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Photojournalism as a means of deception in Nazi-occupied Poland, 1939–45

Miriam Y. Arani

Introduction

Outside Europe, the conflicting memories of Germans, Poles and Jews are hard to understand. They are informed by conflicts before and during the Second World War. In particular, the impact of Nazism in occupied Poland (1939–45) – including the Holocaust – is difficult to understand without considering the deceitful propaganda of Nazism that affected visual culture in a subliminal but crucial way. The aim of this chapter is to understand photographs of the Nazi occupation of Poland as visual artefacts with distinct meanings for their contemporaries in the framework of a specific historical and cultural context. I will discuss how Nazi propaganda deliberately exploited the faith in still photography as a neutral depiction of reality, and the extent of that deceit through photojournalism by the Nazi occupiers of Poland. In addition, I will outline methods through which to evaluate the reliability of photographic sources. For the purposes of reliability and validity, I use a large, randomized sample with all kinds of photographs from archives, libraries and museums in this study. Additionally, I examine newspapers, illustrated magazines and books to find out more about the scope of published photographs. This cultural material is then contextualized with written records, scholarly research regarding the historical context, and interviews with Polish photographers and lab assistants.

At first glance, it would appear that the Nazi Party simply continued its tradition of glorifying Adolf Hitler in Poland during the German occupation of that country. Portraits of Hitler – paintings and sculptures – were present in all offices of German authorities, in public premises and in schools. Technically advanced media formats of the early twentieth century enriched this practice of glorifying the head of state in the public sphere, through photographic portraits of Hitler; still and moving images of him giving speeches; radio broadcasts by Hitler; and photo books like *Mit Hitler in Polen* (In Poland with Hitler).¹

But the visual culture of Nazism involved many more changes. The Nazis aimed to foster a German master race by force. Their aesthetic ideal was exemplified in the classicist, imperial-style sculptures of male nudes by Arno Breker and Josef Thorak.

The occupation policies in Poland enforced a racialization and racial selection of the occupied population according to this standard of visual taste regarding the physical appearance of the human body.

Whose 'true-to-life' pictures? Conflicting visual memories

The Nazi occupation affected Polish society in its entirety, including people of Jewish descent and others.² Many Polish citizens escaped to other countries.³ The Nazi authorities tried to settle ethnic Germans in occupied Poland, but in the end lost even eastern territories traditionally inhabited by Germans (e.g. Pomerania and Silesia). After the Second World War, people in affected nations and different groups of victims saved photographic sources relating to occupied Poland with various thematic emphases. In particular, the collective memories and related photographic collections of Poland and Israel were shaped by these experiences.

It is widely known that the State of Israel, established in 1948, has sought to prove the obsessive persecution of Jews under Nazi rule in Europe. Less prominent but equally extensive, however, is the Polish notion of national martyrdom, through which conflicts with Germany during the Polish partitions (1772–1918) and the Nazi occupation are commemorated. At the end of the First World War, Poland had been re-established as a democratic republic. It included a German minority in its western regions, and a more or less 'Polonized' Jewish minority in its eastern regions.⁴ In 1939, Poland was home to the largest Jewish community in Europe – a community that was divided between opponents and supporters of the Zionist idea of the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine (as explored in Noga Stiasny's chapter in this volume). Nazi Germany saw Jews as racially undesirable subjects and had already expelled more than 10,000 Polish Jews across the German-Polish border in October 1938.⁵

After the seventeen-year-old son of an expelled Jew shot a German diplomat in Paris in November 1938, the Nazi Party demolished the premises of German Jews and incarcerated around 30,000 of them in concentration camps.⁶ These zones, which existed outside of German law and which were maintained and guarded by the Party's security services in Germany, were extended into Poland after the German conquest of that country.⁷ In autumn 1939, the *Reichsführer SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei* (Commander of the SS and chief of the German police) Heinrich Himmler was appointed as *Reichskommissar für die Festigung Deutschen Volkstums* (Commissar for the Strengthening of Germanism), and the SS and German police forces under his command invaded Polish territory with an expanded scope of roles. In occupied Poland, they were tasked with enforcing a new social order based on the occupier's racialization of the occupied population.⁸

After the First World War, many Germans had harboured a sense of national martyrdom, seeing themselves as victims of neighbouring countries.⁹ The Nazi government exploited such sentiments by pretending that its military assault on Poland in autumn 1939 was an act of national defence. After Hitler's decision in spring 1939

to attack the Polish Republic, pictures were continuously circulated in Germany to prove the supposed Polish aims to obstruct Germans.¹⁰ During the German invasion, the Ministry of Propaganda requested that the German press report that Poles and Jews had attacked ethnic Germans in Poland. Specialized propaganda companies comprising uniformed photojournalists who accompanied the Wehrmacht produced a vast number of graphic images of victims of war in western Poland. Nazi propaganda focused specifically on a series of events in September 1939, which was referred to as *Bromberger Blutsonntag* (Bloody Sunday of Bydgoszcz), to evoke the notion that it was solely Germans who had been the victims of Polish aggression.¹¹ Pictures taken by occupying propaganda companies were widely published for domestic use and for a worldwide general public. The different but always visually graphic *Blutsonntag* publications show how the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda addressed a great variety of target groups. The Nazi Party commemorated *Bromberger Blutsonntag* as a key event of German martyrdom under Polish rule regularly among Germans in occupied Poland in order to justify all kinds of assaults and measures against Polish citizens.

When Nazi Germany together with the Soviet Union attacked the Polish Second Republic in autumn 1939, Germany occupied two-thirds of Polish territory. Poland became – second to Belarus and the western Ukraine – the country which suffered the highest percentage of civilian casualties under Nazi occupation in Europe.¹² This high death toll was in part a result of the firm anti-Jewish policies, later known as the Holocaust, enacted by the Nazis.¹³ These policies were intimately connected with the political objectives of the Nazi Party to create a German colonial empire in eastern Europe, summarized by Himmler's staff in the *Generalplan Ost*, which ended in the introduction of ruthless occupation policies against Polish society in its entirety.¹⁴

Assuming that photography is received as an unbiased depiction of reality, many Jewish and Polish victims of Nazi policies believed after the Second World War that the photographic evidence of Nazi crimes in occupied Poland could inform the general public.¹⁵ But after the war, the majority of Germans rejected the visual evidence published by various victims groups in Poland and elsewhere.¹⁶ The reason for this was not a general distrust in the credibility of photographs, but a kind of immunity against any evidence contradicting the Nazi narrative of German martyrdom.¹⁷ Many press photographs produced in the Nazi period were still in use after the war as illustrations in various German publications.¹⁸ The credibility of German photojournalism under Nazi rule was, for a long time, unquestioned. By the end of the twentieth century, however, misleading captions attached to supposedly 'true-to-life' press pictures had become a cause of debate in Germany.¹⁹ Larger numbers of pictures with slanderous intent only survived in collections created by victims of the Nazis, who aimed to prove the defamatory nature of Nazi visual culture.²⁰ Up until 1989, for example, photographs of Nazi crimes in Poland were used in East Germany as proof of external fascist policies, something for which citizens of West Germany were exclusively blamed. In contrast, citizens of West Germany kept photographs with depictions of Nazi crimes secret, because these were used as evidence by public prosecutors.²¹

