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# Life and Fate: Race, Nationality, Class and Gender in Wartime Poland

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The defining attributes of modern Eastern Europe were most consequential in World War II Poland: shifting borders, a population of mixed and increasingly differentiated ethnicities, at the mercy of outside powers seeking to conquer and dominate them. During the war the country endured occupation by two different ideologically driven regimes bent on complete domination. Individuals in Poland faced different treatment, restrictions, opportunities and life expectancy, depending on which occupier they fell under in 1939 and particularly on their ethno-national identity. Privation, brutality and the struggle for survival characterized the lives of nearly all Polish citizens, male or female. Under the Nazis, who occupied Poland for more than five years, Jews faced attempted annihilation, with confinement in ghettos, deportation to camps and execution as their most common fate. Some Jews, though, managed to remain on the 'Aryan side', either in hiding, passing as Christians or fleeing to the forests. These scenarios not only gave them a greater chance of survival but also the opportunity to actively resist the Nazis.

Polish Christians (for the sake of simplicity referred to hereafter as Poles) also faced tremendous hostility and cruelty from the occupying Germans. They were Slavs, whom the Nazis considered inferior and expendable, suited for slave labour or destruction; they also resisted Nazi domination, which elicited even greater wrath. Poles endured both arbitrary and targeted violence, imprisonment, and the concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands were executed or succumbed to the disastrous conditions in the camps. Most Poles, though, could carry on some semblance of a private life, as long as they conformed to Nazi strictures and were not in the wrong place at the wrong time. Living in this lesser degree of 'unfreedom', they worked, sought to care for their families and in large numbers contributed to the underground struggle against the Germans.

The inhabitants of Poland also twice endured invasion and occupation by the Red Army. In August 1939 Germany and the USSR signed the Molotov–Ribbentrop (Nazi–Soviet) Pact. It served as a non-aggression treaty between the

two countries and an agreement to partition the Polish state. On 17 September 1939, after the Wehrmacht had already destroyed most of the Polish army following its 1 September invasion, the Red Army moved in to seize the Soviet portion. The inhabitants of eastern Poland faced a brutal attempt at Sovietization, which included mass arrests, executions and civilian deportations to the USSR. Ironically, deportation to the USSR, a tragedy that destroyed the lives of many Polish citizens, turned out to be a favour for many Polish Jews, as it took them out of the reach of the Nazis and made it possible for thousands of them to survive the war.

Though the Soviets were driven out of eastern Poland by the German army when it attacked the USSR in June 1941, they returned in 1944 as the tide of the war turned in their favour. The Red Army then eliminated the Wehrmacht from all of Poland, keeping troops there for the next 70 years. Liberation by Soviet troops occurred with a shocking level of violence against civilians; the defeat of the Nazis heralded peace in name only for the inhabitants of Poland. Soviet authorities, aided by local communists, arrested, executed and deported those they considered enemies. The transfer of eastern Polish territory to the USSR unleashed violent civil war between Poles and Ukrainians, capped by deportations and 'repatriations'. The transfer of eastern German territory to Poland (compensation by the Allies for its losses in the east) prompted brutal ethnic cleansing of Germans, many of whom were killed in the process. Surviving Jews faced violence as they tried to return to their homes. Ethnicity and location continued to be life-and-death matters for the people of Poland.

To what extent did gender matter in this cauldron of violence, in which people were slated for death because of their ethno-national identity or fell victim to indiscriminate violence meted out by conquerors with no regard for their humanity? Both the Nazis and Soviets waged war against entire populations; neither regime was content with simply annexing territory. Nor did they see enemies in men alone. The totality of their aims – to destroy or subjugate racial, ethnic and class enemies – required striking at females as well as males. Civil conflicts similarly engulfed both sexes. Most historical accounts of the treatment of Poles and, until the 1980s, of Jews, focus solely on racial/ethnic victimization.[1] That does not mean, however, that treatment of 'the enemy' was gender blind. Nor, in the struggle to survive or to resist the occupiers, did gender prove irrelevant. It played a role not only in how the occupiers treated their conquered populations but also in how individuals endured and interpreted their ordeals. Though the population of Poland included several ethno-national groups, this chapter will focus on the Poles and Jews, the main targets of the occupiers.[2]

## Nazi Policy Towards the People of Poland

When Hitler sent his army eastward, in pursuit of *Lebensraum*, he had no pity for the populations of the territories he coveted. The Slavs and Jews, whom he despised as inferior, were slated for displacement, subjugation or destruction. The war with Poland was to be a war of liquidation. On the eve of the invasion, he sent his military commanders off with the order to 'kill, without pity or mercy, all men, women, and children of Polish descent or language'.[3] German

forces engaged in *Blitzkrieg*, concentrating mobile ground units and air power against the cities, towns and villages of western and central Poland, specifically targeting the civilian population and strafing passenger trains and columns of fleeing refugees. Warsaw was besieged and heavily bombarded by German forces, causing 40,000 civilian deaths.[4]

After defeating the Polish army, the Nazis incorporated the western territories of Poland directly into the Third Reich, and began a process of Germanization which included executions and expulsions of non-Germans. The central part of Poland, designated the *Generalgouvernement*, fell under Hans Frank, a ruthless Nazi administrator. To the Nazis, the Poles were not only inferior but blocked German expansion to the east; subordinating them necessitated the annihilation of the Polish elite and the reduction of the remaining population to the status of slave labourers, who would ultimately be deported eastward. Immediately after the invasion, the Nazis began operations to eliminate the Polish intelligentsia.[5] This meant the mass murder of teachers, clergy, doctors, lawyers, artists, merchants, landowners – anyone able to carry on the political and spiritual leadership of the nation or direct resistance. Approximately 100,000 individuals were executed in these campaigns, while thousands more were sent to concentration camps. Gender made no difference to the Nazis when it came to destroying the Polish nation. Women as well as men were shot and buried in mass graves, or executed publicly, their bodies exhibited to demoralize the population.[6]

