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There Is a Polish-Jewish History beyond the Holocaust

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Responding to the provocative question whether there is Polish history beyond the Holocaust, this article gives several reasons for an affirmative answer. First, if there is a history of Polish Jews beyond the Holocaust, and there is a lot, there is at least as much of a general history of Poland, of which the history of Polish Jews makes an integral part. Second, the history of the Holocaust, at least a good such history, requires the pre-Holocaust history of Jews and of their non-Jewish neighbors: we cannot understand their wartime choices without their prior experiences. Third, by the sheer numbers of Jews who had lived and were killed in Poland, often in sight of their non-Jewish neighbors, the Holocaust is part of the history of Poland more than of other countries. This observation aims not only to strengthen the second argument above, but to point at various consequences of the centuries-long geographic concentration of Jews in Poland and of its abrupt and horrible end.

My first reaction to the question "Is there a history of Poland beyond the Holocaust?" was surprise. I have never heard anyone claiming there is no history of Poland beyond the Holocaust, or arguments for such a claim, so what is the point of asking? However, I quickly appreciated the provocative character of the question. As we see in this volume, the provocation has been quite effective in bringing together a group of scholars and making them offer a variety of perspectives on the nexus of the history of Poland and history of the Holocaust. In my turn, I would like to respond with this short essay, beginning with a simple reason to give an affirmative answer to the question with which we have begun.

Such answer is obvious when we look at Poland's past from the vantage point of the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, where I had the pleasure to work between 2014–2019. The museum forms part of a Holocaust memorial complex, but it is not a Holocaust museum, or more precisely, it is not *only* a Holocaust museum. Located in the center of what in 1940–1943 was the largest ghetto in Nazi-dominated Europe, in front of the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes, it presents not only the

history of the Warsaw ghetto and its destruction, but also the prior history of Warsaw the Jewish metropolis, not only the six years of the German occupation, but all the history of Polish Jews. It thus forms part of the Holocaust memorial complex and honors its victims but does it in a different way from the monument. The monument shows how they died, while the museum shows also how they had lived—they and their parents, grandparents and great-great-great grandparents, generation after generation through almost one thousand years. The museum's Shoah gallery is disproportionally larger than galleries covering periods much longer than the six years of the Nazi occupation, but it is not the only one, and not the last one.[1] If there is a history of Polish Jews beyond the Holocaust, and clearly there is a lot, there is also such a history of Poland, which includes the history of Polish Jews.

Moreover, the pre-1939 history of Polish Jews is necessary for understanding their history during the Holocaust. Holocaust history cannot be just a "perpetrator history," telling how the Germans and their collaborators murdered the Jews. It should not reduce victims to a passive crowd but present their agency, telling how they lived under the Nazi regime and tried to cope with the inhuman conditions imposed on them. It is obvious that their historically formed beliefs, culture, patterns of organization, etc., conditioned their (limited) choices during the war.[2] Similarly, to understand the wartime actions and inactions of non-Jewish Poles towards the Jews (of which more below), we need to know at least some of their prior history too. Good history of the Holocaust requires pre-Holocaust history of Jews and of their non-Jewish neighbors.

The post-Holocaust history is not necessary to explain how and why the Holocaust took place, but it shows its consequences, to which I will come back later. It seems also required to counter a widespread misunderstanding of Polish-Jewish history, and consequently of the general history of Poland, that Hitler ended the history of Polish Jews. While only a small fraction of their prewar number survived the war, it still made more than 350,000 people—more than the French, Dutch or Hungarian Jewry at that time. Many did not return to Poland or left it soon afterwards, but a substantial group tried to rebuild their individual and community life, not without some success. It was only two decades later that the community trickled down to just several thousand people.[3] Because of the Holocaust Polish-Jewish history dramatically changed, but it has not ended.

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1. See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Antony Polonsky, eds., *Polin: 1000 Year History of Polish Jews* (Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2014), and part I of Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Andrzej Żbikowski, eds., *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands* (Warsaw: Polin Museum, 2018).

2. Boaz Cohen, "Jews, Jewish Studies and Holocaust Historiography," in *Writing the Holocaust*, ed. Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Daniel Langton (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), 108.

3. Dariusz Stola, "Jewish Emigration from Communist Poland: The Decline of Polish Jewry in the Aftermath of the Holocaust," *East European Jewish Affairs* 47, no. 2–3 (2017).

