To Luba, with special thanks and gratitude

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Ibid., 6.

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

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

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

BEGINNING OF THE WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEFINITIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 Wagner, "Forced Labor," 181.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TYPES OF FORCED LABOR: CATEGORIZATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FORCED LABOR IN OCCUPIED POLAND

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

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

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

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

REVIEW OF RESEARCH LITERATURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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