Men and women arrested for political crimes faced torture in Gestapo prisons and execution or confinement in concentration camps.[7] Auschwitz was originally built, in 1940, for Polish political prisoners; approximately 140,000 Poles were sent there, half of whom were either executed or died from starvation, beating or illness.[8] The Nazis ruled the territories of Poland by terror, indiscriminately striking men, women and children. Villages were wiped out in pacification operations. The Germans took hostages to ensure that local inhabitants refrained from acts of resistance or displays of nationalism; hostages were routinely executed in cases of non-compliance. Collective responsibility for resistance resulted in reprisal executions of thousands of innocent Poles, often seized in street round-ups known as *łapanki*. Frank, the ruler of the *Generalgouvernement*, decreed that 100 Poles be shot for each German killed. Comparing his regime to that of the Nazis' Bohemian–Moravian Protectorate, Frank stated: 'In Prague […] large red posters were put up announcing that 7 Czechs had been shot today […] If I wanted to have a poster put up for every 7 Poles who were shot, the forests of Poland would not suffice for producing the paper for such posters.'[9]

Other victims nabbed in *łapanki* were sent to concentration camps or to forced labour in Germany; in 1943 Frank bragged that his administration had supplied 1.3 million Polish forced labourers.[10] On Hermann Göring's orders, Polish girls were especially targeted for deportation to work in the Reich; he explicitly called for 375,000 of them to be employed in agriculture.[11] Young Polish (and Soviet) women were also attractive to German industries, as they received minimal compensation, had no protection under Nazi social legislation and were reputed to work well. Additionally, adhering to traditional stereotypes, firm managers anticipated females being more obedient and unlikely to cause trouble.[12]

Polish forced labourers in the Reich were subject to extremely harsh, and gendered, racial policies. Forbidden to have sexual relations with Germans, they faced differential treatment based on their sex and their purported 'racial fitness'. A Polish man deemed fit for Germanization typically ended up in a concentration camp for having sex with a German woman; one deemed unfit was hanged. A decree stipulated a three-month camp sentence for a Polish woman having sexual relations with a German man, suggesting she was less dangerous to the German race. There was also room for doubt in her sexual agency, and the decree ordered only 21 days' detention if a superior at work had taken advantage of her.[13] A 1943 decree permitted German doctors to perform compulsory abortions on Polish women. These abortions, done without anaesthesia and even in the eighth month, occurred not only by order of Nazi officials, but reportedly at the behest of the German wives of the men who impregnated them, out of fear of scandal or property claims.[14] In cases of childbirth, the infants were taken from their mothers. If judged to be of 'good racial stock', they were raised by German families; those considered 'inferior' were sent to special homes for foreign children.[15] One researcher contends that these homes 'were established to eliminate infants of Eastern European slave laborers' by starvation or the intentional feeding of spoiled milk.[16]

Though the Nazis prohibited sexual contact with people of 'alien races', women in Poland faced sexual enslavement by the regime. The view of Poles as an inferior race actually encouraged German men to look at the women as sexual objects at their disposal. Hitler initially forbade prostitution, but his military leaders convinced him of the need for brothels behind the front to satisfy the sexual needs of soldiers, keep them from seeking contact with local women, control the spread of venereal diseases and prevent homosexual relations. In the spring of 1940, Nazi authorities began setting up travelling brothels and bordellos in cities, towns and villages for the Wehrmacht and the SS.[17] At least 34,000 east European women, mostly Slavic, were forced to serve as sex slaves in these brothels.[18] Former prostitutes were compelled to serve in them, and some females agreed in hopes of saving their own or their family's lives, when threatened with death or the concentration camps. But women were often abducted for the brothels.[19] Once there, they endured state-sponsored serial rape, between 20 and 30 times a day.[20]

Concern for men's sexual outlet extended to the concentration camps, where separate brothels were created for the German and Ukrainian SS guards. Even some prisoners were given licence to sexually exploit female prisoners. Beginning in 1942, brothels were established in ten camp complexes, including Auschwitz, for privileged prisoners. Heinrich Himmler believed this would increase the productivity of male workers; female workers, the lowest of the low, thus had to serve their fellow inmates. As Elizabeth Heineman points out, this was an exchange between the state and men: 'these women could not opt out of the exchange or bargain for its terms. Men and the state could: the state could withhold access to brothels, and men could choose not to visit them.'[21] Women were either recruited with the false promise of an early release or simply forced into this role; they faced compulsory abortions or death in case of pregnancy.[22] Researchers have uncovered the names of 210 women who were assigned to

brothels throughout the camp system; the majority were German or Polish, incarcerated as asocials or politicals.[23] There is evidence that Jewish women, too, were exploited in these brothels.[24]

Hitler considered Jews 'racially alien' and biologically dangerous to the German race. In occupied Poland, Jewish women, men and children were forced into ghettos, where cramped and squalid living conditions, combined with the deliberate dearth of food and medicine, and gratuitous violence, claimed thousands of lives daily. After the Wehrmacht invaded the USSR in 1941, *Einzsatzgruppen*, special mobile killing units, massacred Jews along the Eastern Front, including those in eastern Poland. Most were shot, sometimes by the tens of thousands. At the end of the year, Nazi leaders decided upon the Final Solution, which was then implemented in Poland, home to the largest Jewish population in Europe. Ninety per cent of them – three million individuals – were killed. Additionally, Jews from all over Europe were transported to the Nazi death camps in Poland to be gassed or worked to death.