Our initial question was surprising also because it appeared to imply that the Holocaust has acquired such a prominent position in Poland's history that it may overshadow all of it. I do not see such a risk, at least not in Poland. A nearest similar tendency, of higher probability, is the Holocaust *backshadowing* on pre-1939 history. I have seen visitors to the museum struggling to reconcile their knowledge of the Holocaust with the evidence of a lively social and cultural life of Polish Jews in the 1930s or with the view of a colorful synagogue built in the seventeenth century. Backshadowing hinders understanding of the people in the earlier periods, who could not have known the future that came later. Yes, in the late 1930s the power of Nazi Germany was growing, and antisemitism was on the rise in Poland, thus some kind of bad future for Polish Jews was in the making, but the genocide was not predetermined or unavoidable. Moreover, the total extermination, the killing of each and every Jew, was a radical innovation, for many people difficult to imagine and grasp even when it was actually taking place, which affected reactions to the Holocaust among both Jews and non-Jews.

We may consider the risks of overshadowing or backshadowing, but not a long time ago the real risk to a proper understanding of the Holocaust in Poland's history was the opposite: its marginalization. There were histories of twentieth-century Poland that barely mentioned Jews and their fate in World War II.[4] In communist Poland, especially after the "anti-Zionist campaign" of 1968, the genocide of the Jews was marginalized in official narratives, education and public memory.[5] The horrors committed by Nazi Germany were a central, if not the central part of communist Poland's official history and known to everyone. We learned at school and from innumerable commemorations that under German occupation Poland had lost six million people, proportionally more than any other country, and that the camp of Oświęcim (today better known under its German name Auschwitz) was the place of death of millions of innocent victims from all over Europe, but the information

4. Hanna Węgrzynek, "The Presentation of the Holocaust in Polish History Textbooks from 1945 to 2010," in *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1945–2010*, ed. Feliks Tych and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014). Up to 1968 important research on the Holocaust continued in small niches, especially at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

5. Jonathan Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003); Joanna Wawrzyniak, *Veterans, Victims, and Memory: The Politics of the Second World War in Communist Poland* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang 2015); Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Zofia Wóycicka, *Arrested Mourning: Memory of the Nazi Camps in Poland, 1944–1950* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014); John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, eds., *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

that more than half of Poland's human losses and ninety percent of the people killed in Auschwitz were Jews would have surprised many, if not most of Poles.[6]

Poland was by no means unique in this degree of ignorance. In comparison to the Soviet Union and other communist states, which made the organized oblivion of the Jewish tragedy a more coherent policy, it did not look bad. It was the place of substantial early efforts by Jewish historians and activists for documentation and commemoration, which produced thousands of documents that remain key for Holocaust historiography and monuments such as the above-mentioned Monument to the Ghetto Heroes, erected in 1948. Also Polish debates on Polish reactions to the Nazi anti-Jewish policy began already during the war; the debate in the Polish press stimulated by the Kielce pogrom of 1946 was probably the first debate of the reactions to the Holocaust in Europe.[7] Despite the suppression of the debates and marginalization of the Holocaust in official narratives since late 1940s, the Jews and their wartime fate were present in a number of outstanding Polish books, poems, films and monuments, as well as in private narratives of relatives and neighbors.[8] In the late 1980s, the eroding communist regime lessened some of the censorship restrictions, including those on Holocaust history, and some uncensored publications of the opposition Solidarity movement raised topics from Polish-Jewish history. This led in 1987 to a major public debate on Polish reactions to the Holocaust. Compared to the debates on the Holocaust that agitated Polish public opinion in the early twenty-first century, the so called Błoński debate of 1987 appears limited in scope and intensity, but in coming to terms with the past it made Poland stand

6. Marek Kucia, ed., *Antysemityzm, Holokaust, Auschwitz w badaniach społecznych* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ, 2011), mentions that in 1990s only 47–49 percent of respondents knew that Jews were the biggest group of victims of Auschwitz (p. 21); Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, "Holocaust Consciousness among Polish Youth after the 1989 Collapse of Communism," in *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1945–2010*, ed. Feliks Tych and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014).

7. Samuel Kassow, *Who will write our history?: Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes archive* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Natalia Aleksiun, "The Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland, 1944–1947," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* 20 (2007); Laura Jockusch, *Collect and record!: Jewish Holocaust documentation in early postwar Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Maryla Hopfinger and Tomasz Żukowski, eds., *Lata czterdzieste: początki polskiej narracji o Zagładzie* (Warsaw: Instytut Badan Literackich PAN, 2019); Dariusz Stola, „Reakcje, dyskusje, spory: polskie kontrowersje na temat Zagłady", forthcoming in: Adam Szymczyk, ed., *Taki pejzaż* (Warsaw: Krytyka Polityczna).

