notice from the city's council of elders. In total, around 600 residents of Kattowitz city were transported to Chrzanow and a further 150 to nearby Szczakowa on 'resettlement' trains in the first weeks of the action. Residents of Myslowitz and smaller localities in Kattowitz County were probably transported on the same trains. In line with the Gestapo's 18 April

circular, Kattowitz County's expellees were, in practice, able to take with them a set of kitchenware, a lamp and a table per family as well as one chair and a set of clothing and bedding per person. This was transported to the railway station on carts organized by the council of elders.

But the expulsion in Kattowitz County deviated from the Gestapo's plan insofar as a significant number of Jewish people – S. Z.'s testimony suggests up to 100 – were allowed to relocate under their own steam to locations which the Gestapo had deliberately sought to rule out, namely the industrial cities of Sosnowitz and Bendzin (Będzin). The latter both contained very large Jewish populations. This independent option was apparently available only to those with relatives or close friends in Sosnowitz or Bendzin. Jewish residents in other counties in East Upper Silesia were also given this option. In addition, the Kattowitz council of elders arranged for a small number of elderly, sick and disabled people to be transported to hospitals and care homes in Sosnowitz and Bendzin during the expulsion. The coordinated transportation of Kattowitz County's Jewish residents to Chrzanow and Szczakowa was over by 10 June, with only the independent relocations continuing in the later weeks of June. Thereafter there were almost no registered Jews remaining in the county.[42]

Further north again, in the counties of Tarnowitz (Tarnowskie Góry) and Lublinitz (Lubliniec), there were only small numbers of Jewish residents remaining by May 1940: roughly 90 in the former and probably under 80 in the latter. The Gestapo's plan was to expel almost all of them to the northern *Ostkreise* town of Zawiercie on 10 May 1940. The evidence is that this is indeed what happened in practice.[43] According to one witness, Jewish residents of the towns of Tarnowitz and Lublinitz, and nearby villages, were transported on the same train to Zawiercie on 10 May, arriving at 2 pm. But, as in Kattowitz city, not every expellee from these counties made the journey on this 'resettlement' train. Erna W., her husband, three children and brother-in-law's family travelled to Zawiercie under their own steam, though

under police guard for at least of the way, after leaving their farm in the small village of Lubschau (Lubsza) in eastern Lublinitz County in the early hours of 10 May. In a letter written to her sister-in-law in England two months later, she recalled:

> Up to the last day we did not want to believe that we would have to leave our beloved Lubschau, but that became the reality. The night before 10 May, at 11.30, we woke up the children, dressed them and travelled away at half past midnight. […] The parting from our beloved home, where we had lived and worked for so many decades, was bitter and hard. But it had to be and we had to obey.'

It took them ten hours to make the arduous 40 km journey eastwards, with the help of a rented 'work vehicle' and horse-and-cart. But on arrival they were 'received with great heart' by Zawiercie's Jewish council of elders, given food and, after three days, each family assigned a single room to live in. Their new accommodation must have been extremely crowded, since Erna W.'s large family was allotted a kitchen to live in.[44]

Similarly limited lodgings were alloted to Jenny P. and her husband, expelled from Tarnowitz to Zawiercie together with many other Tarnowitz residents on 10 May. Almost certainly they travelled on the main 'resettlement' train. In several postcards written to relatives in Stockholm and Shanghai during June 1940 they confirmed that each family of Tarnowitz expellees was assigned a single room in a shared home. Acknowledging the definitive nature of this expulsion, Jenny also remarked that 'like it or not, we have to put the past completely behind us.'[45]

That the institution which assigned each family or couple its new basic accommodation was Zawiercie's Jewish council of elders was not at all unique to this town. In line with the Gestapo's 18 April 1940 circular, the same happened in all *Ostkreise* towns to which Jewish expellees were sent on coordinated 'resettlement' trains in May to June 1940. According to Merin's Centre, in a report written a year after the expulsion, each town's council of elders first

provided arriving expellees with a meal, then placed them in pre-arranged accommodation, for which they also covered the rent initially.[46] The latter was essential, since almost all of the expellees were now facing dire material circumstances, having lost everything but their most essential belongings.[47] It also seems to have been common practice for Jewish councils of elders in East Upper Silesia's towns to send representatives to the *Ostkreise* towns designated as the destinations for those towns' expellees, shortly before the expulsion, in order to discuss housing arrangements for the expelleees on arrival.[48]

A short distance north-west of Kattowitz city, in the City-County (Stadtkreis) of Königshütte, Merin's Centre estimated there were 506 Jewish residents remaining just before the expulsion. The Gestapo planned to transport them to the *Ostkreise* town of Trzebinia on 14 May, but it is probable that none were ultimately sent there on that day. A number of the remaining Jewish residents of small towns located just to the west and east of Königshütte – perhaps all of them – were sent in groups not to Trzebinia but to the nearby *Ostkreise* town of Jaworzno on 29 May and 5 June. In the city of Königshütte itself, the vast majority of Jewish residents, according to one witness, were transported to both Olkusch and Jaworzno on 15 June, most to the former, the remainder to the latter. Very few registered Jews remained in Königshütte City-County thereafter, as was later confirmed by the Gestapo.[49]

South of Kattowitz, in Pleß (Pszczyna) County and Rybnik County the remaining Jewish residents were also supposed to be transported to Trzebinia on 14 May. According to the Gestapo, there were at least 106 Jewish residents living Pleß County and a minimum of 63 in Rybnik County shortly before the expulsion. Most the former were indeed transported to Trzebinia in May, possibly on the scheduled date. Ruth S. was among them and she later recalled how residents of Pleß town and nearby villages were notified to arrive at Pleß's police station by 9 am one Friday morning in May. Their furniture had already been sent by train to Trzebinia the previous day. From the police station they were marched by Gestapo officers and

policemen to the train station and placed on an awaiting train. They were then transported under police guard to Kattowitz, where Jewish residents of Nikolai (Mikołów) in Pleß County were added to the train. Now numbering over 100 expelleees, they were then transported to Trzebinia, arriving at 4 pm. Trzebinia's police force met them off the train, then handed them to the town's Jewish council of elders. Ruth S. also claimed that Jewish residents of Rybnik arrived in Trzebinia around a week later. According to Joanna G, who was among the Rybnik expellees, recalled how all remaining Jewish residents of Rybnik town and nearby Sohrau (Żory) and Loslau (Wodzisław) were ordered to present themselves at Rybnik's police station at 1 pm on 22 May 1940 for 'resettlement' to Trzebinia. Their transportation and reception then proceeded in a very similar way to that described by Ruth S. for the Pleß County expellees. The Gestapo later confirmed that almost all registered Jews were expelled from both counties during these operations.[50]

Overall, then, the expulsion of Jewish people from East Upper Silesia had started as planned on 10 May, but rather than taking 12 days, continued through to the end of June. The expellees were transported on designated carriages of normal passenger trains, not freight or livestock wagons as happened with the deportations to the *Generalgouvernement* elsewhere in the incorporated eastern territories. Merin's Centre reported a year after the expulsion that it had cost around 150,000 RM – including for transportation, food and, presumably, accommodation. The Jewish authorities were compelled to cover these costs themselves from funds extracted from the heavily impoverished Jewish population and from aid donated by foreign Jewish organisations. The expellees were sent to a much wider range of *Ostkreise* towns than the four specified in the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ's 18 April 1940 circular. Indeed, the evidence is that they were transported, or relocated under their own steam, to 19 different localities in the *Ostkreise* area. This meant that while over half of the expelled Jews ended up, as planned, in Chrzanow, Zawiercie, Olkusch and Trzebinia, or in neighbouring towns, nearly

half were relocated to parts of the *Ostkreise* area which the Gestapo had clearly sought to exclude: namely, to Sosnowitz, Bendzin and other nearby industrial towns, and to the eastern half of Bielitz County.[51] However, we must presume this was done with the approval of the Gestapo. Perhaps the dire material conditions of Jewish people throughout the *Ostkreise* area convinced them that the burden of hosting these expellees had to be shared out.

