WAR AND HOLOCAUST: A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

As scholars of modern German history sift through old and new evidence, they have become more and more aware of the Third Reich’s use of war as an instrument for genocide or the Holocaust. As Doris Bergen states, “For Hitler, war was more than military conflict; it was to be a decisive step toward realizing his ideas.”¹ In the 1960s, the brief but perceptive work by Eberhard Jaeckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung: Entwurf einer Herrschaft*,² clearly identified Hitler’s overriding objective—to achieve “living space” in Eastern Europe for the German people by means of the systematic and forced “elimination” of the Jewish race. But noticed less by students of the twentieth-century has been the myriad connections between the war waged by the Nazis and the inviolable order, as Rudolph Hoess would put it, to “exterminate” the Jews.³

This brief essay proposes to highlight these connections in a few representative works about the Holocaust. The literature is immense; therefore, this overview is highly selective. Each work’s thesis admittedly may not strictly parallel the theme of “war and holocaust.” But the insights gained from such a comparison will prove instructive not only to explain the Holocaust but also to understand the nature of World War II as global conflagration. Concerning


the latter, Gerhard Weinberg states, “Without German initiative another world-wide holocaust was inconceivable to contemporaries in all countries and is unimaginable retrospectively for the historian. Accordingly, the course of German foreign policy provides the obvious organizing principle for any account of the origins of World War II.” That Weinberg labels the war itself a “holocaust” is quite significant.

In *Hitler’s World View*, Jaeckel ascribes creativity and intentionality to Hitler in his war policies. Jaeckel counters the prevailing notion of the immediate post-World War II era that the Nazi leader functioned primarily as a strict opportunist. He takes seriously the ideas and philosophy of Hitler and identifies two key elements: (1) his idea of *Lebensraum* or the conquest of living space for the German race, and (2) his antisemitism and the “elimination” of the Jewish race. Jaeckel acknowledges the fact that Hitler’s contemporaries, the subsequent generation, and then historical scholarship (i.e., through the 1960s) unanimously judged the Nazi leader as incapable of either ingenuity or consistency. To the contrary, Jaeckel demonstrates remarkably how Hitler took radical ideas from racial theorists and wove them together into an extraordinary and personal world view that became quite extreme and violent in its realization.⁵

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In his virulent hatred of the Jews and his vision of “living space” (according to Jaeckel, a primitive but “self-consistent synthesis”), Hitler’s actions followed directions that were bellicose, destructive, and violent. In Jaeckel’s opinion, “Few statesmen have ever pursued their goals with greater obstinacy or tenacity.” Based on a grandiose vision of world history and his decision to reconstitute the German Empire in the East, Hitler attacked the Russians in the summer of 1941. This allowed him to extend his destructive neo-antisemitism toward the logical execution of the last of the major phases of the Nazis’ twisted Jewish policy: first, deprivation of civil rights; second, forced emigration and deportation; and third, the bloody final solution. Jaeckel notes:

This third and final phase, the bloody so-called final solution, was initiated on a large scale in the summer of 1941, significantly at the very moment when the war against the Soviet Union, the final solution of the grand design in foreign policy, was undertaken as well. In other words, the blueprints of Hitler’s foreign and racial policy reached their respective climaxes at precisely the same moment.7

In Hitler’s mind, he had promised such action in his Jewry and international world war “prophecy” to the Reichstag in September 1939, a prediction that Hitler repeated in public several times. In this respect, Hitler’s genocidal holocaust, based on racial, antisemitic dogma, fulfilled his “obstinate, brutal, and finally self-destructive” war aims.8

Doris Bergen’s brief history of the Holocaust also elaborates this necessary connection; her book is therefore aptly titled War & Genocide. She relates how the Nazi twin goals of “race”

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6Jaeckel, Hitler’s World View, 46.


8Jaeckel, Hitler’s World View, 67.
and “space” or “so-called racial purification and territorial expansion” produced war and genocide. But she takes the issue further and argues, “Without the war, the Holocaust would not–and could not–have happened.” In her mind, “Hitler’s Germany mobilized all its resources–bureaucratic, military, legal, scientific, economic, and intellectual”–against the Jews. While Bergen agrees that the Jewish race constituted the “main target of Nazi genocide,” she does not fail to include others whom the atrocious perpetrators persecuted, incarcerated, maimed, or killed–gypsies, Poles, Slavs, Communists, Soviets, homosexuals, and blacks. Bergen tackles this warped and complicated history with superb, if not consequential, results.