Methodologies

Being confronted with conflicting memories and approaches towards visual sources produced during the Nazi occupation of Poland, it is crucial to recognize the existence of different perspectives about the same period and territory, and a shared vocabulary regarding photographs which pre-establishes what one will be able to say about pictures.²² Both sides – the former occupiers and the former occupied – believed that photographs were objective depictions of reality. But photographs depict only small frames of the visible world. The occupiers and the occupied took pictures generally under different conditions. Most people living under occupation were busy with daily survival, and photography was considered a far less important activity, whereas the conquerors were preoccupied with establishing their new position. In addition, the ruling Nazi Party privileged some photographers who pursued their careers under Nazi rule, while discriminating against others. Many photographers had to escape, were not allowed to work in their profession or were incarcerated or killed.²³

The fate of photographers in Nazi-occupied Poland was based on ethno-racial categories, irrespective of their professional skills and achievements. Therefore, any study of this topic should include a consideration of those who were privileged or discriminated against (or eliminated) in visual culture under occupation. It is important to place a shared comprehensive and ethical approach above a national approach, so as to consciously include pictures taken by photographers discriminated against under Nazi rule.

The visual legacy of the Nazi occupation of Poland is a large pictorial mass source, a large sample of material culture which can be analysed using the frameworks of archaeology, art history, cultural anthropology and sociology. Considering the enormous number of pictures that exist, a sociological approach would appear to be a suitable framework to adopt. One of the first sociological frameworks to be established for the study of photography was that developed by Gisèle Freund.²⁴ Based on her studies in art history and sociology, combined with her profound practical knowledge of photography, Freund established several relevant criteria for a comparative analysis of photographs created during the Nazi period:

1. Photography is so common in everyday life that it is not consciously taken into account as a medium;
2. photographs appear to be neutral depictions of reality, but they should be understood as a result of social, economic and political circumstances and processes;
3. snapshot photographs by amateurs should be distinguished from press photographs, owing to different purposes and different modes of production;
4. a comparison between press photography in different societies indicates different limitations for photojournalism, which are rooted in the political framework of the respective society;
5. photographs are a means through which different political angles or points of view on a topic can be expressed.²⁵

Freund's statements about photography under Nazi rule need to be supplemented with later research describing the involvement of governmental authorities and political measures more precisely.²⁶ For example, to what extent was it possible for the occupied to take pictures? Statements from and photographs of Nazi victims in occupied Poland,²⁷ and a lack of certain topics in a large number of surviving photos, also need to be considered. Did the peculiar directives enforced by the authorities prohibit the depiction of certain things or actions? Who regulated the photographic coverage inside the fenced-in and guarded camps and ghettos established by the occupiers?²⁸

Several methods proposed in an edited collection about visual sociology for qualitative research offer useful advice on how to analyse large samples of photographs as source material within a sociological framework. These methods can be applied, with some modifications, to historical photographic sources as well.²⁹ Of course, the average technical possibilities and limitations of photography, as well as the dissemination of cameras in the period in question, also need to be considered. For example, in the 1930s, about 10 per cent of the German population, mainly inhabitants of the cities, took snapshots privately. Before the occupation in Poland, the situation was relatively similar. This assumption corresponds with the large numbers of surviving photographs from urban centres in Poland.

When examining historical photographs as visual data, a comparison of pictures taken by various photographers can provide visual details and the physical context in which to place particular phenomena.³⁰ A comparative analysis of different photographs showing the same group of people under different circumstances but in the same place (created shortly prior to the occupation or taken by political adversaries during the occupation) can provide correlative insights, but requires an overview of the context.³¹ After acquiring knowledge about the historical framework, additional questions can be asked. For example, how do the pictures correspond with historical data from other sources? Who took these photographs, and for what purpose? What was the photographer intending to express? What possibilities did photographers have to express themselves?³²

Uses of photography by the occupiers and the occupied

To examine the use of photography by the occupiers and the occupied, I have analysed a large sample of pictures in a defined chronological and geographical frame: the Reichsgau Wartheland – a newly formed administrative unit in Nazi-occupied western Poland. This unit was integrated in October 1939 into the German Reich with the intention that it be Germanized through the forced settlement of ethnic Germans, the expulsion of Poles and the murder of Jews (commencing in 1941). The Nazi policies in this area served as a model for other occupied territories later in the war.

In order to make the most valid and reliable statements about the pictures that have survived from this area, I have examined about 30,000 photographs from German and Polish institutions. Approximately 10,000 of these were relevant picture sources from the place and period under investigation.³³ Many of the photographers – with

the exception of licensed photojournalists³⁴ – cannot be identified, nor can the circumstances under which many of the photographs taken be reconstructed. As a consequence, the comparison of the prints themselves as physical objects (format and material), the characteristics of picture composition and subject, as well as inscriptions or stamps on the back of the images, become the basis for assumptions about their creators and their original purpose. This allows for a reconstruction of several ‘creator groups’ which can be associated with different styles of photography (with each shaped by the function of photography for different groups). These include:

1. Photography for mass communications (e.g. press photography and photojournalism);
2. photography for individual self-representation (e.g. studio portraits);
3. photography for the purpose of maintaining personal memories (e.g. snapshots and private photo albums);
4. photography as a form of social control (e.g. photographic records of the police); and
5. photography as a form of resistance (this evolved in consequence of the obstructive changes introduced by the occupiers in the above-mentioned groups).

The occupying forces disbanded and expropriated all Polish mass media in order to establish a new media under the control of the Nazis. They stopped the occupied population from creating and circulating visual information about events. In the Reichsgau Wartheland, it was predominantly Germans who created the first four types of photography. The resulting studio portraits reflected what clothing the occupiers expected people in this region to wear: Germans wore uniforms or a distinctive sign of Nazi-identified ‘Germanness’, for example, while Poles were forbidden from wearing uniforms.³⁵ Furthermore, the Nazi Party demanded that Jewish people in occupied Poland wear a distinctive label on their civilian clothes as early as the end of 1939 – earlier than in Germany itself.³⁶ From the summer of 1941, Poles and Jews in the Reichsgau Wartheland were forbidden from possessing or using cameras privately. Cameras were instead meant to become a tool for the occupiers’ production of photography.

The type of photography with the widest public reach – photojournalism – underwent fundamental changes. The German press, which was set up quickly inside the Reichsgau Wartheland to replace the former Polish press, used photographs to create the illusion of a territory entirely populated by Germans. The Poles, who in reality made up three-quarters of the population, were rarely represented in these media products. When they *were* depicted, the captions accompanying the images did not mention their belonging to the Polish people. In this occupied territory in western Poland that was to be Germanized rapidly under the occupiers’ settlement policies, all publications addressed a solely German readership.