Merin's Centre estimated that in total around 4,000 people were expelled to *Ostkreise* towns in the period May to June 1940. This number was a good deal fewer than the total number of registered Jews the authorities believed remained in this region before the expulsion. Following the flight, migration and deportation of autumn 1939, the early summer 1940 expulsion did largely meet the aim of clearing East Upper Silesia of remaining people whom the authorities regarded as 'full Jews', but *only* in the six central and northern counties of this region – not the two southern counties of Teschen and Bielitz. In October 1940, Merin's Centre estimated that there were just 63 registered Jews, in total, remaining in the central and northern counties.[52]

So who were these remaining registered Jews? As we know, the Gestapo's 18 April 1940 circular had exempted Jews in 'mixed marriages' from expulsion. Postwar testimony from Jewish survivors supports the assumption that people in 'mixed marriages' formed the vast majority of perceived 'full Jews' remaining in East Upper Silesia's central and northern counties after June 1940. Also temporarily exempted from expulsion were small numbers of council of elders officials. The Gestapo's circular had stipulated that only council chairman and one or two others should remain in each county to assist with the 'liquidation' of Jewish property – but only for 14 days, after which the Jewish officials 'must resettle themselves' to the designated *Ostkreise* towns. In practice, Jewish officials were kept in the region for much longer than this to assist the German authorities with various matters connected with confiscated properties. The Kattowitz council of elders official, S. Z., seems to have remained

in Kattowitz until at least summer 1941 and probably beyond that – though he appears to have been exceptional in the length of time he remained.[53]

Another group of people temporarily exempted were Jewish farmers. We know from the example of Erna W.'s family from Lublinitz County that not all Jewish people who owned farms in the region were spared from expulsion. But the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ later confirmed that some were. For examples, two Jewish farming families remained in the small town of Skotschau in Teschen County after June 1940; according to the local police, they were the only Jews exemplted from expulsion there. Clearly these exemptions was done to protect local agricultural production, but the expectation was that these people would be expelled as soon as possible – preferably through the handover of their farms to ethnic German resettlers.[54]

Aside from the 'mixed marriages', council officials and farmers, a small number of single elderly people were also spared from expulsion. For example, Jenny P. and her husband, who were expelled from Tarnowitz in May 1940, knew a single elderly Jewish woman who remained in Tarnowitz until at least November 1940. According to the president of Kattowitz District (an administrative region encompassing almost all of Silesia's incorporated territory), Walter Springorum, there were a number of 'single [elderly] women and elderly and sick male Jews' still living across East Upper Silesia in autumn 1940. The Gestapo explained shortly after the expulsion that these people had been considered physically 'incapable of transportation'. Presumably they were exempted because they were expected to die of illness or old age soon. But another reason was that elderly women (but not men) were the only Jews, as the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ had stipulated in February 1940, who could apply for exemption from the ban on emigrating abroad from Silesia's incorporated territory. Quite possibly, then, all of the non-ill elderly Jewish women who remained in East Upper Silesia's central and northern counties were those who had already gained permission and papers to emigrate.[55]

A final category of people who were exempted from expulsion were individuals deemed to be only partially Jewish, the so-called *Mischlinge* (roughly translatable as 'mixed racials'). Although Germany's infamous Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and follow-up orders were not introduced in Germany's incorporated territories until May 1941, the authorities there used this legislation from late 1939 as a basis for defining 'full Jews' – individuals with three 'full Jewish' grandparents or two 'full Jewish' grandparents if they met certain other criteria – and *Mischlinge*. In Silesia's incorporated territory, only people who met the Nuremberg definition of 'full Jews' were obliged to wear a Jewish star from December 1939. The Kattowitz Gestapo HQ's 18 April 1940 circular did not explicitly exempt *Mischlinge* from expulsion, but this was clearly assumed, and is what happened in practice.[56] These people were not included in official data on numbers of remaining Jews in East Upper Silesia after summer 1940, since they were not regarded as 'full Jews'. Nor, clearly, were the unknown number of people who would have been deemed 'full Jews', but continued to live there under a false identity or hidden by non-Jews.

The situation in the region's two southern counties, Teschen County and the western half of Bielitz County, was different. According to Merin's Centre there were 446 Jewish residents remaining in the former, and 474 in the latter (including some living in Bielitz city's eastern quarter, Biala) after summer 1940. The Gestapo therefore kept in place the compulsory armband for Jews and kept running the councils of elders in these two counties when they removed this compulsion and dissolved the councils in the rest of East Upper Silesia in summer 1940.[57] It is curious that so many Jewish people were knowingly left in place in these southern counties given that the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ had been clear in instructions to Moniek Merin and local authorities in April 1940 that the aim was to remove *all* Jews, with only very few exceptions, from the *whole* of East Upper Silesia.

In the case of Bielitz County's western half, the number of Jewish residents designated for expulsion was 1,069 – very close to the full number estimated to remain there. In practice, the available evidence suggests that only a little over half this number were expelled – so either the plan changed after April 1940 or something went awry in its implementation. One expellee's postwar recollections suggest that there may have been an unusual lack of commitment to the plan from the local Gestapo chief in Bielitz. In the case of Teschen County, the number of Jewish residents designated for expulsion, 436, constituted only one-quarter of the total number estimated to remain there before the expulsion. A simple typo in the Gestapo's circular may possibly explain this. In practice, the evidence suggests three-quarters, around 1,300 people, were expelled.[58]

In Bielitz County, the authorities attempted to recommence the expulsion of registered Jews eastwards in autumn 1940. But while a gradual process of moving Jewish residents from Bielitz city's main western quarters to its eastern quarter, Biala, took place, not many – no more than 100 – were sent to separate towns in Bielitz County's eastern half over the next six months. We know from various sources that some registered Jews continued living in their homes in the city's western quarters through to spring 1942. This ended when in April 1942 Bielitz city's mayor declared Biala a 'Jewish reservation', banned Jews from entering the city's centre and western quarters, and forced all registered Jews not living in 'mixed marriages' to relocate there. In Teschen County no attempt seems to have been made to restart the expulsions after summer 1940 and the Jewish population remained broadly stable in size through to June 1942. In both counties, small numbers of Jewish people were also sent to forced labour camps elsewhere in this period.[59]

## Explaining the 1940 expulsion action

What was the rationale behind the expulsion of Jewish residents from west to east across an imagined ethno-racial boundary *within* Silesia's incorporated territory? On one level the answer seems simple: this was done because in late March 1940 Göring suspended any mass deportations to the *Generalgouvernement* which had not yet been planned. In a letter sent on 19 April 1940 the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ stated that mass deportations from Silesia's incorporated territory to the *Generalgouvernement* would take place at some point soon, though not until the end of August at the earliest.[60] It was just the day before this that the Gestapo had sent its circular ordering the expulsion of Jews across the perceived ethno-racial boundary *within* Silesia's incorporated territory.