Nazi anti-Semitism was uncompromising: Jewish men, women and children were all slated for death. 'We had to answer the question: What about the women and children?' explained Himmler:

> I did not feel I had the right to exterminate the men – that is to murder them, or to have them murdered – and then allow their children to grow into avengers, threatening our sons and grandchildren. A fateful decision had to be made: this people had to vanish from the earth.[25]

Owing to the primacy of race in the Nazi mind, Jewish females, far from being spared, were especially dangerous because of their capacity to reproduce their people.

Some scholars believe that more Jewish females were killed than males. Women had less opportunity to survive, Joan Ringelheim writes. In the ghettos, they were less likely to be among the privileged who could escape the transports by buying work certificates. Records from the Łódź ghetto in 1942 show that twice as many women of childbearing age were sent to the death camps as males of the same age. More camps existed for men, Ringelheim notes, where there was a chance to survive.[26] Upon arrival at Auschwitz or Majdanek, a woman who was pregnant or with a child was sent immediately to the gas chambers, whereas men – even fathers – had a chance of being selected for slave labour, with some hope of survival. Selections at Auschwitz were not gender neutral, emphasizes Mary Felstiner: only one-third of the total deportees selected for labour were female, and when Auschwitz was liberated in 1945, only 17 per cent of the surviving Jews were women. This was not simply a consequence of deeming men better labourers. The Nazi aim to 'obliterate the biological basis of Jewry' required that they wipe out females. Felstiner explains: 'Even within the lowest life-form – the anti-race – women ranked lower still, for spawning it.'[27]

As they had in Germany before the war, the Nazis used mass sterilization in the camps to prevent the procreation of peoples considered inferior. Acting with what Gisela Bock terms 'sexist racism', Nazi doctors forcibly sterilized thousands

of women, mostly Jews, Roma and Sinti, from 1942–5.[28] Many of them were subjected to barbarous medical experiments with caustic injections, radiation and operations without anaesthesia.[29] The goal: to find fast and efficient ways to accomplish sterilization of people 'unworthy' to procreate.

From the perspective of the Nazis, abortions were not necessary for Jewish women, as they would simply be killed.[30] However, Jews performed secret abortions in the camps to save women's lives. Some inmate doctors also delivered babies and quickly killed them for the same reason.[31] Jewish women in hiding who were pregnant or in childbirth also endured abortions and infanticide: they could neither properly care for an infant nor allow its cries to alert hostile neighbours or Nazi officials to their presence.[32] The Nazis decreed a death sentence for anyone caught hiding a Jew in Poland, and it was applied to the offender's entire family. In the world deformed by the Nazis, conception and childbirth sometimes begot death rather than life, while abortion or infanticide became acts of resistance, offering some hope of survival.

## Soviet Policy Towards the People of Poland

The Soviet system grew from a class-based ideology. Under Stalin's leadership, class hatred often overlapped with national enmity, leading entire peoples to suffer repressive measures. In Stalin's eyes, the Poles were anathema to the Soviet system, and he denounced them as effete nobles, militant nationalists, zealous Catholics and bourgeois exploiters. Soviet hostility towards Poland had deep historical roots, as Poles and Russians had struggled over the territory relegated to the USSR in the Nazi–Soviet Pact for half a millennium. 'Reclaiming' that land in 1939, Soviet leaders included the entire Polish population in the broader group of class enemies. The Red Army's professed intention when invading was to rescue the Ukrainians and Belarusians, fellow Eastern Slavs, from the 'yoke of the Polish lords'.

People of all ethno-national groups were subjected to the upheaval of the Soviet occupation, but many Jews, Ukrainians and Belarusians welcomed the fall of Poland and received favourable positions and opportunities in the new regime.[33] Stalin's policies, one Russian historian maintains, were 'aimed at undermining Polish statehood and the gene pool of the Polish people'.[34] Occupation authorities encouraged ethnic violence against the Poles, and targeted them for dispossession and repression. Both women and men suspected of violating Soviet law were dealt with harshly: arrested, brutally interrogated, incarcerated in prisons and sent to forced labour camps in the USSR, the infamous Gulag. In their recollections of prison, Polish men recall the harsh treatment of females with surprise: 'At night I often heard terrifying screams, even of women', writes one.[35] And women deride Soviet attitudes towards them. 'There is a lot one can say about the heroism of the Soviet army', declared one: 'I remember how […] four soldiers from the NKVD, with revolvers and bayonets pointed, came to our apartment, and of whom were they afraid? Three women? Such things really are comical.'[36] Like the Nazis in western and central Poland, the Soviets aimed to completely transform the society of eastern Poland, by obliterating not just the military force, political power and economic system of

the Poles, but also their culture and values. They thus viewed women as real or anticipated enemies, too.

The lack of expected respect for Polish women was reinforced by Soviet gender ideology. The Soviets continued a long revolutionary commitment in Russia to women's emancipation, primarily by freeing them from the 'shackles of the family' and promoting their role in the public sphere, particularly in labour.[37] 'If women were to be liberated economically and psychologically', historian Wendy Goldman explains, 'they needed to become more like men, or more specifically, more like male workers.'[38] Despite the fact that Stalin declared the 'woman question' solved in 1930, traditional gender stereotypes persisted in the USSR and were reflected in Soviet actions in Poland. Men seemed to pose the greatest danger, and it was the army and its reserves that Stalin had eliminated first. Captured Polish soldiers and officers were interned in camps inside the USSR, and over 22,000 of them were subsequently shot. Executions by the Soviets involved almost exclusively men.[39]