The occupying administration denied equal rights to the occupied, and divided the population in Poland into four categories: *Reichsdeutsche* (Germans from Germany); *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans from places other than Germany); Poles; and Jews and Romani. They regulated the lives of the occupied down to the smallest detail, and established a racially-based distribution of housing, funding and food. So-called ‘Aryan’

Germans received the best housing, the most funds and the most food. A number of former Polish citizens were included in the 'German nation' as *Volksdeutsche*, but the majority of Poles were defined as *Schutzangehörige* (protected subjects) without citizen's rights, and were forced into a life of poverty as a subordinate workforce for the occupiers.³⁷ At the lowest end of the spectrum were Jews and Romani, to whom even an impoverished life was denied. They were declared legal non-entities, received the most brutal treatment and became victims of insidious mass murder.

The following two examples demonstrate how the Nazi Party presented the occupied in the Reichsgau Wartheland to a German public in its illustrated magazines. A comparison of these 'picture stories' demonstrates the extent of the deception that was inherent in the occupiers' photojournalism.

A picture story about Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland

In 1940, in the Nazi weekly magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter*, a picture story claimed to show the difference between Germans and Poles (Figure 7.1).³⁸ The report identifies dirty, dark-haired children in a chaotic arrangement as Poles on the left page. On the right page, neatly dressed, eager children moving in military choreography are identified as Germans. The pictures visualize the superiority of Germans and the inferiority of Poles in accordance with the basic instructions of the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda in October 1939.³⁹ They express this by contrasting German order with Polish disorder

Figure 7.1 'Noch vor einem Jahr – und heute!' (One year ago – and today!), *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 15 August 1940. From the author's collection.

(i.e. the contempt of conservative elites in Germany for the Polish Republic) and stress the strong and decisively militant spirit of Nazi society, which demanded individual subordination in order to claim the nation's superiority over others.

The delusive impact of this picture story lies in its drawing attention away from how the occupation policies affected the occupied. Immediately after the conquest, specially organized *Einsatzgruppen* (SS and police squads) searched for Polish citizens listed on the *Sonderfahndungslisten* (most wanted lists), and murdered, both publicly and secretly, thousands of such people. Other Poles listed were sent to concentration camps or prisons so that all potential opposition could be eliminated. Then hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens (including Jews) were evicted from their homes so that ethnic Germans from several eastern European countries could be resettled in the Reichsgau Wartheland.⁴⁰ The photo report exempts the occupiers from any responsibility for the deteriorating situation of Polish citizens by depicting them as inherently lacking the merits of 'Aryan' Germanness. The images highlight the supposed backwardness of the occupied so that the notion of civilizational progress could be presented as a consequence of the occupation.

The disbanding of all Polish organizations, and a strong system of surveillance of the occupied in the Reichsgau Wartheland, left few chances for Poles to make their experience of occupation known to a broader public. Many searched for new ways to take, gather or distribute photographs. The most extensive pictorial documentation of occupation policies in the capital of the Reichsgau Wartheland was collected by members of the 'Szare Szeregi' (the wartime term for the Polish Boy Scouts and Girl Guides who joined the Polish resistance). They clandestinely photographed numerous signs in public places which forbade Poles from entering parks, playgrounds and churches. Other secretly taken photographs showed camps for foreign POWs and Jews, as well as secret schools, which the Szare Szeregi had organized for Polish youth.⁴¹ They used self-taken and self-gathered photographs to counter the occupiers' assertions, and forwarded these to the Polish Government-in-Exile. To gather photographs of Nazi crimes, the Szare Szeregi maintained contact with lab assistants in photographic studios and shops, who in most cases were Poles. When developing films or printing pictures in darkrooms, these people became invisible witnesses to what Germans were photographing during the war. It became a widespread practice for such lab assistants to secretly make extra prints from the occupiers' films and to pass these to the Polish Underground State (Polskie Państwo Podziemne).⁴² In this way, many pictures of Nazi crimes were secretly circulated.⁴³

A picture story about Jews in the Reichsgau Wartheland

In 1941, the Nazi magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter* published a three-page picture story claiming, in a sensationalist manner, that the German police had discovered hidden gold and treasures in the Jewish ghetto in the city of Lodz.⁴⁴ The title and the captions of the photo report suggest that Jews are inborn liars who bypass the law. It shows neat and orderly-dressed German policemen interrogating poor looking people, and searching untidy, dark cellars to find valuables.

The delusive impact of this picture story lies in blaming the victims after they have been ruthlessly dispossessed of all their belongings. During the conquest of Lodz, the invading occupying forces blocked all bank accounts; demolished, robbed and seized Jewish property; arrested all leading members of the Jewish community; and appointed a *Judenrat* (Jewish Council) to execute the occupiers' orders.⁴⁵ In order to 'Germanize' the city, the SS and German police forces expelled all Jews from their homes and concentrated them in a fenced-in ghetto in the city. The *Judenrat* acted as an employer of the ghetto inmates to produce commodities for German customers. But the occupation authorities were disappointed with the profits gained from the Lodz Ghetto. This picture report in the Nazi magazine about alleged hidden treasures was published after the ghetto inmates staged several protests because they were suffering from starvation.⁴⁶

Under Nazi rule, Polish Jews were entirely excluded from journalism and had no chance to legally publish images. However, the State Archives in Lodz hold twenty-seven albums with contact prints of images taken by Jewish photographers who took pictures for the *Judenrat* in occupied Lodz. There were around a dozen Jewish photographers working in the ghetto. They worked for other internees, producing portraits for ID cards or pictures for the illustrated reports of the *Judenrat*.⁴⁷ Only some of the photographers can be identified by name, the best known being Mendel Grossman. A collection of pictures printed on contemporary photographic paper at the Wiener Library, London, is labelled with the photographer's stamps and includes inscriptions. These images show people in workshops and healthcare institutions. Grossman passed on prints to friends and acquaintances in order to increase their circulation and to hand them down to posterity.⁴⁸

Photojournalism as a means of propaganda

The photo reports discussed above, produced for a German readership, demonstrate the usage of photojournalism as a means of Nazi propaganda targeting the occupiers' society. By comparing the occupiers' picture stories with photographs taken by the occupied, it becomes clear that the occupant's visual culture contorted Polish and Jewish life to justify assaults on the occupied, and to support racialized prejudices and policies.

Since its beginnings in Germany, Nazism governed through intimidation and coercion in combination with propaganda in all forms of media.⁴⁹ This also happened in occupied Poland. Immediately after the conquest of Poland, the Nazi government banned all Polish newspapers, closed down all Polish publishing houses and founded (with confiscated property) new publishers who issued newspapers and magazines in strict adherence to Nazi propaganda guidelines. In the Reichsgau Wartheland, which was to be rapidly Germanized, it established the regional publisher NS-Gauverlag, which published only in the German language. In the Generalgouvernement (General Government), which was planned as a long-term residence area for Poles, it installed a publisher called the Zeitungsverlag Warschau-Krakau which issued German-language

newspapers and a broad variety of magazines in Polish.⁵⁰ The use of media produced by foreign publishers was forbidden.⁵¹

The Ministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda) in Germany exerted central political control over all cultural affairs and mass media. It directed editors and journalists secretly in daily briefings on what topics they should cover, and how those topics should be covered. These directives also affected picture editing in newspapers and illustrated magazines, although they were only given orally to photojournalists.⁵² The Ministry of Propaganda also comprised a subsection for press photography, which was in charge of the political control of pictures in newspapers and illustrated magazines with a high circulation.⁵³

In addition, permission was required from a newly established press chamber in order for a journalist to work, and anyone who did not fit with the Nazi worldview (i.e. espousing a particular political attitude and adhering to specific racial requirements) was denied such permission. Jews were explicitly excluded, but such rules also affected the majority of Poles and so-called 'hostile foreigners'. While in the Reichsgau Wartheland all Polish journalists were banned from working, in the Generalgouvernement an unknown number of Polish press photographers were approved for inclusion on the list of licensed professionals. They were subordinates to German editors and had to abide by Nazi directives.⁵⁴ Their adherence to such directives was controlled at the editing phase.