The two documents together suggest that the Gestapo viewed this expulsion as an interim measure until the large-scale deportations to the *Generalgouvernement* became possible once more. Yet Silesia's SS chief, Bach-Zelewski, made clear at this time that there was no prospect of the latter happening 'for the foreseeable future'. Moreover, we are still left with the question of why Silesia's SS and Security Police leadership felt this interim measure was at all necessary. Why not leave East Upper Silesia's Jews in place until the mass deportation of all Jews from Silesia's incorporated territory to the *Generalgouvernement* became possible? To be sure, back in autumn 1939, Heydrich had instructed that if the authorities could not quickly clear annexed western Poland of Jews, they should instead gather them in 'a small number of concentration towns'.[61]

To a limited extent, the expulsion of the region's Jewish residents to the *Ostkreise* area in May to June 1940 corresponded with that. Yet the Kattowitz Gestapo HQ's 18 April 1940 circular deliberately avoided designating the largest 'concentrations' of Jewish populations in the *Ostkreise* area as destinations for the expellees, namely the cities of Sosnowitz and Bendzin. And in practice, as we have seen, the expellees were scattered across this area rather than gathered in a small number of places. Further, in all key official circulars, letters and reports

about this expulsion, the German authorities and Merin's Centre made clear that the primary aim was not 'concentrating' Jews, but clearing East Upper Silesia of Jews – a region referred to variously in these documents as 'the Old Silesian area', 'Old Upper Silesia' and 'the formerly Prussian and Austrian Silesian counties'.[62]

So how do we explain this objective? The fact that the target area included territory which, as just indicated, had belonged to Austria and not only Germany before the First World War suggests this was not simply about removing Jews from 'recovered' German territory as a priority. Rather, we must look to the connections between Nazi population policies directed at Jews and those directed at non-Jews for our explanation. There are two aspects to this: the first, as recognized by other scholars, relating to the aim of resettling ethnic Germans, and the second, particular to East Upper Silesia, relating to the 'Germanization' of the indigenous population.

Scholars focused on the fate of Jews in other parts of annexed western Poland have rightly highlighted the connection between the mass deportation of Jewish and non-Jewish Poles, and the policy of resettling ethnic Germans, stressing the subordination of the former to the latter. This population policy nexus was at play, too, to some degree in Silesia's incorporated territory, but this was primarily limited to a single county *within* the *Ostkreise* area – its most southern and rural one, Saybusch (Żywiec) County. The Kattowitz Gestapo HQ's 18 April 1940 circular ordered not only the expulsion of Jews from East Upper Silesia to the *Ostkreise* area, but also the concentration of Saybusch County's Jewish residents within the county's most easterly town, Sucha (see Map 2). In practice, around 250 of the county's estimated 593 Jewish residents were 'resettled' by Merin's authorities to Sucha during May or June 1940 – meaning the town went from containing under one third of the county's Jewish population to over three quarters.[63]

Why was this *Ostkreise* county alone picked out by Silesia's SS and Security Police leadership for a comprehensive concentration policy already in early summer 1940? The answer seems to be that it was in this most southern and rural county of the *Ostkreise* area that the leadership planned to focus its efforts to remove the non-Jewish Polish population and bring in ethnic German resettlers. In other words, they seem to have viewed the concentration of Jews as a preparatory step to this. The authorities began concrete planning for the so-called *Saybusch-Aktion* later in summer 1940, then from late September 1940 to January 1941 carried out the deportation of 18,000 non-Jewish Polish farmers to the *Generalgouvernement* and the transportation of no more than 3,700 'Galician German mountain farmers' from the Soviet sphere to replace them.[64]

Yet although thousands of ethnic German resettlers were also sent west of the perceived ethno-racial boundary to East Upper Silesia in these years, particularly its two southern counties,[65] the key population policy which helps to explain the early summer 1940 expulsion of Jews from this region is Germany's plan to 'Germanize' at least part of the indigenous population.

Nazi leaders in both Berlin and the provincial capitals of the incorporated eastern territories believed that in addition to the small minority of residents of annexed western Poland who were unambiguously ethnically German, there were large numbers who were connected with the German *Volk* 'by descent' but were not very conscious of this. These people were seen to be living predominantly west of the imagined ethno-racial boundary. Himmler and his associates viewed these people as exhibiting an 'unsettled ethnicity' (schwebendes Volkstum). They believed that those lacking any German descent needed to be carefully sifted out, so that the remainder could undergo a thorough process of 'Germanization' or 'Re-Germanization'. But as Conte and Essner have argued, they also believed that it was essential to remove 'Jewish blood' first before grappling with this difficult task.[66] East Upper Silesia was the main location

in annexed western Poland where Nazi elites believed an 'unsettled ethnicity' was evident – and it is this which helps to explain why Silesia's SS and Security Police leadership decided to remove all Jews from the region in early summer 1940. Just days after this expulsion ceased, the Kattowitz District president, Springorum, encapsulated the expulsion's rationale with his claim that while it was relatively easy to distinguish Jews from non-Jews among the region's residents, it was not at all easy to distinguish ethnic Germans from ethnic Poles because of the 'fluid ethnic boundaries [Volksgrenze]' between them. The implication was that while the removal of Jews from East Upper Silesia had been resolved with relative ease, the latter would require a more complex, painstaking process. A large-scale ethnic screening process, known as the *Deutsche Volksliste* (German Ethnicity List), did finally get underway across annexed western Poland, including East Upper Silesia, in March 1941, although the way it was applied in this region by provincial president Fritz Bracht was far from the painstaking and careful sifting process envisaged by Himmler and others.[67]

The link between 'Germanization' plans and the expulsion of Jews from East Upper Silesia to the *Ostkreise* area helps to explain the objectives of the expulsion, which were fully implemented in the six central and northern counties of the region. It does not explain why in practice, contrary to the objectives, a significant proportion of registered Jews were left in place in the region's two southern counties. The authorities themselves, including the Gestapo, offered no plausible explanation for why this had happened.[68] But what distinguished these two southern counties from the central and northern ones was that they had been part of Austria not Germany before the First World War. What this suggests is that, although in its objectives the early summer 1940 expulsion was driven by a conception of the whole of historic Silesia – whether Austrian or German territory before the First World War – as culturally and racially German, in practice the authorities were primarily concerned with the more superficial agenda of clearing the 'recovered' pre-First World War German territories of Jews.

Of course, whether or not a person had been expelled slightly eastwards in early summer 1940 made little difference to their ultimate fate once the Nazi leadership had turned to genocide. In June 1942, Teschen County and the western half of Bielitz County were finally made 'Judenfrei' – cleared of all perceived 'full Jews' living in the open, outside camps and not in 'mixed marriages' – when most remaining Jewish residents were transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau for immediate murder or, exceptionally, forced labour. This happened in a single operation on Monday 29 June 1942. Two hundred and eighty-seven residents of Teschen County were sent to Bielitz rail station to join a freight train carrying 310 residents of western Bielitz County to Auschwitz-Birkenau on that day. A further 86 from Teschen County and 91 from western Bielitz County were sent elsewhere on the same day for transfer to one of SS Brigade Leader Albrecht Schmelt's forced labour camps in *Altreich* Silesia and annexed Czechoslovak territories. Only a very small number of Jewish residents who were not in 'mixed marriages' remained in these counties thereafter, but only temporarily. Most were Jewish council of elders officials and their families who were kept back to help deal with the property left behind; those in Bielitz were transferred two weeks later to the Wadowitz ghetto.[69]

The same fate befell those East Upper Silesians who had been expelled to *Ostkreise* towns in early summer 1940, as the genocidal operations swept across those towns in May to August 1942, dissolving most of the open ghettos established during the previous year. After this the *Ostkreise* area's few remaining open ghettos were closed with fences and bricks, but they too were dissolved in the second genocidal wave of February to August 1943. Of the more than 20,000 Jewish people living in East Upper Silesia on the eve of the war, most of the few who survived the genocide were those who took refuge in Soviet-occupied eastern Poland near the start of the war – especially those whom the Soviets deported from there to Siberia in June 1940. Only a tiny fraction of the over 5,000 who remained in East Upper Silesia in late spring