Males in eastern Poland were also arrested and incarcerated in prisons and Soviet labour camps at a greater rate than women, approximately 9:1. But women and children comprised the majority of those suffering the other type of mass repression: deportation of nearly 400,000 civilians deep into the USSR.[40] Most of the women fell victim because of their relationship to a man who had fled, been arrested or had a profession that categorized him as dangerous. One deportee noted, 'I was deported to Siberia for the "guilt" of my husband Adam', who worked in army intelligence.[41] Unless they violated Soviet law themselves (in which case they were accorded their own identity and punished like men), women were seen relationally – identified primarily through the men to whom they were linked. Like children, they bore the guilt – real, supposed or anticipated – of their husbands, fathers and sons. Despite Soviet claims of the equality of the sexes, the most salient aspect of a female's identity appeared to be that of her male relations. Additionally, Polish women were traditionally entrusted with maintaining Polishness – imparting Polish language, religion and culture to children, whom they strove to raise as patriots.[42] In order to break the Polish nation and keep it from rising again, women with a strong connection to it also had to be removed. In subsequent accounts women generally mention the reasons for their deportation matter-of-factly, for they identified themselves in family terms, as well; their own fate appears an anticipated consequence of being Polish and female.[43]

The exiled Poles joined Soviet citizens in an uncompromising system, demanding labour and obedience at minimal compensation, typically explained to them as: 'Whoever works eats, whoever doesn't drops dead.'[44] One of the most common complaints of the Poles – meant as an implicit condemnation of the Soviet system – was that 'women as well as men' were forced to work, assigned to the same heavy physical labour and made to fulfil identical demanding quotas. This accorded with the Soviet commitment to women's equality. But what the Soviets lauded as progress, the Poles denounced as 'against all the laws of nature'.[45]

The Soviets sought to turn the deported Poles into obedient labourers and subjects of the communist state. Like the Nazis, they strove to suppress all

manifestations of Polish national identity. Poles bore vicious insults, along with assertions that Poland was dead and God did not exist. They were forbidden to gather for prayer or celebrate their holidays, to sing patriotic songs, read Polish books or impart their culture to offspring. These prohibitions threatened women's overlapping identities as Polish and female. Resisting Soviet domination, they ran clandestine lessons, teaching their children Polish language, history and literature, drawing directly from female ancestors who had taken on that task during previous periods of foreign domination.[46]

## Unsanctioned Sexual Violence

Though sexual violence – outside the brothel system – was neither ordered nor *officially* condoned, it was nevertheless ubiquitous in Nazi-occupied Poland (and western USSR). The topic of sexual abuse of males remains understudied, but it is clear that German officials at all levels used sexual violence against females to assert power and control, to humiliate the occupied population, and to act out violent racist and misogynistic feelings.[47] In its less invasive forms, the abuse involved forced nudity, accompanied by voyeurism and jeering. Such humiliations were imposed especially on Jewish women in the camps, who also had to endure the shaving of their heads, touching, and gratuitous gynaecological searches.[48]

Untold numbers of women in occupied Poland found themselves forced into survival prostitution. Owing to the atrocious living conditions and strict legal regime, women and girls of all ethnicities resorted to this, in cities and villages, in the ghettos and camps. They bartered sex for food, shelter, documents and jobs. Any man with greater authority or access to goods or documents could demand payment in sex, regardless of nationality. In an account that expresses the dilemma of many females, a Jewish woman related that she had repeatedly slept with an SS officer in Auschwitz:

> I loathed him then; I knew that he was a criminal and a killer. But as the months went by I got used to him. He kept me out of the gas chamber. He gave me food […] Whatever I did it was my way of surviving.[49]

As Maren Röger points out, the boundaries between survival prostitution, consensual relations and sexual coercion were quite fluid.[50]

Despite the Nazis' concern for racial purity and Himmler's decree prohibiting sex with women of different races, Germans raped women in the east, both non-Jews and Jews. The authorities did not order sexual violence but did little to prevent or punish it, for they did not consider it a 'primary crime' and they had no regard for victims considered 'alien'.[51] Röger found that soon after the invasion there were many gang rapes, highlighting the Poles' complete defeat, and the humiliation of the Jews included the rape of women and girls in front of male relatives.[52] Throughout the occupation, German men with power used sexual blackmail, while lower-ranking officials raped during searches and seizures of apartments.[53] Interrogators sometimes used rape as a way to extract confessions, or simply to punish their victims.[54]

Nazi notions of 'racial hygiene' did not protect Jewish women, considered the most dangerous source of defilement, from rape even at the sites of their destruction. They were raped in the ghettos and camps by police, SS men and Ukrainian guards, in some cases forced to perform in cruel sexual spectacles.[55] Camp and military commanders sometimes chose young Jewish women to serve as their sex slaves.[56] After attacking the USSR (which included eastern Poland), Germans began massacring Jews along the Eastern Front; men of the SS and Wehrmacht viciously raped and mutilated many females before killing them.[57]

Women in Nazi-occupied Poland also suffered sexual violence from local men of different nationalities and even from co-nationals. In four specific settings females – particularly but not exclusively Jews – were highly vulnerable to sexual abuse: in hiding, ghettos, camps and partisan units. Jewish women 'passing' on the Aryan side could be raped by any man who discovered their identity and threatened to betray them to the Germans. In hiding, they had no protection from the people concealing them, or their relatives.[58] Ghettos and camps became 'spaces of violence' against women, perpetrated not only by the men in charge but also by fellow inmates.[59] Women who fled to the forest, Christian or Jewish, were in danger of being raped or murdered. They often had to have sex with the commanders of partisan units to be admitted, or enter a 'forest marriage' for protection from other men and to obtain necessary supplies.[60] In each of these sites men – even those of persecuted peoples –took advantage of women's lesser physical strength and lack of weapons, which left them isolated, unprotected and dependent.

