

der (unbürokratisch ablaufenden) Pflugschaften. Zahlreiche verwaiste Kinder aus dem Westen der Sowjetunion wurden auf diese Weise neuen Familien zugeordnet.

Die Aufsätze münden jeweils in ein prägnantes Fazit, in dem die Hauptpunkte resümiert werden.

Nachdem sich die Erforschung des Sozialen im Nationalsozialismus unter dem Zeichen der „Volksgemeinschaft“ lange Zeit auf innerdeutsche Befindlichkeiten konzentriert hat, scheint es die Beschäftigung mit den familiären und privaten Dingen zu ermöglichen, über ethnisch definierte Grenzen hinauszublicken. Dies gelingt hier nicht zuletzt dadurch, dass die privilegierten Familien der (groß)deutschen Kriegsgesellschaft gewöhnlich mit den nichtdeutschen verfolgten, vertriebenen und ermordeten kontrastiert werden. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass der Band dazu anregen kann, „Familientrennungen als eine zentrale Kriegserfahrung [auch] wissenschaftlich ernst zu nehmen“ (S. 31). Sie wirkten sich nicht nur darauf aus, wie der Alltag im Krieg bewältigt wurde, sondern waren auch – wie die Holocaust-Forschung längst herausgearbeitet hat – übergreifend handlungsleitend für wichtige und irreversible Lebensentscheidungen.

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Joanna Tokarska-Bakir: Jewish Fugitives in the Polish Countryside 1939–1945. Beyond the German Holocaust Project. (Eastern European Culture, Politics and Societies, Bd. 18.) Peter Lang. Berlin 2022. 438 S., Ill. ISBN 978-3-631-84927-9. (€59,95.)

Joanna Tokarska-Bakir is a professor of cultural anthropology at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw who has already produced important scholarship on what she calls an “ethnography of the Holocaust”¹—“a kind of documentation in which the main role is played by local factors, expressed in the language of the peasantry and the inhabitants of small towns.” Her latest contribution, *Jewish Fugitives*, continues this work with its focus on the period following the ghetto-clearing operations (known in Polish scholarship as the “third phase” of the Holocaust or the *Judenjagd*), a period during which, in the author’s rendition, the “Germans barely feature in the frame, there are only Jewish and non-Jewish Poles, and the relations between them” (p. 15). Indeed, the German occupation authorities make no appearance in the book.

Jewish Fugitives consists of twelve chapters that are not directly connected with each other, seven of which have previously been published as journal articles or essays in edited volumes (Chapter 12 is presented in its German version). The same collection is also available in Polish, published under a different title.² The book will no doubt help to bring the author’s important to the attention of English-language readers.

The book is loosely bound by the theme of “Jewish fugitives in the Polish countryside,” a hotly contested area of research, as witnessed by the controversy surrounding the publication of *Night Without End*, a collection of nine county-level case studies of Jewish survival in the General Government (GG) and Białystok District (*Bezirk*).³ In contrast to the comprehensive statistical and regional thrust of the latter, the ethnographic approach taken by T.-B. is narrower in geographical scope, focusing primarily on localities in the southern

¹ The book under review here follows from the author’s research on: *Pod kłatwą: Społeczny portret pogromu kieleckiego*, 2 vols., Warszawa 2018; published in English as: *Cursed: A Social Portrait of the Kielce Pogrom*, Ithaca 2023.

² JOANNA TOKARSKA-BAKIR: *Bracia miesiące: Studia z antropologii historycznej Polski 1939–1945* [Brother Months: Studies in the Historical Anthropology of Poland 1939–1945], Warszawa 2021.

³ JAN GRABOWSKI, BARBARA ENGELKING (eds.): *Dalej jest noc: Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski*, Warszawa 2018; published in abridged form as: *Night Without End: The Fate of Jews in German-Occupied Poland*, Bloomington—Yad Vashem 2022.

part of Radom District (incidentally, the one district of the GG not covered by *Night Without End*), as well as northern parts of Krakow District, a village (Ruda) near Chełm in Lublin District, and one county (Bielsk Podlaski) in Białystok District.

