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SEXUAL CONTACT BETWEEN GERMAN OCCUPIERS AND POLISH OCCUPIED IN WORLD WAR II POLAND

The invasion of Poland in September 1939 was the beginning of a brutal occupation during which millions of Poles died and millions were physically and psychologically harmed. Further, the country's economy and infrastructure were heavily damaged. All this has already been researched from multiple perspectives.¹

This paper, however, deals with an aspect of the German occupation in Poland that has rarely been covered by the extensive research up to this point: Sexual contact between Germans and Poles in the extreme situation

¹ The state of research for the German occupation of Poland is extensive and cannot be cited here. The greater part of the relevant literature is in German and Polish. For an English language introduction about one part of occupied Poland, see Jan Tomasz Gross, *Polish Society Under German Occupation: The General Government, 1939-1944* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1979). For a broader, but disputed, picture of the region see Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010). The military and administrative perspectives have been joined by experiential history and everyday life history to explore the life-world of the occupied and the occupier. In doing so, the efforts are directed to either one or the other group and to a large extent track the real-life separation of the German occupiers and the Polish occupied during the period of occupation. For the history of everyday life, concentrated rather on the occupied, see Tomasz Szarota, *Okupowanej Warszawy dzień powszedni [The Everyday Life of Occupied Warsaw]*, 2nd edn Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1978); Anna Czocher, *W okupowanym Krakowie: Codzienność polskich mieszkańców miasta 1939-1945 [In Occupied Cracow: Everyday life of the Polish Inhabitants 1939-1945]* (Gdańsk: Oskar, 2011). Thereafter Czocher, *W okupowanym Krakowie*. Concerning the occupiers, see Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Okkupation im Osten: Besatzeralltag in Warschau und Minsk 1939-1944 [Occupation in the East: The Everyday Life of Occupiers in Warsaw and Minsk 1939-1944]* (München: Oldenbourg, 2010). Thereafter Lehnstaedt, *Okkupation*. Initial works took into account as well the gender history aspects and inquired (for example) into the understanding of roles among the female occupiers in the annexed regions of Poland. See Elizabeth Harvey, *Women and the Nazi East: Agents and Witnesses of Germanization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

of the occupation.² The invasion of Poland meant not only the invasion by abstract occupiers, but an invasion of 1.5 million German men³, who brought along their gendered identities and their emotional and sexual needs. It is the consensual sexual contact between occupiers and occupied that will be in the forefront of this paper, even though other forms of sexual encounters such as violence and sex-work inside and outside the occupiers' organized bordello system also existed in the occupied Polish territories.⁴ By focusing on these encounters, the paper can shed some light on three aspects of the occupation. Firstly, it examines the ideology and everyday practice of the racially motivated prohibition on contact (*Umgangsverbot*).⁵ This has to be seen as being at the heart of our understanding of National Socialist racist policies.⁶

² Earlier studies referred peripherally to sexual contacts in Poland. Nevertheless it is just within more recent times that the first articles and book chapters have appeared addressing the dealings in the relationships between Germans and Poles. See Birthe Kundrus, 'Regime der Differenz: Volkstumspolitische Inklusionen und Exklusionen im Warthegau und im Generalgouvernement 1939-1944' ['Regimes of Difference: *Volkstum* Policies of Inclusion and Exclusion in Warthegau and in the Generalgouvernement 1939-1944'], in Frank Bajohr and Michael Wildt, eds., *Volksgemeinschaft: Neue Forschungen zur Gesellschaft des Nationalsozialismus* [*Volksgemeinschaft: New Research on the Society of National Socialism*] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2009), 105-23. Examples for Warsaw are also in Lehnstaedt, *Okkupation*. Social contacts between occupiers and occupied seemed more so of interest to commentators and journalists. Especially in the 1980s when parts of the Polish society were seeking interaction with western neighbors, there were attempts in a popular science way to find "good Germans" in uniform. See e.g. Jan Turnau, ed., *Zehn Gerechte: Erinnerungen aus Polen an der deutschen Besatzungszeit 1939-1945* [*Ten Righteous Ones: Memories from Poland of the German Occupation Period 1939-1945*] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1989).

³ See Jochen Böhrer, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg: Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* [*Prelude to the War of Extermination: The Wehrmacht in Poland 1939*] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2006), 33.

⁴ This article summarizes some results from my research project (located at the GHI Warsaw) about *The History of Sexual Contacts during the German Occupation of Poland and its Aftermath: Sexual Violence, (Forced) Prostitution, Love Affairs and German-Polish 'Children Born of War'*.

⁵ For an overview about the juridical system, compare Martin Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939-1945* [*National Socialist Polish Policies 1939-1945*] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1961), ch. 'Strafjustiz und Polensonderstrafrecht' ['Criminal Law and Special Polish Criminal Law']; and Andrzej Wrzyszczy, *Okupacyjne sądownictwo niemieckie w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939-1945. Organizacja i funkcjonowanie* [*Occupiers German Judiciary in the General Government*] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008).

⁶ Gabriele Czarnowski, 'Zwischen Germanisierung und Vernichtung: Verbotene polnisch-deutsche Liebesbeziehungen und die Rekonstruktion des Volkskörpers im Zweiten Weltkrieg' ['Between Germanization and Annihilation: Forbidden Polish-German Love Relationships and the Reconstruction of the *Volkskörper* in the Second World War'], in

How did it show itself in everyday life? How were offenses punished? Secondly, it identifies the gendered hierarchies under the racist occupation system. And thirdly, the paper adds new insights to our knowledge of Polish society under the occupation by focusing on the actions taken against such liaisons.

The Invasion of German *Men*

A first question would be: What conceptions of Polish women did the 1.5 million occupiers bring with them? Most of the one and a half million German men came equipped with cultural conceptions of Poland and Polish men and women. A special element was the anti-Slavic attitude of the Germans. The neighboring country was considered uncivilized, backwards, and dirty – this was the image that had a cultural tradition in Germany. Back in 1855, for example, Gustav Freytag's best seller "Soll und Haben" spread this image quite broadly.⁷ In the National Socialist period, the propaganda clearly sought to strengthen this idea as the outbreak of the war neared.⁸ Yet there were also positive stereotypes, above all about Polish women. One could think, for example, about Heinrich Heine's extolling of the "*Weichsel-Aphrodite*" ("Vistula Aphrodite"), or how an occupier remembers his meeting with his first Polish girlfriend by referring to another cultural asset: "Automatically I thought of the hymn praising the beauty of Polish women from Carl Millöckers operetta *Der Bettelstudent* – and I agreed with the composer."⁹

So, the 1.5 million German men marched in with images of Polish women which oscillated between anti-Slavic racism and a stereotype of

Helgard Kramer, ed., *Die Gegenwart der NS-Vergangenheit [The Presence of the NS- Past]* (Berlin: Philo, 2000), 295–303, here 296. Thereafter Czarnowski, 'Germanisierung'.