Soviet officials, soldiers and regular citizens also committed sexual violations. Women who were arrested or deported faced rape and other types of sexual abuse during interrogations, in camps and in Soviet exile.[61] Sexual violence reached its most brutal and extensive levels in the last stage of the war and its immediate aftermath, as the Red Army drove the Germans from Soviet territory, across eastern Europe and back to Berlin. Soviet soldiers raped staggering numbers of women, perhaps as many as two million, between April 1944, when they entered East Prussia, and late 1946. Females of all ages were raped multiple times, gang raped, beaten and murdered.[62] While German women were victimized the most, perhaps as a form of revenge, they were not alone. Soviet troops raped in every country they entered, whether the people were on the Axis side of the war or the Allied, like the Poles.[63] They raped Jewish survivors as they liberated them from Auschwitz, and even compatriots whom they freed from Nazi slave labour.[64] Neither nationality nor politics were important – only their female bodies. Stalin's response to complaints of his soldiers' behaviour was to dismiss it as trivial: 'And what is so awful in his having fun with a woman, after such horrors?' he reportedly asked Milovan Djilas, a Yugoslav communist.[65] With the tacit acceptance of their governments, many German and Soviet men acted as if they had a right to use any woman they wanted as they pleased, and women were left with no recourse.

Civil war and ethnic cleansing at the war's end also included brutal sexual violence. The conflict between Poles and Ukrainians became an ever-escalating bloodbath, in which rape and mutilation of women's bodies occurred on both sides. One Polish fighter recalled: 'There were no orders as regards non-combatants

and those in the unit thirsty for more blood knew that they could kill and rape who they wanted and how they wanted. The Ukrainians were doing even worse to our people.'[66] Further west, rape occurred commonly as Poles and Soviets sought to drive ethnic Germans from the land ceded to Poland.[67]

## Survival, Resistance and Collaboration

The daily lives of most people in occupied Poland focused on the struggle for survival.[68] Requisitioning of foodstuffs for the Wehrmacht meant severe rationing for the civilian population, just above starvation levels for Poles and lower for Jews. Most people had to turn to the black market in order to obtain the goods they needed. Peasant women proved particularly important in this economy, as they were able to hide contraband foodstuffs in their blouses and skirts, as well as their baskets, to sell in the cities. Women generally aroused less suspicion from German authorities than men, so were better able to transport concealed items. In Soviet territory, as well, shortages of food and other basic items meant that many Polish women spent a good portion of their days in lines. They also queued at prisons, trying to obtain information about arrested relatives or deliver them packages.[69] Since large numbers of men fled the country, went into hiding or were arrested, women, many of whom had never had paid employment outside the home, had to adapt to the new economic conditions and search for work. Some survived by sewing, giving lessons or selling off their possessions.[70]

Under the Nazis, Polish parents feared for the safety of their children, who could be snatched from the streets by the authorities at any time. The children were screened for their racial features, and those found to be of 'racially valuable stock' were sent to the Reich to be raised as Germans. In such cases parents lost all track of their offspring.[71] An estimated 200,000 children were kidnapped, and only 15–20 per cent returned to Poland after the war.[72] In Soviet exile, children whose parents died or could not earn enough to feed them were taken to Soviet orphanages, where they were raised as Russians. Many women agonized over this, and lamented: 'We want our children to be raised in our spirit, not to forget their language and their nationality.'[73] The inability to protect or provide for their children led some women to suicide.[74]

In occupied Poland, everyday life and resistance often went hand in hand. Poles built the most extensive resistance movement in all of wartime Europe, which was consolidated into the Home Army or AK (*Armia Krajowa*). The Poles also constructed a functioning underground state. Linked with the Polish government-in-exile in London, it strove to maintain the legal and moral continuity of the state and guide resistance. An estimated 500,000 individuals joined the AK alone; the 'secret state' enjoyed the support of millions of Poles who participated to varying degrees, from boycotting Nazi films to industrial sabotage. The leaders of the AK and the government were men, but women were involved in nearly all forms of resistance. They taught and studied in underground schools and universities, published in secret journals and acted in illegal plays. They wrote slogans of defiance on public walls, produced and distributed underground publications. Women laid flowers at

places of executions, tenaciously replacing them when the Germans removed them. They also planned and participated in operations to extract resistance members from Gestapo prisons and to kill collaborators sentenced by the underground courts.[75]

The level of women's involvement in the resistance depended on their age and family status. Those with children or sick or elderly relatives to care for considered those duties paramount and played less perilous roles. Younger, unencumbered women put aside their personal lives and security, especially in the roles of liaison officers or couriers. These women ferried false documents, intelligence and ammunition. They excelled as guides, sneaking people illegally across wartime borders and leading male fighters through the sewers of Warsaw during the 1944 Uprising. Jan Karski, a renowned member of the Polish resistance, noted that the average lifespan of these women, often just teenagers, was only a few months. He continued:

> It can be said that of all the workers in the Underground their lot was the most severe, their sacrifices the greatest, and their contribution the least rewarded. They were overworked and doomed. They neither held high rank nor received any great honours for their heroism.[76]

In these roles, and in the fighting they engaged in during the Warsaw Uprising, Polish women often operated far outside traditional gender expectations. They simply considered themselves Poles fighting for their country's independence. And by all accounts they performed capably and courageously. Yet they were rarely considered on par with the men in the resistance, who often refused them weapons. 'It should be said, once and for all, that women fought too', stated Ida Kasprzak, an AK member, after decades of hearing the resistance described as male: 'we did the most tedious and most dangerous jobs. Women were injured and killed in action. Men just don't want to admit that we fought too.'[77] These women rarely saw themselves, or were regarded, as heroes, for this was reserved for men as well.[78]

The same can be said for women in the Jewish resistance, many of whom also served as couriers. They were especially valuable because of their greater ability to 'pass' as Christians. In Warsaw, females of the Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) left the ghetto to operate on the Aryan side, concealing all signs of their Jewishness.[79] These women arranged hiding places for other Jews and regularly distributed money and fake identity cards; they maintained contacts with the AK and smuggled weapons and supplies into the ghetto. They courageously performed these tasks in a hostile environment, where not only Nazis hunted Jews but some Poles, either for material gain or from anti-Semitism.