8. Sławomir Buryła, Dorota Krawczyńska, and Jacek Leociak, eds., *Literatura polska wobec Zgłady (1939–1968)* (Warsaw: IBL PAN, 2012); Piotr T. Kwiatkowski et al., eds., *Między codziennością a wielką historią. Druga wojna światowa w pamięci zbiorowej społeczeństwa polskiego* (Gdańsk-Warsaw: Scholar, 2010), 33.

out among the countries of Eastern Europe.[9] We may add that the marginal position of the Holocaust in public memory was not special to Eastern Europe either. Up to 1970s it was a minor topic almost everywhere. In the West this changed radically, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when the Holocaust acquired a central status in the public imagination of Europe's past. Poland's "coming back to Europe" in the 1990s meant, among other things, facing and responding to this new cultural, moral and political importance of the Holocaust in Europe's history.[10]

Since that time, we have seen substantial progress in historiography, commemoration and public awareness of the Holocaust in Poland. It has not been without regressions or distortions, but from the perspective of more than thirty years it appears quite remarkable. While it was most visible in eruptions of public controversies, especially in the debate following the publication of the Jan T. Gross book *Sąsiedzi* [Neighbors] in 2000, this change has been more than a series of separate events.[11] The development of new Polish scholarship on Zagłada (the Polish name for the Holocaust, similar in meaning to the Shoah in Hebrew), strong involvement of major media, public intellectuals and political leaders, expansion of Holocaust-related artistic production and, last but not least, widespread interest of the broader public—all these combined into a cumulative process changing perceptions and making the Holocaust an increasingly important part of Poland's history.[12] Although we can observe a backlash against this tendency in the last decade, it remains to be seen if it has reversed or just slowed down the process of the Holocaust moving

9. Antony Polonsky, ed., "*'My Brother's Keeper?'": Recent Polish Debates on the Holocaust* (London, 1989); Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead*; Piotr Forecki, *Reconstructing Memory: The Holocaust in Polish Public Debates* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2013); Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Jan Olaszek, "Postawy i zachowania Polaków wobec Żydów w czasie okupacji niemieckiej w publikacjach drugiego obiegu w PRL," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, no. 15 (2019).

10. Alon Confino, *Foundational Pasts: The Holocaust as Historical Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

11. Jan Tomasz Gross, *Sąsiedzi. Historia zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka* (Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000).

12. Forecki, *Reconstructing Memory;* Antony Polonsky and Joanna B. Michlic, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, 2004); Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland* (Chicago, 2009); Joanna Michlic and Małgorzata Melchior, "The Memory of the Holocaust in Post-1989 Poland: Renewal—Its Accomplishments and Its Powerlessness," in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light*, ed. John-Paul Himka and Joanna Michlic (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). On historiography see Natalia Aleksiun, "Polish Historiography of the Holocaust—between Silence and Public Debate," *German History* 22, no. 3 (2004); Dan Michman and Daniel Blatman articles in *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*.

from the margins towards a more central position in perceptions and understandings of Poland's twentieth century.[13]

We may add that Poland is not alone in having a problematic relation between its history and the history of the Holocaust. In his study on *Historians of the Jews and the Holocaust*, David Engel has pointed to "a wall separating study of the Holocaust from study of all other aspects of the Jewish past," visible in the strikingly small number of Holocaust-related articles in many leading Jewish history journals in the Unites States and Israel, or the limited interest of Jewish history in Holocaust research that focused on perpetrators.[14] The relations between historians and historiographies of Poland and of the Holocaust would be a fascinating topic of research. It is waiting for analysis.

In my opinion the two histories under consideration are inseparable and mutually dependent. Their historiographies need each other, and progress in these historiographies may be synergic. I will present below a few reasons why I believe that the Holocaust is part of Poland's history to a greater extent than of any other European country and thus requires greater attention in the historiography of Poland's twentieth century, but let me start with a comment from the other perspective. Omer Bartov, a leading Holocaust scholar, has stressed that Eastern Europe was "not merely the site of the Holocaust in the physical sense that most of Europe's Jews lived there and were murdered there. It was and remains the heart of the Holocaust in that it was where Jewish and Christian civilizations formed a long, though troubled, tradition of living side by side, and where that social and cultural fabric was ultimately shattered."[15] These words apply to Poland in particular.