⁷ See for the German image of Poland among others Hubert Orłowski, "*Polnische Wirtschaft*": *Zum deutschen Polendiskurs der Neuzeit [“Polish Economy”: The German Discourse about Poland in Modern Times]* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996).

⁸ For the nuances of the German image of Poland, see Karina Pryt, *Befohlene Freundschaft. Die deutsch-polnischen Kulturbeziehungen 1934-1939 [Commanded Friendship: The German-Polish Cultural Relationships 1934-1939]* (Osnabrück: Fibre 2010), ch. I.1.

⁹ See Adolf "Karl" Landl, *Mein polnisches Tagebuch [My Polish Diary]*, Österreich, n.d. (probably 1963), 5, in: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, księga materiałów pomocniczych i edukacyjnych Działu Historii, no 74, spuścizna po red. Jerzym Butwiłło dot. K. A. Landla, Bd. 8. This deals with the unpublished memoirs of an Austrian gendarme. Dr. Jochen Böhrer (Imre-Kertesz-Kolleg Jena) and I are currently working on an edition of this.

Polish women in the cities as “French ladies of the east”.¹⁰ Interestingly, the image of the beautiful Polish woman showed up again and again in official occupation documents – despite the strict prohibition on contact with them. In the *Silesian Sunday Post*, a National Socialist weekly newspaper, the German reporter on 3. November 1941 really raved about the elegant women in Warsaw:

“The women without exception are meticulously dressed up to the extent that they perceive themselves belonging among ‘the elegant ones’. You can notice on their lips that they carry some lipstick in their purse, the eyebrows are trimmed and carefully made up, the finger nails glisten rosy or dark red, probably depending on the color the druggist had in stock. Almost all are well-dressed, much more so (by the way) than the men who are walking with them, and even before noon their high-heels click on the asphalt. Of course, if one looks closely enough, one sees that the ultra-thin silk stockings are darned and often in fact are being faked using brown shadow on their legs.”¹¹

Studies about intimate fraternization in other countries in Europe emphasize a curiosity about the strangers as one motive of the local women, which would include interest in the visually different physical appearances of the soldiers. At the beginning of the period of occupation, these were always the strongest motives.¹²

Although in fact the occupation began much more brutally in Poland than in other countries,¹³ in the early stages one could still observe a continuing increase in intimate contacts. Above all, early witnesses of the first weeks and months talk about a phenomenon that was not particularly infrequent. The German soldier Konrad Jarausch observed the initiation of contacts in Krośniewice near Łódź on the market day in early October 1939. Soldiers shouted out funny comments to the women, who (according to Jarausch) “did not take the racial contrasting so seriously and smiled

¹⁰ During the German occupation in the First World War, such voices could already be heard. See among others ‘Warsaw Street Life on Sunday’, *Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung*, 13, 22. August 1915. I thank Dr. Pawel Brudek for having pointed this out.

¹¹ See Jochen Wilike, ‘Wiedersehen mit Warschau’ [‘Reunion with Warsaw’], *Schlesische Sonntagspost*, 3 November 1941, in: Institut für Zeitgeschichte München, Das Generalgouvernement im Spiegel der Reichspresse/1, 11/Dd 056.013-1, 92.

¹² For an overview see Anette Warring, ‘Intimate and Sexual Relations’, in Robert Gildea, Olivier Wieviorka, and Anette Warring, eds., *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 88-128.

¹³ Bombings also hit civilians and the *Einsatzgruppen* wreaked havoc on the *intelligentsia* and the Jewish population. See Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Jochen Böhrer, and Jürgen Matthäus, *Einsatzgruppen in Polen: Darstellung und Dokumentation [Einsatzgruppen in Poland: An Account and Documentation]* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2008).

back happily".¹⁴ In another place he describes the Polish girls as not very reserved, or talks about the Polish women as girlfriends of the comrades, which bothered him since next to being drunk he took such things as a sign of moral decay.¹⁵ The Wehrmacht officer Wilm Hosenfeld wrote his wife in October from Pabianice near Łódź:

"You know me and how much I am at the mercy of the eternal feminine, how my insides are in a knot in the presence of a woman. There sure would be plenty of chances to start philandering here, but I won't betray my sweet, faithful darling."¹⁶

Other men in that setting were not so steadfast.¹⁷ There were loads of examples in the first weeks of the occupation. In the winter of 1939, a waitress in Gnesen got to know a German soldier. She had sexual intercourse with him several times; at a later point she provided his first and last name when there was an interrogation into the killing of the child they had conceived together.¹⁸ Around Christmas 1939, so also shortly after the invasion, a member of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service) Georg D. along with his comrades got to know several Polish women in a Café by the name of "FF" in Warsaw. After that they went to the room of one of the women where they spent the night together. D. and one of the women got together several times afterwards until the occupier began a relationship with a supposedly ethnic German woman (who was in fact Polish).¹⁹

¹⁴ Letter of Konrad Jarausch to his wife [probably 3 October 1939], in Konrad H. Jarausch and Klaus J. Arnold, eds., *"Das stille Sterben...": Feldpostbriefe von Konrad Jarausch aus Polen und Russland 1939-1942* [*The Quiet Dying...": War Letters of Konrad Jarausch from Poland and Russia 1939-1942*] (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008), 112. Thereafter Jarausch and Arnold, *Sterben*.

¹⁵ Letter of Konrad Jarausch to his wife, 29 November 1939, in Jarausch and Arnold, *Sterben*, 142.