Jewish women's participation in the resistance is even less known than Polish women's, for it is doubly obscured. For decades, the belief prevailed that during the Holocaust the Jews did not fight back; gender bias further marginalized the role of Jewish women. Although resistance by Jews was on a smaller scale, given their isolation, Jewish women also engaged in acts ranging from everyday defiance to outright combat.[80] Men have gained the most attention for leading uprisings against Germans in the ghettos (in Warsaw, Białystok, Częstochowa)

and death camps (Treblinka, Sobibor, Auschwitz-Birkenau). Though little known, women also fought and died in the ghetto uprisings; several who survived later fought in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. Irena Lewkowska served on the organizing committee of the Treblinka revolt; a small group of women, who were subsequently tortured and hanged, smuggled the gunpowder used in the Birkenau uprising.[81]

No collaborationist government was formed in Poland, though many public sector employees continued to work in administration. Most historians describe them as accommodating to the new regime, sometimes while resisting, and in fewer cases collaborating. Underground courts meted out punishment to over-zealous bureaucrats and policemen, compliant writers and actors, and anyone betraying members of the resistance. They also sentenced individuals identified as *Volksdeutsche*, as well as Ukrainians, for anti-Polish actions.[82]

In the east, Ukrainians, Jews and Belarusians have been accused of assisting in the Soviet oppression of Poles.[83] Recent research has uncovered greater Polish participation in persecuting Jews than hitherto acknowledged.[84] Such behaviour ranged from looting their property to betraying them to the Nazis; from refusing them admittance to partisan units to outright killing.

Collaboration in Poland has yet to be studied through the lens of gender. It seems clear that the majority of the police, bureaucrats and violent members of the ethnic minorities punished by the underground were male. Women were especially singled out as traitors for sexual crimes – consorting with German men. Patriots typically denounced them as whores, without questioning whether the relations were coerced or consensual. As in other parts of Europe, retribution included beating, head shaving or even execution.[85]

## Conclusion

Both the Nazis and the Soviets invaded Poland in 1939 with broad and violent aims. The Nazis sought to destroy or dominate 'racial' enemies, Jews and Poles respectively; the Soviets aimed to eliminate class enemies, a label which only partly masked national enmity. The occupiers considered entire peoples as alien or inimical to their interests, and were willing to use the most extreme measures against them. All members, regardless of sex, thus became legitimate and even necessary targets.

Though racial, national and class ideologies dominated the policies of the occupiers, gender was not absent from their strategies. The Nazis considered Jews the greatest threat to the German nation; within that framework females were reduced to their reproductive and sexual functions. The ability to bear children – which guaranteed a future for the Jews – rendered them especially dangerous, and the Nazis made particular efforts to sterilize them, experiment on them and to quickly eliminate new and expectant mothers. The Soviets, in attacking the Polish nation, did not seek to kill Polish women. But as family members of men who had led or supported the Polish state and could continue to fight for its independence, females, too, were seen as 'socially dangerous elements', and therefore subjected to repressive measures. Additionally, their traditional function of raising patriotic children had to be curtailed.

Despite Nazi concepts of 'racial hygiene' and the prohibition on having sexual relations with women of 'inferior races', German men used both Jewish and Polish women to satisfy their sexual desires and their will to dominate and humiliate. It could be that the cloak of racial inferiority cast on the women of Poland unleashed sexual rapaciousness among many German men. But it is important to note that patriarchal gender views lay at the heart of their treatment of these women. Like men of the Red Army at the close of the war, many German men acted as if they had the right to force any female to submit to their sexual predations, acting brutally, even murderously, from feelings of anger, revenge, lust or misogyny. For Soviet soldiers who wanted to rape, nothing seemed to matter about the victim's identity but her sex – not her nationality, politics or recent past. They not only raped women of the enemy (Germans), but women of Allied nations (Poles) and women that they liberated from the Nazi camps (Jews). They even raped their 'own' (Soviet) women, as they freed them from slave labour in Germany. In an environment in which their leaders declared war on entire groups of people because of their identity, and sanctioned unrestrained violence against them, many men felt entitled to exploit women sexually. Gender was not erased in the ideological and indiscriminate violence in Poland during World War II, it was amplified.

The attacks on Jews and Poles as entire peoples led to a closing of ranks and an even greater sense of identification of many individuals with their own people. Even Jews who had assimilated to the dominant culture in their homeland could be only Jews under the Nazis. And Polish nationalism was only strengthened by German and Soviet oppression. Though nationality identified and motivated people in their struggles to survive and resist, gender did not recede. Males and females tended to play traditional roles ascribed to their gender. Even though females often transcended these roles and acted and fought in ways typically considered male, they were not seen as equals to men. They were left out of leadership roles, denied weapons for combat and excluded from the national depictions of heroism. The fact that they were female almost always seemed to matter, even to the women themselves, who rarely claimed credit, heroism or equality. The wartime experience, far from erasing or diminishing essentialized notions of gender in Poland, seems to have confirmed them, and may have made them a critical part of the post-war need for normalcy – particularly in the face of the new conqueror's attempt to import the Soviet answer to the 'woman question'.

Recent historiography on the war in western Europe has examined the gendered nature of state mobilization of civilians, particularly through propaganda and social welfare policies; the voluntary movement of women into 'male' jobs, giving them new skills and independence; the loosening of sexual mores; and bifurcated roles of men and women on the military front. A more comprehensive gender history of Europe at war must take into account the gendered *use of* and *reactions to* unparalleled violence – both targeted and arbitrary; the obliteration of citizenship and human rights; massive dislocation and involuntary labour; efforts to control reproduction and destroy ethno-national identities and cultures. It must incorporate the gendered aspects of disempowerment, privation, degradation and trauma – hallmarks of the wartime experience in the east.