First, the Holocaust belongs to Poland's history because most of its victims had belonged to Poland. As prewar Poland had the biggest Jewish population of Europe and Nazi policies in Eastern Europe were most radical and unrestrained, Polish citizens made more than three million out of the almost six million people whom Nazis and their collaborators killed as Jews.[16] Polish Jews were victims of the most brutal persecution since the first days of war and were the first targets of the most lethal policies at three stages of the unfolding "Final Solution": ghettoization, mass shooting and industrial killing in the death camps.

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13. The backlash culminated in 2018 with the legislation to penalize some statements on Polish complicity in the Nazi crimes, and the controversies that followed. On its origins and nature see Piotr Forecki, *Po Jedwabnem: anatomia pamięci funkcjonalnej* (Warsaw: IBL, 2018).

14. David Engel, *Historians of the Jews and the Holocaust* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). The book evoked a lively discussion.

15. Omer Bartov, "Eastern Europe as the Site of Genocide," *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 3 (2008): 593.

16. Estimates of Poland's Jewish population in 1939 vary between 3.3 and 3.45 million, to which we should add persons whom Nazis defined as Jews because of Jewish origin and those born under German occupation, which may increase the total to 3.5 million, of whom only some 350,000 survived the war, mostly in the Soviet interior.

Second, the Holocaust makes an inseparable part of Poland's history by location: the extermination took place predominantly in the territory of occupied Poland, where the great majority of the ghettos were established, where hundreds of local executions took place, and where the Nazis built all their centers of industrial killing: Auschwitz, Bełżec, Chełmno, Sobibór, and Treblinka. To these places they brought hundreds of thousands of Jews deported from all over Hitler-dominated Europe, from Norway to Greece. Thanks to the opening of the East European archives in the 1990s and programs to collect accounts of eyewitness still alive, historians got access to a mass of Holocaust-related sources from the region, which helped them realize some of the so far neglected aspects of the topic, such as the "Holocaust by bullets" and local pogroms. This gradually brought the focus on Eastern Europe into the mainstream of Holocaust research and produced a kind of "spatial turn" in this field of study, that is, greater attention paid to the significance of the spatial proximity of people and events. This has highlighted the multiple consequences of the grim geographic concentration of the killing in Poland and other East European "bloodlands."[17]

Third, spatial proximity produces implication(s): a consequence of the concentration was that the non-Jewish inhabitants of these lands were the largest and closest group of observers of the killing, especially as it was far more visible than elsewhere in Europe. Contrary to countries from which the trains with Jews departed ostensibly "for resettlement in the East," hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews were shot on the spot or perished in local ghettos and camps, that is, often in the sight of their non-Jewish neighbors. Because the persecution of Jews lasted from the first to the last days of a very long German occupation, also the time when their terrible fate was visible was longer than anywhere else. Consequently, the knowledge of the fate of the Jews was universal, often direct and at times intimate. Ethnic Poles, as well as Belarusians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, became the largest groups of non-Jewish eyewitnesses to the Holocaust.[18] Whether they wanted it or not (and most did not), this proximity made many of them involved in the unfolding drama. Some of them took an active part, contributing either to the destruction or to the survival of the Jews, directly or indirectly, or took property of the dead or deported Jews. Such actions have attracted growing attention of scholars and the public opinion especially in the last two decades, since the above-mentioned debate on the 1941 killing

17. Bartov, "Eastern Europe as the Site of Genocide"; Waitman Wade Beorn, *The Holocaust in Eastern Europe: At the Epicenter of the Final Solution* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018); Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

18. Natalia Aleksiun, "Intimate Violence: Jewish Testimonies on Victims and Perpetrators in Eastern Galicia," *Holocaust Studies* 23, no. 1–2 (2017); Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2018); see also Hannah Maischein, "The Historicity of the Witness: The Polish Relationship to Jews and Germans in the Polish Memory Discourse of the Holocaust," in *Jews and Germans in Eastern Europe. Shared and Comparative Histories*, ed. Tobias Grill (Oldenburg: De Gruyter, 2018).

of Jews, largely by their Polish neighbors, in the town of Jedwabne.[19] Scholars have paid increasing attention also to inaction, which could have been consequential too. Their analysis is highly required to understand the majority of non-Jews, who remained passive or did not leave any evidence of their actions, and equally difficult, as any reasoning out of silence is. On the one hand, the passive failure to help, be it by refusing shelter or just turning one's eye from a begging child, reduced the Jewish escapees' chances of survival and could break their will to try. On the other hand, from the Nazi perspective some forms of passivity were acts of disobedience; German decrees harshly penalized not only any help extended to the Jews but also the failure to report on Jews spotted outside the ghetto.[20] It is only in recent years that scholars have tried to analyze systematically the actions and inactions of the onlookers, and to find for them terms more adequate than "bystander."[21]