The Polish underground, especially the nationalist formations not subordinated to the London-based government-in-exile, plays a prominent role in the book: seven of the chapters deal with the involvement of partisans in the murder of Jews, four chapters concentrate on civilian structures and dynamics. The last three chapters are of a more polemical and general character. The chapter on Bielsk Podlaski, in particular, strongly takes issue with aspects of Barbara Engelking's study of the same county in *Night Without End*. The chronology also gives more space to postwar continuities: while seven chapters pertain to events under German occupation, two deal with anti-Jewish violence following "liberation" by the Red Army but while the war was still ongoing, and one considers developments shortly after the end of World War II in Europe. The predominant body of documentation underpinning the studies are the so-called August Decree case files of investigations and trials conducted by the Soviet-installed Polish Communist government in the first postwar decade and subsequently classified, an archival collection that functions here as a kind of Rosetta Stone for deconstructing the myths of the People's Republic, coupled with "the delusions of historical politics" of a more recent era (p. 262).

The scrupulously reconstructed case studies loom large in interpretive potential. T.-B. is among the leading scholars of the Holocaust in Poland who actively draws on concepts from the social sciences—signaling, perhaps, an emergent historiographical turn.⁴ The wide-ranging classification of the violence examined in these studies is noteworthy. Among other scholars, Stanley Milgram's research is mentioned as a route to understanding the mechanisms of social control in the German-imposed village hostage system (p. 54); concepts of "dirty warriors" (borrowed from studies of Argentinian death squads) and "wartime vigilantism" are deployed to shed light on the behavior of partisan units (pp. 68, 145); a programmatic "logic of ethnic cleansing" implicit in wartime and postwar killings is discussed (pp. 141, 270, 362); and, in the most developed application of theory, reference is made to Roberta Senechal de la Roche's theory of collective violence in an appraisal of the actions of the National Armed Forces (Narodowe Siły Zbrojne, NSZ) in Przedbórz—within a typology of lynching, riots, vigilantism, and terrorism—as "an act of terror" aimed at the town's Holocaust survivors, not as a pogrom (pp. 270–272).

One of the guiding themes of the essays is the direct relationship between prewar anti-semitic nationalist ideology and wartime and postwar acts of anti-Jewish violence. The evidence is most convincing in the chapters dealing with selected underground units, here mainly those of the NSZ, but also the Peasant Battalions (Bataliony Chłopskie, BCh) and Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK). Among the strongest demonstrations of the thesis is a case study (Chapter 6) of an NSZ unit led by Tadeusz Zajątek in Opoczno county (Radom District) that carried out an organized execution of a group of eleven Jews in hiding (including women and children), followed by a speech given by its commander next to the mass grave regarding the "lamentable duty" to carry out the murder for "the good of Poland," which the author likens to "a miniature version" of Himmler's Posen speech (pp. 215–216). The impact of ideology on the Blue Police and civilian structures pressed into the process remains more ambiguous.

Ultimately, contrary to the title of the book, *Jewish Fugitives* is much more about the perpetrators than it is about the victims. By the same token, the book warns against the tendency in the scholarship to "stigmatize" peasant culture as a "culture of perpetrators" (p. 17). In the author's criticism of Engelking, she points to a broader Polish "intelligentsia" class bias that "deforms the perception of researchers unaware of their own privileged position" in their interpretation of rural society under occupation (p. 351).

⁴ See: JEFFREY KOPSTEIN, JELENA SUBOTIĆ et al. (eds.): *Politics, Violence, Memory: The New Social Science of the Holocaust*, Ithaca 2023.

The question of the representativeness of the selected case studies is among the “known unknowns” of the “third phase” of the Holocaust that must be left to future research. T.-B. herself relies on the hypothetical estimate of 200,000 fugitives Jews denounced or killed directly by ethnic Poles (pp. 216, 376, 387), as expressed most vocally by Jan Grabowski,⁵ although historians affiliated with the Polish Center for Holocaust Research in Warsaw and others, have increasingly cast doubt on this working figure as likely to be inflated and unsupported by current empirical research.⁶ These numerical debates aside, *Jewish Fugitives* provides scholars with an array of innovative analytical concepts with the potential to shed light on the social history of the subject.