## Notes

1. For example, Józef Garliński, *Poland in the Second World War* (New York: Hippocrene, 1985); Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: the Poles Under German Occupation 1939–1944* (Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1986); Halik Kochanski, *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
2. The other sizeable minority groups were Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Germans, Russians and Czechs.
3. Quoted in Tadesuz Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918–1947* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998), 115. Ethnic Ukrainians on Polish territory, though also Slavs, were treated better than Poles by the Nazis, because 'the Germans hoped to play them off the Poles': John Connelly, 'Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice', *Central European History* vol. 32, no. 1 (1999): 8.
4. On the Nazi invasion, see Alexander B. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2003).
5. See Maria Wardzyńska, *Był rok 1939. Operacja niemieckiej policji bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Intelligenzaktion* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2009).
6. In one case, 50 women were shot, including a 14-year-old girl. Rossino, *Hitler Strikes*, 79. See also Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), 448.
7. See Tadeusz Cyprian and Jerzy Sawicki, *Nazi Rule in Poland 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Polonia, 1961), 125–34.
8. Auschwitz-Birkenau: Miejsce Pamięci i Muzeum, available at auschwitz.org/historia/rozne-grupy-wiezniow/polacy/ (accessed 25 August 2015).
9. Quoted in Cyprian, *Nazi Rule*, 100, 104.
10. Quoted in Cyprian, *Nazi Rule*, 141.
11. Quoted in Cyprian, *Nazi Rule*, 136.
12. Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 63, 392.
13. Birthe Kundrus and Patricia Szobar, 'Forbidden Company: Romantic Relationships Between Germans and Foreigners, 1939 to 1945', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* vol. 11, no. 1–2 (2002): 214–16.
14. Anna Rosmus, 'Involuntary Abortions for Polish Forced Laborers', in Elizabeth R. Baer and Myrna Goldenberg (eds), *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis, and the Holocaust* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2003), 78, 82.
15. Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers*, 131–2, 270–1.
16. Rosmus, 'Involuntary Abortions', 86.
17. See Wendy Jo Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II' (PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2004), 168–75.
18. Quoted in Nanda Herbermann, *The Blessed Abyss: Inmate #6582 in Ravensbrück Concentration Camp for Women* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 34. Gertjejanssen suspects the number is much higher: Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 169, 223.
19. Cezary Gmyz, 'Seksualne niewolnice III Rzeszy', *Wprost 24* no. 17–18 (2007), available at web.archive.org/web/20110608174340/www.wprost.pl/ar/105285/Seksualne-niewolnice-III-Rzeszy/ (accessed 19 August 2015).
20. Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 177–86, 197–202, 216.

21. Elizabeth D. Heineman, 'Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* vol. 11, no. 1–2 (2002): 54.
22. Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 232–4, 237–8.
23. Robert Sommer, 'Camp Brothels: Forced Sex Labour in Nazi Concentration Camps', in Dagmar Herzog (ed.), *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 169–73, 175, 179.
24. Helene J. Sinnreich, 'The Rape of Jewish Women in the Holocaust', in Sonja M. Hedgepeth and Rochelle G. Saidel (eds), *Sexual Violence Against Jewish Women during the Holocaust* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2010), 115–16; Regina Mülhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness" and Fantasies of Potency: Nazi Sexual Politics in the Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union', in Herzog (ed.), *Brutality*, 207; Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 190–6, 229–30. Some scholars disagree: Sommer, 'Camp Brothels', 117; Nomi Levenkron, 'Death and the Maidens: "Prostitution", Rape, and Sexual Slavery during World War II', in Hedgepeth and Saidel (eds), *Sexual Violence*, 19.
25. Quoted in Eric Ehrenreich, *Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 165.
26. Joan Ringelheim, 'Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research', in Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (eds), *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust* (St. Paul: MN Paragon House, 1993), 391–400.
27. Mary Lowenthal Felstiner, *To Paint Her Life*: *Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994), 206–7.
28. Gisela Bock, 'Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization, and the State', *Signs* vol. 8, no. 3 (1983): 417.
29. See Lore Shelley, *Criminal Experiments on Human Beings in Auschwitz and War Research Laboratories: Twenty Women Prisoners' Accounts* (San Francisco, CA: Mellen Research University Press, 1991).
30. Bock, 'Racism and Sexism', 408–9.
31. Gisela Perl, *I Was a Doctor in Auschwitz* (Salem, NH: Ayer, 1997); Lidia Rosenfeld Vago, 'One Year in the Black Hole of Our Planet Earth', in Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman (eds), *Women in the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 281.
32. Adina Blady Szwajger, *I Remember Nothing More: the Warsaw Children's Hospital and the Jewish Resistance* (New York: Pantheon, 1990), 146.
33. Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: the Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 28–35, 50–6, 63–6.
34. N. S. Lebedeva, 'The Deportation of the Polish Population to the USSR, 1939–1941', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* vol. 16, no. 1–2 (2000): 44.
35. Hoover Institution Archives (hereafter HIA), Władysław Anders Collection, 1939–1946 (hereafter AC), Box 48, vol. 19, no. R1355. See also AC, Box 54, vol. 37, no. R7911; Box 35, vol. 1, no. 1253.
36. AC, Box 36, vol. 2, no. 1976; Box 45, vol. 14, no. 14448.
37. See also Laycock and Johnson, this volume; Kaminer, this volume.
38. Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11.
39. One woman, a Second Lieutenant in the Polish Air Force, was slain at Katyń; see *Lista Katyńska, Jeńcy obozów Kozielsk, Ostaszków, Starobielsk zaginieni w Rosji Sowieckiej* (Warsaw: Omnipress, 1989), 111. On gender and Stalin's purges, see Jehanne M. Gheith and Katherine R. Jolluck, *Gulag Voices: Oral Histories of Soviet Incarceration and Exile* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 130–1.