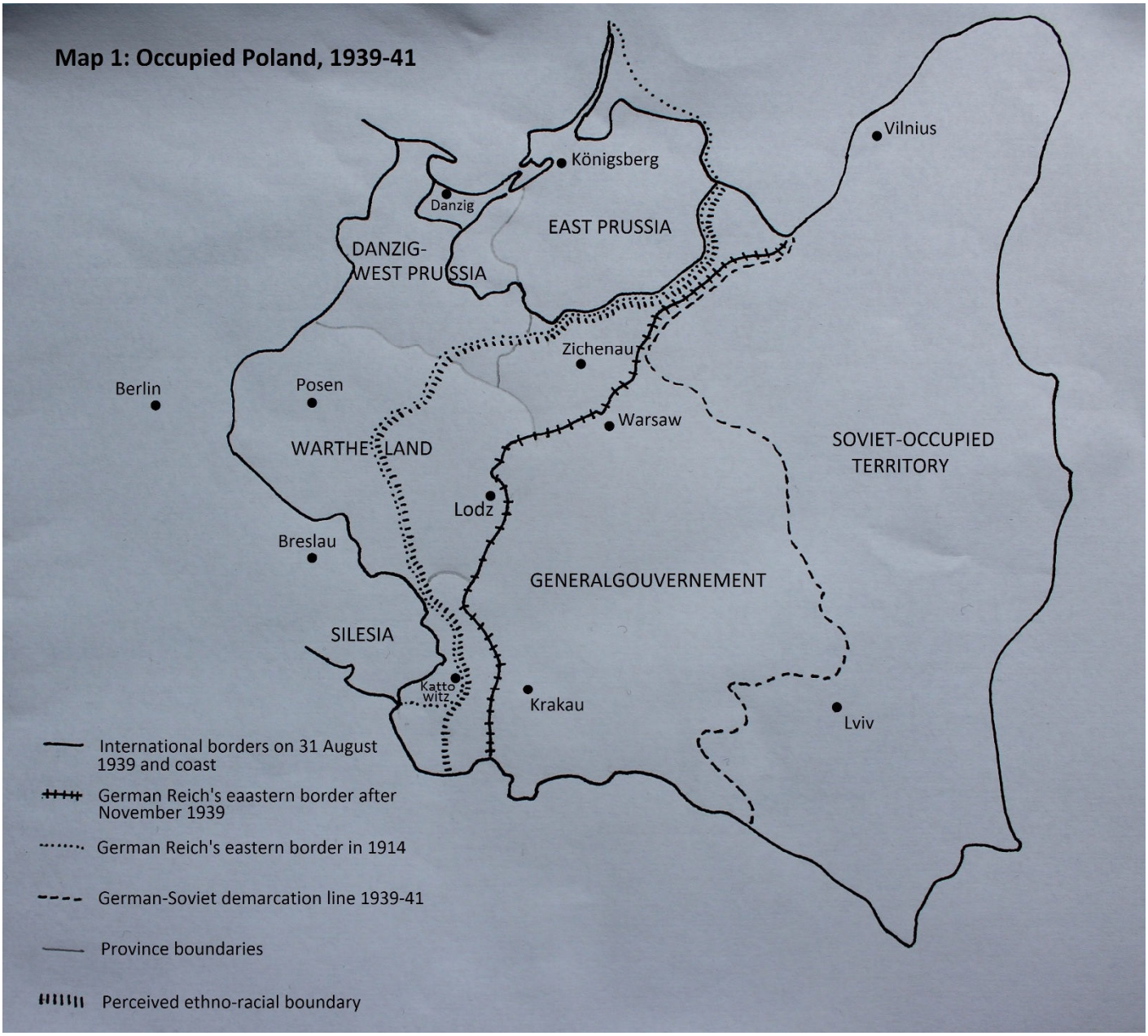
1940 survived the war – mostly the very few who managed to survive forced labour camps in *Altreich* Silesia and annexed Czechoslovak territories, and later death marches.[70]

## Conclusion

German actions towards Jews in the first phase of the war should not be viewed through the prism of the genocide that was to come. Genocidal plans were conceived only after the Nazi leadership had long abandoned expulsion as the means of 'solving' the 'Jewish question' in the expanded Third Reich. Christopher Browning and others have argued that although the 'Jewish question' had always figured prominently in Nazi ideology and long-term goals, in the first year-and-a-half of the war the population policy which was given priority by Nazi elites was that of relocating ethnic German resettlers to the incorporated eastern territories. As part of this campaign, some Jewish Poles were deported together with non-Jewish Poles to the *Generalgouvernement*; but, along this view, their deportation was rather incidental in practice. Himmler and Heydrich may have planned the comprehensive deportation of Jews from the incorporated eastern territories as the highest priority in autumn and winter 1939, but because they and other Nazi leaders did not prioritize it in practice, it never happened.[71]

This case study of events in Silesia's incorporated territory has shown that this view does not quite reflect the full picture of events. In fact, for key parts of the wartime Nazi elite there was an ethno-racial boundary running vertically down the middle of annexed western Poland and *west* of it, they did give the removal of Jews significant priority in practice. Moreover, in Silesia, the SS and Security Police leadership clearly viewed the removal of Jews from west of this boundary as a core element of the nexus of population policies it was seeking to implement in the province's incorporated territory in the early phase of the war. In the 'Old Silesian area' – East Upper Silesia – they believed that sifting and assimilating an 'ethnically unsettled' population of 'German descent' needed to happen and that this would be facilitated

by removing ‘Jewish blood’ first. The early summer 1940 expulsion attempted to achieve this. In practice, their vision of a near-comprehensive expulsion of Jews was realized in the region’s historically German counties, but not in its historically Austrian ones. Two years later, territorial distinctions between German and Austrian, *Altreich* and incorporated, ‘Old Silesian’ and *Ostkreise* had lost any importance in determining the fate of Jewish people, as almost all were swept into the Nazi genocide across central Europe. But in 1939-41 such boundaries did matter, and in practice Germany’s 1914 eastern border formed a limit for the racist Nazi imagination of lands which could truly be called German.

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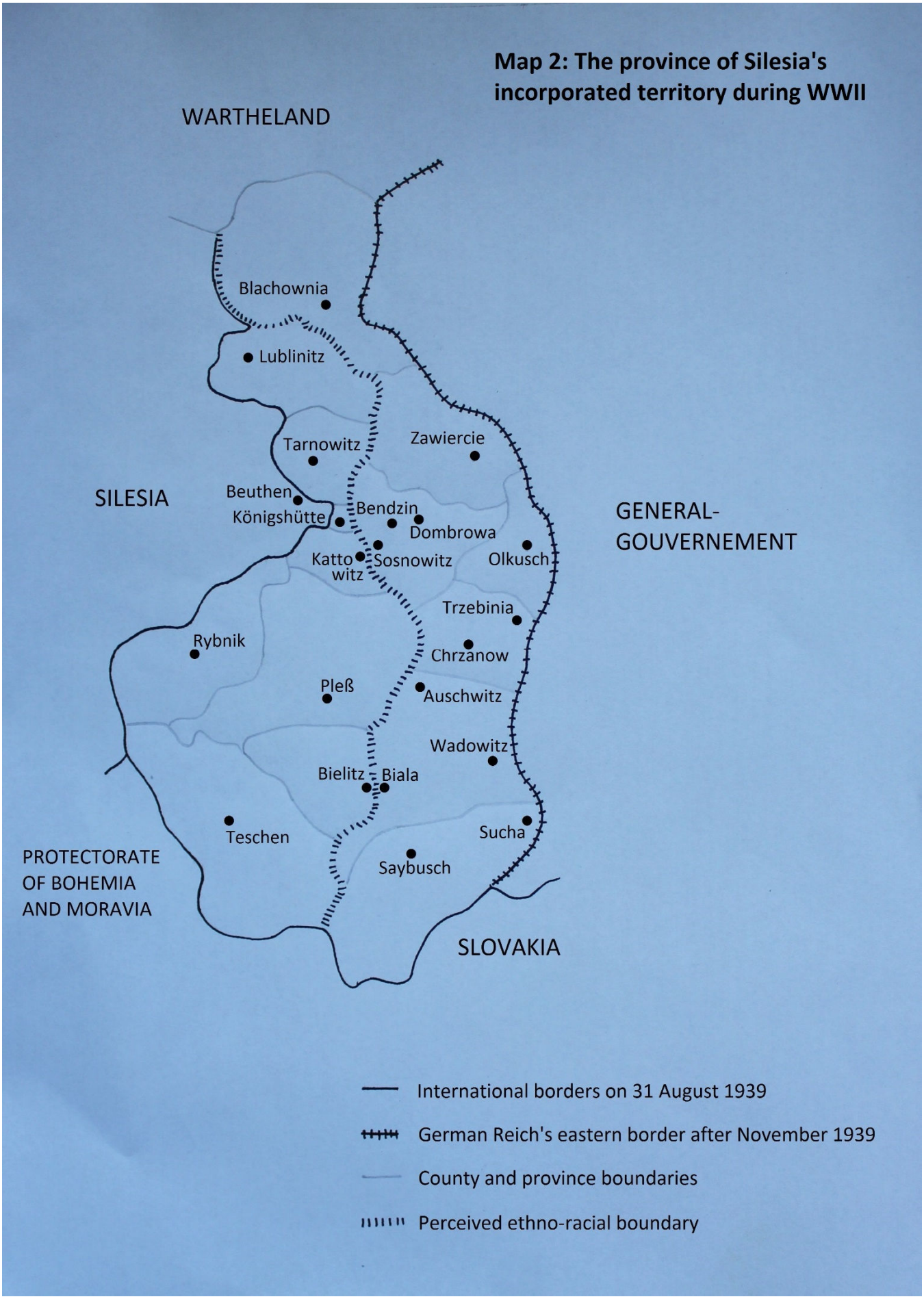


