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**POLITICAL MIGRATIONS IN POLAND
1939-1948**

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I. Political and administrative changes on the occupied territory of Poland between 1939 and 1945

When starting the presentation of the population movements, which took place in Poland in the years of the World War II and in the period immediately after the war, we should first precisely consider the territorial questions, associated with the changes of the political and administrative boundaries. At the instant of the outbreak of the World War II Poland existed within entirely different boundaries than when it reappeared on the map of Europe after the war, following the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam. In such a situation a difficult problem arises of defining the boundaries of the territorial reference unit, which will be appropriate for the study and statistical assessments concerning spatial movements of the population. In order to account for all the migration movements we should consider the situation both on the lands that Poland lost, and on those that it gained due to the political changes brought about by the World War II. Hence, when we speak of Polish Lands, in various phases of the war, we must as a rule account for the entire territory contained between the eastern border of pre-war Poland, established by the Treaty of Riga, and the western border of the post-war Poland, determined at the Potsdam Conference. This means that we admit as the reference unit a very vast territory. It encompasses, namely, the entire area of the pre-war Poland, that is – 389,700 sq. km in 1939, and the areas acquired in 1945 at the expense of Germany, the so-called Regained Lands, of 102,700 sq. km. Thus, the analysis concerns altogether the area of 492,400 sq. km. During the entire period of war important movements of population were taking place on this whole territory. They were mainly of forced nature and took the form of resettlements or deportations. These forced movements concerned largely the population of Polish nationality, but Jews, Germans or Ukrainians were subject to them as well.

The migration processes were taking place during the entire period of military activities, but due to the changing military situation they were characterised by instability in time and space. Their scale, intensity and directions changed. These various movements of population were connected with the shifts of the political and administrative boundaries. Each and every consecutive definition of the zones of influence, or of the administrative and political divisions among the different levels of the occupational authorities entailed selective migrations of population. The military defeat of the Third Reich and the determination of the geographical shape of Poland by the victorious powers brought the consecutive large migration waves, leading ultimately to the ethnic homogenisation of this part of the Central-Eastern Europe.

The particular parts of this vast territory, stretching from the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers in the West to the border defined by the Treaty of Riga in the East, were subject during the war to the changing geopolitical and military influences. Almost every region, composing the territory considered, had in different phases of war a different political-administrative status. This would bring various consequences for the population inhabiting a given region, depending upon the nationality, language and religion of the inhabitants. Without cognition of the ethnic structure of this territory and the detailed consideration of all the border shifts one could hardly explain and assess the population movements taking place in that period with various intensity and timing across space.

The fate of this vast territory was first decided by the Soviet-Nazi agreements. Conform to the agreement concluded on 23 August 1939 Polish lands were split into two parts. The designed demarcation line went along the river San downstream to Vistula, then along Vistula to Bug-Narew, upstream Narew and its tributary Pisa to the pre-war boundary of East Prussia. This design was changed as a result of the new Soviet-German pact signed on 28 September in Moscow. Ultimately, the territory of Poland was divided in such a way that 201,000 sq. km were incorporated into the USSR, while 188,700 sq. km fell under the Nazi occupation (see Table 1 and Fig. 1).

Table 1. *Division of the territory of Poland between USSR and Germany in the years 1939-1941*

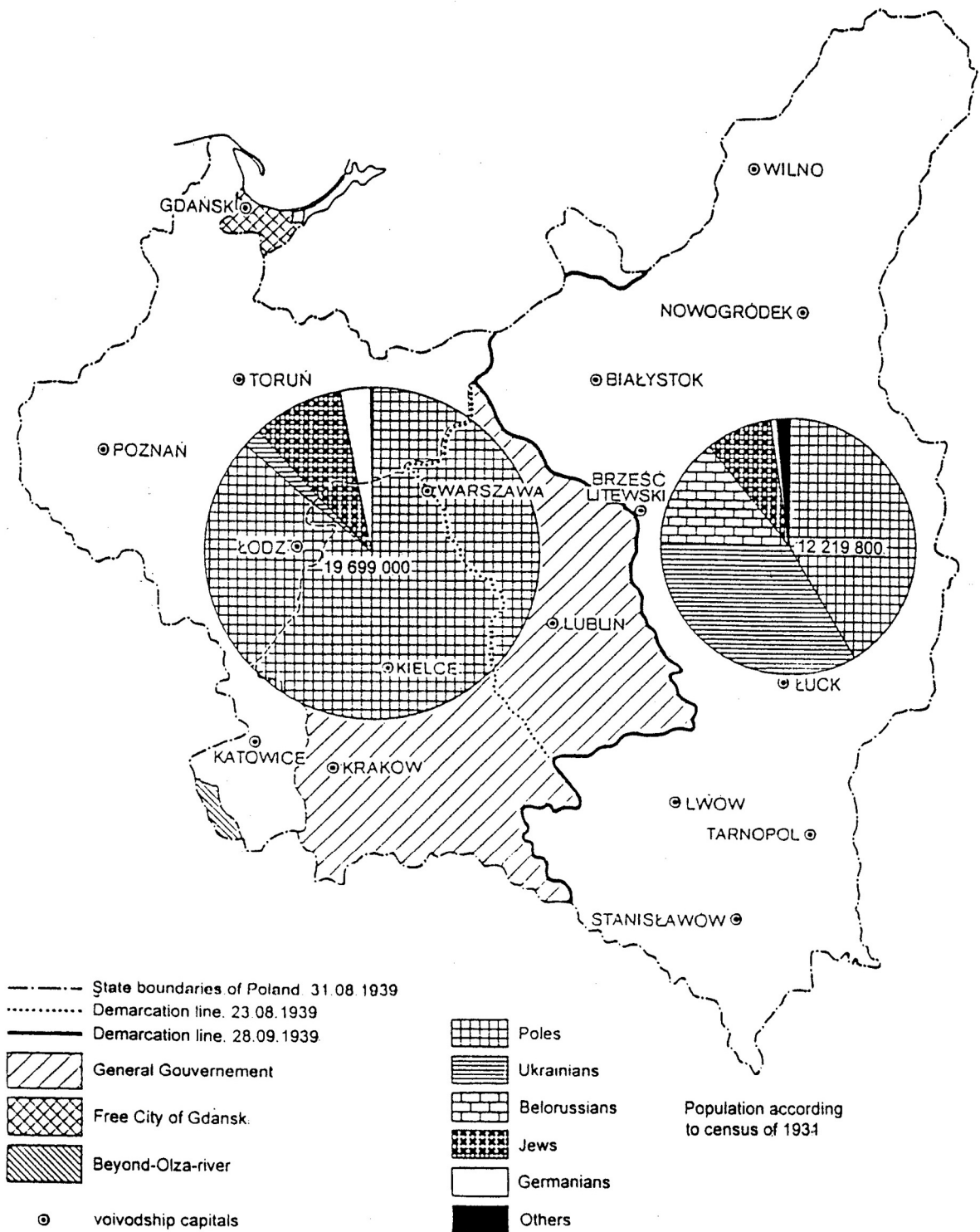
Occupied territories Division as of 1 January 1941	Surface area		Population in 1939	
	in '000 sq. km	in %	in '000	in %
Poland	389.7	100.0	35,339	100.0
Areas under Nazi occupation, divided into:	188.7	48.4	22,140	62.7
- the Reich	92.5	23.7	10,568	30.0
- the General Governorship	95.5	24.5	11,542	32.6
- Slovakia	0.7	0.2	30	0.1
Areas under Soviet occupation, divided into:	201.0	51.6	13,199	37.3
- Lithuanian SSR	8.3	2.1	537	1.5
- Belarussian SSR	103.0	26.5	4,733	13.4
- Ukrainian SSR	89.7	23.0	7,929	22.4

Source: *Mały Rocznik...*, p.5.

The demarcation line started in the South at the upper course of the river San, in the vicinity of Uzh Pass in Eastern Carpathians, then followed San downstream, leaving on the Soviet side the locality of Ustrzyki Dolne, and on the German side – Ustrzyki Górne. Following San further downstream of Ustrzyki, the course of the border allowed for the incorporation of the right-bank town of Przemyśl in the Soviet part. Close to Sieniawa the occupation divide left San and reached via a straight line Krystynopol, located on river Bug. Then, the border followed the course of the river Bug and reached the locality of Nur, situated between Sokołów Podlaski and Zambrów. At this place it went away from Bug and reached as a straight line the river Narew close to the town of Ostrołęka. Then, the border followed northwards Narew up to its tributary of Pisa and farther up North reached the pre-war boundary with East Prussia to the North of Kolno. Additionally, as a result of a special plea from Ribbentrop, the Soviet Union ceded to Germany the region of Suwałki with the towns of Suwałki and Sejny (Bregman 1987, p. 80). The demarcation line went parallel to the longitude on this segment, in the direct vicinity of Augustów, which remained on the Soviet side. The further course of events made this border last only between 28 September 1939 and 22 June 1941. Determination of this border had not just political significance, but brought also demographic consequences. The fates of the population on both sides of the border were different. Division of the country into two parts caused important population movements. They took place not only between the two parts, but the occupants conducted, as well, within their respective zones, actions aiming at removal from definite areas of the inhabitants, who were considered unfit for various reasons: racial, ethnic, class or economic ones.

The territory annexed by the Soviet Union was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) – 89,700 sq. km, the Byelorussian SSR – 103,000 sq. km, and the Lithuanian SSR – 8,300 sq. km. Significant political and administrative changes took place on the areas occupied by the German Reich. Thus, based on the Hitler's decrees of October 1939 new administrative breakdown was introduced on these territories. The decree of 8 October 1939 brought the incorporation of Pomerania, Greater Poland, Silesia, Cuiavia, Płock Masovia, Dąbrowa Coal Basin, the major part of the Lodz province, as well as parts of Kielce and Cracow provinces into the German Reich. A separate by-law stipulated the inclusion of the county of Suwałki into the Regency of Gąbin (East Prussia).

Fig. 1. Division of the territory of Poland between USSR and Germany in years 1939-1941



This area, incorporated into the Reich, was divided into large units, lands or provinces, subdivided into regencies. In the northern part of the area the land of West Prussia was established (*Reichsgau Westpreussen*), whose name was afterwards changed to Gdańsk-West Prussia (*Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen*). This area was divided into three regencies: Gdańsk, Kwidzyn and Bydgoszcz. Total surface area was equal 26,056 sq. km, of which 21,237 sq. km was the former Polish territory. The

second land, established on the territory incorporated to the Reich, was initially called Land of Poznań (*Reichsgau Posen*), to be then renamed to the Land of Warta river (*Reichsgau Wartheland*). This land encompassed the area of the Polish region of Greater Poland. In the subsequent phase this land was extended by addition of the counties of Gostynin, Kutno, Łask, Łódź with the city of Łódź, and Łęczyca, as well as the western parts of the counties of Brzeziny, Piotrków and Radomsko. After these administrative changes the Land of Warta had the area of 43,942 sq. km and was divided into three regencies: Poznań, Inowrocław and Łódź (Łuczak 1993, pp.94-95). The remaining Polish territories, annexed to the Reich, located in the southern part, were included in the Silesian province (*Provinz Oberschlesien*). A part of them was incorporated in the regency of Opole, while the rest formed the regency of Katowice. Besides, the northern counties of the region of Masovia were incorporated in East Prussia. A new regency was formed out of them, having the surface area of 16,144 sq. km, with the capital in Ciechanów.

The eastern boundary of the area included in the German Reich stretched from the Slovak border to the East of Żywiec, then crossed the river Vistula between Cracow and Oświęcim, turned towards the North, passed in the direct vicinity of Częstochowa, leaving the town on the eastern side of the border. Then it went northwards, approaching Vistula close to Wyszogród. The areas around Wieluń, Sieradz, Zduńska Wola, Brzeziny, Głowno, Kutno, and the city of Łódź, were also incorporated in the Reich. Close to the confluence of Bzura and Vistula the border turned perpendicularly to the East, reaching Nowy Dwór and Serock. Farther on it went in parallel to the river Narew, attaining in the neighbourhood of Ostrołęka the Soviet-German demarcation line. The farther course of the border along Narew and Pisa was identical with the demarcation line dividing the two occupied parts of Poland.

With the consecutive decree of 12 October 1939 the German authorities established the position of General Governor for the occupied areas encompassing the central part of Poland, located between the new eastern border of the German Reich, and the boundary line having appeared owing to the agreement between Ribbentrop and Molotov. Thus, the so-called General Gouvernement was created, commonly referred to as General Governorship. Its eastern border was constituted on the entire length by the Soviet-German demarcation line. This particular decree made yet an explicit reference to the occupied territories of Poland. With the subsequent decree, of 15 August 1940, even this reference disappeared. The words “occupied Polish territories” were omitted, and only the term “General Gouvernement” was used. From the legal point of view this meant that starting with 15 August 1940 the Third German Reich treated Polish lands as ultimately conquered and incorporated into its territory.

According to the estimates the population number of Poland as of 31 August 1939, on the eve of the World War II, was at 35,339,000. The areas occupied by the German Reich were inhabited by 22,140,000 persons, while the Soviet zone – by 13,199,000 persons (*Mały Rocznik...* 1941, p. 5). In the western part the population of Polish nationality and Polish language dominated, while in the zone occupied by the Soviet Union the ethnic structure was highly complex. Despite the fact that altogether the non-Polish population dominated, there were many Poles, who played on these areas quite a significant demographic, social and economic role. That is why just after having incorporated eastern Poland the Soviet authorities started the action aiming at de-Polonisation of these areas. With the aim of achieving these objectives the deportations and persecutions of Polish population were soon started.

The German occupational authorities conducted different policies with respect to the population inhabiting the areas included in the Reich, and with respect to the population living in General Governorship. This fact had significant demographic consequences. On the areas incorporated into the Reich it was intended to liquidate the Polish element in national terms. On the territory of the General Governorship, in turn, this was to take place at a later date. That is why the resettlements of the population on the areas incorporated into the Reich had bigger dimensions and were carried out more ruthlessly.

The German-Soviet conflict changed diametrically the political situation. In the time period of just a dozen days all the former provinces of the pre-war Poland found themselves under German occupation. The demarcation line established on September 28th, 1939, ceased to exist. The Nazi

authorities introduced new administrative divisions on the newly occupied areas. Thus, the decision of 1 August 1941 stipulated that the former Polish provinces of Stanisławów and Tarnopol, as well as the eastern part of the former province of Lwów with the city of Lwów (L'viv) itself were incorporated into the General Governorship. A new district, called Galicia, was formed out of these territories. The pre-war province of Białystok, and the north-eastern counties of the province of Warsaw, occupied since September 1939 by the Soviets, were incorporated, after having been taken over by the Wehrmacht, directly into the Reich. The remaining eastern lands of the Polish Commonwealth¹ (the regions of Volhynia and Polesie) were included in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine, while the regions of Vilna and Nowogródek – in the Reich Commissariat East (*Ostland*).

The subsequent political and administrative changes were associated with the military catastrophe of Germany, the marching of the Soviet army into Poland, and the decisions of the superpowers taken in Teheran and in Yalta (the eastern boundary of Poland), as well as in Potsdam (western boundary of Poland).

The new, post-war Polish eastern border was determined approximately according to the so-called Curzon Line. It divided in the North the pre-war province of Białystok in such a way that two counties (Grodno and Wołkowysk) were incorporated in the Byelorussian SSR. On the other hand the western part of the Białystok province and the three north-eastern counties of the Warsaw province became an integral part of Poland. Along this segment of the border a significant shift eastwards took place with respect to the demarcation line established in the agreement concluded in September 1939 by Ribbentrop and Molotov. The central part of the new eastern border of Poland went along the river Bug. Over this segment it was the same as the eastern boundary of the General Governorship. There were some small changes with respect to the demarcation line in the southern part. Thus, of the pre-war Lwów (L'viv) province Poland regained the county of Lubaczów, a large part of the Jarosław county, the county of Przemyśl with the city of Przemyśl, partly the county of Dobromil, and small parts of the counties of Sokal, Rawa Ruska and Jaworów. This territory was inhabited in 1939 by altogether 1,342,800 persons. The new Polish-Soviet border was finally established at the Moscow conference on 16 August 1945. Thus, a new dividing line was established, crossing the territory of the pre-war Poland, this line having become the eastern boundary of Poland. The entire area to the East of the line was incorporated in the USSR. This fact brought highly significant consequences for the population living to the East of the new political divide. These people, namely, lost their Polish citizenship. The so-called repatriation agreements were signed between Poland and the Soviet Union with the aim of ethnic unification of the areas situated on both sides of the Curzon line, making it possible for the Polish, Ukrainian, and Belarusian population to move across the border.

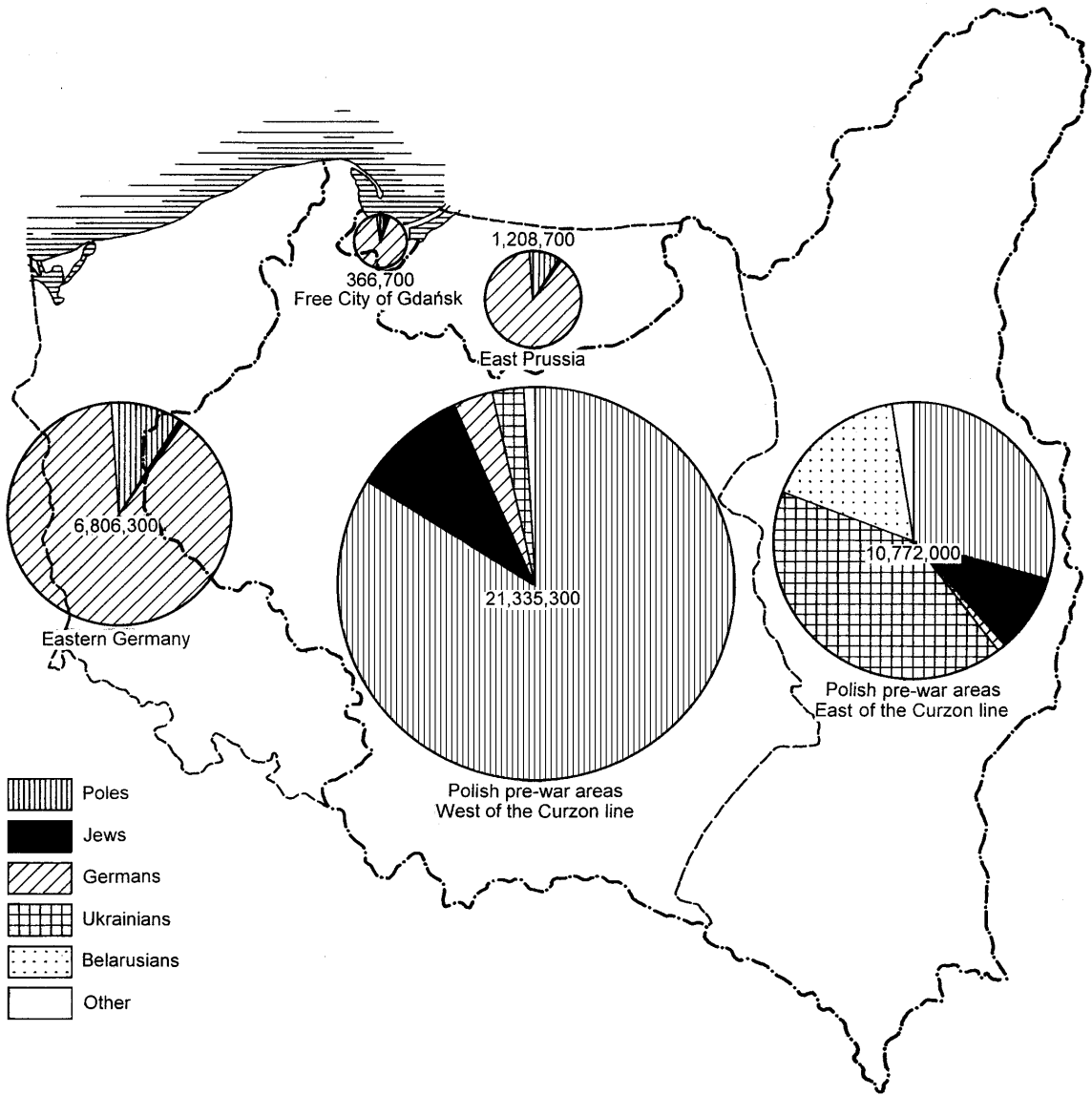
The very significant territorial losses of Poland in the East were compensated for with the gains in the West, at the expense of Germany. Yet, despite this compensation the total area of Poland decreased from 389,700 sq. km to 312,600 sq. km. The new western and northern boundaries of Poland were determined on the basis of decisions taken by the three victorious powers. Germany lost to Poland the areas situated between the Polish-German border established in Versailles after the World War I and the new border on the Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers. These were the areas of the entire regencies of Opole (Oppeln), Wrocław (Breslau), Koszalin (Köslin), and large parts of the regencies of Szczecin (Stettin), Frankfurt (on Odra river), and Legnica (Liegnitz). Besides, Poland gained the entire territory of the Free City of Gdańsk (Danzig), as well as the southern part of East Prussia (the regencies of Olsztyn and Kwidzyn, and the southern parts of the regencies of Królewiec [Königsberg, Kaliningrad], and Gąbin).