The general public did not know how the Nazi government exerted control over the press, because the involved journalists had to keep such directives secret.⁵⁵ The most influential picture editor of the Nazi Party, Willy Stiewe, continuously published advice on how to use the high credibility of photography to convey the political worldview of Nazism to a general public.⁵⁶ He emphasized the importance of captions to pre-establish what one was looking at. Furthermore, he explained how to manipulate the impact of pictures without retouch. Firstly, this could be done when actually taking pictures, by choosing specific subjects and motifs, by staging scenes for the camera, by adopting the appropriate point of view of the subject and by using lighting. Secondly, it could be achieved during the editing phase by cropping a picture in order to emphasize or omit certain things.

The practical guide by Willy Stiewe on how to produce photographs that conveyed a Nazi worldview helped occupation photographers and editors as they sought to stress racial distinctions introduced into occupied Poland and to promote ethnic cleansing in publications for Poles. As mentioned above, Nazi propaganda in occupied Poland generally distinguished between the visual culture in territories in which rapid 'Germanization' was planned (i.e. the Reichsgau Wartheland) and territories in which a long-term resident Polish population was planned (i.e. the Generalgouvernement).

Race as the visual ideology of the occupier

The Nazi obsession with race affected occupation policies as well as visual culture.⁵⁷ Nazi propaganda used the widespread belief that photographs were 'true-to-life' pictures to popularize race as a visual ideology in an intransigent way, and to justify the

introduction of a new social order in occupied Poland. The visual culture of Nazism popularized in accordance to its *völkisch* (ethnoracial) ideal the utopia inhabited by an ethnically homogenous, racially 'pure' population, which was labelled 'Aryan' and visually imagined according to an aesthetic ideal of the Nordic body (as represented in the sculptures of Thorak and Breker).⁵⁸ The glorification of supposedly Nordic looks in all kinds of images and picture stories served as a transcultural visual imagination, one that created imagined coalitions across national and cultural boundaries with populations in northern Europe, and imagined contradictions with peoples in southern and eastern Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa. Nazism emphasized a belief in the inequality of races, and in biological determinism. Human individuality was denounced in favour of a concept of racial types endowed with unchangeable, inborn physical and mental traits.

In Nazi-occupied Poland the categories of race and ethnicity replaced categories of religion, class and political orientation, and created new patterns of inclusion (ethnic Germans) and exclusion (Jews and Romani). The Nazi authorities excluded Catholic Poles from equal rights because of *ethnicity*, and Jewish Poles because of *race*; in both cases, marriage between Poles and Germans was outlawed. Occupation publications designed for a Polish readership called upon readers to judge someone's race by their appearance. One example was a contest for the Polish population in the Generalgouvernement to identify nationality as a category implicitly equated with ethnicity and race (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 'Czy mnie znasz?' (Do you recognize me?), *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski*, 23 August 1942. From the author's collection.

When choosing motifs and when editing photographs, a set of visual patterns was repeated to indicate racial differences. The introduction of race as a visual ideology in occupied Poland was an intransigent change in the visual culture of Polish society, introducing a condemnation of racial deviance from the Nordic ideal. Nazism postulated a fundamental racial difference between so-called Aryans and Jews, and

Figure 7.3 Title page of the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski*, 8 December 1940. From the author's collection.

visualized this mainly as a contrast in the appearance of males. The Nazis understood Jewish Poles to be an 'Asian' people inside Europe.⁵⁹ In consequence, Nazi visual culture presented male Jews in Poland for a German general public as 'Oriental' types with noses resembling those on the ancient reliefs of Persepolis, in contrast to Nordic types with facial proportions resembling those on ancient Greek sculptures.⁶⁰ Occupation press photography repeatedly presented the Nordic type as fair-haired, light-eyed and fair-skinned, and the Jewish type as dark and endowed with evil attributes, in order to foster sympathy for the former and antipathy towards the latter (Figure 7.3).⁶¹

Photojournalism for the general German public

The visual culture imposed by the occupiers shaped a copious visual memory of Jewish Poles as backward Asian types. Most easily recognizable in occupied Poland were Jewish males dressed in traditional clothes. Picture reports repeatedly presented so-called 'caftan Jews' – a category that is discussed in its post-war incarnation in Emily Oliver's chapter in this volume – and reduced the broad variety of Jewish people in occupied Poland to a visual pattern of backwardness.

German press photographers purposefully staged scenes in which Polish Jews were forced to pose for the camera. One example is a picture story published on 5 December 1940 in the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, the most widely circulated weekly publication in Germany at that time. This was a front-page story headlined 'Im Ghetto von Lublin' (In the Lublin Ghetto) and showed German policemen persecuting Jewish traders (Figure 7.4).⁶² Like the photo report on Lodz in the Nazi magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter* discussed above, this story supported the image of Jews as criminals. But the picture story about Lublin focused much more on men endowed with a physical appearance that was regarded as non-European, and who were dressed in traditional Jewish clothing. In addition, it conveyed the impression of trade as being an inborn instinct of Jewish people. The ways in which this German photo report under Nazi rule visually highlights the supposed backwardness of Jewish males in the Polish city of Lublin become obvious when we compare it to a significant number of pictures of the Jewish quarter in the same city produced by a Polish photographer shortly prior to the Nazi occupation. In addition, written records prove that only 7 per cent of the Jewish population in this city earned their living from trade prior to the occupation.⁶³ At the time that this picture story was published in Germany, however, the Nazis had started to create a ghetto for Jews in Lublin, and had seized all Jewish assets in the Generalgouvernement.⁶⁴ Hence, this picture report for a general German public justified occupation policies by criminalizing any attempt by Jews to trade in everyday goods.