Admirably argued, War & Genocide sustains this connection between war policies, systematic violence, and the eradication of Hitler’s Untermenschen or “subhumans.” She ties together these connections with well-constructed themes–racial and antisemitic preconditions, Nazi ideology and leadership, political revolution and coordination of society (Gleichschaltung), open aggression, euthanasia experiments, initial war against Poland, the expansion of war in the East, killing frenzies, and final death throes. By a loose chronological arrangement, Bergen lays the Reich’s wartime operations and their development side by side with the Nazi’s inhumane policies of vicious terror. This results in a highly readable overview of the Third Reich’s machinations during World War II as a Continental, if not global, genocidal conflagration.

Especially noteworthy are: (1) Bergen’s extended treatment of groups like the Roma or gypsies, women and children, the handicapped, homosexuals, and religious dissidents such as

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9 Bergen, War & Genocide, ix-xi.
Jehovah’s Witnesses; (2) her copious inclusion of snippets from numerous memoirs in order to give voice to the victims and thereby personalize the narrative; and (3) her linking the German army’s Blitzkrieg in September 1939, by which “the Germans seized control of large numbers of Slavs, Jews, and Gypsies,” to the ghettoization of Polish Jews and the onset of Eichmann’s radical euthanasia experiments, both precursors of more thoroughgoing efforts toward annihilation that came later. In fact, with the launching of Operation Barbarossa on 22 June 1941, Hitler began his “war of annihilation” and initiated a ruthlessness that historian Omer Bartov labeled the “barbarization of warfare.”  

A good example of such ruthless, barbaric conduct occurred at the Warsaw ghetto in Spring 1943. Approximately two thousand personnel from two defense units (Waffen-SS), three German army (Wehrmacht) detachments, and auxiliaries of the German and Polish order police (Ordnungspolizei) faced off against about 60,000 “remnant” Jews. From October 1940, the beginning of German occupation of Poland, about one-fourth of the ghetto’s estimated population of one-half million had died from starvation, disease, or execution. In a six-week sweep during the summer of 1942, the Germans deported perhaps 300,000, mainly to Treblinka’s

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extermination camp. By the next Spring, the official count of Jews left in Warsaw stood at
35,000, but roughly that many more still hid in the ghetto.12

Stubborn resistance had set in, so much so that Heinrich Himmler, chief of the SS,
decided to put an end to the Jews of Warsaw and make the city free of Jews or Judenfrei. From
the Nazi perspective, Himmler appropriately timed the beginning of the ghetto’s liquidation to
coincide with the Fuehrer’s birthday. The task of this “Ghetto operation” fell to SS Major-
General Juergen Stroop who had been transferred to Warsaw from Galicia in mid-April. Major-
General Stroop fortuitously preserved the details of this military operation, that lasted from 20
April thru 24 May, in his Stroop Report. According to Andrzej Wirth, Stroop’s finished report of
his “grand operation” with its summary narrative, daily tactical messages, and assorted
photographs resembled a “family album, a dignified commemorative volume bound in black
pebble leather.”13

12 Andrzej Wirth, “Introduction,” The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is No
More! A facsimile edition and translation of the official Nazi report on the destruction of the
the Warsaw ghetto, see Yehuda Bauer, A History of the Holocaust (Danbury, Connecticut:
Franklin Watts, 1982), 254-265.

Nuremberg Trials, see “[Major] William F. Walsh, On the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, December
14, 1945,” in Michael R. Marrus, ed., The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial 1945-46: A
Documentary History (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 1997), 194-197.
For the most part, Stroop’s *Report* captured what seemed to be medieval siege warfare, except with modern weapons and technology. He attributed stubborn resistance by the Jews, in their “so-called fighting groups,” to Communist or Polish-Bolshevik leadership. So Stroop believed he had to level the ghetto and flush out the remaining inhabitants who lived in the subterranean “cellars, bunkers, and passages.” He noted:

The resistance offered by the Jews and bandits could be broken only by the energetic and relentless day and night commitment of our assault units. On 23 April 1943, the Reichsfuehrer-SS promulgated his order, transmitted through the Higher SS and Police Leader East in Cracow, to complete the sweeping of the Warsaw Ghetto with greatest severity and unrelenting tenacity. I therefore decided to embark on the total destruction of the Jewish quarter by burning down every residential block, including the housing blocks belonging to the armament enterprises. One enterprise after another was systematically evacuated and destroyed by fire.\(^\text{14}\)

Warsaw ghetto defenders led to execution

Evacuation
Source: Ibid.