This large territory was inhabited in 1931 by 8,381,700 persons, and then in 1939 – by 8,855,000 persons (Dziewoński, Kosiński 1967, p. 54). Except for the western part of Upper Silesia, the eastern part of the region of Opole, and a part of Warmia and Masuria, the rest of this area had a uniform German character. The decision was taken at the Potsdam conference by the victorious powers of

¹ Polish language uses, with respect to Poland, and the historical Polish-Lithuanian state, the translation of the Latin *Res publica* – that is: *Rzeczpospolita*, which, translated back literally to English would be: *The common thing*. We chose to use the term *Commonwealth* known in English language, which bears largely the same meaning and derives from the same origin. The notion of 2nd Commonwealth is commonly used to refer to Poland of between-the-world-wars (transl.).

resettling the entire German population having inhabited the area that fell to Poland after the World War II. This decision, of enormous consequences, was carried out. The statistical data presented show that the territory bounded on the East by the Polish-Soviet border determined in the Treaty of Riga of 1921 and on the West by the new, post-war western border of Poland, stretching along the Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers, was inhabited in 1931 by 40,489,000 persons, and in 1939 – by 44,194,000 persons of Polish, German or the Free City of Gdańsk citizenship (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Ethnic structure of the areas situated between the eastern boundary of Poland as of 1939 and the western boundary of Poland as of 1946, according to the ethnic status of 1931



The fate of this entire population during the World War II was dramatic. Enormous masses of people inhabiting this territory were subject to extermination or deportations. Millions of people, not having changed their residence, became the citizens of another state.

The demographic losses were selective in ethnic terms. The most acute were the losses of the Jewish population, which was almost entirely exterminated due to the planned holocaust undertaken by the Nazi authorities. Large losses were also suffered by the Polish and German populations. A significant part of the population, who survived the hardships and the dramatic events of the war, was

forced to abandon their places of residence. This kind of exodus affected in a particular manner the German population, but a lot of Poles, as well, due to the border shifts, were subject to important resettlement actions. The great migration waves, taking place during the decade of 1939-1949, had a diversified temporal course. The intensity of population movements, taking various forms (resettlement, expulsion, flight, deportation), changed depending upon the military situation and the decisions of authorities in power at a given time instant. Migrations affected in various phases of war people of different ethnic, national or religious origins. All these are apparently known things, but as we pass over to systematic assessment, and especially to quantitative estimations, it turns out that our knowledge is quite limited. There exist numerous myths and false convictions in this domain, functioning in a persistent manner in the social consciousness. On the other hand, the literature of the subject contains numerous analytical elaborates concerning the detailed issues, while the quantified synthetic reports are missing. In addition, the problem was mainly taken up by the historians, for whom the spatial and demographic dimensions were of lesser importance. That is why it appears to be purposeful to carry out a statistical geographical assessment of all the more important migrations of political character, which took place on the Polish lands in the period of World War II. Not all of these population movements can be precisely quantified. Interpretation of these movements may also be ambiguous. Yet, it is beyond doubt that these “great wanderings of the peoples” changed completely the demographic and ethnic situation of Poland.

II. Population movements on the Polish lands in the years 1939-1948

1. Movements of population caused by the September Defensive Campaign of 1939

The aggression from the side of the Nazi Germany, followed by the invasion by the Soviet Army, triggered off immediately mass movements of the population. In the first phase of the German-Polish war thousands of people, residing in western and central Poland, started a spontaneous flight before the approaching German army. In view of the very rapid advancement of the front line the evacuation action soon ended and the population started to return to their places of residence. It is estimated that during the five-week military operations some 66,000 Polish soldiers were killed. The losses among the civilian population have not been estimated until today. Essential migration-related consequences were brought about by the establishment of the demarcation line, dividing the areas under the German and Soviet occupation.

The movements of the population across the demarcation line were distinctly selective. Jewish population would largely escape to the East, fearing the German persecutions. On the other hand, the persons moving towards the West were mainly Poles, especially the representatives of the owning class who feared repression from the side of the Soviet occupants. The scale of these movements is hard to estimate, since various sources quote different values. Conform to the not too precise Soviet data some 300,000 persons having lived before on the areas occupied by the Third Reich moved to the Soviet occupation zone. On the other hand, the demarcation line was crossed from the eastern side by several dozen thousand people.

The approaching collapse of the Polish state, and in a particular manner the news that the Red Army marched into the territory of the Commonwealth, brought about a wave of emigrations to the neutral countries, neighbouring with Poland, and not involved in the conflict, that is – to Romania, Hungary, Lithuania and Latvia.

In the early morning hours of 18 September 1939 the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, Polish Government and the Commander-in-Chief, Marshall Edward Śmigły-Rydz, crossed the Polish-Romanian border. Polish authorities were interned. At the same time, masses of migrants as well as regular Polish troops started to flow into Romania. According to the state as of 22 September 1939 there were 20,845 Polish military in Romania (including 1,259 officers and 19,586 privates). Some sources estimate that approximately 30,000 Polish soldiers found refuge in Romania in September 1939, including the entire staff of the chief headquarters. There were 9,276 persons of airforce staff, with 1,491 air officers (Willame 1981, pp.77-78). Polish soldiers and civilian population have been

moving into Romania until the end of October. According to the data of the Polish Red Cross the flight of some 40 thousand Polish civilians from Poland was recorded. It is difficult to establish the precise number of Poles having crossed the Polish-Romanian border. The estimates vary, ranging between 50 and 100 thousand refugees (with 30 to 60 thousand soldiers in this number).

The Romanian authorities organised special camps for Polish soldiers. One of the first such camps, meant for 20,000 soldiers, was the one in Țirgoviște. Thereafter, smaller camps were established – in Tirgu-Jiu, Corcal, Slatina, Calafat, Pistra, Corabia, Halmei etc. Poles treated their stay in Romania as a transitory one and started to organise planned as well as spontaneous evacuation from Romania, trying to get over various routes to France. Until the end of October 3,842 military left Romania. Then, until December 31st, 1939, altogether 11,457 persons left Romania in an organised manner, while in January – 4,145 persons. Hence, in February 1940 only 7,271 of the Polish interned military staff remained in Romanian camps (Willaume 1981, p. 81).

The military catastrophe of Poland brought about also a mass flight to the friendly Hungary. Thus, several full Polish military detachments crossed the then Polish-Hungarian border. These were, in particular, the 10th Armoured Cavalry Brigade, a part of the 11th Carpathian Division, the complete detachments of the 3rd Brigade of Mountain Fusiliers, and so on. They were disarmed and interned. The mass exodus of Poles lasted until the middle of October 1939. The number of Polish refugees, both military and civil ones, who came to Hungary, is hard to establish. The estimates range between 50,000 and 110,000, and reach even 140,000. It can be expected that the lower estimates are closer to reality (Wieliczko 1977, p. 92). Similarly as in Romania, the action started of evacuation of the Polish military to France or to the Middle East. Until June 1940 as many as 21,000 of the military staff left Hungary (of whom – in March 1940: 3,967 persons, and in April: 4,461 persons). The remaining ones either stayed in Hungary over the entire period of war, or were transported to Germany, or returned during the occupation to Poland.

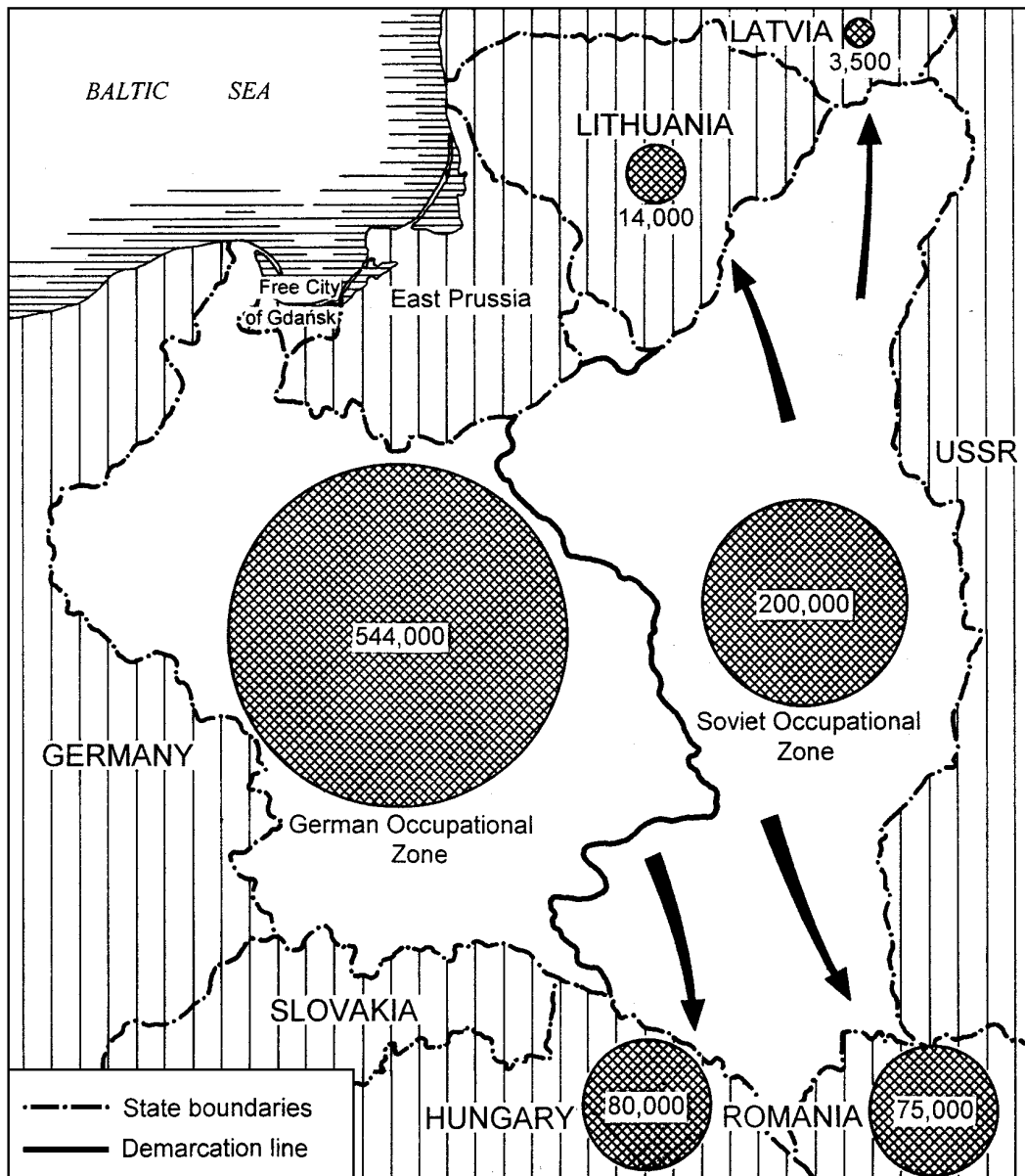
Crossing of the Polish-Lithuanian border by the military and civil refugees started on September 17th, 1939, and lasted until the end of September. The first information on the number of Poles interned by the Lithuanian authorities is dated 26th September 1939. At that time there were 12,767 Polish soldiers in the transitory camps, of whom 2,487 officers and 500 police officers. The number of interned did not change much. According to the data of the Lithuanian Red Cross 14,000 persons were interned. During the subsequent months the number of the interned decreased (Vilkialis 1995, p. 317). A part of those interned in Lithuania returned on their own will to their permanent residence locations in the Soviet zone (1,700 soldiers) and in the German zone (1,600 soldiers). Some 3,000 of the interned escaped from the camps. After Lithuania had been taken over by the Red Army there were still 4,373 interned Polish military, who were transported to the Soviet Union (Vilkialis 1995, p. 321).

In view of the peripheral location of this segment of the border, the least number of Polish citizens came to neutral Latvia as the result of the defeat in the September war. Some 3-4 thousand soldiers and several thousand civil refugees from the region of Vilna crossed the border with Latvia. Their fates differed considerably. Only few were able to make it to Sweden. After the Red Army marched in numerous military were transported to the Soviet camps. A group of the civil persons returned to Poland. The remaining ones found jobs in Latvia.

It is difficult to give a precise number of the overall number of Polish refugees, who stayed for a shorter or longer period after the September campaign in the four neutral countries, neighbouring upon Poland. The most probable estimates oscillate around the number of 150,000. This number included to a large extent officers and privates of the Polish army, whose later fates were highly dramatic. A large part of them were evacuated – owing to the efforts of the Polish government in exile – at the turn of the year 1940 to France (some 40 thousand) or the Middle East – to Syria, Palestine and Cyprus (some 8 thousand). More than ten thousand military succeeded in making their way in an unofficial manner to the West from Hungary, Romania and the Baltic States. Some 6 thousand persons returned to Poland. The remaining ones (roughly 20 thousand), after the German army entered the respective countries, were transported to the POW camps in Germany (Piesowicz 1988b, p. 95).

According to estimates, at the turn of October 1939 there were some 744,000 POWs from the Polish army, taken prisoners by the Germans and the Soviets. Of those, roughly 200,000 were taken by the Red Army. Thus, if we account for the refugees, who made it to the neutral countries, some 900,000 young men found themselves in a very difficult situation, far from their places of residence, owing to the defeat in the September campaign (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Polish military taken prisoners of war by the Germans and Soviets, as well as refugees to the neutral countries after the defeat of September 1939



According to Polish data the number of Polish POWs taken by the Germans was 420,000 – officers and privates. Conform to the official German documentation the number of the Polish military taken prisoners would be 694,000, of whom around 30 thousand officers. Some 10,000 of these POWs died of wounds after being taken prisoners. Then, 140,000 of them were released. Hence, altogether 544,000 military of the former Polish army remained POWs of the Germans (Pollack 1982, p. 14). After the termination of military activities a part of the POWs were liberated. In October and November 1939 the prisoners of German, Ukrainian and Belarussian nationalities were released.

Besides, Germans released also several tens of thousands of Jews, who were afterwards in their vast majority killed in the holocaust.

After taking prisoners the Germans would separate the officers from the privates, and directed them to the rallying points, from where they were transported to the transition camps (*Durchgangslager*). They were established in Poland or on the eastern territories of the Reich. The POWs were then transported from the transition camps to the permanent camps, located deeper within the German territory. Officers were placed in the so-called *oflags* (officer camps), while privates and non-coms in the so-called *stalags*. In 1939 altogether 37 *stalags* were established. Their number changed in the consecutive years (1940 – 40 *stalag* camps, 1941 – 63 camps, 1943 – 49, and 1944 – 47). The largest *oflag* camp was the known officer camp in Waldenberg.

Because of the shortage of labour force in the war economy, Hitler issued in the spring of 1940 a decree, in which he ordered to change the status of Polish privates and officers, and to employ them within the Third Reich. Owing to this decision some 140,000 Polish military were directed to work in the German economy in the years 1940-1942. This was equivalent to depriving them of the rights proper for the POWs and the assistance from the International Red Cross. Thereby also the number of interned in the POW camps decreased.