¹⁶ Letter of Wilm Hosenfeld to his wife, 23 October 1939, in Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed., *Hosenfeld, Wilm "Ich versuche jeden zu retten": Das Leben eines deutschen Offiziers in Briefen und Tagebüchern* [Hosenfeld, Wilm *"I am trying to save everyone."* *The Life of a German Officer in Letters and Diaries*] (München: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2004), 276. Thereafter Forschungsamt, *Hosenfeld*.

¹⁷ Forschungsamt, *Hosenfeld*, 289.

¹⁸ See Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], hereafter abbreviated AP, AP Bydgoszcz 90/1214, Verdict of Criminal Division I of the District Court in Gnesen from 16. June 1941.

¹⁹ See Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance], hereafter abbreviated AIPN: GK 106/81, diverse interrogation protocols.

In Debica and Cracow, German members of the military were carousing with Polish women,²⁰ and in other cities they danced with one another or talked openly on the street. For this reason, the commander of the police in Warthegau warned in November 1939 for the nth time:

“It is once again called to your attention that an obligatory distance is to be maintained to the Polish population. Conversations with Polish women on the street and in locales are to be refrained from.”²¹

With the increasing length of the occupation such reports did not disappear, but no longer came at the rate of the first weeks of the occupation. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the number of German men in the country was decreasing. It is indeed difficult to be precise about the total number, yet it is estimated that there were around 400.000 soldiers deployed in the annexed territories in the west and there were about a half a million in the *Generalgouvernement*. In addition, the Generalgouvernement had nearly 60.000 police and SS personnel, while the annexed territories had around 30.000 policemen. Half of these soldiers were stationed for longer periods of time in Poland, writes the Polish historian Czesław Madajczyk.²² In general, the rank and file stayed for shorter terms, while functionaries often spent years in Poland. Besides the military personnel, civilian occupiers also came into the divided country, filling positions in public administration and business life.

A second reason for the reduction was the increased pressure put on the occupiers and occupied by the German occupation authorities. The prohibition on contact was indeed formally in force from the beginning of the occupation, but the military and civilian occupation officials had different priorities in the first months other than regulating sex lives. Moreover, the pressure on Polish women from the Polish society increased, accompanied as it was with an expanding awareness of the brutality of the Germans.

²⁰ See Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv [Federal Archive, Department Military Archive], hereafter abbreviated BACh MA: RH 53-23/15, Report of the *Grenzabschnittkommando* South to the *Oberkommando Ost* from 5.12.1939.

²¹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, hereafter abbreviated USHMM: RG-15.012M/r.01, p. 22-23, Commander of the Order Police to the Governor of Posen, Daily Directive from 10.11.1939.

²² See Czesław Madajczyk, *Die Okkupationspolitik Nazideutschlands in Polen 1939-1945* [*The Occupation Policies of Nazi Germany in Poland 1939-1945*] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 239-40. Because of the continuous fluctuations, the given numbers are to be understood as approximations.

Intimate Relations or Patriotism: The Reaction of the Polish Society

The files of the post-war trials show quite clearly that during the occupation, people in the neighborhoods attentively observed many Polish women with German friends or lovers. Some witnesses could report exactly how often and how long the woman in question had visits from men or when and with which men she was supposed to have gone for a walk on the streets of each place.²³ Besides the social condemnation from the neighbors, the women had to fear public defamation and dangerous denunciations to the police. One witness reported (who was being questioned about something else, an economic offense), that an employee at the Wollstein district administration office had been visiting her neighbor. “Just yesterday I saw him coming out of there around 10 o’clock in the evening”, recounted the incensed woman, doubting the alleged ethnic German status of the neighbor since her father had been a “spiteful Pole”. The woman thereby brought her neighbor quite purposefully under suspicion of racial defilement.²⁴ Defamations could consist of a leaflet being hung in public places with accusations against certain persons. In extreme situations the punishments even reached the point of an *honor punishment* by the cutting off of the person’s hair. Once again in Wollstein, anonymous informers put up such a piece of paper in February 1940 – not the first such case of this type in the town.²⁵ Five women were named and berated under the heading “The ones who hang around with German soldiers”. The document ended with the performative speech act “We spit in your faces.”²⁶ In Kamienna in December 1939 anti-German posters were hung on a public advertizing pillar, one of them warning Polish women. In the rather skewed transfer of it into German (done by an occupier), the posting of the anonymous writer runs as follows:

“Polish women! The pride of Polish women has to be the holiest and must defend your honor. A terrible scandal comes on us by women who act with no

²³ See for the juristic basis of the collaboration trials Andrzej Pasek, *Przestępstwa okupacyjne w polskim prawie karnym z lat 1944 -1956* [Occupation Crimes in Polish Penal Law 1944-1956] (Wrocław: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002). An overview study, similar to Frommer’s about the Czech Republic, is still lacking for Poland. Benjamin Frommer, *National cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Post-war Czechoslovakia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

²⁴ See AP Poznań: 39-34/27, p. 259, Statement of Josefa B. from 23.05.1941.

²⁵ See AP Poznań: 39-45/27, p. 22, Landrat Wollstein to Gestapo Kosten from 21.02.1940.

²⁶ See AP Poznań: 39-45/27, p. 23, Anonymous (German translation) undated.

shame with the murderers of our sons, fathers, and brothers. Think about it! The eyes of the whole world look at us and the ambition of Polish women should not bring disgrace. Stay in the company of the Germans and illegal pursuits will bring direct shame on the ones who did it.”²⁷

Such leaflets were evidently widespread in the whole Generalgouvernement:

“The negative attitude of the Polish population has gotten worse. At different places smear leaflets have been found in Polish. All Polish women and girls who get involved with the Germans are threatened with severe punishment, even death.”²⁸

From the beginning of the occupation, male and female persons (as private individuals) and organized underground groups put pressure on Polish women. Members of the Organization PLAN passed out posters in December 1939 in Warsaw whose text read: “Women who are having intimate relations with Germans are hereby informed that there are still some free places at the bordellos.”²⁹ There were other brochures and posters circulating in the city that vilified as “bitches” or “pigs” women who were intimately fraternizing.³⁰

In addition to this, one finds moral appeals during the whole period of the occupation – taken together they create a mirror which reflects that there were continuing intimate relationships between Polish women and the occupiers. In February 1943, the central organ of the most important Polish underground organization, *Armia Krajowa*, published in the *Biuletyn Informacyjny* a hymn to Polish women who were sacrificing themselves for their nation and families. And at the end of this praising of good Polish women stands a damning of bad Polish women.