Execution
Source: Ibid.
For twenty-seven days, Stroop wired his daily briefs to his superiors, until “the grand operation was terminated on 16 May with the dynamiting of the Warsaw Synagogue.” His final brief, that came a week later, summarized the completed action—the apprehension of about 56,000 Jews with 7,000 destroyed “in the course of the grand operation” and about 7,000 destroyed by transport to “T II” or Treblinka. He also estimated the destruction of another five or six thousand in explosions or fires.  

Stroop no doubt used the personnel and tools of war to effect his role in the senseless genocidal death of thousands of civilians. That he viewed the Jews as anything but enemy combatants, yet substantially inferior to the Germans, cannot be found in his finished Report. To the contrary, he repeatedly viewed the Jews as “dregs of humanity” and “bandits” who hid out in “so-called residential quarters.” Stroop in his mind justifiably exterminated many and expelled the rest from Warsaw’s ghetto. And he clearly used the tactics of war to do so. 

Another proof of the Nazi’s crusade to carry out genocide under the pretext of war came from Rudolph Hoess, the Commandant of Auschwitz. In his post-war memoirs, written at Wadowice prison in Poland, Hoess hashed out the typical Nazi caricature of the Reich’s enemies—the political prisoners, prisoners of war, asocials, and Jews. He reflected considerably on his complete loyalty to the Fuerherprinzip, or absolute obedience to the dictator, and his personal contribution by way of technocratic expertise and managerial detachment. According to


his count, between 1,135,000 and 2,500,000 enemies of the state (the latter figure he regarded as too high) were liquidated under his scrutiny, mostly Jews but also gypsies and Russian prisoners of war. But even in retrospect, the brutal and incomprehensible carnage seemed to Hoess as something coherent and routine (i.e., in light of Nazi ideology).  

Quite obvious in the Commandant’s recollections, and of pragmatic concern for the Nazis, were the militant tactics comparably employed against civilians and soldiers. For instance, the trains that shipped prisoners of war to internment camps were used to transport Jews to extermination camps. The facilities that housed prisoners of war and political prisoners were the same type used to confine the Jews. And the same methods that killed Russian prisoners of war—shooting and mass burial, then gassing and cremation—were used by the Nazis to terminate the Jews. Hoess and his staff had discovered the effectiveness of hydrogen cyanide or Cyclon B gas when they executed six hundred Soviet prisoners at Auschwitz in September 1941. The lessons learned from earlier experimentation on the “handicapped” were extrapolated to Russian prisoners of war and then the Jews. In their maddening craze to wipe out an entire people, the Nazis perspicuously recognized the advantages of treating unarmed, noncombatant Jews as no

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18Hoess, Death Dealer, 155-164.
better, and often worst, than captured combatants. To them, war and genocide were an inseparable nexus.\(^{19}\)

Finally, those who experienced personally the hellish nightmare of the extermination camps—and they were legion—suffered the indignity of inhumane treatment and horrors usually reserved for captives of war. Beatings, torture, experimentation, indiscriminate killings—the Nazis carried out these barbarities to the excess, even beyond that which normally occurred during the conduct of legitimate, internationally sanctioned warfare.\(^{20}\) In her memoirs *Five Chimneys*, penned little more than two years after the Allied liberation of the camps (a military facility), Olga Lengyel described in grisly detail her seven months at Birkenau and Auschwitz. Her network of contacts amazingly permitted her to gather substantial tidbits of information from her time in the camp. Before her family’s transport from Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, Olga worked as surgical assistant to her husband who was a gynecologist. Her skill and familiarity with medicine got her work in the camp’s infirmary, and this certainly facilitated her survival.\(^{21}\)

\(^{19}\)On the angst this level of brutality gave to some German Army commanders, whom Hitler generally reassigned or replaced, see Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 436-440, 519, 523, 598.