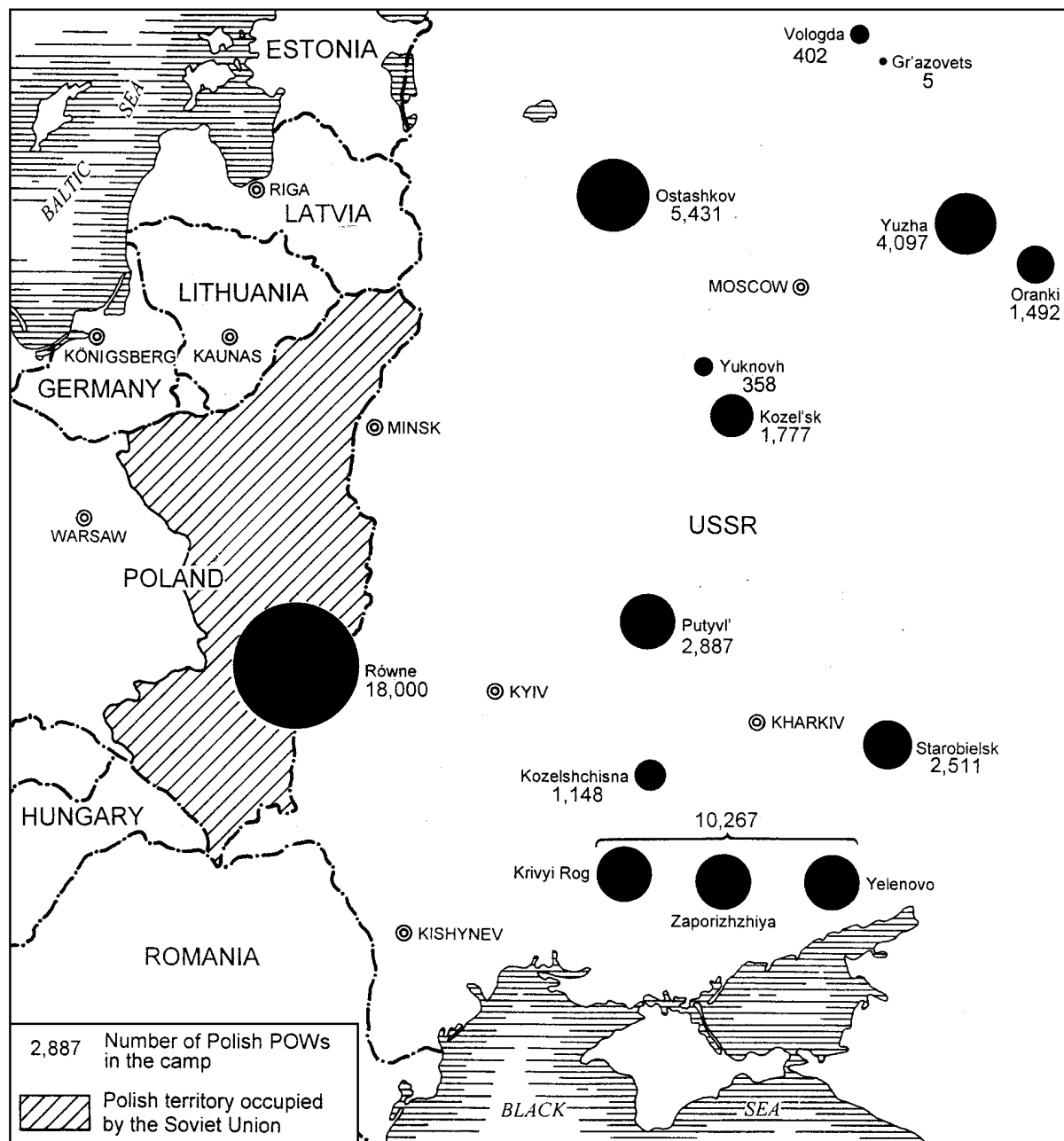
On the basis of reports sent to the International Red Cross it can be stated that in September 1944 there were 36,666 Polish privates and non-coms as well as 17,023 officers in the German camps. Thus, the total was 53,689 (Pollack 1982, p.17). In October 1944 the camps took in several thousand Polish soldiers interned in Hungary. At the same time more than 16,000 participants of the Warsaw Uprising reached the POW camps as well. Consequently, the number of Polish POWs increased to 73,000 (20,000 officers and 53,000 privates and non-coms). These numbers do not account for the Polish soldiers taken prisoners in the course of the French campaign in 1940 (15,000 persons) nor the prisoners from the Polish People's Army, fighting along with the Red Army, nor from the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

The distribution and the situation of Polish officers and soldiers staying in the German POW camps are the subject of a rich literature and do not require a more detailed consideration. On the other hand, the fate of the Polish POWs remaining in captivity on the Soviet side was until 1990 subject to censorship. There were numerous publications on this subject, appearing in the West, but they were not very precise. It was only after it became possible to consult the Soviet archives that our knowledge started to be sufficient to show in a quantified manner the movements and the situation of the Polish POWs, taken by the Red Army in September 1939. The most consistent account, based on source material, is the report of A. Głowacki (1992), who studied the archival materials existing in Moscow. On the basis of this study and the publication of N. Lebedeva (1997) one can attempt a complete presentation of the fate of Polish POWs in the East.

According to the Soviet data, more than 200,000 Polish officers and privates were Soviet prisoners after the aggression was over. At that time, POW camps were established on the order from L. Beria for 41,000 interned. At the beginning of October the organised POW camps could admit only 68,000 persons. This is the most probable explanation for the release of the privates and non-coms residing on the territories situated to the East of the German-Soviet demarcation line. This decision entailed the release of 42,400 privates and non-coms. Until October 1st, 1939, the rallying points took over from the detachments of the Red Army 99,149 POWs, of whom 77,675 were then sent to the distribution camps (Lebedeva 1997, p. 72). Due to the subsequent decision of the Council of People's Commissars of October 1939 some 33,000 Polish POWs (without officers) were turned over to the German side as the inhabitants of the areas occupied by the Nazis. Until 19 November 1939 ultimately 43,472 Polish POWs were turned over to the Germans. On the other hand – the German authorities turned over until 14 November 1939 to the Soviets 13,757 POWs originating from the eastern parts of the 2nd Commonwealth. A part of the Polish POWs – 10,377 – were to work in the mines of the Iron Ore Basin of Krivyi Rog. Another group of prisoners was employed in construction of the road Nowogród Wołyński – Równe – Brody – Lwów (L'viv). For this purpose a large camp was set up in Równe, in which 18,000 prisoners lived as of October 30th, 1939. As of August 20th, 1940, there were 14,556 Polish POWs employed at the construction of this road. The total number of Polish prisoners in

the camps established in October 1939 was 56,787, and this number was gradually decreasing (see Table 2, Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Polish POW camps on the territory of the Soviet Union on 30 October 1939



The subsequent changes were associated with the liquidation of three large camps – in Starobielsk, Ostashkov and Kozel'sk – and the extermination of the Polish officers from these camps. During two months (April-May 1940) altogether 14,587 Polish POWs were killed (of whom 6,287 were from Ostashkov, 4,404 from Kozel'sk, and 3,986 from Starobielsk). Besides, on the basis of the same decision, taken on March 5th, 1940, by the Political Bureau of the Soviet Communist Party, 7,305 military and civil persons were also shot. The prisoners having survived this massacre, as well as the Polish military interned after the annexation of the Baltic States, were concentrated primarily in the camps of Gr'azovets and Yukhnov. Then, in the consecutive camp, set up in Knyaz'-Pokost, situated in the northern district of Komi, 7,754 Polish POWs were employed at the construction of the

railway Kolas-Vorkuta. Camps were also established on the Kola Peninsula and in the area of Arkhangelsk, where Polish POWs worked, too, in very hard conditions.

Table 2. Numbers of Polish POWs in the camps of NKVD* between October and December 1939

No.	POW camps	As of:			
		30.10.1939	10.11.1939	10.12.1939	31.12.1939
1	Starobielsk	2,511	3,926	3,907	3,916
2	Ostashkov	5,431	5,774	5,961	6,291
3	Kozel'sk	1,777	4,628	4,726	4,766
4	Putyvl'	2,887	71	-	-
5	Oranki	1,492	9	-	-
6	Vologda	402	3	-	-
7	Kozelshchisna	1,148	4	-	-
8	Yukhnov	358	36	421	114
9	Gr'azovets	5	5	-	-
10	Yuzha	4,097	233	-	-
Totals for the POW camps		20,108	14,689	15,015	15,087
1	Admission points	8,412	5,063	-	-
2	Równe	18,000	15,113	14,084	13,297
3	Metallurgic plants ¹	10,267	10,370	10,337	10,326
Grand totals		56,787	45,235	39,436	38,710

¹ a number of POW camps located in eastern Ukraine in: Kriviy Rog, Bol'shoie Zaporizhziya, and Yelenovo-Karakubskiy.

*NKVD (*Narodnaya Komissiya Vnutrennykh D'el*) - People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, dealing mainly with political dissent and largely responsible for the camp system in the USSR.

Source: A. Głowacki, *Jeńcy polscy w ZSRR wrzesień 1939 – lipiec 1941 (Polish POWs in the USSR September 1939 – July 1941)*. Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny, vol. XXXVII, 3, Warsaw 1992.

On the basis of the documentation available A. Głowacki (1992, p. 64) concludes that the statistical data provided are not complete, for the fate of some 60,000 Polish POWs, taken prisoners by the Soviets in the second half of September 1939, is not given account of.

The here presented data imply that the direct consequence of the September defeat was the permanent or temporal relocation of more than 700 thousand persons. They were primarily the military of the former Polish army. Besides, war entailed forced migration movements of the civil population, encompassing also hundreds of thousands of people. This was associated with large irreversible demographic losses. These losses were selective with respect to nationality, age and gender. They affected first of all young men of Polish nationality.

2. Resettlements of population from the Polish lands incorporated into the Third German Reich

Immediately after the incorporation of the western part of Poland into the Third Reich, the Nazi authorities started planned activities aiming at the relocation from these areas of a significant part of the Polish population. This program was associated with preparation of vast settlement areas for the Germans, that is – the creation of the so-called free space in the East (the *lebensraum* – the living space). There were different concepts in this domain. According to one of them, after the victorious war with the Soviet Union Poles were to be resettled to Western Siberia. In the framework of the

hypothetical long-term plans the short-term undertakings started to be implemented, with the purpose of Germanising the areas incorporated and of removing a large part of the Polish population residing there. This task was being achieved at an uneven rate and with the use of different methods. The causes lied in the changing military situation and the appearance of new economic needs. The obstacles to the mass relocation of the Polish population were also of the objective political character, but mainly of the technical one. The capacities of the transport system were strictly limited due to the military operations. The necessity of rational use of labour force on place also made it more difficult to undertake radical resettlement projects. On the top of this, the authorities of the General Governorship would not make the task easier, admitting quite unwillingly the transports of evacuated Poles. All this made the German authorities correct the plans and limit the scale of relocations. Yet, during the first phase of war, before the aggression against the Soviet Union, a relatively large deportation action was realised.

The basis for the concrete action was constituted by the personal decision of Hitler's, taken at the beginning of October, in which he entitled Himmler to start relocation of the Polish and Jewish population from Gdańsk, Gdynia and Poznań. The first resettlements affected Gdynia, from where until 26 October 1939 as many as 12,271 Poles were removed. In the subsequent decision of Himmler's of 30 October 1939 the scope of relocations from the areas incorporated into the Reich was broadened, and the dates as well as selection criteria were made more precise. The deportations were to be applied to the entire Jewish population, Poles originating from the so-called Congress Kingdom area, and the ones considered inimical towards the German authorities. This latter group encompassed the entire educated class and the members of the patriotically oriented organisations. Simultaneously, in the region of Gdańsk Pomerania, a widely conceived extermination action was started, during which tens of thousands of persons were killed (in particular – in the locality of Piaśnica).

In order to realise the plans designed the Nazi authorities prepared the program of relocations according to the so-called three short-term plans (*Nahplan*). In the first of them, with duration between December 1st and 17th, 1939, relocation of 80,000 persons from the areas incorporated to the Reich was envisaged, in the second, encompassing the entire year 1940 – more than 600,000 persons were to be relocated, and in the third, lasting until the end of 1941 – more than 800,000 persons. Altogether some 1.5 million Poles were to be resettled to the General Governorship in the period of two years. The first of these planned stages was fully executed. The subsequent two resettlement stages were executed only partly. The entire deportation program was presented in the source publication of W. Jastrzębski (1968). The scale of these relocations will be shown here on the basis of this publication.

In the framework of the first relocation stage 87,789 persons were deported from the so-called Land of Warta river (*Warthegau*). This group was dominated by Poles, but it included also Jews. Transports were carried out by railroads in very harsh climatic conditions (sharp, frosty winter). A lot of people did not survive this deportation. The trains with the deported people were directed to the General Governorship towards the districts of Warsaw and Cracow, where the deported were left at various rallying points, located in the completely unprepared facilities. This entailed, again, numerous deaths and illnesses. After the realisation of this stage of the action, a break ensued, which lasted until February 10th, 1940. On this day the second stage was started, the so-called "intermediary plan" (*Zwischenplan*), which lasted until March 3rd, 1940. During this short period 40 trains were expedited from the Land of Warta, with 40,120 deported persons. The most affected was the Polish population living in the cities. The objective of this selective action was to deprive the Poles of the leading strata of the society, which could in the future constitute the core of the anti-German activity. That is why high shares among the deported were taken by the educated and the landed gentry. The planned relocations encompassed at that time first of all the so-called Land of Warta, and only to a very limited degree Gdańsk Pomerania and Silesia. The deported persons were directed to the successively established transitory camps, to be then sent to the General Governorship. Later on, in view of the refusal from the side of the authorities of the General Governorship of admitting further transports, the Poles put into these camps, remained there and were employed on place in German economy.

After another short break, ending on March 15th, 1940, the subsequent stage of relocations from the so-called Land of Warta was started. This stage lasted until January 20th, 1941, and encompassed 133,506 persons, of whom 2,399 persons, fulfilling the racial criteria of being fit for

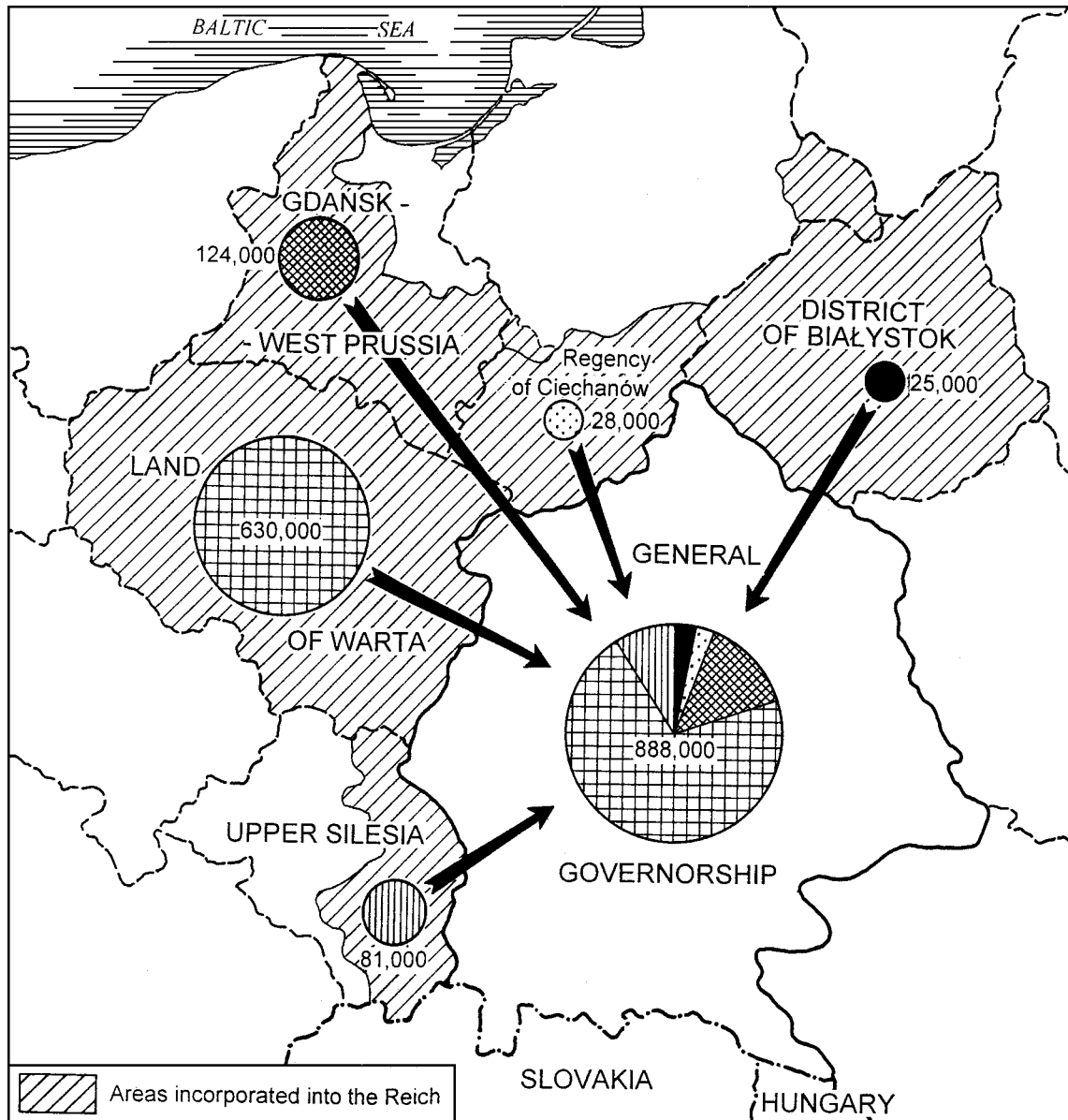
“Germanising”, were sent to the Reich, some 10 thousand were sent to work in German industry and agriculture, while remaining ones were sent directly to the General Governorship. At the same time mass deportations were being carried out from the areas of Upper Silesia and the northern counties of Masovia, incorporated into East Prussia. The deportations from the areas incorporated into the Silesian province started on September 23rd, 1940, and they affected primarily the county of Żywiec, from where until December 14th, 1940, 18 transports were dispatched carrying 17,413 persons. The deportations from the Regency of Ciechanów concerned mainly the county of Mława, from which 10,700 inhabitants were resettled between 10th and 20th November 1940 in eleven railway transports. The subsequent action took place between December 5th and 17th, 1940, and in its framework additional 10 transports were dispatched with 9,946 persons. Similar actions took place in the district of Gdańsk-West Prussia, from where between November 1940 and March 15th, 1941, 10,504 inhabitants were deported. The subsequent stage of relocations from the Land of Warta was started on January 21st, 1941. During two months, that is – until March 15th, 1941, the Nazi authorities managed to relocate in 19 transports 19,226 persons.

This was the last organised resettlement action. The authorities of the General Governorship decided not to accept any further transport since March 16th, 1941. They motivated this decision by the economic arguments and the perturbations that the transports were bringing about in the war economy, especially in the period of preparations to war with the Soviet Union.

The general statistical summary of the resettlement of the Polish – and partly Jewish – population from the areas incorporated into the Reich to the territory of the General Governorship was elaborated by W. Jastrzębski (1968, p. 86). The author mentioned quotes in his work the contents of the report submitted to Hitler by the Staff Unit of the Reich’s Commissioner for the strengthening of the German element. Thus, according to this document between September 1939 and the end of the resettlement action 365,000 persons were deported. Yet, Jastrzębski is of the opinion that the relocations affected a much higher number of inhabitants, since the reports of the Resettlement Centre in Lodz suggest that from the Land of Warta alone 280,641 persons were deported to the General Governorship. It can be concluded from the German documents that 91,533 persons were deported from the district of Gdańsk-West Prussia, 22,000 from Upper Silesia, and 20,646 from the regency of Ciechanów. Hence, altogether 414,820 persons were included in the forced action of resettlement from the areas incorporated into the Reich to the General Governorship, the ones deported in an unplanned manner put aside. While presenting these statistical data, W. Jastrzębski proposes that the deportations affected in reality altogether 450,000 inhabitants. One should yet add that in the consequence of terror numerous Poles, fleeing persecutions, left the territories annexed into the Reich. This was taking place under the circumstances of the extermination action oriented against Jews and the Polish intelligentsia.

During the following years, 1941-1944, further actions of extermination of Jews and deportation of Poles from the areas included in the Reich were taking place. They were, however, increasingly chaotic and had a smaller scale. The more and more dramatic socio-economic situation, caused by the military defeats and difficulties in transport, made impossible undertaking of new, broader resettlement actions. And still, yet until the end of 1944 the German authorities were attempting to change the ethnic situation within the former western territories of Poland. According to Cz. Łuczak (1979 p. 136) in the years 1939-1944 between 918,000 and 928,000 persons were deported or evicted from the areas incorporated in the Reich. Of these – 630,000 from the Land of Warta river, 81,000 from Silesia, 124,000 from Pomerania, 25,000 from the Białystok district, 28,000 from the regency of Ciechanów, and between 30,000 and 40,000 in the framework of the so-called “wild” deportations, taking place mainly in Pomerania (see Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. *Deportations of Polish population to the so-called General Governorship from the areas incorporated in the Third Reich in the period 1939-1944*



The actions of forced resettlement and deportation, conducted on the territories incorporated into the Third Reich, brought later on highly disadvantageous consequences for the German population. They namely made a precedent and justified the later relocations of the German population. It is known that they were not the reason for the decisions taken in Potsdam on the resettlement of the German population from Poland. Yet, they were the starting point of a certain process, which aimed at creation of ethnically “pure” areas through deportation of the native population and settling of the newcomers, representing the nationality of the victorious country, on their place.