“Yet in honoring the noble posture of the Polish woman who conducts herself so virtuously and in such a dignified way toward the enemy, that fact does not allow us to close our eyes to another spectacle that casts a shadow over the uplifting image of Polish women. We see among us disgusting, despicable

²⁷ BArch MA: RH 53-23/15, p. 58, Exhibit for the Report of the *Grenzabschnittskommando* to the Commander in Chief East from 14.12.1939.

²⁸ BArch B: R 19/334, p. 17, Chief of the Order Police Status Report 25.1.1940.

²⁹ Quoted from Tomasz Szarota, *Okupowanej Warszawy Dzień Powszedni: Studium Historyczne* [*The Everyday Life of Occupied Warsaw*], 4th edn (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2010), 428.

³⁰ See leaflets in Muzeum Karikatury w Warszawie, ed., *Warszawa 1939-1944. Satyra konspiracyjna oraz okupacyjna rzeczywistość w rysunkach polskich grafików* [*Warsaw 1939-1944. Underground Satires and Reality of Occupation in the Drawings of Polish Graphic Artists*] (Warszawa: Muzeum Karikatury, 2012), 61.

amphibians; we see mistresses and tarts of the German robbers and murderers of the Polish nation. And not infrequently it is women from what were previously upright families who now flirt and flash a toothy smile in the direction of a soldier with the hope of a piece of sausage or a mug of beer. The reverence for Polish women demands from us at the same time the contempt and persecution of these traitorous women – shameless women who have entered into the service of the deadly enemy of the Fatherland.”³¹

Included explicitly were the women who prostituted themselves for food-stuffs – a phenomenon that generated sympathy from other observers. Konrad Jarausch recounted to his wife the story of a shaken comrade who had been in Warsaw in late autumn 1939. Women who had nothing to eat offered themselves right to the soldiers.³² The Swiss Franz Blättler described with obvious disgust a scene from the year 1942 in which German soldiers examined the women as if they were merchandise and insulted one who was a bit older, but who continued to beg the men for at least some bread. His clear estimation of the dilemma of the women runs: “For many there was no other choice except either to die of hunger or be a prostitute.”³³

But the *Armia Krajowa* did not stop simply with patriotic appeals. Women who had German friends were spied upon. The simple admonition was published once in the *Biuletyn Informacyjny* as: “We know and we write everything down.”³⁴ In the large city of Warsaw, there existed whole lists of names of women from all social levels. In Łuszczyca, a small community northeast of Warsaw, informants also made a list of nine women who had gotten involved with Germans. Many of them worked for the railroad

³¹ Dodatek do Biuletyn Informacyjny, 2.07.1943, in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, Rok IV (LV), Nr specjalny 3 (200), Warszawa 2003, Przedruk Biuletyn Informacyjny, 1654. In the original: “Ale ta część dla szlachetnej postaci zacnej, pełnej godności wobec wroga, Polki, nie pozwala nam zamykać oczu na inny obraz, plamiący i rzucający cień na jasną i wzniosłą jej postać. Widzimy wśród nas wstrętne, obrzydliwe plaży, widzimy nalożnice i kochanice szwabskich opryszków i morderców narodu polskiego. Spotykamy nieraz kobiety z porządných dawniej rodzin, które się mizdrzą i szczerzą żeby do byle żołdaka, licząc na kawałek kielbasy czy kufelek piwa. Część dla kobiety Polki nakazuje nam jednoczesną pogardę i czynne piętnowanie kobiet zdrajczyń, kobiet bezwstydných, które przeszli na służbę śmiertelnego wroga naszej Ojczyzny.”

³² Konrad Jarausch to his wife, 1.12.1939, in Jarausch and Arnold, *Sterben*, 143.

³³ See Franz Blättler, *Warschau 1942. Tatsachenbericht eines Motorfahrers der zweiten schweizerischen Aerztemission 1942 in Polen* [Report of a Driver of the Second Swiss Doctor's Mission 1942 in Poland] (Zürich: Micha, 1945), 42.

³⁴ Dodatek do Biuletyn Informacyjny, 28.10.1943, in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, Rok IV (LV), Nr specjalny 3 (200), Warszawa 2003. Przedruk Biuletyn Informacyjny, 1705-1706.

and obviously had made closer contacts with their German co-workers.³⁵ The spying was followed by an urgent warning and when there were new breaches of the regulations, the Polish executive of the underground used the cutting of the offender's hair as the tool of honor punishment. The short hair stigmatized the women for months and was feared by Polish women. Zofia Grodecka, who was active in the Warsaw uprising, fought vigorously against having to have her hair cut in preparation for a medical operation.³⁶

The Polish underground had other severe punishments. It seems that in the countryside, sometimes beatings replaced the shaving, the latter being a practice that was either not known or used everywhere.³⁷ To be executed was the ultimate punishment. Leszek Gondek estimates that the courts of the underground movement imposed 3.000-3.500 death sentences during the whole period of the occupation, of which 2.500 were carried out.³⁸ It seems, however, that the women who were suspected of only intimacy with Germans were not executed. For that, there would have to have also been the factual finding of political collaboration. There is not much known about partners of German occupiers that were actually killed. In the daily reports of the gendarmes in 1944, one can find repeated mentions of the murder of women which the German occupiers classified as political acts of revenge. But it is not possible to gather from the files what political offense or what form of fraternizing had made the women guilty in the eyes of those who killed them.³⁹ One of the people I interviewed was witness to such an act. This is what Stefan Oszymowski says about the brutal killing of a woman (as he remembers her as a prostitute in Warsaw) who was collaborating:

"I remember in fact an event (which later proved to be true) [...] that a prostitute was turning Jews over to the Germans; that our [underground group] carried out a sentence, sticking a bottle in her vagina and then throwing her into

³⁵ See AIPN: BU 1558/45, p. 2, Wykaz kobiet lekkiego prowadzenia, utrzymując stosunki z Niemcami (The files concern November 1943).

³⁶ See Interview with Zofia Grodecka conducted by Małgorzata Brama (part of the interview project of the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising), Poznań, 17 May 2007, available at http://ahm.1944.pl/Zofia_Grodecka/ (last visited 12 June 2012).