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## NOTES

[1] See especially C. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy-1939-1942* (London, 2004), pp. 36-110. For these figures, see Browning, *Origins*, p. 109; K. Friedrich, 'Einleitung' in S. Heim et al (eds.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945*, 16 vols., vol. 4: Friedrich (ed.), *Polen September 1939 – Juli 1941* (Munich, 2011), p. 32-8.

[2] Another historian who has highlighted the importance of Germany's 1914 eastern border as a perceived 'ethnic wall' is Syille Steinbacher. See Steinbacher, *"Musterstadt" Auschwitz. Germanisierungspolitik und Judenmord in Ostoberschlesien* (Munich, 2000), pp. 109-10. Steinbacher claims that the Nazi leadership gave this boundary a tangible form as a police border. But, as discussed below, the evidence is that the police border mainly followed the path of Germany's 1939 eastern border rather than its 1914 one.

[3] On the Nazi leadership's internal struggles, during autumn 1939, over where Germany's new eastern border should be fixed, see Martin Winstone, *The Dark Heart of Hitler's Europe: Nazi Rule in under the General Government* (London, 2015), pp. 30-31.

[4] M. Alberti, *Judenverfolgung und Vernichtung der Juden im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939-1945* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 136-46, 202-6; M. Rutowska, *Wysiedlenia ludności polskiej z Kraju Warty do Generalnego Gubernatorstwa 1939-1941* (Poznań, 2003), pp. 46-53.

[5] W. Gippert, 'Danzig-Westpreussen' in W. Gruner and J. Osterloh (eds.), *Das "Großdeutsche Reich" und die Juden: Nationalsozialistische Verfolgung in den "angegliederten" Gebieten* (Frankfurt/Main, 2010), pp. 214-26; Rutowska, *Wysiedlenia*, pp. 22-25, 37.

[6] A. Schulz, 'Regierungsbezirk Zichenau' in Gruner, *Reich*., pp. 261-80; Rutowska, *Wysiedlenia*, pp. 23, 25, 37.

[7] The same path was followed by the eastern boundary of interwar Poland's Silesian Voivodeship in 1922-39. To be more exact, the historical Austrian border mentioned here separated the Duchy of Silesia from the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

[8] The term 'East Upper Silesia' refers to the territory of Germany's Province Silesia which fell to Poland and Czechoslovakia (excluding the Hlučín area) in the aftermath of WWI, i.e. interwar Poland's Silesian Voivodeship after it was enlarged through the annexation of Czechoslovak territory in October 1938. The *Ostkreise* area is often referred to as the *Oststreifen* (eastern strip) by scholars of this field, but Silesia's wartime German officials almost exclusively used the term *Ostkreise* to refer to it. These scholars often misleadingly

treat the *Oststreifen* as part of East Upper Silesia, but this territory had never previously been viewed as part of Silesia and Nazi German authorities also viewed it as separate.

[9] A. Namysło, 'Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych na Wschodnim Górnym Śląsku', in Namysło (ed.), *Zagłada Żydów zagłębiowskich* (Będzin and Katowice, 2004), pp. 41-9; A. Konieczny, 'Die Zwangsarbeit der Juden in Schlesien im Rahmen der "Organization Schmelt"', in G. Aly et al (eds.), *Sozialpolitik und Judenvernichtung: gibt es eine Ökonomie der Endlösung?* (*Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik*, 5, Berlin, 1987), pp. 93-5; S. Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 120-2; R. Kaczmarek, 'Antyżydowska polityka władz niemieckich w rejencji katowickiej', in Namysło, *Zagłada*, pp. 15, 24-5; Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk podczas II wojny światowej: Między utopią niemieckiej wspólnoty narodowej a rzeczywistością okupacji na terenach wcielonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy* (Katowice, 2006), pp. 227-8; C. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 147.

[10] See, for example: Gruner and Osterloh, "*Großdeutsche Reich*" (see note 2); G. Wolf, *Ideology und Herrschaftsrationalität: Nationalsozialistische Germanisierungspolitik in Polen* (Hamburg, 2012); P. Rutherford, *Prelude to the Final Solution: The Nazi Program for Deporting Ethnic Poles, 1939-1941* (Lawrence, 2007); Browning, *Origins*; G. Aly, *"Endlösung": Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfürt/Main, 1995); G. Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Hamburg, 1991).

[11] This estimation is based on: Wojciech Jaworski, *Ludność żydowska w województwie śląskim w latach 1922-1939* (Katowice, 1997), pp. 32-6; *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9.XII 1931 R.: Województwo Śląskie* (Warsaw, 1937), pp. 24-5; *Statistický lexikon obcí v Republice československé*, Volume II*: Země Moravsko-slezská* (Prague, 1935), pp. XVII-IX.

[12] Postcard from Z. brothers, 16.2.1940, Yad Vashem Archive (hereafter YVA) O.75/531, 9-10; unpublished memoir of Sara K., probably 1947, YVA 0.33/4032, 1-4; testimony by Edith Z., probably 1951, YVA O.33/7149; testimony of Eduard G., 21.8.1956, YVA O.33/145; testimony of Lucjan S., 20.11.1956, YVA O.33/9420; testimony of M. L., May 1945, YVA O.1/116, 2.; interview of Edward S., March 1946, Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, Warsaw (hereafter AŻIH) 301/3969; testimony of Krystyna Allerhand in A. and K. Allerland, *Polsko-izraelskie losy jednej rodziny* (Kraków, 2010), pp. 27-8; G. Klein, *All But My Life* (London, 1958), p. 11, 16-18, 41, 63-7; I. Wajsbort, *Im Angesicht des Todes. Von Chorzów über Zawiercie, Tarnowitz, Tschenstochau durch Auschwitz nach Malchow und Oschatz: Jüdische Schicksale in Oberschlesien 1939-1945*, (Konstanz, 2000), pp. 22-3, 235; J. Königsberg, *Ich habe erlebt und überlebt!* (Essen,, 2007), p. 60;

testimonies in Y. Khrust and Y. Frankel (eds.), *Katovits: perihatah u-shekiʿatah shel ha-kehilah ha-Yehudit: sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv, 1996), pp. 214-73; reports from October and November 1939 by local Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen of Schutzbezirk IV Teschen, Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (hereafter APK) file 119/4213, especially 13-43, 258-9, 337-8; Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk,* pp. 74, 81; Friedrich, 'Einleitung', pp. 13, 29-30.