3. Deportations of population from the Polish lands incorporated to the Soviet Union

The invasion of the Soviet army on the eastern territories of the 2nd Commonwealth and the incorporation of these territories in the Byelorussian SSR, Ukrainian SSR and partly Lithuania (the region of Vilna) brought highly significant consequences for the population inhabiting these areas. The

inhabitants, irrespective of their nationality, were deprived of the Polish citizenship and were subject to the Soviet legal system. In terms of practical realisation of the respective decree, the action of the so-called “passportising” was declared (in pre-war Poland there was no internal passport nor ID card), associated with the granting of the Soviet citizenship. The population inhabiting the occupied territories was classified into numerous categories, with application of various criteria referring to nationality, religion, wealth, social status, profession as well as potential attitude towards the new authorities. This was to constitute the basis for the conduct of an appropriate repression policy with respect to various social groups. In the very first phase the persecutions affected the owning classes, the former Polish administrative apparatus, police, military and clergy. Thereafter the repression encompassed the entire Polish population, as well as the persons of other nationalities, associated with the groups or societies that were considered to be inimical with respect to the “new reality”. Arrests started, followed by the widely conceived actions of population relocation. The occupied territory was treated as a border zone, within which the presence of politically uncertain persons, not guaranteeing full loyalty with respect to the Soviet authority, should not be tolerated.

Mass arrests and deportations of population far away into the territory of the Soviet Union commenced. These problems were broadly discussed in the Polish literature in exile. The numerous published reports and studies, though, were based on quite haphazard and subjective documentation, founded on the accounts from individuals. That is why the estimates concerning the number of the deported were provided in a little precise and highly exaggerated manner. It was only after it became possible to consult the Soviet archives, that is – after 1990 – the complete and reliable information was obtained concerning the scale of some of the migration movements, having occurred between October 1939 and 22 June 1941. This issue was presented in the most precise manner in the Polish literature of the subject by S. Ciesielski, G. Hryciuk and A. Srebrakowski (1993). We will be quoting after them the data concerning the scale of deportations that affected Polish population inhabiting the areas between the Soviet-Nazi demarcation line, established on September 28th in Moscow, and the eastern border of the 2nd Commonwealth.

The first category of population, targeted for deportation, were the so-called settlers. This was the population group, who flowed into the eastern lands of Poland after the Polish-Bolshevik war. They were mainly the Polish military, who were granted farms within the eastern lands of Poland (“Kresy”, the Borderlands). This group was politically and economically privileged by the authorities of the pre-war Poland. That is why they were surrounded by the animosity from the side of the local Belarusian and Ukrainian population. The decision of the deportation of the “settlers” was taken by the Council of the People’s Commissars of the USSR on 29 December 1939. Mass deportations started in the night of 9 to 10 February 1940. This action encompassed around 150,000 people. Of the deported “settlers” 142,000 reached the destination locations. Transportation of the deported lasted for about a month and took place during sharp frosts. This entailed a lot of deaths among the elderly and little children. According to the data as of June 1941 the population of the deported was dominated by Poles (109,233 persons, i.e. 81.7% of the total). There were also Ukrainians (11,720 persons, i.e. 8.8%) and Belarusians (10,802 persons, i.e. 8.1%) in this population. The deported originated in 1/3 from the areas incorporated to the Byelorussian SSR and in 2/3 from the areas of south-eastern Poland, incorporated in the Ukrainian SSR. According to the documents kept in the Archives of the Republic of Belarus’, 51,310 persons, inhabiting 9,584 farms, were marked for deportations. Ultimately, 50,732 persons, inhabiting 9,504 farms, were deported (Giżejewska 1997, p. 92). All the deported had a special status of resettled persons and were put, under the supervision of the NKVD, in 317 special camps. The hard work conditions and the starvation food rations brought about high mortality. This group of the deported was composed of the following number of persons:

- in November 1940 – 137,351 persons (28,569 families)
- on January 1st, 1941 – 137,132 persons (28, 612 families)
- on April 1st, 1941 – 134,491 persons
- in September 1941 – 132,463 persons.

The deported were transported to the East and dispersed over vast territories of the Soviet Union. The biggest number was sent to the Arkhangelsk district (38,622 persons) and to Krasnoyarsk Land – 13,339 persons (Ciesielski, Hryciuk, Srebrakowski 1993, p. 36).

The subsequent deportation took place on 12th and 13th April 1940. It was applied mainly to the families of the arrested or deported persons or those known for their anti-Soviet views. The deportation of 22-25 thousand families was envisaged. Ultimately, 60,667 persons were deported, mainly of Polish nationality. They originated from the Ukrainian areas-to-be – 33,890 persons, and from the Belarusian ones – 26,777 persons. All of them were transported to the Kazakh SSR, where they were put in the following districts: Northern Kazakh – 20,046 persons, Pavlodar – 11,440 persons, Kustanai – 8,103 persons, Semipalatinsk – 7,638 persons, Aktiubinsk – 6,816 persons, and Akmola – 6,308 persons. The status of the deported was different from the one of the previously relocated “settlers”. They were not put into camps, but were dispersed among the Kazakhstan kolkhozes (“co-operative farms”) and sovkhozes (“state farms”). They found themselves there in very harsh food supply conditions.

When commenting upon the demographic effects of the political catastrophe of Poland it should be mentioned that in the second half of September 1939, fearing the approaching German army, many inhabitants of the central and western parts of Poland moved to the eastern “Kresy” of Poland, which, after having been invaded by the Red Army, was incorporated into the western Soviet republics. Among these refugees the Jewish population dominated, but many Poles, as well, moved to the areas to the East of the demarcation line. According to the Soviet estimates, after deduction of the Polish POWs, the number of civil refugees was at 300,000. A part of them returned, at the end of 1939 and in the beginning of 1940, to the areas occupied by the Germans (around 66,000). These refugees constituted a significant trouble for the Soviet authorities, for they were usually deprived of the means for living and did not have any permanent residences. On the other hand, the authorities of the NKVD did not trust them in political terms. That is why the Council of the People’s Commissars of the USSR took the decision on March 2nd, 1940, of the deportation of the refugees (*byezhentsy*). The deportation action was carried out in the night of 29th to 30th of June 1940. According to the data of NKVD altogether 24,722 families were deported, consisting of 77,710 persons. This group of the deported was dominated by Jews – 64,533 persons (84.6% of the total), there were also 8,357 Poles and 1,728 Ukrainians. Similarly as in the case of the preceding deportations, this group was primarily composed of the persons, who stayed in south-eastern Poland, and especially in Lwów (L’viv). The same action encompassed, as well, the areas incorporated in the Byelorussian SSR, from where 7,224 families were deported, consisting of 22,873 persons. Conform to other sources, 23,629 persons were deported, of whom from the district of Baranowicze – 2,494 persons, from the district of Białystok – 13,250, from the district of Brest’ – 5,856, from the district of Wilejka – 313, from the district of Pińsk – 964, etc. (Gizejewska 1997, p.94).

The majority of the deported in these last actions came from towns. There was a high share of the educated people among them. It can be assumed that they were primarily Jews, aware of the threat that the German Nazism constituted for them. Some of them were the supporters of the Communist Party of Poland and willingly collaborated with the new authorities. This, however, had not a significant influence on the attitude of the NKVD to them, insofar as all refugees from the West were treated as a politically uncertain element. The group of “refugees” was transported to 14 districts, lands and republics in the East and North of the USSR and they were distributed among 269 different localities (Ciesielski, Hryciuk, Srebrakowski 1993, p.41).

The next large deportation took place in May and June 1941. Decision on this action was taken by the authorities in Moscow on May 14th, 1941, and it was meant to relocate people from the border areas of the USSR. During two months preceding the German-Soviet conflict altogether 85,716 persons were deported, of whom from the so-called western Ukraine – 9,595 persons, from western Belarus’ – 27,887 persons, and from Lithuania, incorporated into the Soviet Union as well – 12,682 persons. The present author estimates that around 38 thousand of the deported originated from the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth. This group was composed of the representatives of all the ethnic groups present on these territories. The destinations were: the Novosibirsk district (19,362

persons), the Land of Altai (17,446), the Land of Krasnoyarsk (16,784), as well as Kazakhstan (15,413). This deportation action was only interrupted by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union.

The documentation of the NKVD suggests that during a relatively short time approximately 330 thousand Polish citizens were relocated from the occupied Polish territories to northern Russia, Siberia and Kazakhstan (Fig. 5). The population of the deported was dominated by Poles, of whom there were around 210,000 (63.6% of the total). The second group was constituted by Jews – more than 70 thousand (21.2%), who were followed by Ukrainians – 25 thousand (7.6%) and Belarusians – 20 thousand (6.0%). There were also Lithuanians, Germans and Russians among the deported.

The here mentioned deportations encompass only a part of the forced movements. At the same time mass arrests were taking place. According to the data from NKVD as of March 5th, 1940, there were 18,662 persons in the prisons of the western districts of the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR, of whom 10,685 were Poles. On the very same day the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued the decision of killing 7,305 of those persons. Besides, numerous arrested persons were sent individually, or in groups, to prisons located far down in the USSR (see Fig. 6).

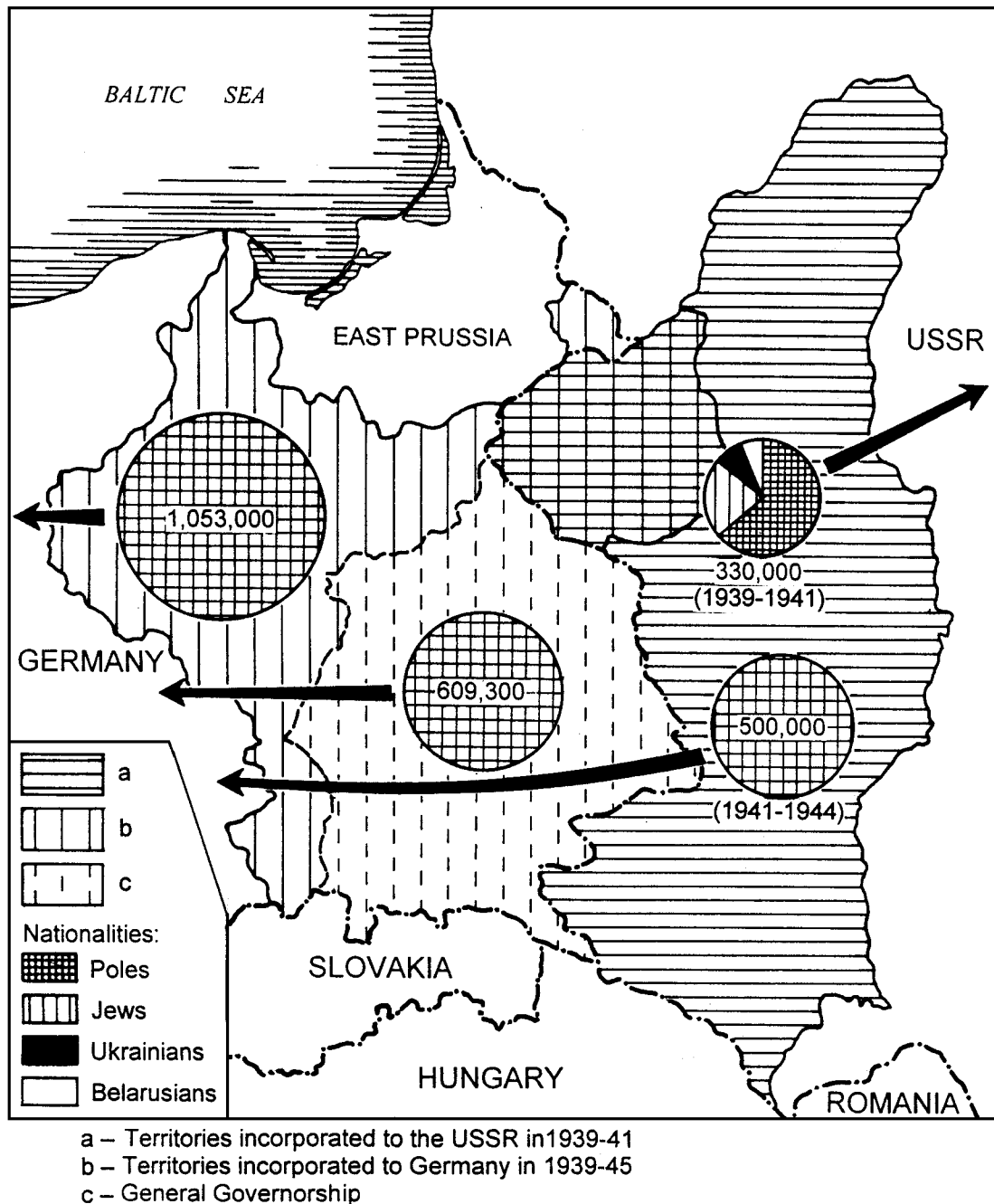
Immediately after the German aggression against the Soviet Union the extermination of prisoners and their evacuation to the East, organised by NKVD, started. In the course of marches over hundreds of miles mass killings of prisoners would occur. The transports of the evacuated reached their destination with few remaining deportees (Cherubin 1989, p. 70).

As we speak of the population movements, which took place on the eastern territories, we cannot neglect numerous movements of quite another political background. Thus, the Soviet authorities started the propaganda among the young encouraging them to leave for work in industrial plants located in eastern Ukraine and central Russia. These freewill or forced movements encompassed dozens of thousands of persons. At the same time the mobilisation to the Red Army was announced. Several age groups of young men were enlisted. The recruits were directed to the garrisons located far away in the USSR.

Simultaneously, population from the East started to flow into the areas incorporated into the Soviet Union. These were mainly the functionaries of the administrative and party apparatus. They took all the more pronounced posts. New garrisons came to stay in the military facilities. They became the places of residence of the Soviet officer corps. According to various estimates some 200,000 to 300,000 Soviet citizens came to the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth with the aim of rapid integration and pacification of the eastern territories of Poland, conquered due the military aggression.

In view of the lack of appropriate statistical data it is difficult to evaluate the overall volume of the migration movements, which took place between October 1939 and June 1941 on the Polish lands situated to the East of the Soviet-Nazi demarcation line. With Polish POWs not accounted for the movements of the civil population alone encompassed roughly one million people. Most of these movements had a forced character and took place in drastic sanitary and food supply conditions. People were brutally forced to leave their native land and to set on a far off wandering, from which only very few returned to their places of residence.

Fig. 6. *Deportations of Polish citizens into far areas of the Soviet Union in the years 1939-1941 and transportation of Polish labour force to work in the German Reich in the period 1939-1944*



4. Inflow of the German population into the occupied Polish areas

Similarly as there was an inflow of the Soviet citizens to the territory occupied by the Red Army, there was also an inflow of the citizens of the Third Reich to the zone occupied by the Nazi forces. These two migration processes were, however, incomparable as to their scale and the demographic-political character. The primary objective of the policy pursued by Stalin was to Sovietise and homogenise ideologically the conquered areas. On the other hand, Hitler's plan envisaged full Germanising and change of the ethnic character of the western, and later on also central,

Poland. The newcomers to the eastern areas of Poland were the Soviet party functionaries, whose task it was to introduce the communist system and to enslave the inhabitants. The deportations to the East affected the population inimical towards the “new reality”. There were no plans of colonising these territories by the inflow of new settlers. The Nazi authorities, from their side, planned to settle on the occupied areas the population of German language and culture. The deportation of a part of the Polish population from the areas incorporated into the Reich was meant to constitute one of the essential elements of the planned Germanising. Simultaneously, a large colonisation action was devised. The intention was to bring into the occupied territories, which were to become an integral part of the great German empire, the settlers from the German core areas. Besides, it was expected that the Germans living until then in the Baltic States, Ukraine, Russia, Romania or Yugoslavia would come in large numbers.

In the first phase of this planned action the ethnically Polish areas, incorporated in 1939 into the Reich were to lose their original ethnic character. The first program on this matter was presented by the minister for food and agriculture of the Reich, Walter Darré. He proposed to settle in Pomerania and in Greater Poland 64 thousand German families. This program, though, was assessed by Hitler to be insufficient, since it did not envisage complete Germanisation of Pomerania, Silesia and Greater Poland. The subsequent plan of the German settlement action was designed in August 1939, and then modified after the defeat of Poland, in October 1939. It became the program for the German colonisation on the areas incorporated in the Reich. It was planned to completely Germanise these territories by bringing in 4 to 5 million Germans. They were to reside in one of the three designed settlement belts: in the first one, named “the Bridge” (*die Brücke*), linking Wrocław with Działdowo over Kalisz, Konin and Włocławek, in the second one, called “the Dyke” (*der Damm*), stretching from Piła along Noteć river through Bydgoszcz and Grudziądz to Działdowo, or in the third one, named “the border of the armed peasants” (*die Grenze der Wehrbauern*) stretching from Wrocław through Łódź to the then East Prussia. It was expected that these lands would get Germanised if the number of the Germans settled there attained 4 million (Łuczak 1993, p. 166).

Immediately after the Polish territories had been captured, German population started to flow into the areas under Nazi occupation. In the very first phase this was associated with the necessity of organising the administration of the conquered areas. In the subsequent stage an organised settling of the population of German extraction started. It is estimated that during the war some 1.3 million persons of German nationality moved into the occupied territories. This estimate does not include the Germans serving in the military formations. Before the war, on Polish areas incorporated into the Reich some 600,000 Germans lived, while on the area to become the General Governorship and in the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth – altogether 100,000 Germans. Hence, within the boundaries of Poland as of 31 August 1939 the number of German population during the occupation exceeded the level of 2 million.

The inflow of population originating from the core of the Reich took place gradually. The first office staff came along with the invading *Wehrmacht*. Afterwards, an appeal was launched, calling for the return of the former inhabitants of these lands, who had left between 1919 and 1939. The inflow of the Germans was at that time not significant. It was only after the defeat of France that a higher interest in moving to the occupied areas was noted. Yet, the scale of these movements was by no means satisfactory for the occupational authorities. A propaganda action was started, whose results were also modest. It was only the intensification of the bombings by the Allies that caused the inflow of a larger number of evacuated persons from the threatened German towns. It is estimated that some 500,000 German citizens came to the areas incorporated into the Reich (i.e. excluding the General Governorship) from Germany in the years 1939-1944.