³⁷ See Tomasz Szarota, *Karuzela na placu Krasińskich. Studia i szkice z lat wojny i okupacji* [Merry-go-round at Krasiński Place. Research and Drafts from War and Occupation Period] (Warszawa: Rytm 2007), 93-106, here 96, which refers to *Ruch Ludowy*. Thereafter Szarota, *Karuzela*. First printed in Tomasz Szarota, 'Kolaboranci pod preżerzem' ['Pilloried Collaborateurs'], *Magazyn Gazety Wyborczej*, 7 July 1995, 6-11.

³⁸ See Leszek Gondek, *Polska karząca 1939-1945: Polski podziemny wymiar sprawiedliwości w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* [Punishing Poland 1939-1945: Polish Underground Justice During German Occupation] (Warszawa: Pax, 1988), 114.

³⁹ See AP Warsaw: 486/1123, p. 95, 128, 143, diverse daily reports.

Czerniakowski Lake, you know. On the sign was written: 'Do not touch. Do not pull this body out.'"⁴⁰

Cecylia C. remembers a case from Nowy Korczyn near Cracow. She told this to a German journalist decades after the war:

"If a Polish woman fell in love with a German and the underground found out about it, the partisans shaved the woman right away. The sister of my best friend, a wonderful girl, had a relationship with a German. The underground condemned her to death."⁴¹

What we know about actual executions of women who were fraternizing remains fragmentary. Two things, however, are sure. For one thing, what was true for the killed Polish women who had socialized with Germans, was similar to what Tomasz Szarota has established for other executed persons (in France as well): "Naturally it was true in both countries that there were also errors, cases of personal revenge and getting even, unjust incriminations, and severe sentences."⁴² The other thing that is culturally and historically interesting is that the first Polish movie of the post-war period depicts a case of such a killing of a woman. In "Zakazany piosenki" ("Forbidden Songs") (1946), the main figure is a maid in Warsaw who maintained close contacts with a German member of the Gestapo and had herself registered as an ethnic German. For betraying Polish citizens to the Germans, the underground executed her.⁴³ This can be interpreted as a collective transference of guilt onto women and ethnic Germans after the war.

⁴⁰ See interview with Stefan Oszymowski conducted by Maren Röger, Warsaw, 28.07.2010, MP 3. The whole quote in the original: "Ja na kolejce, która chodziła spod ambasady sowieckiej, kolejka wilanowska, która chodziła na Grójec aż do Konstancina to na Sadybie bywałem tam dosyć często i nawet pamiętam takie wydarzenie, które zresztą się potwierdziło później, że prostytutka, która wydawała Żydów w ręce niemieckie to wykonali nasi wyrok tak że szłuki butelkę wbił w pochwę i wrzucili do jeziora Czerniakowskiego, wie Pani. Kartka była: 'nie wolno ruszać, nie wylawiać'."

⁴¹ See Bruni Adler, *Geteilte Erinnerung: Polen, Deutsche und der Krieg* [Divided Memory: Poles, Germans, and the War] (Tübingen: Klöpfer und Meyer, 2006), 134-35. For the reference to this book I thank Prof. Bianka Pietrow-Ennker.

⁴² See Szarota, *Karuzela*, 94.

⁴³ See Eugeniusz Cezary Król, 'Das Bild des ethnischen Deutschen im polnischen Film nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg' ['The Image of Ethnic Germans in Polish Films After the Second World War'], in Jerzy Kochanowski and Maike Sach, eds., *Die "Volksdeutschen" in Polen, Frankreich, Ungarn und der Tschechoslowakei. Mythos und Realität* [The "Ethnic Germans" in Poland, France, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Myth and Reality] (Osnabrück: fibre-Verlag, 2006), 367-89.

(Sexual) Bartering with the ‘*Herrenmenschen*’

For the Poles as the majority in the society, the motives of the women who associated with the German occupiers were clear. They women wanted to move up socially. Women who socialized with Germans were the favorite targets of jokes.⁴⁴ A well-known joke was: Two men meet, and one asks the other:

“Waclaw, do you know what you call a woman who goes out with a German? No, what? –

A *Philatelistin* (i. e., a woman who collects postage stamps).

-- ? –

She is collecting *Reichsmark*.”⁴⁵

The harshest formulation of this was to accuse the fraternizing woman of prostitution. Surely many of the relationships during the occupation must be judged as survival prostitution or sexual bartering.⁴⁶ The bartered goods for the German-Polish couple could be different: possibly for the occupier it was not always the physical, but also the human warmth or the social net behind the woman (in those cases where the occupier had become integrated into her family), giving him indeed a slice of normalcy in wartime. Then on the other hand, for the occupied it might be luxury items, money, foodstuffs, and protection. In addition, occupiers who were known more closely got the women better jobs or got them included on the *Deutsche Volksliste* (German Ethnic Classification List, or DVL), which handed them privileges on a silver platter.

The local leader of the ethnic German community in Pruszkow was upset about the ‘short paths through proper channels’ that a woman in the town had been able to go to get on the DVL:

“She got to know a German sergeant who arranged for her to receive an identification card without our knowledge. She had gotten the identification card 3

⁴⁴ See Czocher, *W Okupowanym Krakowie*, 229.

⁴⁵ Grzegorz Załęski, *Satyra w konspiracji, 1939-1944* [*Satire in the Underground, 1939-1944*], 3rd edn (Warszawa: LTW, 2010), 246. Thereafter Załęski, *Satyra w konspiracji*. I thank Prof. Tomasz Szarota for pointing to this book.