Zabrze

Tomasz Frydel

⁵ JAN GRABOWSKI: Estimates of the Losses of Polish Jews in Hiding, 1942–1945: Revisiting Yehuda Bauer’s Observations, in: *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 36 (2022), 1, pp. 96–109.

⁶ See, for instance, the interview with Dariusz Libionka in: PIOTR ZYCHOWICZ: *Żydzi 2: Opowieści niepoprawne politycznie IV* [Jews 2: Politically Incorrect Stories IV], Poznań 2018, pp. 228–231.

Maria Ciesielska: The Doctors of the Warsaw Ghetto. Hrsg. von Jeanette Friedman, Tali Nates und Luc Albinski. Aus dem Polnischen von Agata Krzychylkiewicz. (The Holocaust: History and Literature, Ethics and Philosophy.) Academic Studies Press. Boston 2022. XXIV, 403 S., Ill. ISBN 978-1-64469-726-9. (\$ 29,95.)

Das Chemisch-Bakteriologische Institut im Warschauer Ghetto erstellte zwischen dem 7. Juli und 31. Dezember 1941 86 Inhaltsanalysen des im Ghetto verfügbaren Brotes. In etwa der Hälfte der Proben fanden sich bedenkliche Stoffe, wie Talkpulver, Magnesium, Kalk und Larven (S. 141). Die Ghettoinsassen konnten die katastrophale Qualität der von den deutschen Besatzern stets in zu geringen Mengen ins Ghetto gelieferten Lebensmittel nicht beeinflussen. Wie die Analyse jedoch zeigt, produzierten die Mitarbeiter:innen des Instituts valides Wissen über die Missstände und analysierten diese. Ebenso führten Ärzt:innen im Ghetto klinische Studien zu Hunger- und Typhuserkrankungen durch, die den Gesundheitszustand der Menschen dokumentierten und Behandlungsmethoden erprobten.

Maria Ciesielska verweist mit ihrer Studie, die 2017 auf Polnisch erschien und in der englischsprachigen Fassung von Jeanette Friedmann, Tali Nates und Luc Albinski lektoriert und bearbeitet wurde, ähnlich wie bereits Miriam Offer,¹ auf die Bedeutung der gesundheitlichen Versorgung zur Organisation des Lebens im Ghetto. Sie nimmt Strategien und Handlungschancen der im Ghetto eingesperrten Mediziner:innen in den Blick. In ihrer chronologisch aufgebauten Studie untersucht C. unter Einbeziehung von Tagebüchern, Zeitschriften, Archivquellen und von Berichten Berufskarrieren jüdischer Ärzt:innen, ihre berufliche Tätigkeit sowie das Gesundheitswesen in Warschau. Der Untersuchungszeitraum beginnt zur Zeit der Zweiten Polnischen Republik, legt einen Schwerpunkt auf die Zeit unter deutscher Besatzung – vor allem ab November 1940, als das Ghetto abgeriegelt wurde – und endet mit dem Ghetto-Aufstand im April 1943 sowie der anschließenden vollständigen Liquidierung des Ghettos.

Ärzt:innen gehörten vor dem Krieg zur gesellschaftlichen Elite. Gerade in den größeren Städten wie Lodz oder Warschau war etwa die Hälfte der Ärzteschaft jüdisch. Eine medizinische Versorgung der Bevölkerung war ohne sie nicht möglich. Dennoch waren sie wie die gesamte jüdische Bevölkerung insbesondere ab der zweiten Hälfte der 1930er Jahre antisemitischer Diskriminierung ausgesetzt. Sie erfuhren Ausgrenzungen durch die Studie-

¹ MIRIAM OFFER: *White Coats in the Ghetto. Jewish Medicine in Poland during the Holocaust*, Yad Vashem 2020.