According to the Nazi plans the major role in colonisation of Poland was to be played by the Germans dispersed in many countries of eastern and south-eastern Europe. This population lived for many generations outside of the borders of Germany. The resettlement of the “ethnic” Germans was for the first time announced by Hitler during his speech in Reichstag on October 6th, 1939. This gave an impulse for the negotiations with the countries, in which German minority lived. The first agreements on the transfer of the “ethnic” Germans were concluded with the governments of Estonia and Latvia. The document on the relocation of the German population from Estonia was signed on 15

October 1939. The first transports of Germans left Estonia already on 18 October 1939, and by 15 November 1939 the main repatriation action, having encompassed 10,600 Estonian Germans, was over. A similar agreement was concluded on 30 October 1939 with the government of Latvia. Until 15 December 1939 more than 45 thousand Germans left Latvia. In the following months the departures did not have such a mass character. According to the data as of October 15th, 1940, 61,934 ethnic Germans left the two Baltic States, of whom 12,868 left Estonia and 49,066 – Latvia. Together with the persons previously resettled, 70 thousand Baltic Germans moved to the Great Reich. They were directed mainly to the Land of Warta (56 thousand) and to the district Gdańsk-West Prussia (6 thousand). The remaining ones were settled in Silesia and in the regency of Ciechanów. The Germans brought to the Land of Warta from Estonia and Latvia were placed mainly in towns (36,000). Thus, 18,000 settled in Poznań, 6,000 in Lodz, and 11,600 in the remaining towns of the Land of Warta (in the regency of Poznań – 3,865, in the regency of Inowrocław – 5,392, and in the regency of Lodz – 2,343 persons). The peasant settlers were given 136,300 hectares of confiscated land, having belonged to the Polish owners. On this land 1,969 farms were established (Sobczak 1966, pp. 163-164).

Simultaneously with the negotiations conducted in the capitals of the Baltic States, the talks started between the representatives of the Third Reich and the Soviet authorities on the possibility of resettlement of the Germans living in the former eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth. Germans living on these territories were classified into three categories – the so-called Volhynian Germans (*Wolhynien Deutsche*), Galician Germans (*Galizien Deutsche*) and Białystok Germans (*Narew Deutsche*). After the consultations and agreements concerning the technical aspects the repatriation started of the German population. It lasted between 18 December 1939 and 26 October 1940. According to the German documentation the demarcation line was crossed by 128,379 persons, of whom 64,554 from the region of Volhynia, 55,597 from Galicia, and 8,228 from the region of Białystok. The majority of them, some 65%, were directed to the Land of Warta. They obtained therein 15,116 former Polish farms of the total area of 207,400 hectares. On the rural areas of the Land of Warta altogether 72,646 repatriates were settled. Relatively few repatriates were settled in Silesia (2,907 persons) (Sobczak 1966, pp. 177-178).

The subsequent wave of the German settlers came to the Third Reich from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina (the so-called *Bessarabien Deutsche* and *Bukowina Deutsche*). These two provinces belonged since 1940 to the Soviet Union. The resettlement of the Germans from Bessarabia, which was carried out over the waterway of Danube, encompassed altogether 93,548 persons. On the other hand, the Germans from the Northern Bukovina – 44,300 persons – were transported by railway to the General Governorship. The settlers were successively directed to the Polish lands incorporated into the Reich. Until October 1st, 1940, the Nazi authorities settled the following numbers of Germans originating from Bessarabia: in the land of Warta – 40,836, in the district Gdańsk-West Prussia – 40,836, and in Upper Silesia – 68 persons. On the other hand, the largest group of Germans from Bukovina was settled in Upper Silesia – 25,681 persons, followed by the Land of Warta – 23,752 persons.

Later on, the resettlement encompassed also the Germans having lived in Lithuania (50,054 persons), who were placed in transition camps.

Similar actions, carried out with respect to the Germans from Romania, Hungary and occupied Yugoslavia, had a smaller scale. Likewise, less Germans from these countries came to the Polish territories.

The subsequent movements of the German population, undertaken in the later phase of the war, had already a different course and were carried out in a less organised manner. One can mention in this context the Germans living in the General Governorship, whose migration movements had a different political background, as well as the later inflow of the Germans from the Russian areas and from the eastern Belarus' and Ukraine, caused by the retreat of the German army from the East.

Table 3. German population settled until 15 September 1944 on Polish lands incorporated into the Reich

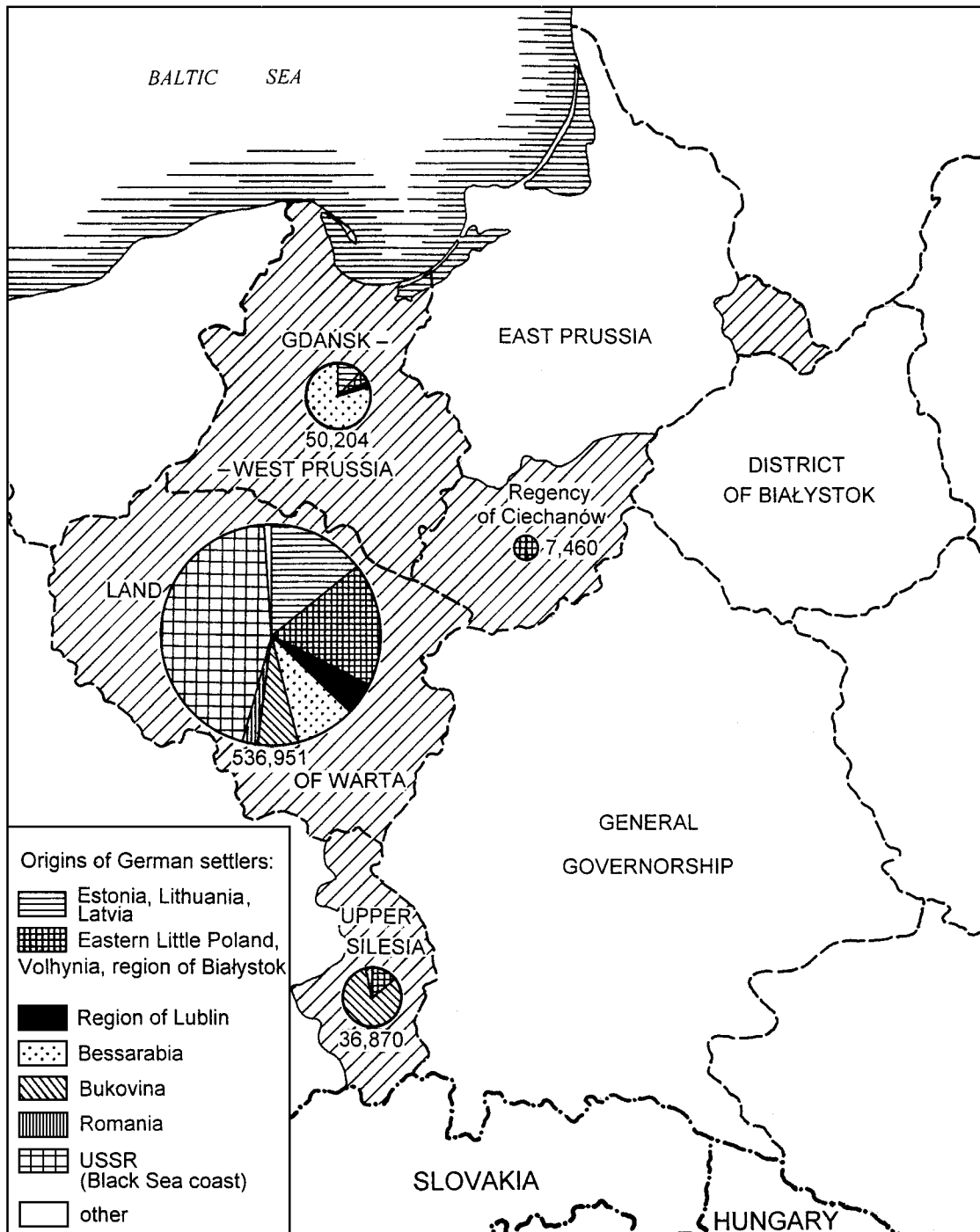
No.	Country (region) of origin of the settlers	Number of ethnic Germans having settled									
		On incorporated lands		With distinction of:							
				Land of Warta		Silesia		Gdańsk-West Prussia		Areas incorporated in East Prussia	
totals	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%		
1	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	86,371	100	76,786	89.0	134	0.1	5,966	6.9	3,485	4.0
2	Eastern Little Poland, Volhynia, Narew region	109,336	100	97,020	88.7	5,091	4.7	3,264	2.9	3,961	3.7
3	Lublin region	25,475	100	24,545	96.4	-	-	930	3.6	-	-
4	Bessarabia	88,022	100	47,892	54.4	86	0.1	40,044	45.5	-	-
5	Northern and Southern Bukovina	64,024	100	33,150	52.4	30,445	47.6	-	-	11	-
6	Dobrudja	11,201	100	11,150	99.6	51	0.4	-	-	-	-
7	“Old Romania”	1,975	100	1,612	87.7	360	18.3	-	-	3	-
8	USSR (Black Sea coast)	241,194	100	241,194	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Bosnia	3,287	100	3,184	96.9	103	3.1	-	-	-	-
10	Alsace	600	100	-	-	600	100	-	-	-	-
Totals		631,485	100	536,951	85.1	36,870	5.8	50,204	7.9	7,460	1.2

Source: Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*. Wyd. UAM, Poznań 1993, p. 169.

It is difficult to present the overall balance of the migration movements of German population originating from eastern and southern Europe, who have been resettled to the occupied Polish territories. This is the effect of serious differences between the particular source reports. For general reference the balance published in the monumental work of Cz. Łuczak (Table 3, Fig. 7) is quoted here.

The documentation put together by Cz. Łuczak (1993, p. 169) shows that until 15 September 1940 altogether 631,500 Germans had been settled on the territories incorporated into the Reich. One should add to this number the Germans settled in the General Governorship (43,200 persons). Other statistical data are contained in the collective report (*Polska Zachodnia...* 1961, p. 296). According to the data there contained 487,584 Germans were resettled to the areas stretching between river Bug in the East and Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers in the West from the territories of eastern and southern Europe. Then, the work of J. Sobczak (1966, p. 320) proposes that the total number of the relocated Germans was equal 770,577, of whom 404,612 were supposedly settled on the Polish lands. Of the latter number 245,000 would settle in the Land of Warta, 57,000 in Gdańsk-West Prussia, 8,000 on the area incorporated into East Prussia, and 38,000 in a part of the province of Silesia. Even if we do not consider in detail the different statistics and the reliability of each of the numbers quoted, we can state that during the occupation the Nazi authorities relocated to the occupied Polish territories, side by side with the Germans having German citizenship (as of 31 August 1939, that is), more than half a million Germans originating from many countries of central and eastern Europe.

Fig. 7. *Settling of German population on Polish territories incorporated into the Third Reich until September 15th, 1944*



The objective of the large-scale resettlement actions, undertaken by the German authorities, was to change the ethnic structure of the occupied territories, particularly those included in the Reich. The Nazi authorities were especially keen on a rapid Germanising of the region of Greater Poland and the adjacent areas, that is – first of all the so-called Land of Warta. The number of Germans living in this area before the war was 324,000. By 1941 this number increased to 786,000. The increase was achieved due to the settling in the Land of Warta of the Germans from: the Baltic States – 48,673, Volhynia – 88,548, region of Lublin – 20,578, Bukovina – 9,038, and Bessarabia – 32,824, as well as the inflow of the German citizens from Germany proper (262,839 persons). Thereby, a rapid increase

of the German population numbers took place in the first years of the occupation (1939 – 324,600, 1941 – 786,500, 1943 – 946,400). Hence, the percentage share of Germans in the total population number of the region increased, too – from 6.6% in 1939 to 21.2% in 1943. This increase of the number of Germans was particularly visible in the cities of Poznań (increase from 6,000 in 1939 to 93,589 in 1944), Lodz (from 60,000 in 1939 to 140,721 in 1944), and Inowrocław (from 956 in 1939 to 10,713 in 1944) (see *Polska Zachodnia...* 1961, p. 294). Future was to show that these significant demographic and ethnic changes were short-lived, for at the beginning of 1945, when the Soviet army was approaching, virtually entire German population left the occupied Polish territories.

5. Transportation of Polish citizens “to work” in the Reich and to the Nazi concentration camps

The dynamic development of the arms industry for the demand generated by war and conscription of several million recruits to the German army brought about a deficit of labour force in the Third Reich. Designs associated with mass employment of foreigners had been envisaged already before the war. They became very much on time as the war expanded. The very first groups of Polish workers were being sent to the Reich immediately after the September campaign in Poland had ended. This took place in parallel with employment of the Polish POWs. After the *Wehrmacht* marched into the Polish territories the street round-ups started, and the young people caught in them (the so-called *zivilgefangene*, civilian prisoners of war) were sent to work in Germany. In this period several tens of thousands of young people were sent to work in agriculture, mainly in East Prussia and in Pomerania. These actions were not altogether planned and were based on incidental, spontaneous lower-level decisions. The mass recruitment started at the end of 1939. The direct cause lied in the needs of the German industry, whose managers turned to the administrative authorities with the demand of providing during 1940 one million Polish workers to the Reich. This was the beginning of the large-scale action of forced movements of labour force for economic purposes. The action lasted, with varying intensity, over the entire period of war. It was conducted in a somewhat different manner on the territories incorporated into the Third Reich and in the General Governorship. Within the areas incorporated into the Reich the recruitment depended also significantly on the local conditions. It took a different course in Silesia, where a shortage of manpower existed, than in the overpopulated agricultural areas. In view of the fact that Polish population tried to avoid being sent to Germany, the recruitment took on an increasingly forced character. On the areas incorporated into the Reich the dominating form was to organise transports on the basis of individual summons. Each of the administrative units had a predefined number of workers that were to be sent to the Reich within a predefined deadline.

In the General Governorship recruitment was initially based on free will. The failure of this system brought application of force. Repression started with respect to those ignoring the summons. Despite the involvement of the entire administrative apparatus in this activity the numbers of workers sent to the Reich were well below the assumed and obligatory quota. The authorities of the General Governorship started to apply in certain periods even the street round-ups and the pacification of the entire villages, from which young inhabitants were taken and sent to the Reich. Simultaneously, an appropriate propaganda and material motivations were applied, both with respect to the persons volunteering as well as the local administration or the “blue police” (Polish policemen serving under German authority), who were obliged to support the recruitment action. The authorities of the General Governorship tried in principle to fulfil the quota they were supposed to satisfy. In certain periods only they did on purpose not fulfil the too high quota in view of their own economic needs. The decrease of the numbers of workers supplied was being justified by the exhaustion of own local resources of labour force.

Poles sent to work represented all strata of Polish society. Given the class system existing at that time, peasants dominated among those sent to work. Yet, there were also numerous blue-collar workers and students, representatives of the intelligentsia, craftsmen, etc. This population was dominated by the low-educated people. Still, some university graduates were also sent to Germany and

worked mostly as industry workers. Due to the intensifying shortage of manpower in the Reich, which appeared also in agriculture, recruitment of young women was started, too. According to the German documentation, female labour force constituted in September 1944 34.5% of the total of persons deported to work from the General Governorship and the areas incorporated into the Reich. The persons sent to work were not only Poles, though. The Ukrainians, living in the eastern part of the General Governorship, were also affected by the deportations to work in the Reich. After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, when the reach of the Nazi authority extended into the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth, recruitment started also there. In view of the ethnically mixed character of these areas, the persons transported to Germany were of quite differentiated nationalities (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Poles, Russians, etc.). The share of the Ukrainians among the persons sent to work from the General Governorship increased significantly after the district of Galicia had been incorporated in the General Governorship. It should also be mentioned that a number of Jews, supplied with fictitious Polish documents managed to move to Germany and to survive the war there.

The deportations of labour force to Germany lasted continuously between the end of September 1939 and the beginning of 1945. Initially, bigger numbers of workers came from the areas incorporated into the Reich. In the subsequent phase a much higher recruitment took place in the General Governorship, which disposed of much bigger resources of labour force. Thus, between 1 September 1939 and 20 December 1944 altogether 1,272,445 workers were transported from the General Governorship, the highest number having been registered in 1942 – 398,959 persons (Table 4).

Table 4. *Numbers of persons deported from the General Governorship to work in the Reich in the years 1939-1945*

No.	Period	Number of deportees
1	1.09 – 31.12.1939	36,675
2	1.01 – 30.06.1940	272,238
3	1.07 – 31.12.1940	29,724
4	1.01 – 30.06.1941	97,921
5	1.07 – 31.12.1941	125,577
6	1.01 – 30.06.1942	164,727
7	1.07 – 31.12.1942	234,232
8	1.01 – 30.06.1943	129,745
9	1.07 – 31.12.1943	45,823
10	1.01 – 30.06.1944	52,446
11	1.07 – 20.12.1944	83,337
Total		1,272,445

Source: Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej (Poland and Poles in the World War II)*, Wyd. UAM, Poznań, 1993, p. 181

The increasing scale of the deportations to work caused that more and more Polish workers were employed in the German economy. According to the official documentation, between 31 January 1941 and 30 September 1944 the number of persons employed in Germany, originating from the lands incorporated to the Third Reich and from the General Governorship increased more than twice and attained almost 1.7 million (Table 5).

Table 5. *Numbers of workers employed in the Reich originating from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich and from the General Governorship in the years 1941-1944*

No.	Date	Numbers of persons in forced labour		
		Totals	of whom:	
			from General Governorship	from the areas incorporated in the Reich
1	31.01.1941	798,101	-	-
2	25.04.1941	872,672	-	-
3	25.09.1941	1,007,561	-	-
4	20.01.1942	1,032,196	-	-
5	20.05.1942	1,194,919	775,283	419,636
6	10.10.1942	1,340,322	896,849	443,473
7	20.11.1942	1,344,692	895,916	448,776
8	31.12.1942	1,372,045	918,117	453,928
9	31.12.1943	1,577,232	1,054,537	522,695
10	31.03.1944	1,583,136	1,028,287	554,849
11	30.06.1944	1,625,223	1,032,752	592,471
12	30.09.1944	1,662,336	1,053,027	609,309

Source: Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, Wyd. UAM, Poznań, 1993, p. 161

Based on the source study of Cz. Łuczak we can relatively well estimate the general volume of movements of the Polish population caused by the deportations to work in the Third Reich. Thus, conform to the data from the author quoted, until July 7th, 1944, 1,214,000 persons (of whom – 235,200 Ukrainians) were transported to work in Germany from the General Governorship (including the district of Galicia) and from the district of Białystok. Then, in November and December 1944 further 16,377 persons were sent to work, and after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising – also 67,000 persons from Warsaw. The total number of the deported to work from these territories amounts, therefore, to more than 1,297,000. One should add to this number the persons deported from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich. The occupational authorities deported to Germany from these territories until the end of war 700 thousand inhabitants, of whom 670 thousand were of Polish nationality. Thus, altogether, from the General Governorship and the lands incorporated into the Reich during the war, around 2 million people were deported to work in Germany. It is estimated that 1.7 million of them were Poles. It is more statistically difficult to determine the number of persons from the eastern territories of the 2nd Commonwealth. Their number is estimated as equal roughly 500,000. Summing up, we obtain the figure of 2.5 million citizens of the 2nd Commonwealth, who were obliged or forced to leave their native localities and go to work in Germany. This number of the deported persons does not include the Polish POWs, whose status was turned to the one of workers, and whose situation was analogous to that of the other persons working in Germany. By adding 300,000 of the Polish POWs and a group of Poles deported from the Land of Warta to France (23,500) Cz. Łuczak (1979 p. 161) reaches the ultimate total number of persons in this group, namely 2,857,500. This was, therefore, the total number of Polish citizens deported to work in Germany from the territory of the pre-war Polish state. The workers deported to the Reich did not constitute, as mentioned already, a homogeneous ethnic group. Poles, however, dominated clearly. On the other hand, until the second half of 1941 workers from the Polish territories constituted the dominating group of foreign labour in Germany. It was only after the aggression against the Soviet Union and mass deportations of the Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian population that the share of the Polish citizens decreased, but it remained high, amounting to roughly 1/3 of the total number of foreigners working in the German economy. These workers, though, were treated much worse and exploited much more than the employees of the French, Belgian or Italian nationalities. That is also why Polish workers were suffering high losses. Mortality brought about by hard living conditions, bombings by the Allies and military activities was very high among them.