⁴⁶ See my argumentation and examples in Maren Röger, ‘(Nie-)codzienność podczas niemieckiej okupacji we Francji, w Belgii i w Polsce. Prostytucja, stosunki intymne i “dzieci wojny”’ [‘The (Un-)Usual during German Occupation in France, Belgium and Poland: Prostitution, Intimate Relations and “War Children”’], in Waldemar Grabowski, ed., *Okupowana Europa: Podobieństwa i różnice* [*Occupied Europe. Similarities and Differences*] (Warszawa: IPN, 2012 forthcoming).

months earlier. How, I do not know. I would have had to deny her because of her anti-German behavior.”⁴⁷

One should also remember that in these matters, neither the occupier nor the occupied were the embodiment of a cool and calculating rationality with which they could screen their motivations at every stage of getting closer. Motives were mixed: personal affection and political affinity – which was at times also a reason for women who fraternized – went hand in hand as well with the women’s desire for power and the feeling of being in love. Monetary motives and affection could be mixed with each other, which is clear in some of the statements of couples who were discovered. Olympia G. lived in a marriage-like relationship with an *SS-Hauptsturmführer* in Warsaw (sharing an apartment with him, keeping house for him), and in response getting a nice lifestyle and luxury goods. She told the investigating authorities:

“It was not at that point clear to me that a German who had sexual relations with a Polish woman was liable to prosecution. It was not merely for material advantages that I lived with O. We had a deep affection for one another.”⁴⁸

Material motives were present, but this German-Polish couple also wanted to marry and was obviously devoted to one another despite the language barrier. How closely a relationship could be tied up with material needs is clearly seen in the history of the Warsaw Jewess Emilia H. She rejected in early 1940 the advances of a corporal, but then later that year she ran into him again. In her interrogation she said:

“In the meantime, my furniture had been taken away and I was forced to sell my valuables. That was to say I had suddenly become poor. I told this to B. [...] and he had pity on me. [...] From then on, a love affair began and went on for 8 months. With B. we again and again had sexual intercourse. We had the intention when the war was over to get married. B. does not know that I am a Jewess.”⁴⁹

The boundary lines between survival prostitution, consensual relationship, and sexual coercion were fluid. All barter exchanges took place in a clearly structured power setting which assured the male occupier of material superiority and juristic privileges.

⁴⁷ See AP Warsaw: 486/211, vol. a., p. 388, Letter of the leader of the local Ethnic German community from 22.07.1941.

⁴⁸ See AIPN: GK 106/32, p. 27, Statement of Olympia G. from September 1940.

⁴⁹ AP Warsaw: 482/92, p. 4, Statement of Emilia H. from June 1940.

What one sees generally is that the longer relationships with Polish women are documented primarily in the ranks of the police and the SS. This has several reasons: firstly, these men stayed longer in the occupied Polish territories – a significant difference to the simple infantryman. Members of the army were by and large in the country for a short period, so for that reason violations of the prohibition on contact as a rule were briefer, became less well-known, and – since the men were by then already somewhere else – tracking them down was hardly worthwhile. Members of the police and the SS, in comparison, lived stable lives in occupied territories. In some cases, occupiers and Polish women lived in marriage-like relationships; the *Ostehe* (Eastern Marriage), as the *Reichssicherheits-hauptamt* called this type of relationship, was a frequent phenomenon.⁵⁰

A second reason was that it was these men, above all, who could offer material advantages. In the occupied east, they were rich with booty that they could send back to their families in Germany,⁵¹ or even give to the women around them. It was not always true that these local women already had to be their girlfriends; in some cases the men simply wanted to start by winning their favor. In Warsaw in 1940, there was some bad blood among the women in the camp followers of the police and SS because one of the women voiced a suspicion. It had to do with a large present of textiles to a Polish woman who worked there:

“But J. had not gotten the clothing material for nothing, since the police officer was in love with her. She said further that there were no officers and non-commissioned officers who did not spend time with their girls [meaning the maids assigned to their room].”⁵²

German men could offer their Polish girlfriends luxury goods that had come from what had been confiscated from Jewish and non-Jewish Poles. Felix O. drove from Plöhnen to go “shopping” with his Polish girlfriend in Litzmannstadt, one of the Polish cities with the largest ghettos.⁵³ A resistance song that was widespread during the occupation mentions directly the

⁵⁰ Concerning the *Ostehe*, see a report of the *RSHA* from occupied Poland, 1943, quoted by Markus Roth, *Herrenmenschen. Die deutschen Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen – Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachgeschichte* [*Herrenmenschen: District Governors in Occupied Poland – Careers, Command Practices, and Afterwards*], 2nd edn (Göttingen: Wallstein 2009), 38.

⁵¹ See the more pointed thesis about the connection in Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005).

⁵² AP Warsaw: 482/88, p. 6, Statement of Juliane G.

⁵³ AP Warsaw: 644/58, Statement of the Housekeeper from September 1941.

source of the luxury goods, namely, the ghetto. One of the verses (rhyming in the original Polish) says:

“There goes a proud young girl, hand in hand with the occupier, with her dress from the ghetto. Aren’t you ashamed, father, for having such a daughter? No, you do nothing, for the daughter is just like the father. You became an ethnic German...”⁵⁴

Witness statements from the post-war period say that other women went to Vienna with their partners (members of the SS) and each returned from there with luxury items.⁵⁵

In a few cases, the partners cooperated criminally, with each one contributing their particular ability. Men from the ranks of the police used their positions to go beyond the law to expropriate and utilize confiscated goods for themselves privately. Women used their language abilities and their local contacts to hide the goods. Olympia G. (who has been mentioned already) consorted with Walter O. not just privately but also in a business sense. She was the middle person in the selling of confiscated goods and putting the money he embezzled into circulation. Her comments at the interrogation are revealing:

“I was not aware that I was liable to prosecution by being the middle person in the sale of the unstamped Zloty bills. I believed that the Germans were permitted to do anything, especially the officials of the Security Police.”⁵⁶

In addition, her actual husband was also involved in the scheming although she was separated from him. He too received presents from the occupier O. as a reward for his fencing services.

Thirdly, it seems obvious that the more prevalent presence in the documentation of liaisons of SS men and police with Polish women can be attributed to the harsher prosecution of such relationships than those had by soldiers. Clearly, if regular German soldiers were under the racist regulations of the NS time period, including the prohibition on contact with Slavs (referred to as sub-humans), it was indeed the members of the SS who were supposed to represent the racial elite of the new Germany, which is why another level of zeal for persecuting non-Germans and keeping one’s distance from them was expected to prevail.

⁵⁴ See Załęski, *Satyra w Konspiracji*, 332. In the original, the text says: “Idzie sobie panna. Ze szwabem pod rękę. Bardzo z tego dumna, Z ‘getta’ ma sukienkę. Za taką córeczkę. Jak ci nie wstyd, ojczu? Nie wstyd, bo jak córka, Stałeś się folksojczem...”.