Photo reports about German policemen persecuting Jews in occupied Poland were part of a large-scale Nazi propaganda campaign against Polish Jewry. This increased with the German conquest of Poland in 1939 and reached its first peak at the end of 1940 with the release of Nazi Germany's most aggressively anti-Semitic film, *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew) (dir. Fritz Hippler). During this campaign, many picture stories by different German journalists who had been travelling through occupied Poland

Figure 7.4 'Im Getto von Lublin' (In the Lublin Ghetto), *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, 5 December 1940. From the author's collection.

slandered Polish Jews as dishonest and dirty criminals characterized by their laziness or illegal trading (rather than by 'honest labour').⁶⁵

Most picture stories produced for the general German public represented Polish Jews as racially (e.g. through physical appearance) and ethnically (e.g. through clothing) recognizable. The repeated image of the 'caftan Jew' in German visual culture drew attention away from the fact that Nazism classified people not by their practised religion, but *racially* as Jews. Importantly, the Nazi definition of Jewishness as it was applied in occupied Poland was broader than in Germany: regardless of someone's self-definition, every Pole with one Jewish parent was classified as a Jew.⁶⁶ Only a few photo reports published for the German public indicated the existence of secular Jews in occupied Poland. When secular Jews *were* represented in the occupation media, they were alleged to have an innately bad moral character – something that had been supposedly inherited biologically.

One example of this was a four-page picture story entitled 'Juden unter sich' (Jews among Themselves) published on 24 July 1941 in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* for the general German public.⁶⁷ This photo report deals with the Warsaw Ghetto, which was established by the occupiers in 1940. Before the occupation, Jewish residents made up one-third of the population of the Polish capital. But Nazism introduced into occupied Poland ethno-racially segregated areas and divided larger cities into separate districts for Germans, Poles and Jews, corresponding with a distribution of resources according to the racial status of each group. Some 400,000 people who were classified as Jews were

crowded into a walled and fenced-in space equal to 3 per cent of Warsaw, leading to the outbreak of epidemics. The German administration controlled the entire economy inside the ghetto and accepted a rapidly increasing rate of mortality for its inmates.

The *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* published its picture story one year after the establishment of the Jewish ghetto in occupied Warsaw, after 100,000 residents of the ghetto had already died of starvation, exhaustion or disease. The pictures for this report were taken by German photographers attached to the Wehrmacht's Propaganda Company 689 in the first half of 1941. They purposefully chose motifs that would confirm their propaganda messages and contrived scenes in which people were forced to pose in front of their cameras.⁶⁸ Even while taking pictures, then, they visually emphasized an alleged racial tendency of the ghetto's inhabitants to bargain and to engage in ruthless competition. This deceitful and fraudulent visual representation of the occupied in the legal press under Nazi rule is evident after we compare it to pictures produced by other photographers who did not belong to the ranks of licensed press photographers, compare published pictures produced by licensed press photographers with unpublished pictures, and correlate the visual sources with the results of other historical research.

Legally sanctioned press photography in Nazi-occupied Poland omitted to depict Jewish self-help and solidarity in Warsaw, denying the very existence of Jewish social and welfare organizations before and during the war.⁶⁹ The inhabitants of ghettos were forbidden under occupation policy from taking photographs of the persecution, deportation and murder that they faced, and had no opportunities to publish images openly. Nonetheless, some Jewish photographers in occupied Warsaw contributed a few pictures to Emanuel Ringelblum's underground archive,⁷⁰ which attempted to document the occupiers' persecution and murder of Jews. Many high-quality pictures and prints were produced by Foto-Forbert in the Warsaw Ghetto for the American Joint Distribution Committee to raise funds for Jewish self-help.⁷¹

The majority of private photographs depicting the Warsaw Ghetto, however, were those taken by travelling German soldiers. These soldiers often reproduced topics that had been introduced to them through the mass media.⁷² However, some private German snapshots contradict the visual messages conveyed in Nazi picture reports. They show a broader variety of physical appearance amongst ghetto inhabitants than German press photographs did, for example, as well as acts of solidarity amongst the inhabitants, and undignified mass burials.⁷³ The best-known photographic evidence for the persecution and murder of Jews in Warsaw is, in fact, that created on behalf of the commander of the SS and police, who were sent to quell the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943.⁷⁴

Photojournalism designed for the general Polish public

Nazi media policies were designed to target various audiences, including German audiences, as well as readers in occupied Poland itself.⁷⁵ The visual culture of occupation imposed by Nazism was characterized by its ubiquitous representation of German power. Picture stories praised Germans as gifted human beings without

physical or moral imperfections, demonstrating the superiority of German weapons and science in particular. The constant presentation of Germany's achievements was meant to convince Poles of their inferiority. In those territories which were earmarked for rapid 'Germanization', Nazi propaganda institutions demonstrated the inferiority of the Polish majority by simple ignorance: they acted as if no Poles at all existed in such areas (with some concessions after 1943). In occupied territories earmarked for the long-term residence of Poles, on the other hand, Nazi propaganda addressing the Polish public was more complex, but was still designed to continuously convince the occupied population of their inferiority.

The *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski* (1940–4) – an occupation magazine published in Polish and designed for a Polish readership in the Generalgouvernement – emphasized in a subliminal way the importance of racial purity, especially in comparison to the United States and the Soviet Union. It slandered the United States as a country of grotesque consumerism and racial impurity. After the German assault on the Soviet Union in summer 1941, the Nazi government was presented in this magazine as a bulwark against Bolshevism. The magazine presented the Soviet Union as a home of poor and distressed Asian hordes. Presenting Nazi Germany as a defender of Christianity in Europe, the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski* also aimed to secure the support of Polish conservatives.⁷⁶ According to Hitler's advice that propaganda had to suggest that separated adversaries belong to one category, the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski* presented Jews as the principal enemy identified with both Bolshevism and capitalism. In this framework, Polish Jewry seemed to be part of a powerful worldwide network – in contradiction to their actual isolation in ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland.

The Nazi press published in Polish tried to convince the Polish public of the social and economic advantages of the occupiers' measures against Jews. In the case of Warsaw, it was mainly secular Jews who were depicted in the *Ilustrowany Kurjer Polski*; to have done otherwise would have rendered a photo report less than credible in the eyes of Polish readers. One example is a single-page picture story entitled 'Warszawskie Ghetto' (Warsaw Ghetto) published on 15 December 1940.⁷⁷ A Polish photographer who had been licensed by the occupation authorities took photographs in the ghetto for this picture story. The accompanying text implicitly denied the occupiers' control of the economy inside the ghetto, and suggested that inborn racial tendencies were to blame for the fate of the ghetto's inhabitants.

Comparative and correlative insights

The attempts of the occupied to counter the assertions of Nazi visual propaganda in and about Poland varied according to a number of factors. These included the respective occupation policies in different territories, and the traditions, conditions and abilities of the people involved in the resistance movement throughout Poland.

As mentioned above, it was a widespread practice amongst lab assistants all over occupied Poland to collect and forward copies of prints as evidence of the crimes committed by the occupying forces. After two years of occupation, the Polish Home Army started to train several dozen Polish photographers in Warsaw to document life

and the resistance under occupation. With this advanced level of organization, the Polish resistance movement took many pictures of the armed uprising against the Nazi occupation in Warsaw in 1944.⁷⁸ They produced photographs technically comparable to those taken by the occupiers, but distribution of such photographs was limited to the area of the uprising itself.