Polish citizens worked in all the regions of the Third Reich. Their numbers were relatively the highest in the eastern provinces of the Reich (e.g. in East Prussia – 144,500, in Lower Silesia –

132,500, in Pomerania – 116,100). Later, after the defeat of Germany and inclusion of these provinces in the post-war Poland, many of them remained on place, constituting the first group of settlers.

During the entire occupation the Nazi authorities conducted the activities aimed at liquidation of the Polish leading elite, first of all intelligentsia and the landed gentry. In the framework of the respective action, known under the cryptonym AB, altogether 52,000 persons were killed in the first year of occupation. These activities were carried out with different intensity across the territory of entire Poland. Side by side with physical extermination the method was applied of deportation to the concentration camps, located mainly on the areas of the Reich. The first such organised action was to arrest in April and May 1940 more than 20 thousand Poles inhabiting the areas incorporated into the Reich. They were deported to the concentration camps and in their majority exterminated. A similar action was carried out at more or less the same time in the General Governorship. It encompassed more than ten thousand persons. During the entire period of occupation sending to the concentration camps was one of the methods aiming of keeping the Polish society in terror. The response to the activities of the resistance movement was constituted by the pacification actions, whose effect was to send population to the concentration camps, which fulfilled the extermination function, and to a lesser degree were used for economic purposes. More than 130 thousand Poles were sent to the concentration camps (Łuczak 1993, p. 113). In the framework of the activities aimed at Germanising the so-called racially highly fit element, young women and first of all children were being sent to the Reich. According to the rough estimates some 200 thousand Polish children were sent to the Reich. A vast majority of them did not return to the home country after the war. At the special order of Himmler's several tens of thousands of appropriately selected persons were sent from Silesia and Greater Poland to be subject to an adequate denationalising pressure. Taking into account all the categories of population we can estimate that in the effect of the purposeful activities of the German occupational authorities more than three million Polish citizens were deported to the Reich from the areas constituting Polish territories in 1939.

6. The movements and the holocaust of the Jewish population

Complete implementation of the envisaged design of extermination of the Jewish population required from the Nazi authorities to undertake appropriate technical preparations. Selection of Polish territory as the main location of the holocaust resulted from the well justified objective motivations. First of all, Polish lands constituted the largest concentration of Jews in Europe. For logistic reasons (primarily related to transport) establishment of the extermination camps in Poland was the most convenient solution, since it required the least of population movements. A different kind of reason was associated with the legal status of Polish territories. According to the German authorities this territory was irreversibly conquered. It was deprived of even traces of autonomy. There were neither local authorities nor organisations collaborating with the occupants. Hence, no decisions, even at a local level, would require any sort of agreements or confirmations. The country was cut off from the contacts with the western allies, while total war was being fought in the East. The opinion, forwarded from time to time in the West, that location of the extermination camps in Poland was motivated by the anti-Semitic attitude of the Polish society finds no evidence in the documents.

Presentation of the scale of movements of the Jewish population, directed to the camps, or locations of extermination, requires consideration of a number of statistical issues, which give rise to significant controversies in the literature. It is relatively easy to determine the number of Jews living on Polish territory on the eve of the holocaust. The other issues are more difficult and the scholars differ essentially in their assessment. Thus, we can mention that the opinions as to the number of Polish Jews having survived the extermination differ significantly. Likewise, the literature of the subject mentions various numbers concerning the total number of European Jews killed on the territory of Poland. The numbers of victims of the particular camps are estimated differently, as well.

The best known estimate defining the number of Jews on the Polish territory (within the boundaries as of 31 August 1939) is constituted by the calculation of M. Borwicz (1981 p. 123), who

concluded that the number of the Jewish population in Poland at the instant of breakout of the German-Polish war was 3,475,000 persons. In my opinion this is an overestimation, since according to the data quoted in the Polish statistical yearbook published in exile (*Mały Rocznik...* 1941, p. 10) there were 3,351,000 persons of Jewish religion in Poland on the eve of the German aggression against Poland. In that period, in Poland, there existed in the case of Jews a very clear correlation between religion and nationality. The language criterion was much less effective in estimating the numbers of particular ethnic groups. There were much less people speaking at that time Yiddish or Hebrew – only 2,916,000 persons. This was the indication of the reach of language-wise assimilation. That is why the estimate forwarded by Cz. Madajczyk (1970, p. 328), who proposed that the number of the Jewish population in Poland was at 3,350,000, roughly equal the number of people of Judaic religion, should be considered more reliable. Jewish population lived mainly in central and eastern Poland. They concentrated especially in the small urban settlements, which often would take on a distinctly Jewish character. The largest Jewish communities existed in Warsaw, Lodz, Lwów (L'viv), Vilna, Kielce, Białystok, Lublin and Grodno (Fig. 8).

The literature of the subject presents a wide disparity of views concerning the number of Polish Jews, who managed to survive the holocaust. Thus, M. Borwicz (1981, p. 123), already quoted, estimated the number of survivors from the holocaust at 250,000, of whom, in his opinion, 40-50 thousand were saved inside the country, while the remaining ones saved themselves owing to the flight far into the USSR. The author cited estimates the losses of the Jewish population at some 3.2 million. It can be supposed that this estimate of the number of victims is somewhat too high, since it does not account for certain categories of the Jewish population, who made it through the war. Thus, for instance, a group of Jews managed to get to the West through Hungary or Romania. Some were still alive at the end of war in Germany, either sent there to work or in labour camps. There were also Jewish survivors among the Polish POWs taken prisoners by the Germans. And so, Cz. Madajczyk (1970, p. 328) estimates the total number of surviving Polish Jews at a much higher level, namely at more than 800,000. This estimate assumes that the number of Jews having survived by hiding in Poland was between 225,000 and 240,000, of those saved in other European countries – 110,000, and the ones having escaped to the USSR – 500,000. Now, the estimate of the number of victims resulting from this figure appears to be clearly too low, and the estimate of the number of survivors – too high. It is beyond doubt that the data concerning the total number of the Jewish refugees from Poland in the USSR are not correct. According to the reliable Soviet documentation the respective number was two, or perhaps even three times lower. Then, in the opinion of S. Łuczak (1993, p. 128) only roughly 100,000 Jews avoided the holocaust on the territories occupied by the Nazis, that is – two times less than estimated by Cz. Madajczyk. It can be supposed that the actual Jewish losses were slightly lower than the figures given by M. Borwicz, but much higher than given in the report of Cz. Madajczyk. An approximate balance of losses of the Jewish population is shown in Fig. 9. Estimation of direct losses is significant for the analysis of the movements of the Jewish population in the period of occupation. The whole Jewish population, namely, was forced to leave their places of residence. The information available suggests that only sporadically, in exceptional cases, the persons of Jewish nationality managed to survive in the same location over the entire period of war.

Fig. 8. Spatial distribution of Jewish population in Poland, according to larger towns and counties, as of 1931

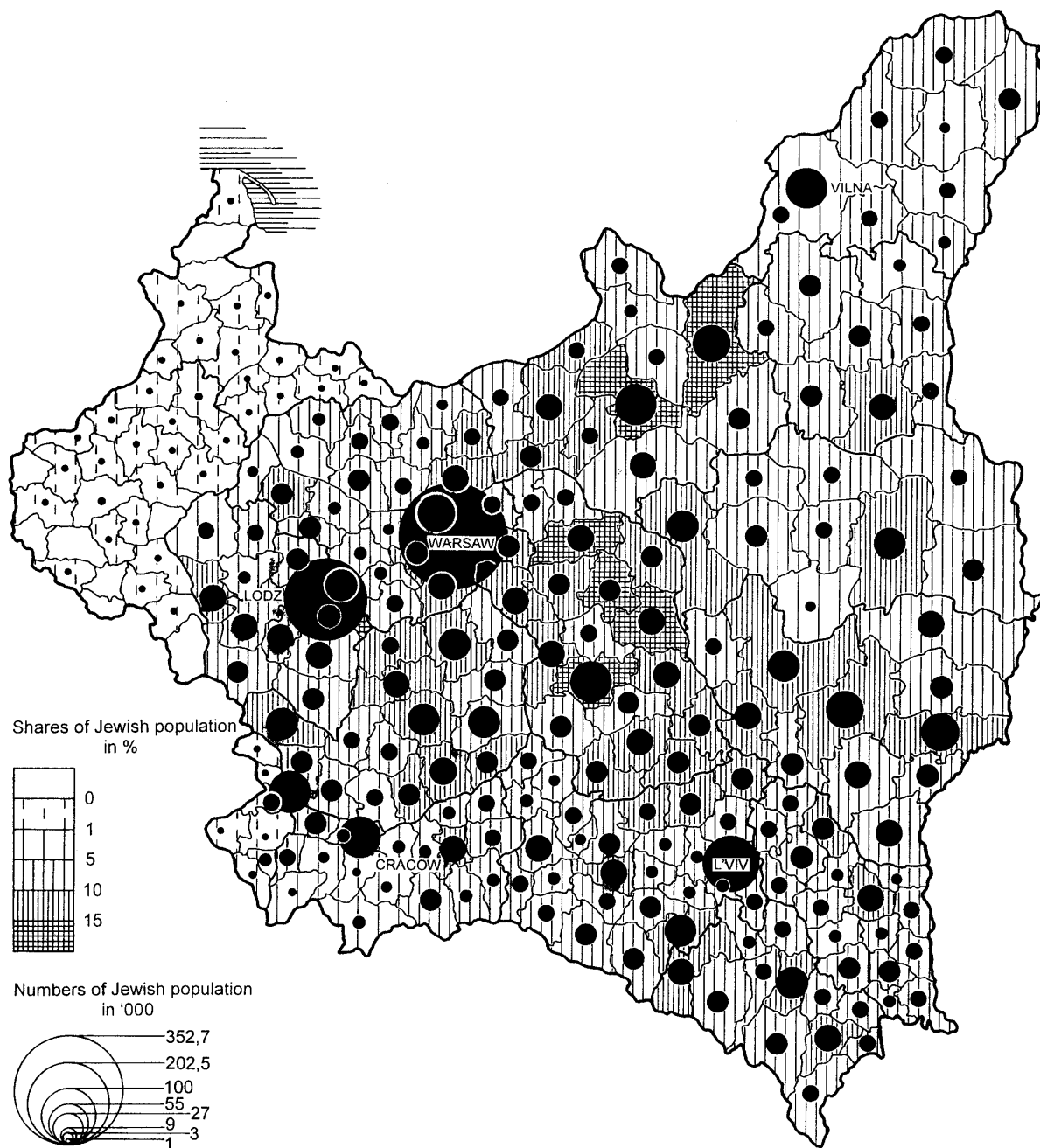
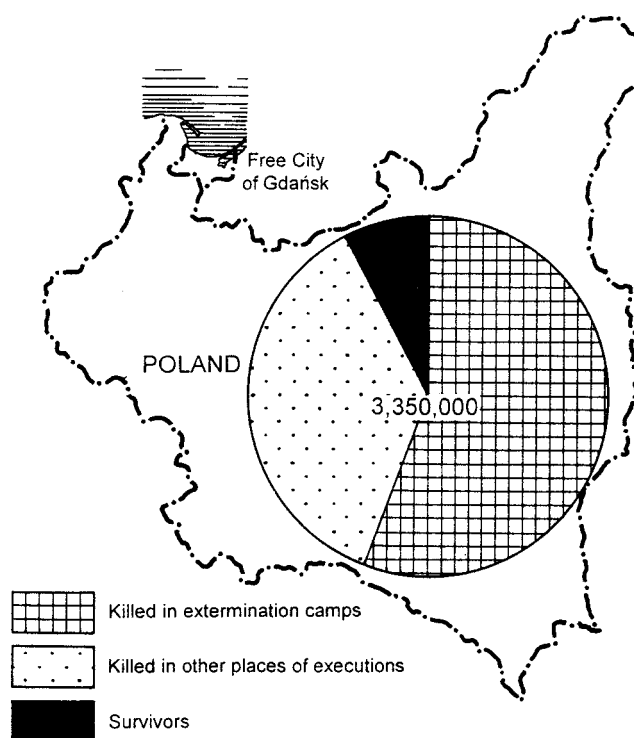


Fig. 9. Estimation of the losses of Jewish population in the period of Nazi occupation



In the first phase of the anti-Jewish activities the deportations took place from the Polish territories incorporated into the Reich to the area of the General Governorship. In the subsequent phase the establishment of the ghettos started, i.e. the quarters completely isolated from the surrounding areas, in which Jewish population was concentrated. Initially some three hundred such ghettos were created in the General Governorship. Besides, numerous ghettos were being created in the eastern areas of Poland. The first one was established in Piotrków Trybunalski, and the largest one - in 1940 in Warsaw. During several weeks, when the Warsaw ghetto was being established, more than 250,000 inhabitants of the city were relocated, of whom 138,000 were Jews, and 113,000 were Poles (Madajczyk 1986, p. 26). In winter of 1941/1942 some 150,000 Jews were additionally brought to the Warsaw ghetto from the surrounding areas of the region of Masovia. Thereby, on a relatively limited space 400,000 people were concentrated. Then, in a number of phases, of which the last one was the heroic uprising, the population of the ghetto was exterminated. Only few succeeded in escaping to the Aryan side and hiding from the Nazi persecutors. Large ghettos were set up in Białystok, Vilna, Lublin and in all the other bigger towns of Poland. In the subsequent stage, liquidation of the local ghettos took place, which was associated with transportation of the Jewish population to the extermination camps. These facts are widely known, and so do not need to be reminded. It is perhaps worth mentioning, though, that the ghetto in Lodz existed the longest. It was liquidated at a special order from Himmler in the summer of 1944, when the Red Army approached the boundaries of the Third Reich.

Over many years a controversy persisted as to the number of victims of the extermination camps. The figures quoted just after the war were very high. Thus, for instance, the official data concerning Oświęcim (Auschwitz-Birkenau) spoke of the number of victims equal around 4 million. The estimates put together later on were definitely lower, but there were also important differences between various estimates (see Table 6).

Table 6. Numbers of victims of the Nazi extermination camps according to A. Weiss, Cz. Madajczyk and R.Hilberg

No.	Location of the camp	Estimates of the numbers of victims (in '000) after:		
		Aharon Weiss	Czesław Madajczyk	Raul Hilberg
1	Bełżec	600	500 - 600	up to 600
2	Sobibór	250	150-250	up to 250
3	Treblinka	700 - 900	700 - 800	more than 750
4	Chełmno nad Nerem	152 - 310	260 - 300	up to 150
5	Oświęcim (Auschwitz)	1,200 - 2,500	2,500	more than 1,000
6	Majdanek	120 - 200	200	up to 50

Source: *Historia Polski w liczbach. Ludność i terytorium (History of Poland in figures. Population and territory)*. GUS, Warszawa, 1993, p. 193.

Owing to the recent studies of historians the numbers referring to the victims of extermination camps were verified. These data were not very precise and usually overestimated. On the other hand, the numbers of people killed in mass executions and brought to death in labour camps were underestimated. It was not accounted for that on the territories of eastern Poland the majority of the Jewish population were killed in mass executions. They were only sporadically transported to the extermination camps located in General Governorship. The source report of J. Marszałek (1994) served to elaborate Table 7, showing the scales of the numbers of victims in the six extermination camps and the respective losses of the Polish Jewry.

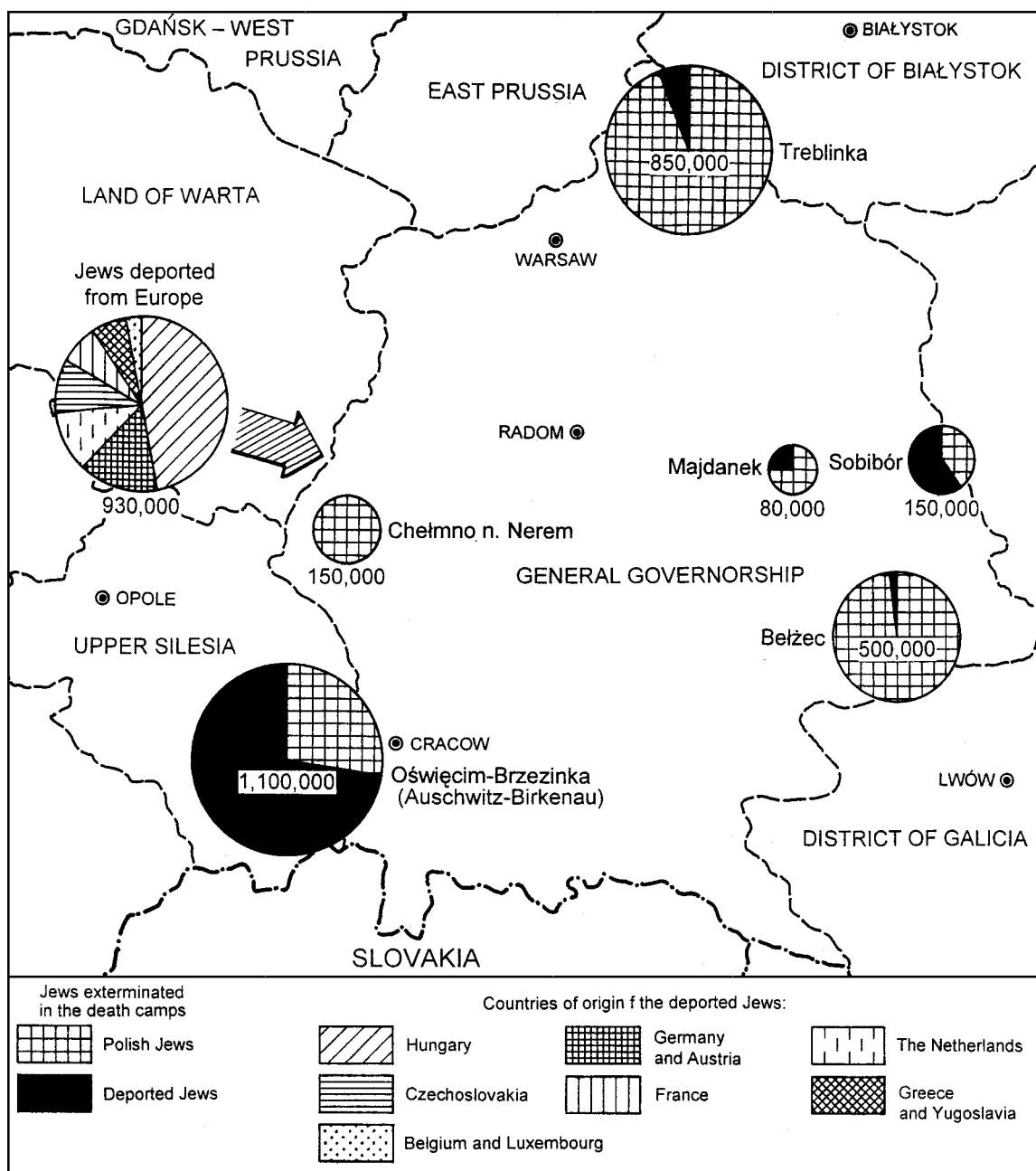
Table 7. Numbers of victims (in '000) in the Nazi extermination camps according to J. Marszałek

No.	Location of the camp	Total number of victims	Victims among Polish Jewry
1	Bełżec	500	490
2	Sobibór	150	60
3	Treblinka	850	800
4	Chełmno nad Nerem	150	150
5	Oświęcim (Auschwitz)	1,100	300
6	Majdanek	80	60
Totals		2,830	1,860

Source: J. Marszałek, *Stan badań nad stratami osobowymi ludności żydowskiej Polski oraz nad liczbą ofiar obozów zagłady w okupowanej Polsce (The state of research on the losses of Jewish population in Poland and on the numbers of victims of the extermination camps in occupied Poland)*. In: *Dzieje Najnowsze*, XXVI, 2, 1994, p.40.