[13] Report by Kopf on Königshütte Synagogengemeinde, 27.1.1940, APK 119/10497, 12-16; report by an NSDAP official on Kreis Bielitz, probably January 1940, APK 8/122, 14-27; testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Eugeniusz R., 1945, Franciszek R., March 1946, and Lili B., 1.8.1947, AŻIH 301/533, 3968, 2704.

[14] Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk*, pp. 47-81; Kaczmarek 'Antyżydowska', pp. 16-18, 28; Konieczny, 'Zwangsarbeit', pp. 93-4; Steinbacher, 'Ostoberschlesien', pp. 287-9; circular from leader of Polizeiamt Sosnowitz, 13.2.1940, Oddziałowe Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie (hereafter IPN) GK/646/32, 1; Chief of Staff's order, 12.9.1939, reproduced as document 7 in Friedrich, *Polen*, p. 83.

[15] Report by Kopf on Königshütte Synagogengemeinde, 27.1.1940, APK 119/10497, 12-16; testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Leon G., 23.9.1946, and Gusta F., 9.1.1947, AŻIH 301/2450, 2488; Klein, *Life*, pp. 31-2, 46; transcript of an interview with Jadzia B., probably 2009, YVA O.6/1300.

[16] By the '*Altreich*', Nazi leaders and German officials tended to mean the pre-1938 territories of Germany plus the so-called 'Sudetenland' annexed from Czechoslovakia in autumn 1938 – but not Austria or the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

[17] Concerning the path of the police border in Germany's incorporated eastern territories as a whole, see: Reich interior minister's order on restricting travel to territorial parts of the Great German Reich and to the *Generalgouuvernement*, 20.7.1940, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1940, Part I, p. 1008; schnellbrief from Reich interior minister, 26.2.1942, APK 119/2831, 28; M. Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939-1945* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 37; C. Jansen and A. Weckbecker, *"Volksdeutsche Selbstschutz" in Polen 1939/1940* (Munich, 1992) p. 41; L. Herbst, *Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Die Entfesselung der Gewalt--Rassimus und Krieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 281-2; D. Rebentisch, *Führerstaat und Verwaltung im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Verfassungsentwicklung und Verwaltungspolitik 1939-1945* (Stuttgart, 1989), p. 172; W. Jacobmeyer, 'Der Überfall auf Pole und der Charakter des Krieges', in C. Klessmann (ed.), *September 1939: Krieg, Besatzung, Wiederstand in Polen* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 22. Contrastingly, Steinbacher claims that the police border ran along Germany's 1914 eastern border outside of the province of Silesia (see *Musterstadt*, pp.

109-10), but the document she cites does not support this, see: order number 11 from Commander of the Order Police in Kattowitz, 16.11.1939, APK 119/3283, 5-9.

[18] In the province of Silesia, the police border ran along Germany's 1914 eastern border and, south of Auschwitz town, a historical boundary within pre-First World War Austria between Silesia and Galicia, with one exception: rather than separate the neighbouring towns of Bielitz and Biala, as the latter boundary had done, the police border probably ran around the eastern edge of Biala. See: Reich interior minister's order, 20.7.1940, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1940, Part I, p. 1008; order number 11 from Commander of the Order Police in Kattowitz, 16.11.1939, APK 119/3283, 5-9; circular from Chief of Civil Administration in Kattowitz, 16.9.1939, reproduced as document 11 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 87-8.

[19] Schnellbrief, 21.9.1939, reproduced as Document 12 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 88-92.

[20] Memorandum by Eichmann, 6.10.1939, reproduced as document 18 in Friedrich, *Polen*, p. 102; Browning, *Origins*, pp. 36-43; H. Safrian, *Die Eichmann-Männer* (Vienna, 1993), pp. 72-81; H. Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1974), pp. 125-40; T. Berenstein and A. Rutkowski, 'Prześladowania ludności żydowskiej w okresie hitlerowskiej administracji wojskowej w Polsce (1.IX.1939 – 25.X.1939 r.)', *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 39 (1941), pp. 76-7; W. Gruner, 'Von der Kollektivausweisung zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland (1938-1945): Neue Perspektiven und Dokumente', in B. Kundrus and B. Meyer (eds.), *Die Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland: Pläne – Praxis – Reaktionen 1938-1945* (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 31-5, 60.

[21] Testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; testimony of Moses S., February 1947, YVA M.1.E/698; interviews of Edward W., Ilza L. and Lili B., all 1.8.1947, Ruth K. 20.9.1946, Emma G. 24.2.1946, AŻIH 301/2702-2704, 2464, 1560; testimony of T., February 1946, AŻIH 301/1552; testimony of Rebeka A., undated, YVA 0.33/155; unpublished memoir of Sara K., in Bielitz at the time, probably 1947, YVA 0.33/4032, 5; Klein, L*ife*, pp. 21-5, 28, 33; testimony of Israel Tajtelbaum, in *Katovits*, pp. 269-70; report by Kopf on Königshütte Synagogengemeinde, 27.1.1940, APK 119/10497, 12-16; report by Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung Bielitz-Biala, 19.10.1939, APK 119/4213, 127; report by the Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung Karwin, 26.10.1939, APK 119/4213, 183; A. Namysło, 'Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu z okazji dwulecia istnienia centrali żydowskich rad starszych wschodniego Górnego Śląsku', *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, Issue 3, 2005, pp. 386-402; Berenstein and Rutkowski, 'Prześladowania', pp. 76-7; Safrian, *Eichmann-Männer*, p. 77; Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, p. 114.

[22] This estimate is based on a comparison of figures from: final results of the Police Residents Survey of December 1939-January 1940 for Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz, APK 119/2801, 1-3; spreadsheet of welfare

funds compiled by Centre of Jewish Faith Communities in Ost-Oberschlesien (hereafter Merin's Centre), 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11.

[23] Letter from Moniek Merin to Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (hereafter HTO) Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 26.6.1940, APK 124/1412, 1.

[24] Record of meeting at the Schutzpolizei Patrol Command in Kattowitz on 10.11.1939, APK 1376/1825, 26; record of meeting at Province Silesia's Oberpräsidium in Breslau on 18.11.1939, APK 119/2834, 7-11; letter from Regierungspräsident Walter Springorum to Landesarbeitsamt Schlesien, 12.1.1940, APK 119/2831, 13-14; Aly, *Endlösung*, pp. 59-92; Browning, *Origins,* pp. 43-72; Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 105-20.

[25] Report by Kopf on Königshütte Synagogengemeinde, 27.1.1940, APK 119/10497, 12-16; testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Joanna G, 9.7.1947, and Katarzyna M., 17.7.1947, Ilza L. and Lili B., both 1.8.1947, AŻIH 301/2652, 2662, 2702, 2704, unpublished memoir of Sara K., probably 1947, YVA 0.33/4032, 5; Klein, *Life*, pp. 33-5.

[26] Circular from one of Bach-Zelewski's officials in Kattowitz, 21.12.1939, Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach Oddział w Bielsku-Białej (hereafter APKBB) 4/94, 1-2.