40. Katherine R. Jolluck, *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union During World War II* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002), 9–13; Lebedeva, 'Deportation', 33–44. The majority were ethnic Poles: Grzegorz Hryciuk, 'Deportacje ludności Polskiej', in S. Ciesielski, G. Hryciuk and A. Srebrakowski (eds), *Masowe deportacje radzieckie w okresie II wojny światowej* (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1994), 68.
41. AC, Box 53, vol. 34, no. R6856.
42. Jolluck, *Exile*, 87–141. Compare Paces, this volume.
43. Jolluck, *Exile*, 99.
44. AC, Box 51, vol. 27, no. R4565.
45. Jolluck, *Exile*, 45–86.
46. Jolluck, *Exile*, 120.
47. For brief discussions of the sexual abuse of males, see: Monika Flaschka, '"Only Pretty Women were Raped": the Effect of Sexual Violence on Gender Identities in the Concentration Camps', in Hedgepeth and Saidel (eds), *Sexual Violence*, 86–8; Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 107–14, 257.
48. Levenkron, 'Death and the Maidens', 22; Na'ama Shik, 'Sexual Abuse of Jewish Women in Auschwitz-Birkenau', in Herzog (ed.), *Brutality*, 229–31; Myrna Goldenberg, 'Memoirs of Auschwitz Survivors: the Burden of Gender', in Ofer and Weitzman (eds), *Women*, 330–1, 333, 336.
49. Quoted in Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 116; 89–120. And see more generally Levenkron, 'Death and the Maidens', 20.
50. Maren Röger, 'The Sexual Policies and Sexual Realities of the German Occupiers in Poland in the Second World War', *Contemporary European History* vol. 23, no. 1 (2014): 13.
51. Mülhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness"', 197–220; Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 286–9.
52. Gmyz, 'Seksualne niewolnice'; Röger, 'Sexual Policies', 10–11; Sinnreich, 'Rape of Jewish Women', 110; Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 313–14.
53. Röger, 'Sexual Policies', 16–17.
54. Mülhäuser, 'Between "Racial Awareness"', 201.
55. Gertjejanssen, 'Victims, Heroes', 303–10, 315–17; Levenkron, 'Death and the Maidens', 17.
56. Felicja Karay, 'Women in the Forced Labor Camps', in Ofer and Weitzman (eds), *Women*, 290–1; Anatoly Podolsky, 'The Tragic Fate of Ukrainian Jewish Women under Nazi Occupation, 1941–1944', in Hedgepeth and Saidel (eds), *Sexual Violence*, 96–7.
57. Podolsky, 'Tragic Fate', 96–102.
58. Zoe Waxman, 'Rape and Sexual Abuse in Hiding', in Hedgepeth and Saidel (eds), *Sexual Violence*, 124–35.
59. Levenkron, 'Death and the Maidens', 20; Sinnreich, 'Rape of Jewish Women', 111–15; Shik, 'Sexual Abuse', 233–5, 239; Karay, 'Women in the Forced Labor Camps', 290–1.
60. Nechama Tec, 'Women in the Forest', *Contemporary Jewry* vol. 17 (1996): 34–47; Tamara Vershitskaya, 'Jewish Women Partisans in Belarus', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* vol. 46, no. 4, (2011): 567–72.
61. See Jolluck, *Exile*, 153–75.
62. Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: a History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 69–140.
63. Joanna Ostrowska and Marcin Zaremba, 'Kobieca gehenna', *Polityka*, 16 October 2013.

64. Antony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (New York: Viking, 2002), 65, 107–10; Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: a New History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 272–4; Ostrowska, 'Kobieca gehenna'.
65. Milovan Djilas, *Conversations with Stalin* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1962), 110.
66. Waldemar Lotnik, *Nine Lives: Ethnic Conflict in the Polish-Ukrainian Borderlands* (London: Serif, 1999), 65–9.
67. Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 126–8.
68. A voluminous literature exists on life in the ghettos and camps, so it will not be discussed here.
69. Compare Muller, this volume.
70. AC, Box 45, vol. 13, no. 14229.
71. Cyprian, *Nazi Rule*, 83–91.
72. Kochanski, *Eagle Unbowed*, 271.
73. HIA, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, Papers, 1938–66, Box 18, folder 'November–December 1941', 'Do Opieki Społecznej przy Ambasadzie w Kujbyszewie'.
74. AC, Box 42, vol. 10, no. 11638.
75. Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1944), 178–85, 219–29.
76. Karski, *Secret State*, 281.
77. Quoted in Shelley Saywell, *Women in War* (New York: Viking, 1985), 102. See also Weronika Grzebalska, *Płeć powstania warszawskiego* (Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich, 2013). Compare Bischl, this volume.
78. See also Muller, this volume; Jolluck, *Exile*, 104–11.
79. See Szwajger, *I Remember*, 67–177; Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 205–55. Jewish men were circumcised, unlike Polish ones, and could be identified quickly by a suspicious German.
80. See Tec, *Resilience and Courage*, 256–339.
81. See Zivia Lubetkin, *In the Days of Destruction and Revolt* ([n.p.]: Ghetto Fighters House, 1981); Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 219; Sobiborinterviews.nl, available at www.sobiborinterviews.nl/en/the-revolt/survivors-of-the-revolt (accessed 24 August 2015); Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: the Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 486.
82. Jan T. Gross, *Polish Society under German Occupation: the Generalgouvernement, 1939–1944* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 125–33, 190–3; Marek Jan Chodakewicz, *Between Nazis and Soviets: Occupation Politics in Poland, 1939–1947* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004), 76–9, 81, 85–6.
83. Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust*, 48–57, 144–7, 198–203; Gross, *Revolution*, 29.
84. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).
85. Stefan Korboński, *Fighting Warsaw: the Story of the Polish Underground State, 1939–1945* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956), 140–1; Chodakewicz, *Between Nazis*, 138; Röger, 'Sexual Policies', 12, 16.