\(^{20}\)For a good discussion, at least from the American perspective, see “The Changing Rules of War and Peace” in Peter Maguire, *Law and War: An American Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 47-99. Maguire is quite correct when he says, “Although the United States would wage total war against the Axis powers, the extermination of entire ethnic, racial, religious, and economic groups was never among America’s wartime goals.” Ibid., 102.

Mystified by the dread of her own wretched but misplaced guilt, Olga’s recent trauma of the brutal camp experience hardly had been processed psychologically. Her writing became her therapy and her confession. She began her memories:

*Mea culpa, my fault, mea maxima culpa!* I cannot acquit myself of the charge that I am, in part, responsible for the destruction of my own parents and of my two young sons. The world understands that I could not have known, but in my heart the terrible feeling persists that I could have, I might have, saved them.\(^{22}\)

Olga naively had pressed the German officials to allow the entire family to accompany her husband who alone was to be deported. Her aged parents and young sons were killed on arrival at Auschwitz. But in spite of self-imposed guilt over her loss, somehow she held on to life.

Once inside the camp, a highly controlled environment, she and the other civilian prisoners of war were brutalized and marginalized. Over a period of time, they were subjected to a prolonged, daily, and abnormal battle in which they had little or no means to fight back and nil hope of success if they did. At the mercy of their captors’ “Production Schedule” and privy to only pieces of information, Olga filled in the gaps and reduced the mass exterminations to mechanistic formulae. She noted bleakly:

Three hundred and sixty corpses every half hour, which was all the time it took to reduce human flesh to ashes, made 720 per hour, or 17,280 corpses per twenty-four hour shift. And the ovens, with murderous efficiency, functioned day and night.

However, one must also take into account the death pits, which could destroy another 8,000 cadavers a day. In round numbers, about 24,000 corpses were handled each day. An admirable production record—one that speaks well for German industry.\(^{23}\)

\(^{22}\)Ibid., 11.

\(^{23}\)Ibid., 82.
But like a good soldier in battle, Olga fought back in ways she could, and this combative mood continued in her memoirs. In this sense, *Five Chimneys* epitomized her personal penance and the execution of justice, as it transferred guilt to the perpetrators of crimes against humanity. And the writing of her memoirs aided her recovery from any potentially debilitating post-combat disorder.\textsuperscript{24}

The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg fittingly brought charges after the war against key Nazi leaders who took part culpably in decisions that victimized citizens and subjugated them to genocidal war. In the minds of the presiding justices, the evidence presented at Nuremberg overwhelmingly favored conviction and execution based on the unrestrained use of war as a pretext for large scale persecution of the Jewish people. In final judgment, the judges concurred:

> The persecution of the Jews at the hands of the Nazi Government has been proved in the greatest detail before the Tribunal. It is a record of consistent and systematic inhumanity on the greatest scale. . . . The Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany before the war, severe and repressive as it was, cannot compare, however, with the policy pursued during the war in the occupied territories. . . . In the summer of 1941, however, plans were made for the “final solution” of the Jewish question in Europe. This “final solution” meant the extermination of the Jews, which early in 1939 Hitler had threatened would be one of the consequences of an outbreak of war. . . . The plan for exterminating the Jews was developed shortly after the attack on the Soviet Union. Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and SD, formed for the purpose of breaking the resistance of the population of the areas lying behind the German armies in the East, were given the duty

\textsuperscript{24}Some of these dynamics are to be seen in the memoirs of French Resistance fighter Lucie Aubrac but under very different circumstances. See *Outwitting the Gestapo*, trans. Konrad Bieber and Betsy Wing (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).
of exterminating the Jews in those areas. . . These atrocities were all part and parcel of the policy inaugurated in 1941.25

The weight of evidence at Nuremberg in the fall of 1946 made it all too clear that the Nazis intended to use war to punish and eradicate the Jews. Research in the ensuing decades has pointed to the same conclusion.26 There should be little doubt today that, in Hitler’s Third Reich, war became an instrument for genocide.


26See especially the pages listed under “Holocaust” in Weinberg, A World at Arms, 1165; also, “The ‘Final Solution’ and the War in 1943” in Weinberg’s Germany, Hitler & World War II: Essays in Modern German and World History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 217-244.
ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY


The post-WWII memoirs of French Resistance leader Lucie Aubrac that chronicle the nine months concurrent with her second pregnancy from May 1943 to February 1944.