[27] Wolf, *Ideologie*, pp. 191-204, 236; Browning, *Origins*, pp. 42-63; Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 105-6;

[28] Definitive results of the Police Residents Survey for Regierungbezirk Kattowitz, APK 119/2801, 1-3; *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9.XII 1931 R.: Województwo Śląskie* and *Województwo Krakowskie bez miasta Krakowa* (Warsaw, 1937/38): report by Springorum, 16.12.1940, APK 119/2803, 214-16; reports by Kattowitz Police President, 7.3.1940 and 4.10.1940, APK 119/2803, 183-9; report by the Landrat of Kreis Bielitz, 4.11.1940, APK 119/3803, 203-4; report by Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung Niedobschütz, 13.3.1940, APK 119/4224, 27-8; T. Kamusella, *The Szlonzoks and Their Language: Between Germany, Poland and Szlonzokian Nationalism* (Florence, 2003), pp. 9-23; M. Alexander, 'Oberschlesien im 20. Jahrhundert – eine mißverstandene Region', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 30 (2004), pp. 465-89; G. Wolf, 'Exporting Volksgemeinschaft: The Deutsche Volksliste in Annexed Upper Silesia', in M. Steber and B. Gotto (eds.), *Visions of Community in Nazi Germany: Social Engineering and Private Lives* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 132-9;.

[29] Report by Kopf on Königshütte Synagogengemeinde, 27.1.1940, APK 119/10497, 12-16; testimonies of S.Z., probably 1945, and T., February 1946, AŻIH 301/133, 1552; interviews of Eugeniusz R., 1945, Franciszek R., March 1946, Leon G., 23.9.1946, Ruth S., 26.6.1947, Ruth K., 20.9.1946, Riti R., 17.6.1947, Joanna G., 9.7.1947, and Katarzyna M., 17.7.1947, AŻIH 301/533, 3968, 2326, 2642, 2464, 2450, 2652, 2662; circular

from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 23.2.1940, APK 119/2833, 25-7; letter from Heydrich to Umwandererzentralstelle Posen, 21.12.1939, reproduced as Document 66 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 190-3; Jaworski, *Ludność żydowska*, pp. 32-51; M. Wodziński, 'Languages of the Jewish Communities in Polish Silesia (1922-1939), *Jewish History*, 16, 2 (2002), pp. 131-60.

[30] J. Caplan, 'Registering the Volksgemeinschaft: Civil Status in Nazi Germany 1933-9', Steber, *Visions*, pp. 116-28; T. Pegelow, 'Determining 'People of German Blood', 'Jews' and 'Mischlinge': The Reich Kinship Office and the Competing Discourses and Powers of Nazism, 1941-1943', *Contemporary European History*, 15, 1 (2006), pp. 43-65.

[31] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 23.21940, APK 119/2833, 25-7; Browning, *Origins*, pp. 64-8, 93-9; Friedrich, 'Einleitung', pp. 36-7.

[32] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11.

[33] It was broken again in late October 1939, when 6,504 Jews in the *Altreich* Länder of Baden and Saarpfalz were deported to Vichy France – but this too was viewed as an exceptional and had problematic consequences in terms of relations with the Vichy authorities. No further *Altreich* deportations happened before deportations to the *Generalgouvernement* were stopped in March 1941. Gruner, 'Kollektivausweisung', pp. 23-40; Browning, *Origins*, pp. 12-110; letter from Heydrich to Umwandererzentralstelle Posen, 21.12.1939, reproduced as Document 66 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 190-3; circular from Bruno Galke quoting Heydrich instructions of 19.2.1940, 4.3.1940, APK 124/62, 260; circular from Reich Interior Ministry, 28.3.1940, APK 119/2833, 76.

[34] Circulars from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 23.21940 and 18.4.1940, APK 119/2833, 25-7 and APK 114/260, 10-11.

[35] Spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by Merin's Centre, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; population and economic data sent by all Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen in Schutzbezirk Bielitz, February-March 1940, APK 119/4212, 72-98; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11.

[36] Reports by the Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen in Teschen, Skotschau, Neu-Oderberg, Trzynietz, Peterswald and Dombrau and the Schutzpolizeikommando in Freistadt, from end of May, mid-June and end of June 1940, APK 119/4215, 64-5, 72-6, 81-3, 87-8, 96-7, 101-2, 106-7, 124-6, 129-30, 134-9.

[37] Interviews of Ilza L. and Lili B., both 1.8.1947, AŻIH 301/2702, 2704.

[38] Namysło, 'Centrala', pp. 38-53; Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 121-3, 153-7.

[39] Report on activities to date by Merin's Centre, 28.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 16-22; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by the same, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; letter from Jüdische Gemeinde Königshütte to the HTO

Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 22.6.1940, APK 124/1397, 94; budget spreadsheet of Merin's Centre for the month June 1940, 10.7.1940 APK 124/4215, 7; testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Ilza L. and Lili B., both 1.8.1947, AŻIH/2702, 2704; report by Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung Neu-Oderberg, 27.6.1940, APK 119/4215, 96-7.

[40] Spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by Merin's Centre, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; letter from Landrat of Kreis Bielitz to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 11.4.1940, APK 124/1397, 41-2; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11.

[41] Reports by Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen in Bielitz, Wadowitz and Andrichau, 13-29.6.1940, APK 119/4215, 111-13, 119, 149-151; letter from Landrat of Kreis Bielitz to Regierungspräsident Springorum, 6.6.1940, APK 119/2910, 4; spreadsheet of resettlement costs up to 6.7.1940 compiled by Merin's Centre, APK 124/1412, 6; interviews of Franciszek R., March 1946, Riti R., 17.6.1947, Kalman R., 19.6.1947 and Paweł G., 30.1.1947, AŻIH 301/3968, 2636, 2641, 8489.

[42] Testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Edward S., March 1946, Ruth S., 26.6.1947, Ruth K., 20.9.1946, Katrzyna M, 17.7.1947, AŻIH 301/3969, 2642, 2464, 2662; transcript of an interview with Jadzia B., probably 2009, YVA O.6/1300; letter from leader of Synagogengemeinde Kattowitz to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 10.6.1940, APK 124/1397, 86; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by Merin's Centre, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; E. Gastfreund, *My Father's Testament: Memoir of a Jewish Teenager, 1938-1945* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 29; questionnaire answers by Erna C., probably September 1949, YVA O.37/1163, 52-5; note from Margarete F. to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 29.5.1940, APK 119/1397, 105-6; testimonies by Chana Szwarz, Gershon Meller, Josef Kaminski and anonymous in *Katovits*, pp. 212-13, 237-240.

[43] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; circular from the same, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11; map of the area of responsibility of Merin's Centre, undated but after April 1941, APK 1600/30, 15.

[44] Letter from Erna W. in Zawiercie to her sister-in-law in London, 24.8.1940, and inheritance application by her father, Siegfried U., undated but probably 1957, YVA O.75/3510, 56-57 and 172

[45] Three postcards from the P. siblings and their spouses in Zawiercie to relatives in Stockholm and Shanghai, 6.6.1940, 12.6.1940 and 24.6.1940, YVA O.75/2451, 44-51.

[46] Report on activities to date by Merin's Centre, 28.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 16-22.

[47] Letter from Moniek Merin to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 26.6.1940, APK 124/1412, 1; letter from Synagogengemeinde Kattowitz, 10.6.1940, APK 124/1397, 86; letter from Jüdische Gemeinde Königshütte to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 22.6.1940, APK 124/1397, 94.

[48] Interview of Ruth K., 20.9.1946, AŻIH 301/2464; interview of Ruth S., 26.6.1947, AŻIH 301/2642.

[49] Testimony of T., February 1946, AŻIH 301/1552; letter from Jüdische Gemeinde Königshütte to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 22.6.1940, and invoices from eight residents of Laurahütte, Schwientochlowietz, Antonienhütte and Lipine, 29.6.1940 and 5.6.1930, APK 124/1397, 94, 97-112; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by Merin's Centre, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; spreadsheet of resettlement costs up to 6.7.1940 compiled by the same, APK 124/1412, 6; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34.

[50] Two interviews of Ruth S., 26.6.1947, AŻIH 301/2642, 2637; interview of Joanna G., 9.7.1947, AŻIH 301/2652; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; spreadsheet of resettlements costs up to 6.7.1940 compiled by Merin's Centre, APK 124/1412, 6; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by the same, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; table of welfare payment data compiled by the same, probably 25.3.1941, APK 1600/30, 163; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11.