In territories which were under more intense surveillance by the German police, different conditions prevailed. The clandestine work of the Polish Scout movement in the Reichsgau Wartheland provides an example for the limited possibilities of resistance under such circumstances, because the occupation authorities constantly threatened people with arrest, torture or death for expressing adverse opinions. As a consequence, only a few photographs were taken (and under enormous precautions), and the technical quality of such images cannot be compared to those taken by officially sanctioned and well-equipped photojournalists.

The same can be said regarding the *Sonderkommando* photographs from Auschwitz when compared to those pictures taken by SS members in the same concentration camp.⁷⁹ The SS prevented the taking of photographs by unauthorized persons at Auschwitz. The *Auschwitz-Album* includes a large number of pictures taken by SS members showing how, in 1944, SS staff forced Hungarian Jews from a local train station to the camp.⁸⁰ It was only the cooperation of the Polish resistance movement around the camp with Polish and Jewish prisoners inside it that made it possible to take a few pictures from the *Sonderkommando*'s point of view. These images show naked women being forced into a gas chamber, and the burning of corpses outside of it following this murderous procedure.⁸¹ The film with these pictures was developed by a Pole in a small town nearby, shortly before the arrival of Soviet troops. Because the SS personnel were of the opinion that Jewish women would be unable to undertake physical work, they became the preferred subjects of mass murder.⁸² This was highlighted visually by the *Sonderkommando* prisoners – but not by the SS photographers.

The occupation media presented the enlarged scope of tasks undertaken by the SS and the German police in occupied Poland only in a deceptive manner. On 12 October 1939, for example, the Nazi magazine *Illustrierter Beobachter* published a picture story about Warsaw.⁸³ It claimed that the German police had to be deployed in the Polish capital to protect Poles from their own police, thus drawing attention away from attacks by the SS and the German police on Polish civilians.⁸⁴ The most infamous of these were the shootings of about 1,700 Warsaw residents carried out by SS squads and the German police between late 1939 and July 1941 on the outskirts of the city in a forest near the village of Palmiry.⁸⁵ Some photographs of these shootings, supposedly taken for internal reporting purposes, were intercepted by the resistance movement and forwarded to the Polish Government-in-Exile. Likewise, the occupation media did not report on police raids that had been occurring since spring 1940 in the cities, carried out on behalf of the German employment authorities to recruit Poles to be sent abroad as forced labour.⁸⁶

Such picture stories prove the excessive criminalization of the occupied by the Nazi government. The visual culture correlates with a system of legislation which metered out punishment according to racially based distinctions. For the same deeds, Poles and Jews were more harshly punished than Germans. As a consequence, they became

objects of photographic records by the German police and the SS en masse.⁸⁷ Both the police and the SS took many such photographs for internal communications. Besides standardized photographs used to identify criminals, racial classification pictures were used as a supplement for internal reports. Sections with photographs attached to reports demonstrate the work – rounding up Poles, keeping ghettos under guard and welcoming superiors – of particular police and SS units.⁸⁸ These reports, as well as private photo albums produced by SS members, show (through their choice of motif and their captions) the extreme hostility that police and SS staff felt towards the people of occupied Poland.⁸⁹ Most of these pictures are not well suited to convincing the general public about the need for the brutal treatment of defenceless civilians. Yet these photographs are the most valuable and reliable sources we have for countering the assertions made by the deceitful picture reports that were featured in the occupation press.

Conclusion

In this chapter, photographs produced under occupation have been understood as part of material culture, embodying political as well as economic relationships between the occupiers and the occupied. Several reasons have been given as to why the occupied generated fewer photographic records than the occupiers. A comparison of German press photographs and picture reports depicting Nazi-occupied Poland, with pictures by other photographers under different political circumstances, yet showing the same groups of people in the same places, provides two correlative insights. Firstly, Nazi photojournalism was a political tool of deception. Secondly, the various other photographic sources correspond much more with the written records of both the occupiers and the occupied.

During the Second World War, photojournalism met the needs of a non-reading majority, much like the medieval *Biblia pauperum* (paupers' bibles) had once done – pictures would be placed in the centre of the page and would be accompanied by a brief text in the local language. Most important regarding the deceptive character of Nazi photojournalism in and about occupied Poland was its impact on the knowledge of Germans and Poles about the occupation itself. Deceptive picture stories influenced the perceptions of Germans and Poles alike about the situation, and had an impact on their expectations and actions. Most people – the occupiers and the occupied – believed photographs to be 'true-to-life' pictures, or unbiased depictions of reality. The picture reports for a German general public about the occupied substituted first-hand experience and apparently convinced many readers.⁹⁰ The average German believed the news coverage provided by the German press. They were not aware of the secret steering of the press or the staged character of press photography. The widespread belief in photo reports made it possible for the Nazi government to misinform the general public. Picture stories in magazines and other mass media pre-established what they were going to look at in real life. The majority of Germans remained unaware of the extent of the destruction in occupied Poland. And the fraudulent facade of Nazi visual culture justified and hid the vast crimes against peace and humanity that were committed in occupied territories.

During the 1920s, European theories of authoritarian leadership owed much to Gustave Le Bon's anti-democratic crowd psychology. Le Bon claimed – amongst other things – that a leader has to evoke images to successfully steer human crowds. Visual culture under Nazism followed such ideas. Picture stories in magazines created definitions of situations in order to evoke new behaviours amongst readers, in the sense of a self-fulfilling prophecy in favour of Nazism, complementing other occupation policies. The iconography of 'Germanness', of occupied Poland and of Polish Jewry all represented visual definitions that affected subsequent developments. In particular, the introduction of race as a category to occupation policies and visual culture had enormous consequences. The majority of Poles in the Generalgouvernement supposedly remained unaware of the subliminal influence that the racist ideology of Nazism had on the visual culture of occupation.⁹¹ It caused serious difficulties in understanding Polish society before 1939 in accordance with the democratic self-definition of its pre-war population. In particular, the visual memory of Polish Jews as backward – an image shaped by Nazi occupation propaganda – needs to be reconsidered critically.⁹²

Notes

- 1 Heinrich Hoffmann, ed., *Mit Hitler in Polen* (Berlin: Zeitgeschichte – Verlag, 1939). See also Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); John Connolly, 'Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice', *Central European History* 32, no. 1 (1999): 1–34; Jochen Boehler, *Auftakt zum Vernichtungskrieg. Die Wehrmacht in Polen 1939* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2006).
- 2 For instance, Romani people in Poland, Soviet POWs and Polish children, all of whom the occupiers 'Germanized' by force.
- 3 Stanisława Lewandowska, *Prasa polskiej emigracji wojennej 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 1993).
- 4 Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Image before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland before the Holocaust* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995), xvi–xvii, 128–32, 140–52. See also William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, ed. Eli Zaretsky (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1918, 1994).
- 5 Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Auftakt zur Vernichtung: Die Vertreibung polnischer Juden aus Deutschland im Jahre 1938* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2002).
- 6 Ulrich Herbert, *Best: Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 215–24.
- 7 Ibid., 133–80; Andrej Angrick, Christoph Dieckmann, Christian Gerlach, Peter Klein, Dieter Pohl, Martina Voigt, Michael Wildt and Peter Witte, ed., *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42* (Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1999), 13–96; Karol Marian Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie 'prawo' okupacyjne w Polsce. Wybór dokumentów*, 2 vols (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1952/1958); Diemut Majer, *'Non-Germans' under the Third Reich: The Nazi Juridical and Administrative System in Germany and Occupied Eastern Europe, with Special Regard to Occupied Poland* (Baltimore, MD: Hopkins University Press, 2003).