A general history of the Holocaust from WWI to the last years of WWII, 1943 to 1945. Bauer frames his narrative with chapters on Jewish identity, antisemitism and emancipation, and the aftermath or reactions.


A brief overview of the Holocaust that juxtaposes the Nazi’s propagation of WWII with their brutal carnage of Jews and other “undesirables.” *War & Genocide* is part of the Critical Issues in History series edited by Donald Critchlow.


The striking story of one battalion of Order Police and their transformation into brutal killers. In his afterword, Browning replies to the criticisms by Daniel Goldhagen in *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*.


A comprehensive account of the Third Reich’s displacement of the Weimar Republic, its rise as a totalitarian state, and its demise by the end of WWII. In some respects, Burleigh compiles a people’s history of the Third Reich, yet within a narrative framework.

A technical and convincing reconstruction of the Nazi’s military operations against the Russians beginning in the summer of 1941. Clark writes from the German perspective.


The personal diary of the American prison psychologist who observed the defendants at the trial and visited regularly in their cells. Since he made no written notes while visiting the defendants, Gilbert records these conversations and observations from memory.


The post-war memoirs of Auschwitz’s Commandant that were handwritten from prison in Wadowice, Poland prior to his execution in April 1947. Hoess writes about his early life, his role as adjutant at Sachsenhausen, and his work in exterminating gypsies and Jews at Auschwitz. Also included are final letters to his wife and children, rules and regulations of the concentration camps, and profiles of key SS leaders.


A terse but packed expose of Hitler’s two overriding objectives for National Socialism: (1) to acquire “living space” for the Germans in the East; and (2) to eliminate the Jews. Jaeckel responds to scholarship of the 1950s and 1960s that defined Hitler’s policies in terms of opportunism and incoherence.


The memoirs of Auschwitz survivor Olga Lengyel, originally from Cluj in Transylvania, who lost her husband, two sons, and her parents at the camp but lived to write about the Nazi’s brutality and her work in the camp’s infirmary.


An important and intriguing evaluation of the Nuremberg trials against the backdrop of the historic role of the United States in international decisions about war crimes.


A short compilation of primary documents from the trial arranged according to themes that are introduced briefly. *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial* is part of the Bedford Series in History and Culture edited by Natalie Zemon Davis and others.


A survey of racial theory from eighteenth-century foundations to the Holocaust. An intellectual history in which Mosse defines racism as pseudo-religion.


A thematic look at Nazi atrocities on the basis of pretrial interrogations of the defendants by the Allies with introductory comments in Part I and interrogation transcripts in Part II. Sketchy overall, since Overy does not include all defendants.

The grim story of Einsatzgruppen killings from the German invasion of Poland to the Nuremberg trial of 1947-48 (e.g., *United States of America v. Otto Ohlendorf et al.*). Rhodes uses violent-socialization theory, espoused by American criminologist Lonnie Athens, to guide his discussion of extreme violence.


A facsimile edition of SS Major-General Juergen Stroop’s completed report on the clearing operation of Warsaw ghetto during the spring of 1943. At each opening, a copy of the original appears on the left and an English translation on the right. For the pictorial report, English translations are given at the bottom of each page.


A concise textbook that traces the rise of Hitler after WWI and during the Weimar Republic, the Nazi seizure of power, the Nazi state from 1933 to 1939, Hitler’s foreign policy, the outbreak and expansion of WWII, domestic policies during the war, and the Holocaust and other atrocities.


A comprehensive one-volume examination of both Allied and Axis diplomatic and strategic considerations for the execution of military operations during WWII. Weinberg presents the options as they appeared to leaders and managers faced with the decisions (i.e., as they looked forward) and concurrently with other events on the globe.

A collection of essays by way of response to revisionist tendencies in the historiography of the Third Reich. Arranged topically and weighted toward diplomacy and foreign policy, the book looks at background issues, the Nazi system, events leading to war, and propagation of the war.


The first authoritative English version of Hitler’s unpublished second book. An earlier translation by Salvator Attanasio, with an introduction by Telford Taylor, was published in 1961. Strongly indicated are Hitler’s ideas about race, the Jews, and foreign alliances.