⁵⁵ AIPN: GK 453/1052, Statement of Maria S. from 27.05.1946.

⁵⁶ See AIPN: GK 106/32, p. 27, Statement of Olympia G. from September 1940.

Ambivalent Attitudes in the SS

But there is a contradictory image here, since on the other hand, attitudes opposing this strict view were apparent within the SS apparatus itself, where there were repeated attempts to overturn the prohibition on contact with Polish women. The clearest example of this came to light at a meeting of judges on 7. May 1943. Both the chief judge of the SS and police court and the central office saw it as ‘pressing’ to make a change since the reports sounded so bad. In the report about the *Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler* it said:

“Sexual intercourse with women of other races is very, very common. This results from the fact that supply units and similar formations have many female helpers of other races. In many cases it has almost developed into the arrangement of a concubine.”⁵⁷

In Kiev, half of all the SS and police detachments violated the prohibition on contact, such that the commander lifted it. In the Russian interior, the commander there closed both eyes because he was opposed by all means to bordellos. In Cracow the situation was untenable.

“A few clumsy ones were caught and punished. For most, they were simpletons who violated the order for the first time simply out of sexual need, then were caught and punished. The smart ones who regularly violated the order or had steady relationships were not found out and as a result were not punished.”⁵⁸

And the men in Warsaw were even told that the *Reichsführer-SS* had changed his mind. However, from the supposedly approved relationships, “no ramifications were allowed to ensue”. In Warsaw, “almost every leader [had] his Polish or non-German relationship”. And for those who stood higher in the hierarchy, hardly anything happened to them, which was why the understanding of the men with regard to the prohibition on contact was nominal. Günther Reinecke, chief judge of the superior court for the SS and police, summarized the statements pointedly as follows: it is “clear that the order is only on paper and must be dropped”.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ See BArch B: NS 7/13, p. 7 and further. Files of the Judges’ Conference in Munich from 07.05.1943 Comment on Sexual Intercourse with Women of Other Races. Already previously quoted by Regina Mühlhäuser, *Eroberungen: Sexuelle Gewalttaten und intime Beziehungen deutscher Soldaten in der Sowjetunion, 1941-1945* [Conquests: Sexual Violence and Intimate Relations of German Soldiers in the Soviet Union, 1941-1945] (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2010), 268. Thereafter Mühlhäuser, *Eroberungen*.

⁵⁸ Mühlhäuser, *Eroberungen*, 268.

⁵⁹ Mühlhäuser, *Eroberungen*, 268.

In the temporary local communities of the occupiers, a permanent negotiation process was ongoing as to which behavior was acceptable. This was true not only for criminal offenses and for the ways of dealing with the Jewish and Polish civilian populations, but also for the arranging of intimate life. In the process a consensus could take shape in the office that lay crosswise to the ideological guidelines. What is striking is that after taking up an investigation against an occupier (a Reich German) for intimate relations with a Polish woman, these inquiries in most cases ended up being expanded to include more persons. If it was not all men, then at least many men in an SS or police office violated the prohibition on contact. Sexual relations with the local women were interpreted as a right of the occupiers in the sense of compensation for the hardships of being in the east. A view of sex with the occupied as being merely a minor crime gained acceptance. Apparently this was the case in the district of Lublin in early 1940:

“In spite of regular and repeated admonitions, more very unpleasant incidents of showing a lack of restraint in personal interactions with the non-German population have come about, which would lead to a severe punishing of the guilty ones. I expect from a comradeship properly understood that in such cases an intervention will be prompt or blunt reports will be given in order to protect the reputation of the gendarmerie.”⁶⁰

In *Reichsgau Danzig-West Prussia*, the *SS- und Polizei-Führer* (SSPF) also issued a reminder in December 1941 on the duty to report on one another.⁶¹ There were colleagues who were strictly against any kind of consorting with local women and so they made denunciations. Besides, now and then the German women in the retinue of the occupiers became aware of the fact that the occupiers were getting involved with local women. German female auxiliaries also denounced others, too.⁶²

⁶⁰ USHMM: RG-15.011M/r.01, p. 24, KdG, Lublin District: Commando Order 20/40, Lublin, the 14th. April 1940.

⁶¹ AP Gdańsk: 265/4502, p. 183, HSSPF Danzig-West Prussia, Decree from 20.12.1941 concerning “The General Behavior of the SS and Police (Inclusive: the SS, Order Police, the Security Police, and the SD)”.

⁶² See for examples like this in France Franka Maubach, *Die Stellung halten. Kriegserfahrungen und Lebensgeschichten von Wehrmachtshelferinnen* [Hold the Line: War Experiences and Life Stories of Wehrmacht Auxiliaries] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), e.g. 160.

Prosecution or Wedding: The Reaction of the NS-Authorities

There was a general prohibition on contact with Polish women for all of the occupation troops. Looked at logically, this should have first of all led to uniform punishments for non-compliance and, secondly, to the exclusion of any idea of marriage with local women. Yet neither one was the case. For the annexed regions, a firm directive was issued from the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, to let punishments remain variable. "If a disciplinary action is necessary in a case, the punishment must be quite differentiated."⁶³ So the punishment practices in the annexed regions were to be heterogeneous and in fact they were. Men who were in service to the German state were threatened with the loss of their jobs. Clerks should be dishonorably discharged, with loss of pension, and civil service employees should be summarily fired.⁶⁴ Horst R., who between 1941 and March 1942 had sexual contact with several Polish women, was fired (along with his co-worker) from state service pursuant to the quoted decree of the Reich Ministry of the Interior. Their release from duty was to be read in front of the whole entourage of the state police administration in Posen "so that this could serve as a warning to the collective retinue, since again and again complaints arise about interactions of Germans with Polish women".⁶⁵ This is only one example, but the palette of punishments for Reich German men ranged from reprimand, arrest, preventive custody, and designation for deployment to the front, up to being sent to a concentration camp.