- 8 Czesław Pilichowski, *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945: Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979); Gudrun Schwarz, *Die nationalsozialistischen Lager* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1997); Nikolaus Wachsmann, *Hitler's Prisons* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004). Nazi policies in occupied Poland were based on a memorandum from the Nazi Party's Office for Racial Policies (which was also responsible for preparing the Nuremberg laws) entitled 'Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete', and dated 25 November 1939. On its implementation, see Isabel Heinemann, 'Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut': *Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 193.
- 9 Herbert, *Best*, 96–9.
- 10 Miriam Y. Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder von Deutschen und Polen im Reichsgau Wartheland 1939–45. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Region Wielkopolska* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2008), 186–9.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 189–216.
- 12 Norman Davies, *Europe at War, 1939–1945: No Simple Victory* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2007), 13–14.
- 13 Margaret E. Wagner, *The Library of Congress World War II Companion* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2007), 663–705, 683–7, 691; on the persecution of Jews in the Generalgouvernement, see Bogdan Musiał, 'Aktion Reinhardt': *Der Völkermord an den Juden im Generalgouvernement 1941–1944* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2004).
- 14 Hans Mommsen, 'Umwolungspläne des Nationalsozialismus und der Holocaust', in *Von Weimar nach Auschwitz. Zur Geschichte Deutschlands in der Weltkriegsepoche*, ed. Hans Mommsen (Munich: Ullstein, 2001), 295–308; Mechthild Rössler and Sabine Schleiermacher, ed., *Der 'Generalplan Ost': Hauptlinien der nationalsozialistischen Planungs- und Vernichtungspolitik* (Berlin: Akademie, 1993); Czesław Madajczyk, *Faszyzm i okupacja 1938–1945*. 2 vols (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1983–4).
- 15 Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, *Zagłada Żydostwa Polskiego. Album Zdjęć* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej, 1945); Edward Serwanski and Irena Trawinska, *Zbrodnia niemiecka w Warszawie 1944r. Zeznania-zdjęcia* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1946); Jürgen Stroop, *Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr*, ed. Andrzej Wirth (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1960); Jüdisches Historisches Institut Warschau, ed., *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord: Dokumentation über Ausrottung und Widerstand der Juden in Polen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1961).
- 16 Habbo Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild: Fotografien des Holocaust in der deutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001).
- 17 Willy Stiewe, *So sieht uns die Welt. Deutschland im Bild der Auslandspresse* (Berlin: Deutsche Rundschau, 1932), 7; Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 217–18.
- 18 Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild*.
- 19 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 229.
- 20 The Wiener Library in London, for instance, holds reproductions of anti-Semitic picture reports published in Germany since 1933. Several Polish institutions hold visual sources demonstrating the defamation of Poles since 1939.
- 21 Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen and Volker Riess, ed., 'Schöne Zeiten': *Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1988); Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Volker Riess and Wolfram Pyta, ed., *Deutscher Osten 1939–1945:*

Der Weltanschauungskrieg in Photos und Texten (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003).

- 22 Derral Cheatwood and Clarice Stasz, 'Visual Sociology', in *Images of Information*, ed. Jon Wagner (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), 262.
- 23 Klaus Honnef and Frank Weyers, ed., '*Und sie haben Deutschland verlassen müssen*'. *Fotografen und ihre Bilder, 1928–1997* (Bonn: Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1997). The most prominent German photographer killed because of race was Erich Salomon. On Salomon, see Janos Frecot, *Erich Salomon: 'Mit Frack und Linse durch Politik und Gesellschaft'* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2004). Adolf and Wladyslaw Forbert were successful Polish photographers who escaped Nazi racial persecution. On this, see Janina Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust: Interpretations of the Evidence* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 36–7, 84, 139–40 and 143–9.
- 24 Freund was born in 1908 in Germany and escaped in 1933 to France. She defended her doctoral thesis in 1936 at the Sorbonne. She became familiar to a broader public as a photojournalist for *Life* and *Time*. Gisèle Freund, *Photographie und Gesellschaft*, trans. Dietrich Leube (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1989); see also Honnef and Weyers, '*Und sie haben Deutschland verlassen müssen*', 168–71.
- 25 Freund, *Photographie und Gesellschaft*, 6, 116–89, 217–27.
- 26 Fritz Saenger, *Politik der Täuschungen. Missbrauch der Presse im Dritten Reich: Weisungen, Informationen, Notizen* (Vienna: Europa, 1975); Bernd Weise, 'Pressefotografie als Medium der Propaganda im Presselenkungssystem des Dritten Reiches', in *Die Gleichschaltung der Bilder: Zur Geschichte der Pressefotografie 1930–1936*, ed. Diethard Kerbs (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), 141–55; Freund's statements on Hitler's photographer Heinrich Hoffmann were replaced and supplemented in Rudolf Herz, *Hoffmann & Hitler: Fotografie als Medium des Führer-Mythos* (Munich: Klinckschardt & Biermann, 1994).
- 27 Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 80.
- 28 Ibid., 244.
- 29 Jon Wagner, ed., *Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 1979). Special attention to methodology is given in Part II.
- 30 Jon Wagner, 'Avoiding Error', in *Images of Information*, ed. Jon Wagner (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 1979), 147–60 (esp. 148–9).
- 31 John Collier, 'Evaluating Visual Data', in *Images of Information*, ed. Jon Wagner (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 1979), 161.
- 32 Wolf Buchmann, '"Woher kommt das Foto?" Zur Authentizität und Interpretation von historischen Photoaufnahmen in Archiven', *Der Archivar* 52, no. 4 (1999): 296–306.
- 33 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 67–127.
- 34 Rolf Sachsse, *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen: Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden: Philo Fine Arts, 2003), 288.
- 35 Czeslaw Luczak, *Diskriminierung der Polen in Wielkopolska zur Zeit der Hitlerokkupation* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznanskie, 1966), 206, 343–9. In the Reichsgau Wartheland the Nazi authorities prohibited Poles from owning or directing companies, and handed all companies over to Germans. In the Generalgouvernement, Poles were allowed to own and/or direct companies.
- 36 Golda Tencer, ed., *And I Still See Their Faces: Images of Polish Jews* (Warsaw: Shalom Foundation, 1996), 164–7; Kersten Brandt, Hanno Loewy and Krystyna Oleksy, ed., *Before They Perished.... Photographs Found in Auschwitz*. 2 vols (Oswiecim: Panstwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2001), 152, 305, 363, 469, 471–5.