[51] Report on activities to date by Merin's Centre, 28.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 16-22; table of welfare payment data compiled by the same, probably 25.3.1941, APK 1600/30, 163; spreadsheet of resettlement costs up to 6.7.1940 compiled by Centre of the Councils of Elders of the Jewish Communities and note from latter to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 10.7.1940, APK 124/1412, 5-6; letter from HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz to Jüdische Gemeinde Königshütte, 29.6.1940, APK 124/1397, 118.

[52] Data on the Jewish population of Ost-Oberschlesien compiled by Merin's Centre, 1.10.1940, APK 1600/30, 108-22 (note: no figures were provided for Tarnowitz and Lublinitz counties); circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34.

[53] Testimonies of S.Z., probably 1945, and T., February 1946, AŻIH 301/133, 1552; interviews of Edward S., March 1946, Ruth K., 20.9.1946, Leon G., 23.9.1946, Ruth S., 26.6.1947, Joanna G., 9.7.1947, and Katrzyna M., 17.7.1947, AŻIH 301/3969, 2464, 2450, 2642, 2652, 2662; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11; list of members and staff of councils of elders and Merin's Centre, 1.3.1941, APK 1600/38, 63-7. For correspondence concerning complications surrounding confiscated Jewish property see file APK 124/1397.

[54] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; report by the Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung in Skotschau, 13.6.1940, APK 119/4215, 136-7.

[55] Four postcards and one International Red Cross message from members of the P. family in Zawiercie to relatives in Stockholm, Shanghai and Palestine, 6.6.1940, 12.6.1940, 24.6.1940, 20.8.1940, 24.11.1940, YVA O.75/2451, 42-55; letter from Regierungspräsident Springorum to Landrat of Kreis Bielitz, 21.10.1940, APKBB 4/94, 20-1; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; circular from the same, 23.21940, APK 119/2833, 25-7.

[56] Circular from one of Bach-Zelewski's officials in Kattowitz, 21.12.1939, APKBB 4/94, 1-2; testimony of S.Z., probably 1945, AŻIH 301/133; interviews of Edward S., March 1946, and Leon G., 23.9.1946, AŻIH 301/2450, 3969; letters exchanged between Regierungspräsident Springorum and Landrat of Kreis Kattowitz, 26.7.1940 and 31.7.1940, APK 119/10903, 24-6; draft letter from Regierungspräsident Springorum to Landrat of Kreis Teschen, 25.7.1940, APK 119/10903, 36; first order on Reichsbürger law, 14.11.1940, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1935, Part 1, pp. 1333-4; order on the introduction of the Nuremberg Racial Laws in the incorporated eastern territories, 31.5.1941, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1941, Part 1, p. 297; letter from Heydrich to Umwandererzentralstelle Posen, 21.12.1939, reproduced as Document 66 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 190-3.

[57] Data on the Jewish population of Ost-Oberschlesien compiled by Merin's Centre, 1.10.1940, APK 1600/30, 108-22; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; list of the members and staff of councils of elders and Centre of the Jewish Communities, 1.3.1941, APK 1600/38, 25-34, 81-4.

[58] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11 – if this was a typo, it was repeated in other copies made, see IPN GK/646/32, 4; report on activities to date by Merin's Centre, 28.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 16-22; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by the same, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; interview of Riti R., 17.6.1947, AŻIH 301/2636.

[59] Report by Schutzpolizei District Command in Bielitz, 11.11.1940, APK 119/4215, 306-7; circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34; data on the Jewish population of Ost-Oberschlesien compiled by Merin's Centre, 1.10.1940, 1.1.1941, 12.3.1941 and 20.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 68-79, 108-34 and 205-19; table of statistics on the Jewish population of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz compiled by the same, 24.8.1942, APK 119/2779, 4; unpublished memoir of Sara K., probably 1947, YVA 0.33/4032, 6-7; Klein, *Life*, pp. 69-75, 78-9; interview of Eugeniusz R., 1945, and Franciszek R., March 1946, AŻIH 301/533, 3968; testimony of Rebeka A., undated, YVA 0.33/155; correspondence between Regierungspräsident

Springorum and Landrat of Kreis Bielitz, 7.5.1942 and 16.6.1942, APK 119/2785, 42-5; clipping from *Kattowitzer Zeitung*, 12.4.1942, APK 119/2785, 41.

[60] Letter from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz to HTO Treuhandstelle Kattowitz, 19.4.1940, APK 124/1397, 67-8.

[61] Circular from Bach-Zelewski, 23.4.1940, APK 119/2905, 7; Schnellbrief from Heydrich, 21.9.1939, reproduced as Document 12 in Friedrich, *Polen*, pp. 88-92.

[62] Circulars from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 18.4.1940 and 3.8.1940, APK 114/260, 10-11 and APKBB 8/3046, 34; circular from Regierungspräsident Springorum, 19.11.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 17; report on activities to date by Merin's Centre, 28.7.1941, APK 1600/30, 16-22; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by the same, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2.

[63] Population and economic data for Saybusch and Sucha compiled by the towns' Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilungen, 27.2.1940 and 10.3.1940 , APK 119/4212, 93, 98; report by Schutzpolizei-Dienstabteilung Sucha, 28.4.1940, APK 119/4215, 4-5; spreadsheet of welfare funds compiled by Merin's Centre, 16.5.1940, APK 124/1397, 81-2; data on the Jewish population of Ost-Oberschlesien compiled by the same, 1.10.1940, APK 1600/30, 108-22; table of welfare payment data compiled by the same, probably 25.3.1941, APK 1600/30, 163; spreadsheet of resettlements costs up to 6.7.1940 compiled by the same, APK 124/1412, 6; testimony of Egon W., AŻIH 301/2089.

[64] A. Szefer, *Hitlerowskie próby zasiedlania ziemi śląsko-dąbrowskiej w latach II wojny światowej (1939-1945)*, (Katowice, 1984), pp. 85-8, 119-25, 138-41; Wolf, *Ideologie*, pp. 143-4, 236-44; Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 132-6; Aly, *Endlösung*, pp. 152-3.

[65] Szefer, *Próby*, pp. 170-8.

[66] É. Conte and C. Essner, 'Der Mythos des "Mischlings": Nationalsozialistische Rassenpolitik im "Altreich" und in den "eingegliederten Ostgebieten"', *Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 26 (2000), pp. 144-5.

[67] Letter from Regierungspräsident Springorum to Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 11.7.1940, APK 119/2833, 21-2; Wolf, *Ideologie*, pp. 165-89, 266-342, 376-465; Wolf, 'Exporting', pp. 129-45; Browning, *Origins*, pp. 54-72.

[68] Circular from Gestapo Staatspolizeistelle Kattowitz, 3.8.1940, APKBB 8/3046, 34

[69] Table of statistics on the Jewish population of Regierungsbezirk Kattowitz compiled by Merin's Centre, 24.8.1942, APK 119/2779, 4; interviews of Franciszek R., March 1946 and Eugeniusz R., 17.6.1947, AŻIH

301/3968, 2634; unpublished memoir of Sara K., probably 1947, YVA 0.33/4032, 9-11, 16, 21; Klein, *Life*, pp. 79-105; testimony of Rebeka A., undated, YVA 0.33/155; letter from Landrat of Kreis Bielitz to Regierungspräsident Springorum, 16.6.1942, APK 119/2785, 44.

[70] Steinbacher, *Musterstadt*, pp. 286-304; S. Lehnstaedt, 'Coercion and Incentive: Jewish Ghetto Labor in East Upper Silesia', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 24, 3 (2010), pp. 405-6; P. Polian, *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR* (Budapest and New York, 2004), pp. 116-19.

[71] Browning, *Origins*, pp. 36-110; Wolf, *Ideologie*, pp. 191-265.