Assuming that close to three million Polish Jews died during the years of occupation, we can conclude from the data provided in Tables 6 and 7 that approximately 62% of them died in the camps of Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Chełmno nad Nerem, Oświęcim (Auschwitz) and Majdanek. The other ones lost their lives in thousands of places of executions dispersed across the territory of Poland (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10. Extermination of Jewish population in the death camps during the Nazi occupation



At the same time, Jews from many European countries were transported to the area of occupied Poland. They were killed in the gas chambers of the extermination camps. It is estimated that more than one million Jews originating from outside of the Polish boundaries as of 1938 were killed on the territory contained within these boundaries. According to Cz. Łuczak (1993, p. 135) only from ten European countries close to 939,000 Jews were transported to Poland and killed here (Table 8).

The statistical data provided are not complete. In reality the numbers of Jews deported from Austria, Yugoslavia, and especially from Hungary, were much higher. We can refer here to the data quoted by Cz. Madajczyk in his report, namely that some 200,000 Jews were deported from Austria and Germany together, 71,000 from Yugoslavia, and 75,000 from Greece (Madajczyk 1986, p. 28). They were mainly directed to Poland. Virtually all Jews brought from other countries died, since they did not know Polish language nor the situation of the occupied country and thus were not capable of enduring till the defeat of the German army. The documentation available suggests that during the

years of the Nazi occupation more than four million Jews died on the former territories of Poland. During this period they were subject to forced movements, even several times over. This was simply related to definite technical and logistic conditions. The ultimate goal was already set firm by the Nazi authorities and activities carried out aimed consistently at the final solution of the Jewish “question”, that is – the complete extermination of Jews (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*).

Table 8. *Numbers of Jewish population deported to occupied Poland*

No.	Country of origin	Number of Jews transported
1	Hungary	437,000
2	The Netherlands	105,000
3	Germany	100,500
4	Czechoslovakia	88,000
5	France	70,000
6	Greece	50,000
7	Austria	40,000
8	Belgium	25,000
9	Yugoslavia	12,000
10	Luxembourg	2,000
	Total	930,000

Source: Cz. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej (Poland and Poles in the World War II)*, UAM, Poznań, 1993, p. 136.

7. Resettlements of population within the General-Governorship

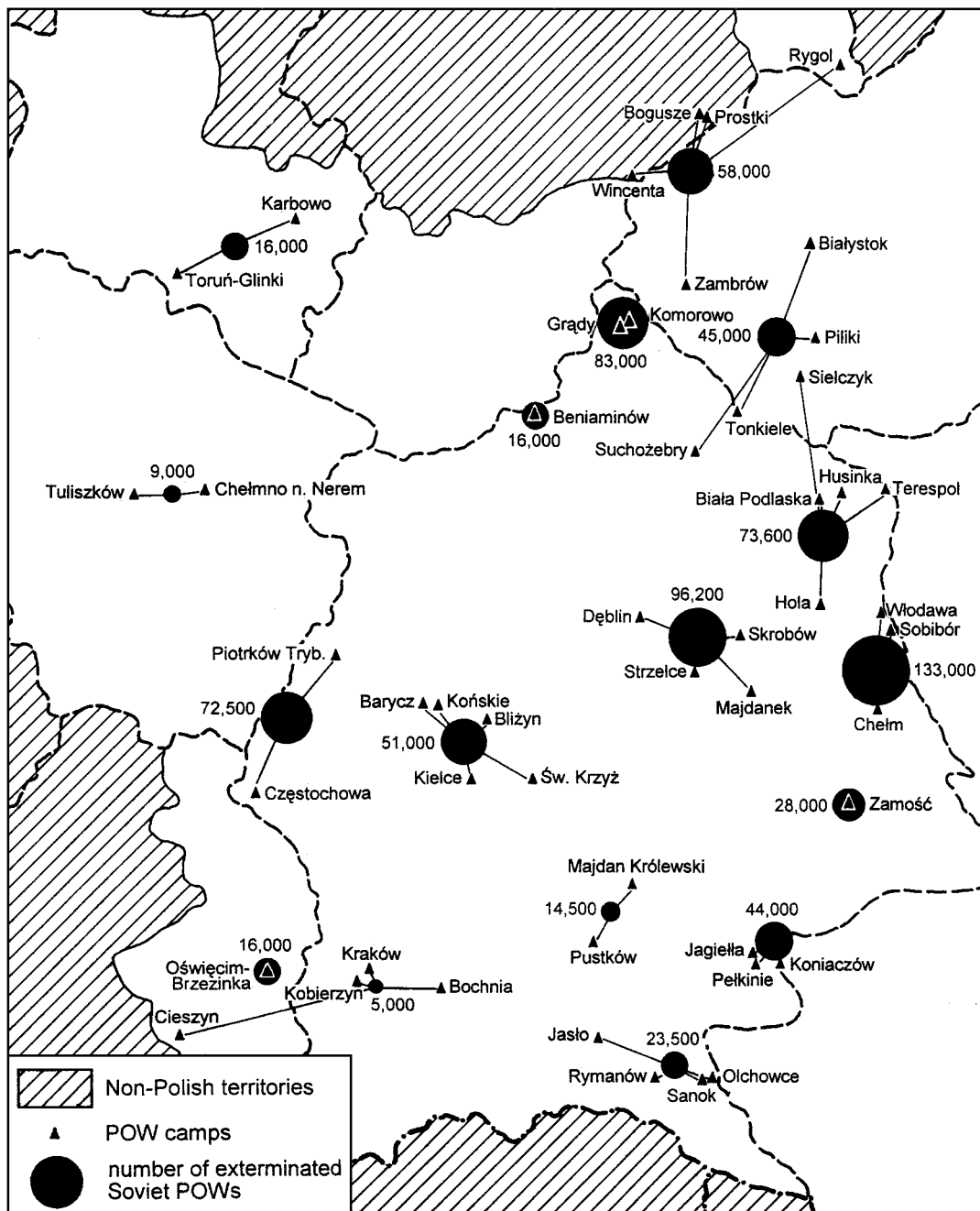
Side by side with the Jewish population the Nazi authorities decided to exterminate on the territory of the General Governorship for racial reasons one more population group, namely Gypsies. In view of their dispersion across space it was decided to concentrate them in selected points and then to transport them to the death camps.

This program was not so consistently carried out as this was the case with the Jewish population. Yet, more than a dozen thousand Polish Gypsies were brought to the death camps, where they were killed. A similar fate was prepared for several tens of thousands of Gypsies from other European countries. The first group consisted of the Gypsies from Germany and Austria, 6,000 persons, brought in November 1941. They died in Lodz ghetto and in the death camp of Chełmno on Ner. The consecutive transports of Gypsies came from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and other European countries. They were brought to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, where they were killed in the gas chambers. Besides, a part of Gypsies were killed in mass executions. It was only at the very end of war that the Nazi authorities renounced the plan of complete extermination of the Gypsy population. The pressure on two satellite countries, Hungary and Romania, in which the Gypsy population mainly concentrated, ceased. This allowed a large part of the Gypsies, living in the south-eastern Europe survive until the end of war.

During the first phase of the Soviet-German war some four million Soviet POWs were taken by the Germans. A vast majority of them died and were killed. A large part of them was transported to Poland, or was transported across Polish territories to the Reich. On the territory of the General Governorship, and partly on the areas incorporated into the Reich the Nazi authorities organised several dozen temporary camps, where the Soviet POWs were brought to. The camps were often deprived even of simple barracks. The POWs were kept in inhuman conditions. They were not supplied with food, and frequently even with water. Most of them died. On the basis of the study of E. Kozłowski (1983), who conducted in-depth investigations of this question, we can determine in an

approximate manner the scale of extermination of the Soviet POWs on the occupied Polish territories (Table 9, Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. Extermination of the Soviet POWs in the camps during Nazi occupation



The here presented data concerning the numbers of exterminated Soviet POWs are incomplete. They do not include the POWs and the places of extermination located within the eastern lands of the Commonwealth. Numerous POWs died outside of the camps, during conveying, evacuation or work. Not many survived. Yet, it is estimated that around 20 thousand Soviet POWs made it out of the camps. Some of the flights had a mass character. Thus, for instance, the Soviet POWs, put in the camp in Suchozębry – some 70,000 persons – on September 3rd, 1941, started at a given sign to destroy the barbed wire fence. Many of them died, but around 10-12 thousand prisoners escaped from the camp (Łuczak 1993, p. 137). They made their way to the neighbouring forests. Polish population helped them a lot. Later on they strengthened the resistance troops.

Likewise, numerous POWs from other armies, taking part in the World War II, were also brought into the territory of Poland. Tragic was the fate of the Italian soldiers, who stationed in some Polish localities. After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943 they were interned by the Germans and deported to the camps distributed over the Polish territories. According to the estimates, some 22,000 Italian prisoners of war died on the Polish territory in the years 1943-1944.

Table 9. *Numbers of Soviet POWs having died on the occupied Polish territories*

No.	Camp designation	Localities	Number of victims
1	Stalag 307 and 366	Biała Podlaska, Hola, Sielczyk, Husinka, Terespol	73,600
2	Stalag 376	Białystok, Tonkiele, Piliki, Suchożebry	45,000
3	Stalag I F, 68	Bogusze, Prostki, Wincenta, Zambrów, Rygol	58,000
4	Stalag IV D	Beniaminów	16,000
5	Stalag 319	Chełm Lubelski, Włodawa, Sobibór	133,000
6	Stalag 324 and 333	Grądy, Komorowo	83,000
7	?	Dęblin, Strzelce, Skrobów, Majdanek	96,200
8	Stalag 325	Zamość	28,000
9	?	Kielce, Bliżyn, Święty Krzyż, Barycz, Końskie	51,000
10	Stalag 367	Częstochowa, Piotrków Trybunalski	72,500
11	?	Chełmno n. Nerem, Tuliszków, Komorów	9,000
12	Stalag 369	Kobierzyn, Cieszyn, Kraków, Bochnia	5,000
13	?	Sanok, Olchowce, Rymanów, Jasło	23,500
14	Stalag 315 and 317	Koniaczów, Pełkinie, Jagiełła	44,000
15	?	Majdan Królewski, Pustków	14,500
16	Concentration camp	Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau)	16,000
17	Stalag XX C	Toruń Glinki, Karbowo	16,000
Total			784,300

Source: E. Kozłowski, *Losy radzieckich jeńców wojennych na ziemiach polskich (The fate of the Soviet POWs on the Polish lands)*, Warszawa 1983, p. 12.

Besides, more than a dozen thousand allied POWs of various nationalities were brought to the camps situated in Poland. It can be stated on the basis of rough estimates (not considering the population of Jewish extraction) that around one million citizens of other countries (mainly POWs) were brought during the years of war by the Germans to the territory of the General Governorship alone. They were largely subject to extermination.

The inhabitants of the General Governorship of Polish nationality were subject to repression, forced deportations and terror during the entire period of war. The very first action against the civil rural population was undertaken in the spring of 1940 in the region of Kielce in the course of chase against the guerilla detachment of "Hubal" (Major Henryk Dobrzański). The *Wehrmacht* troops, provoked by him, burned down a dozen villages, shot several hundred people, arrested and displaced many. The subsequent two years were relatively calm with this respect. The military activities of the Polish underground took on a truly large scale in the years 1943-1944. They encompassed the entire territory of the General Governorship, a large part of the Polish eastern lands, as well as some areas incorporated into the Reich. In response, the repression directed against civil population unleashed. During the pacification actions aimed at the bases of the guerilla troops several hundred villages were destroyed in the General Governorship alone, their population exterminated or deported.

The Nazi authorities, implementing the plan of Germanising the conquered territories, carried out in the period between November 1942 and July 1943 in the region of Zamość the deportation and pacification actions. This action was based on the order from Himmler of 12 November 1942 on the establishment of the first German settlement area in General Governorship. In the first stage (November 1942 – March 1943) German military deported Polish population from 116 villages, killing many inhabitants. The Poles were replaced by the German and Ukrainian settlers. In the second stage (23 June – 15 July 1943) Germans carried out a similar action, which resulted in evacuation of some 170 villages. Then, in the third stage the resettlement started of the Ukrainian population from

the eastern part of the region of Zamość to the Polish villages. Altogether 110,000 Poles were deported from the region of Zamość. This population, including children, was subject to segregation and then sent to the concentration camps or to work, or for Germanising in the Third Reich. The Polish armed self-defence was established, this fact resulting in heavy fighting. The resistance and the retaliation undertaken by the guerilla detachments against the German and Ukrainian population forced the Germans to interrupt the pacification.

In the years 1943-1944 the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in Volhynia broke out, and then extended over Podole. It was incited by the Ukrainian nationalist groups, aiming at the so-called "de-Polonisation" and the complete removal of the Polish population to the West, beyond the rivers Bug and San. As a consequence of the terror, which took the form of planned extermination, at least 70 thousand Poles were killed. In the face of danger, some 200 thousand Poles fled in the years 1943-1944 to the General Governorship from the territories "beyond-the-Bug".

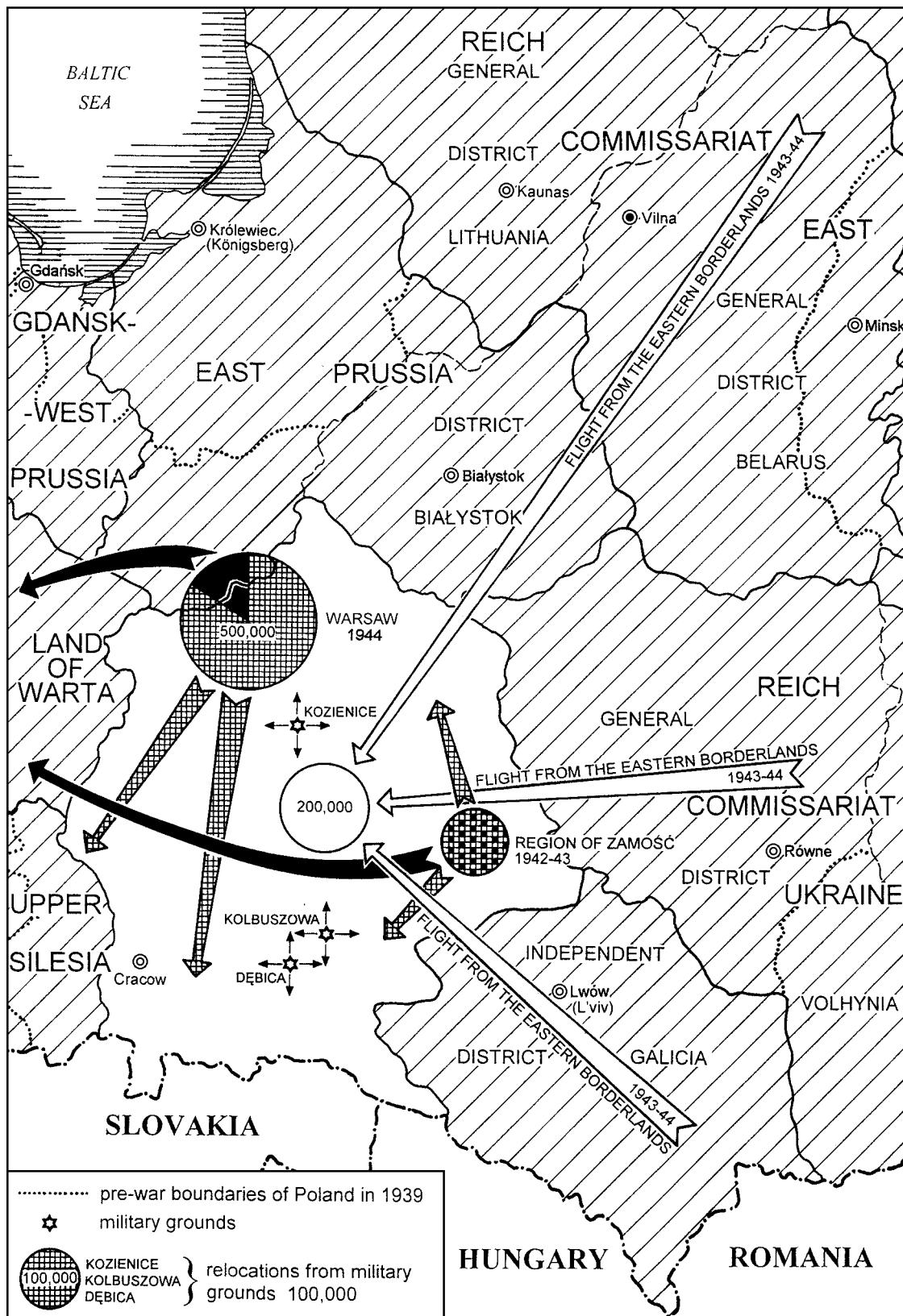
The relocation of the population of Warsaw after the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising took also on a large scale. According to rough estimates the left-bank Warsaw had on the day the uprising broke out, August 1st, 1944, between 800,000 and 900,000 inhabitants. The direct losses during the fighting amounted, conform to the minimum estimates, to 150,000 people. The entire remaining population was forced to leave the city. The majority of the elderly and the children (altogether more than 500,000 persons) were dispersed and put in the localities situated in the western part of the General Governorship (at this time the line of fighting stretched along the Vistula river). Persons in productive age were either sent to work in the Reich (67,000) or to the concentration camps (5,000). The participants of the Uprising were directed to the POW camps.

The other relocations, which also took place in the General Governorship, were carried out on a smaller scale. During the establishment of the military exercise grounds Germans relocated around 100,000 inhabitants of some 100 villages situated in the vicinity of Kozienice, Dębica and Kolbuszowa (Dziewoński, Kosiński 1967, p. 69, Fig. 12).

Population movements were also brought about by the immediate closeness of the military activities. The German-Soviet frontline stood in one place for almost half a year, until the January 1945 offensive of the Red Army. This line divided the territory of the General Governorship. The population living near to the frontline was removed both by the German and Soviet troops.

Over the entire area of the General Governorship during the whole period of war local Polish population was subject to forced relocations. It is admitted that around one million Poles, living on this area, lost their entire wealth and were forced to leave their place of residence. These relocations were taking place within the boundaries of the General Governorship. If we add to that the movements considered already before, having much farther geographic reach, we can state that over the entire period of war migrations on the area considered affected millions of people. All of them took place by use of force and were carried out ruthlessly. This brought about ultimately total political, social and demographic instability.