- 37 Majer, 'Non-Germans' under the Third Reich.
- 38 'Noch vor einem Jahr – und heute!'; *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 15 August 1940, 820–1. Photographs by Hilmar Pabel.
- 39 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 324–5; Eugeniusz C. Krol, 'Die Propaganda des Dritten Reiches gegenüber Polen und den Polen von 1939–1945', in *Im Objektiv des Feindes: Die deutschen Bildberichterstatter im besetzten Warschau*, ed. Eugeniusz C. Krol (Warsaw: Rytm, 2008), 15–30. The directive requested that the German press portray Poles and Jews thereafter as 'Untermenschen' (subhumans).
- 40 Czesław Luczak, *Diskriminierung der Polen in Wielkopolska zur Zeit der Hitlerokkupation* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1966); Isabel Heinemann, 'Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut'.
- 41 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 722–52. The Poles in the Reichsgau Wartheland were denied access to education, culture and sport. Luczak, *Diskriminierung der Polen*, 326–7 and 330–7.
- 42 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 701–19.
- 43 Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 37.
- 44 Anon, 'Zum Tag der deutschen Polizei: Gold im Ghetto. Die Sicherheitspolizei im Kampf gegen Judenwucher', *Illustrierter Beobachter*, 20 February 1941, 221–3. Photographs by Georg Piper.
- 45 Julian Baranowski and Sławomir Nowinowski, ed. *Getto Łódzkie: Litzmannstadt Getto 1940–1944* (Łódź: Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi and Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2009), 11–12; Jüdisches Historisches Institut, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord*, 83–4, 172–8, 180–4 and 190.
- 46 Alan Adelson and Robert Lapides, *Łódź Ghetto: Inside a Community under Siege* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1989).
- 47 Ibid., xx, 46, 80, 282, 462 and 503; Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 86–94.
- 48 Miriam Arani, *Mendel Grosman: The Łódź Ghetto (1940–1944) Photograph Collection at the Wiener Library, London* (Berlin: Deutsch-Polnische Akademische Gesellschaft e.V., 2013): http://www.dp-ag.org/en/wp-content/uploads2013/12/WL-DPAG_grosmanEN.pdf (accessed 1 August 2018).
- 49 Fritz Schmidt, *Presse in Fesseln: Eine Schilderung des NS-Pressetrusts* (Berlin: Archiv & Kartei, 1947); Norbert Frei and Johannes Schmitz, *Journalismus im Dritten Reich* (Munich: Beck, 1989); Peter Longerich, 'Nationalsozialistische Propaganda', in *Deutschland 1933–1945. Neue Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft*, ed. Karl-Dietrich Bracher (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1993), 291–314.
- 50 Lucjan Dobroszycki, *Reptile Journalism: The Official Polish-language Press under the Nazis, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 51 Under Nazi rule, listening to foreign radio broadcasts was persecuted and punished.
- 52 Jürgen Hagemann, *Die Presselenkung im Dritten Reich* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1970); Hans Bohrmann, Gabriele Toepser-Ziegert and Karen Peter, ed. *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit. Edition und Dokumentation* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1984–2001).
- 53 Bernd Weise, 'Pressefotografie als Medium der Propaganda im Presselenkungssystem des Dritten Reiches', in *Die Gleichschaltung der Bilder. Zur Geschichte der Pressefotografie 1930–1936*, ed. Diethard Kerbs (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), 141–55.
- 54 Arani, *Fotografische Selbst- und Fremdbilder*, 255–60 and 275–9; Dobroszycki, *Reptile Journalism*.
- 55 Hagemann, *Die Presselenkung im Dritten Reich*.

- 56 Willy Stiewe, *Das Bild als Nachricht. Nachrichtenwert und -technik des Bildes. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitungskunde* (Berlin: C. Duncker, 1933); Willy Stiewe, 'Was fordern wir vom Pressebild? Die Aufgaben des Bildberichters und Bildschriftleiters', *Gebrauchsfotografie* 48, no. 7 (1941): 125–31.
- 57 George L. Mosse, *Der nationalsozialistische Alltag: So lebte man unter Hitler* (Königstein: Athenaeum, 1978), 78–130; Joseph Wulf, *Presse und Funk im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, [1966] 1983), 222–5.
- 58 See the definition of *völkisch* in Ulrich Herbert, *Best*, 62–3.
- 59 Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 81; Krol, 'Die Propaganda des Dritten Reiches', 15–30 (esp. 18).
- 60 This iconography had its roots in the Wilhelminian era, in which anti-Jewish attitudes were transformed into racial anti-Semitism.
- 61 On symbolic sources in Christian demonology, see Philippe Burrin, 'Nazi Antisemitism: Animalization and Demonization', in *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism and Xenophobia*, ed. Robert S. Wistrich (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1999), 223–35.
- 62 'Im Ghetto von Lublin', *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, 5 December 1940, 1289–91. Photographs by Hilmar Pabel. See also Willy Stiewe, 'Was fordern wir vom Pressebild? Die Aufgaben des Bildberichters und Bildschriftleiters', *Gebrauchsfotografie* 48, no. 7 (1941): 125–31; Sybil Milton, 'Argument oder Illustration. Die Bedeutung von Fotodokumenten als Quelle', *Fotogeschichte* 8, no. 28 (1988): 61–90.
- 63 Tadeusz Radzik, *The Extermination of the Lublin Ghetto* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2007), 94.
- 64 Jüdisches Historisches Institut, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord*.
- 65 Knoch, *Die Tat als Bild*, 108–10; David Bankier, 'Signaling the Final Solution to the German People', in *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*, ed. David Bankier (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), 15–39. See also Klaus Hesse, 'PK-Fotografien im NS-Vernichtungskrieg: Eine Bildreportage Artur Grimms aus dem besetzten Warschau 1939', in *Die Kamera als Waffe: Propagandabilder des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, ed. Rainer Rother (Munich: Boorberg, 2010), 137–49.
- 66 Germans with one Jewish parent would have been classified as 'half-Jew'. On occupied Poland see Jüdisches Historisches Institut, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord*, 55.
- 67 'Juden unter sich', *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, 24 July 1941, 790–3.
- 68 Miriam Y. Arani, 'Wie Feindbilder gemacht wurden. Zur visuellen Konstruktion von "Feinden" am Beispiel der Fotografien der Propagandakompanien aus Bromberg 1939 und Warschau 1941', in *Die Kamera als Waffe. Propagandabilder des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, ed. Rainer Rother (Munich: Boorberg, 2010), 156–61.
- 69 Ruta Sakowska, *Ludzie z dzielnic zamkniętych. Z dziejów Żydów w Warszawie w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej październik 1939 – marzec 1943*, 2nd edn. (Warsaw: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1993), 66–7; Gertrud Pickhan, 'Gegen den Strom', *Der Allgemeine Jüdische Arbeiterbund 'Bund' in Polen 1918–1939* (Stuttgart: DVA, 2001); Daniel Blatman, 'Bund', in YIVO Encyclopedia: <http://yivoencyclopedia.org/printarticle.aspx?id=146> (accessed 1 August 2018).
- 70 Struk, *Photographing the Holocaust*, 84.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 35–7, 84–6, 98.
- 72 Alexander B. Rossino, 'Eastern Europe through German Eyes: Soldiers' Photographs, 1939–42', *History of Photography* 23, no. 4 (1999): 313–21.

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