Fourth, if we measure the significance of an event by its consequences, the Holocaust seems to be among Poland's most consequential events of the twentieth century. It took millions of human lives, each of them invaluable. Because prewar Poland had the biggest Jewish community in Europe in absolute and relative terms, the demographic, economic, political or cultural consequences of their almost complete destruction must have been greater than anywhere else. The losses resulting from discontinuation of the Jewish contribution to local economies or culture are most difficult to estimate. In Poland, these difficulties are enormous, because the genocide of Jews coincided with massive human and material losses among non-Jews, followed by large territorial changes and mass population transfers (not to

19. Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018); Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Zarys krajobrazu. Wieś polska wobec Zagłady Żydów, 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds. *Prowincja noc: życie i Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2007). On the Jedwabne debate see endnotes 11 and 12 above.

20. The Nazi occupation regime included an elaborate system of terror, rewards, and collective responsibility, which was to enforce the regulations by setting the population against the Jews and those who helped them. See Tomasz Frydel, "Reassessing the Role of Ordinary Poles as Perpetrators in the Holocaust," in *Perpetrators and Perpetration of Mass Violence: Action, Motivations and Dynamics*, ed. Timothy Williams and Susanne Buckley-Zistel (New York: Routledge, 2018).

21. Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu*; Jan Grabowski, "The Role of "'Bystanders'" in the Implementation of the "'Final Solution'" in Occupied Poland," *Yad Vashem Studies* 43 (2015); Karolina Koprowska, *Postronni? Zagłada w relacjach chłopskich świadków* (Kraków: Uniwersitas, 2018); Justyna Kowalska-Leder, "Niewidoczni świadkowie Zagłady—biedni Polacy patrzą na Polaków," *Teksty Drugie*, no. 3 (2018); Ewa Koźmińska-Frejlak, "Świadkowie Zagłady—Holocaust jako zbiorowe doświadczenie Polaków," *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 49, no. 2 (2000); Roma Sendyka, "Od obserwatorów do gapiów. Kategoria bystanders i analiza wizualna," *Teksty Drugie*, no. 3 (2018); "Poświadek, przeciw-postronny i (niczyja) trauma," *Widok. Teorie i praktyki kultury wizualnej*, no. 18 (2017).

mention the imposition of the communist regime afterwards). Consequences of these cataclysmic events are difficult to separate from each other; the Poland of 1939 and the Poland a decade later differ so much that comparing them is problematic in itself. A best example of these difficulties is the adequate estimate of Poland's total human losses, which seventy-five years after the war we do not have yet.[22]

Assessing the consequences of the Holocaust, including the long-term or indirect ones, will thus remain a challenge, but we need to try, to ask questions. What was the impact of the Holocaust on a country where Jews had made up half of all medical doctors, a third of the urban population and a major part of the entrepreneurial and creative classes? What was this impact on a town where Jews had been half of the population, all shoemakers, tailors and bakers? What changed in the minds and hearts of people who had seen their Jewish neighbors being cruelly killed (sometimes with other neighbors' participation), and to local communities where many such people lived?[23] Were former collaborators in the Nazi persecution of Jews staunch anticommunists or eager to cooperate with the postwar communist government? What were the consequences: social, legal or moral, of the transfer of remaining Jewish property in localities where most of the property had belonged to Jews? If we find even partial answers to some of such questions, we will better understand the consequences, hence the significance of the Holocaust in Poland's history.[24]

22. The best-known figure of six million twenty-eight thousand was not only invented by the communists for propaganda purposes but was not an estimate of the losses of Poland, i.e., the country attacked by Germany in September 1939. It took into account ethnic Poles and Jews only, excluding Ukrainians, Belorussians, etc., who had made more than twenty percent of the prewar population. See Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota, eds., *Polska 1939–1945: straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami* (Warsaw: IPN, 2009), 14, 43–50.

23. For an interesting hypothesis on the psychological consequences of watching the Holocaust see Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead*, 56–58. Applicable may also be the concept of "moral injury," see Brett Litz et al., "Moral injury and moral repair in war veterans: A preliminary model and intervention strategy," *Clinical psychology review* 29, no. 8 (2009); Hazel Atuel et al., "Exploring Moral Injury: Theory, Measurement, and Applications," *Military Behavioral Health* (2020).

24. An interesting investigation of such consequences for local communities in former Galicia is provided by Anna Wylegała, "The Void Communities: Towards a New Approach to the Early Post-War in Poland and Ukraine," *East European Politics and Societies* (forthcoming) https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325420914972.