For Reich German women who interacted with Polish men in the Altreich, the widespread punishment was imprisonment in a concentration camp.⁶⁶ Reich German men active in the east were much less frequently punished by the authorities with such means. This gender-specific punishment model has been thoroughly studied by the NS research as far as the Altreich is concerned. The physical body of the woman in the NS ideology was analogous to the body of the people and accordingly it could be defiled by foreign peoples.⁶⁷ Using this logic, German men did not defile anyone

⁶³ BArch B: NS 47/30, RSHA to Gestapo main offices in Königsberg, Tilsit, Allenstein, Zichenau, Danzig, Graudenz, Bromberg, Posen, Litzmannstadt, Hohensalza, Kattowitz, Oppeln; Berlin, 20.05.1942.

⁶⁴ See BArch B: R 19/311, p. 248-49, Decree of the RMI 12.02.1941 concerning the interaction of Officials, Employess, and Workers of the Civil Servants with persons of the Polish *Volkstum* having previously had Polish citizenship.

⁶⁵ See BArch B: R 19/253, p. 317, The Government of Posen to RFSS 17.4.1942.

⁶⁶ See Czarnowski, 'Germanisierung', 295.

⁶⁷ See as to the premises behind this Silke Schneider, *Verbotener Umgang. Ausländer und Deutsche im Nationalsozialismus. Diskurse um Sexualität, Moral, Wissen und Strafe*

since the Polish women were considered inferior. The NS authorities threatened the Polish women with varying punishments as well; in the Warthegau this could range from a reprimand to forced prostitution.

So, intimate relations could have deadly consequences – or be legalized. Paradoxically, a wedding was an alternative that German-Polish couples were to have placed before them. And in fact occupiers made application for marriage to Polish women. They married ethnic Germans of varying categories: *deutschstämmig* (nationals of German descent), stateless, and Poles, whereby this listing already brings into view the complexity and the not-infrequent contradictoriness of the NS racial policies. To get to the actual forbidden wedding between a Reich German and a Polish woman, there were several indirect routes. The most common way to marriage went by means of the DVL. According to Herbert Strickner (who in Warthegau was involved in working on the DVL and who until the autumn of 1942 was the leader of the department of *Volkstum*), among the single women who applied to be put on the DVL “most certainly several hundred had come forward under the influence of their German acquaintance to apply for the DVL.”⁶⁸ Occasionally the occupiers would accompany the women right to the office.

“A special instance gave me occasion to strictly forbid in the future all members of the SS, the security police [*Sicherheits- und Schutzpolizei*] as well as the gendarmerie from personally championing supposedly ethnic Germans for inclusion on the *Deutsche Volksliste* by, for example, accompanying the female person to the central office of the *Deutsche Volksliste* at the governor’s and in that way supporting the woman making the application.”⁶⁹

Just as there were differences in intensity, length of time, and sincerity in the intimate contacts between occupier and occupied, so varied the endings. Some couples applied for a marriage license. Others fled together back to the Reich. Most of all, at the end of the war, the occupiers took their local girlfriends with them as the army retreated. In resettlement matters, once again the men of the Gestapo and the police had the greatest power. They possessed the authority to issue orders; they could find a spot for the women in trains, automobiles, or boats.

Lucja F. from Tchew, who had cultivated contact with several members of the Gestapo, was picked up by her German friends. A high-ranking SS

[*Forbidden Contact: Foreigners and Germans in National Socialism: Discourse about Sexuality, Morality, Knowledge, and Punishment*] (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010).

⁶⁸ See AIPN: Po 04/2840, p. 25, Statement of Herbert Strickner.

⁶⁹ USHMM: RG-15.012M/r.01, p. 42-3, Commandant of the Order Police at the Reich Governor Posen, 10.12.1939 Daily Directive from 10.12.1939, Point 12: DVL

functionary took her along to Danzig. After the liberation, she told her cousin that during the siege of Danzig-Heubude, she was in a bunker set aside for the German staff.⁷⁰ For his girlfriend and their common child born during the occupation, another SS functionary arranged a place for them on one of the last ships leaving out of Gotenhafen.⁷¹ Other common soldiers disappeared without a word, while other men explained to their girlfriends about the redeployment and promised to write, but never kept their promise. Yet, on the other hand, some faithful hearts carried on writing for a long time.

Conclusion

In the German controlled area of the occupation, sexual contacts between occupiers and occupied were not private. Neither the occupiers nor the patriotically active occupied considered such things as personal matter if a German occupier met up with a local woman. Polish underground groups watched, denounced, and punished women who got involved with Germans. Even women who engaged in bartering exchanges in order to quiet basic needs, such as hunger, were not exempt from observation and defamation. The sexual behavior of the women was coupled to a concept of national honor – in a certain way this was also reaching to an idea of “the people’s body” that had to be kept pure, symbolized in a special way through the woman.⁷²

While in this context relatively traditional cultural models reveal themselves, the prohibition on sexual intercourse by the NS occupier was in addition racially motivated. Even for the Altreich, Gabriele Czarnowski argued that the prohibition on sexual intercourse was not a peripheral aspect of the NS policies, but instead belonged “to the core of the racial and cultural policies”.⁷³ Officially, the regulations in the Altreich and in

⁷⁰ See AIPN: Gd 607/122 [before: GK 240/122], p. 32, Statement of Stefania P. from 18.05.1946

⁷¹ See Interview with Inge Renata Latoszevska conducted by Maren Röger, 06.06.2011, Jantar, MP 3.

⁷² See Ruth Seifert, ‘Der weibliche Körper als Symbol und Zeichen: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt und die kulturelle Konstruktion des Krieges’ [‘The Female Body as Symbol and Sign: Gender Specific Violence and the Cultural Construction of War’], in Andreas Gestrich, ed., *Gewalt im Krieg: Ausübung, Erfahrung und Verweigerung von Gewalt in Kriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Violence in War: The Exercise, Experience, and the Refusal of Violence in the Wars of the 20th Century] (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1996), 13-33.

⁷³ Czarnowski, ‘Germanisierung’, 296.

occupied Poland were the same: even in Poland sexual contact was forbidden, except for the regulated contact in official bordellos. The policing and prosecution, however, were different in both territories since the offenders in occupied Poland often came from the ranks of the police and the SS. These men were on average far longer on site and were attractive to women as well for material benefits. The concept of the '*Herrenmenschen*', until now concentrated on the cultural-racist feeling of superiority among the occupiers, as well as their executive powers over life and death, should be expanded to include a gender identity dimension.