Fig. 12. Forced movements of Polish population on the territory of General Governorship during the Nazi occupation



8. Evacuation and flight of the German population to the Potsdam Germany

The change of the military situation of Germany, and especially the collapse of the eastern front, initiated a new phase of large-scale population movements. Until that moment the motive force of the large migration movements were the German authorities, and in the eastern lands of Poland, in the years 1939-1941 – the Soviet authorities. As the Red Army approached and the real possibility appeared of the Soviets entering the Polish territories, the political situation started to change. The population that now felt the most endangered were the persons of German nationality. The crimes committed against the Slavic and Jewish populations suggested the possibility of retaliation. This possibility, anyway, was not being kept secret and it was known that the German population would have to bear the responsibility for the support given Hitler and his expansionist plans as well as genocide.

The defeat of the German army in the East and in the West, and the approach of the Soviet troops made the Nazi authorities face the issue of preparation of evacuation of the German population. The first phase of evacuation encompassed eastern Galicia. At the news of crossing the river Zbrucz and the approach of the Soviet Army to Lwów (L'viv) the German administration and the German civilian population started to leave the threatened areas already in March 1944. There were at that time in Galicia 80,000 Germans having come from the Reich, and 62,000 Germans of local origin. Besides, the German administration took into account the necessity of evacuating the persons having collaborated with the authorities of the General Governorship. Some 98,000 Ukrainians and 25,000 Poles were classified in this group. Altogether 245,000 persons were supposed to leave their places of residence (Meissner 1987, p. 187). Not all of them managed to leave. This was associated with chaos and the delay in taking of decisions on organisation of the evacuation transports. In July 1944 German authorities started the evacuation from the region of Lublin. Similarly as in the District of Galicia the surprise caused by the rapid approach of the front and the fright of the Red Army brought about disorder and organisational collapse. German population aimed directly at the Reich or just crossed Vistula river and remained in the District of Radom. In addition, Germans unfit for work from the entire General Governorship were sent to Hungary (90,000) and to Slovakia (30,000). Thereafter, the evacuation of all the Germans residing to the East of Vistula started. This action was initiated in accordance with the directives from the authorities of the General Governorship on 14 July 1944. Then, on 20 July 1944 evacuation from the eastern counties of the District of Warsaw began (including the right-bank part of Warsaw, Praga). Immediately after that the order was issued for the German civilians to leave the area of Warsaw. At the end of July 1944 the panic in Warsaw was under control. This was associated with the intended counteroffensive of the 9th German army within the foreground of Warsaw. The disadvantageous military situation forced the governor Hans Frank to start the planned evacuation of Germans from the District of Cracow. The so-called de-congestion (*Auflockerung*) was initiated already in April 1944. It was connected with the sending back to the Reich of children and women of German nationality.

Stabilisation of the frontline, which stood still between September 1944 and January 1945 on the line of Vistula river, slowed down the planned evacuation of the western part of General Governorship. It was only the start of the Soviet offensive in January 1945 that caused the necessity of a new evacuation action. The catastrophe of the Germans on the front and the rapid pace of westward movement of the Red Army changed the intended planned evacuation into a disorderly flight, which encompassed the majority of the German population. Already in spring 1944 the westward movement of the front brought it in the North close to East Prussia. The areas of the proper Reich were threatened the earliest at exactly this segment of the front. The offensive of the Red Army along this direction at the beginning of October 1944 caused panicky escape of the civilian population living there. After the line of front stopped at the end of October, evacuation of population from the eastern part of East Prussia was started. This evacuation encompassed 600,000 persons (Sobczak 1966, p. 340). Until the end of 1944 evacuation was still being carried out in a planned and organised manner. The beginning of the great January offensive brought about chaos and complete disorganisation. The Soviet troops moved very fast in the western direction. The outflanking manoeuvres of the armoured columns destroyed the successive lines of defence. On January 26th, 1945, the first detachments of the Soviet

army reached the Vistula Lagoon and cut off the area of East Prussia. Until that time 250,000 Germans managed to escape to the West. It was decided to evacuate the remaining ones over the sea. This evacuation took on a dramatic course. People were directed to cross the frozen waters of the Vistula Lagoon, where many drowned. Close to 200,000 refugees went from Piława along the Vistula Bar. Some 450,000 refugees were transported with ships to Germany or to Denmark. Many of these ships were sunk, including “Wilhelm Gustloff”, torpedoed on 30 January 1945, with 4,749 refugees from East Prussia on board. Only 822 persons were saved.

The subsequent Soviet outflanking manoeuvre reached Baltic Sea in the vicinity of Koszalin (Köslin) and on March 1st, 1945, the overland escape route of the inhabitants of Gdańsk Pomerania was cut off. The sole way of escape was over the sea, and it was made use of on a massive scale. According to the data quoted by J. Sobczak, between 23 January and 9 May 1945 altogether 1,206,793 persons, of whom 679,541 were civilians, were transported over the sea from Królewiec (Königsberg, nowadays – Kaliningrad), Piława, Gdynia, Gdańsk and Hel. In the same period the shuttle traffic from Królewiec to Gdynia, from Krynica Morska to Gdańsk and Hel moved 728,131 persons, of whom 494,485 were civilians. Further, from the Pomeranian coast – from Darłówek, Ustka, Kołobrzeg and Świnoujście – altogether 182,533 persons were transported to the West, including 136,579 civilians. Jointly, by various ways and means, between 23 January and 8 May 1945 2,204,477 persons were transported over the Baltic Sea, including at least 1,335,585 civilians (Sobczak 1966, p. 350).

Simultaneously, spontaneous overland flight of the German population to the West started. Initially, train convoys were being organised, and later on, when this turned out to be impossible, road convoys were formed, which moved slowly westwards. All this was taking place in conditions of sharp, frosty winter. The columns would start marching at the last moment, when the Soviet tanks were already approaching. The report of K. Golczewski (1971) contains many interesting facts associated with the numbers of the evacuated persons and the losses borne during the flight. The demographic losses among the German refugees were very high. Quite significant divergences exist in this domain as to the statistical estimates. We can cite, for instance, the fact that the civilian population of East Prussia, whose number was at the end of 1944 at 2,322,000, lost in the terminal phase of war – conform to one of these estimates – 299,000 persons (Golczewski 1971, p.191). Less than 30% of the population of East Prussia and the province of Gdańsk-West Prussia remained in their places of residence. The remaining ones either reached the destinations to the West of Odra river, or did not survive the horrors of evacuation.

The Soviet offensive moved very fast along the main central axis of the military activities, the line Warsaw-Berlin. The Russian armoured troops reached Odra river in the first days of February and took a bridgehead on the western bank of the river in the vicinity of Kostrzyń. Within the central lowland belt some 2 million Germans lived. The evacuation plans for this population were elaborated in detail, but in just few days they became completely obsolete. At the beginning, railway transport functioned yet, while in the subsequent phase the road convoys set out, usually overcome by fighting on their way. The evacuation of the German civilian population in the here considered central belt, including the so-called Land of Warta, did not have such a tragic course as to the North, in Pomerania, but still it entailed a lot of victims. In January approximately 600,000 of the local civilian population were transported across Odra. These were both the old inhabitants of German nationality and the settlers, who moved to that area during the war.

Within the southern part of the Polish territory the Ukrainian Front moved on and quickly overcame the German defences. After having encircled Cracow and Upper Silesia the troops of the Front reached on January 22nd the river Odra close to Brzeg and Oława. Thus, the escape route in the western direction through Wrocław (Breslau) was cut off. Hence, the wave of German refugees from Cracow and Upper Silesia took the south-western direction, as the sole route available. The authorities of the General Governorship escaped in panic from Cracow, taken by the Soviet army on January 19th, 1945. The German political entity, established on the central territories of Poland, named officially General Gouvernement, ceased to exist. Hundreds of thousands of German refugees, mixed with the military detachments and the evacuated prisoners of the camp in Oświęcim (Auschwitz), moved towards Moravia or Lower Silesia. The evacuation of Wrocław was announced at the last instance. The official order was given on 21 January 1945. It made women and children leave the city on foot.

In temperature of -16° to -20°C approximately 500,000 persons set out from the city and its surroundings. The marching columns were overtaken by the fighting (Knaps 1952-1953, p. 52). Thus, the number of victims among these people was very high. Yet, hundreds of thousands managed to get out of the sack. According to approximate calculations around 3.2 million Germans left Silesia until the end of World War II, having moved to Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria and Bohemia (Sobczak 1966, pp.354-355).

German population having stayed in their locations of residence suffered serious losses, as well. Numerous victims among the civilian population were caused by the defence of particular towns, turned into fortresses (Wrocław, Głogów, Kołobrzeg). It is also beyond doubt that many German citizens were killed by the Soviet soldiers. The population balance published after the war by the German scholars estimates the losses borne within the territories lost by Germany due to war and the Free City of Gdańsk at 1,882,000 persons, of whom 594,000 would die directly due to the military activities (the military staff and the victims of the air raids), while close to 1.3 million were considered to be the losses brought about by the passing of the front and the entering of the Soviet army. They were referred to as the so-called unexplained cases (Dziewoński, Kosiński 1967, pp. 65-66). Polish scholars question these calculations and consider them to be tendentiously overestimated.

It is very difficult to determine how many Germans left during the last few months of war the areas located between the German-Soviet line of fighting from 12 January 1945 and the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers, which was soon to become the western boundary of Poland. The most frequent estimates speak of the evacuation or flight of five million Germans (not considering the military). The former Polish citizens of German nationality, who lived on the territory of Poland within its boundaries of 31 August 1939, left this territory in panic and haste. Then, there was mass flight of the German settlers originating from the core areas of the Reich and the persons of German nationality from various European countries, having been settled on the territory mentioned. These two groups of population felt most threatened, not only from the side of the Soviet army. They also feared the retaliation from the Polish side. The former Polish citizens were afraid of the responsibility for the disloyalty with respect to the country, whose citizens they had been. German settlers were aware that they took in possession unlawfully the farms and the dwellings having belonged to the deported Poles. These two categories of the German population left in their vast majority the occupied Polish territories. The population inhabiting the eastern territories of the Reich, in its boundaries from before the war, was evacuated or escaped for fear of the approaching Soviet army. They accepted without any doubt the official German propaganda. This propaganda was directed by those who knew perfectly well of the cruelties committed by the German army in the East and were afraid of the responsibility. Information coming from the areas taken by the Red Army strengthened their conviction that a blood shedding retaliation is to be expected.

It should be judged that the estimate of five million refugees is rather too low. Based on the general demographic balances it can be supposed that the true number of the refugees could be even higher. This problem will yet be considered in a further part of the report.

9. Repatriation of the Polish population from the areas to the East of the Curzon line²

The establishment of the new Polish eastern border in effect of decisions taken in Teheran and Yalta, entailing the irrevocable loss of the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth, brought up the question of the population of Polish nationality, living outside of the boundaries of the Polish state in

² The literature of the subject accepts commonly the term of “repatriation” for the resettlement of Polish population from the former Polish Eastern Borderlands to the area of the so-called Potsdam Poland. This, however, was not so much “repatriation”, but rather “expatriation” of the native population from their home region. Given the coercion applied “expulsion” would be here a more appropriate term. One could also use other terms, such as “resettlement”, “banishment”, or “dislodging”. Alas, during almost fifty years only the term of “repatriation” was used with respect to the movement of the Polish population from the Eastern Borderlands to Poland in its new boundaries. The term became so popular that replacing it by another word, even a more correct one, might lead to a terminological turmoil.

its post-war shape. A solution to this question required appropriate agreements with the Soviet authorities. The Polish-Soviet talks on the subject were conducted over a long time and encountered significant difficulties. Repatriation required namely an unambiguous explanation of the issue of citizenship of the persons inhabiting the areas to the East of the Curzon line and having been before the war Polish citizens (Kersten 1974, p. 96). This issue was debated in the talks between the Polish government in exile and the authorities on the Kremlin. These authorities maintained their formal position, namely that all the inhabitants acquired, conform to (the Soviet) law, the citizenship of the USSR. Poles, on the other hand, considered them still to be Polish citizens. During formation of the Polish army in the USSR, commanded by General Wł. Anders, the Soviet authorities made an exception with respect to the persons of Polish and partly Jewish nationality. Later on, after having broken diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile (in London), they renounced this exception. In view of the lack of formal regulation of this question mass resettlement (“repatriation”) of Poles to the post-war Poland was beyond question. That is why negotiations started between the so-called Polish Committee for National Liberation (Polish acronym: PKWN), a Soviet construct, and the Soviet administration. The negotiations were quite difficult, but ended with a partial success. The agreements signed by the representatives of the PKWN and the authorities of the USSR, and then the “governments” of the Ukrainian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR, of 9 May 1944 and 22 September 1944, as well as the agreement between the governments of Poland and Soviet Union of 6 July 1945, established that the persons of Polish and Jewish nationality, who had had Polish citizenship before 17 September 1939 and had permanent residence on the territories ceded to the Soviet Union, were entitled to choose their citizenship and location of residence between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The issue was additionally complicated by the lack of criteria concerning nationality. Polish delegation, being aware that the formal requirements envisaged in the repatriation choice questionnaire, will make repatriation impossible for many persons, tried to make the respective decisions based on the principle of national self-identification of the individuals. Yet, this recommendation was only partly observed in the practice of repatriation.

At the instant Polish territories located between the new eastern border of the post-war Poland and the one defined in the Treaty of Riga after the Polish-Bolshevik war, fell again in 1944 to the Red Army, and thus were to belong to the Soviet Union, they were supposedly the home to roughly four million Poles, conform to the estimates of the then Polish authorities. In reality this number was lower. It is estimated that together with the few remaining Jews there were a bit more than 3.5 million Poles on this territory. In case of realisation of complete repatriation transport of such a huge mass of people would constitute an essential logistic problem.

For carrying out the organisational tasks associated with the resettlement action the State Repatriation Office was established by virtue of the decree of the PKWN of 7 October 1944. The Office was meant to take care of the relocated persons. Further, a special office of the Government’s Representative for Repatriation was also established, meant to co-ordinate the entire action.

The first transports with the repatriates came to Poland already in the second half of 1944. These were the persons resettled from the former south-eastern Poland, that is – from the western districts of the Ukrainian SSR. In this first period 117,000 persons came to Poland. In view of the fact that the front still stood across the territory of Poland, this group found themselves in very hard conditions. It was only in the second half of 1945, after Germans were pushed away from the Polish lands and the new western border of Poland was established, that wide possibilities for settling opened up.

In connection with the agreements signed on both respective sides 1,736,000 persons applied for repatriation as of 1 July 1946 in the three republics bordering upon Poland, that is – Ukraine, Belarus’ and Lithuania. Of them, 1,240,000 persons were allowed to leave. Thus, more than 500,000 persons, despite having applied for repatriation to Poland, remained in their locations of residence. The highest share of repatriates occurred in Ukraine (96.0%). This was largely influenced by the terror that the Polish population suffered from the side of the Ukrainian nationalist groupings, which were active at that time. In the Byelorussian republic of 470,000 persons having applied 274,000 actually

left. The share of the repatriates was even lower in Lithuania (of 445,000 registered only 178,000 went to Poland) (Piesowicz 1988a, p. 55).

In the framework of the repatriation action 724,000 persons came to Poland in 1945, of whom 512,000 from the Ukrainian SSR, 136,000 from the Byelorussian SSR, 54,000 from the Lithuanian SSR, and 22,000 from other Soviet republics. In the subsequent year, 1946, the flow of repatriates was smaller, amounting to 644,000 persons, of whom 159,000 from the Ukrainian SSR, likewise 136,000 from the Byelorussian SSR, 123,000 from the Lithuanian SSR, and 226,000 from other Soviet republics. In the following years repatriation was marginal and encompassed only individual persons. Altogether, within the official framework of the repatriation action, 1,507,000 persons came to Poland (see Table 10).

Table 10. *Repatriation of Polish population from the Soviet Union to Poland in the years 1944-1949*

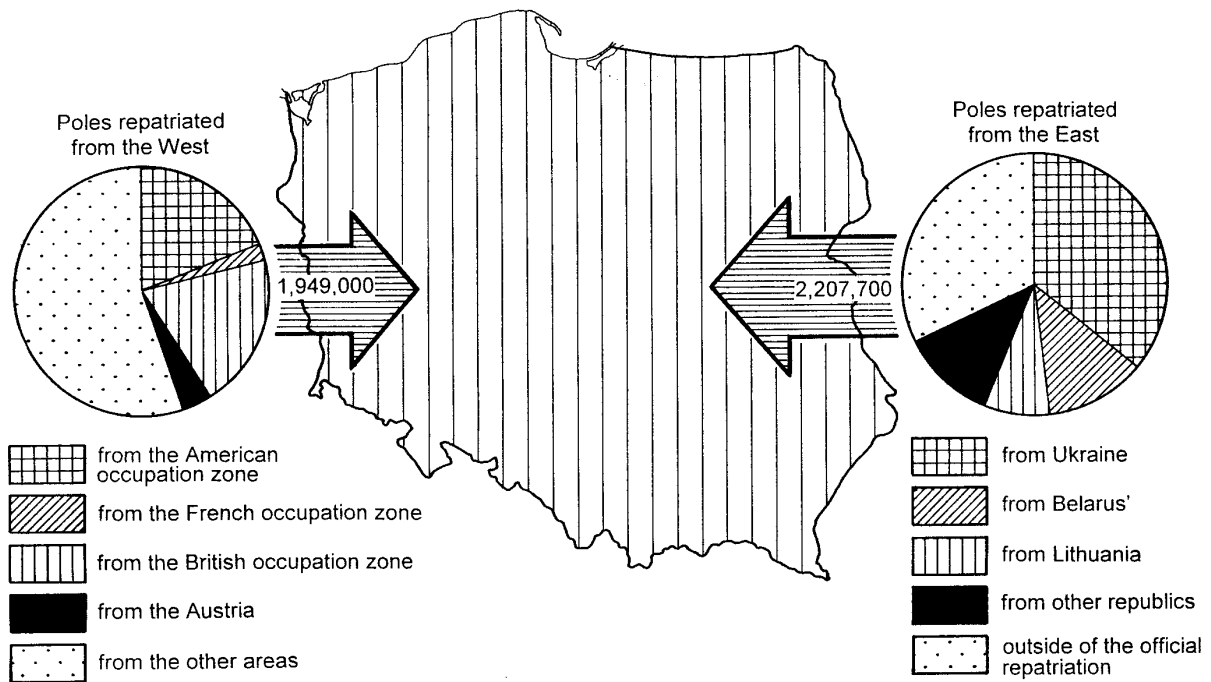
No.	Period of repatriation	Numbers of repatriates from:				Totals
		Ukrainian SSR	Byelorussian SSR	Lithuanian SSR	Other republics	
1	1944	117,000	-	-	-	117,000
2	1945	512,000	136,000	54,000	22,000	724,000
3	1946	159,000	136,000	123,000	226,000	644,000
4	1947-1949	-	2,000	1,000	19,000	22,000
Totals		788,000	274,000	178,000	267,000	1,507,000

Source: K. Piesowicz, *Wielkie ruchy migracyjne w latach 1945-1950. Część I (Large-scale migration movements in the years 1945-1950. Part I)*. *Studia Demograficzne*, 4 (96), 1988, p. 55.

Side by side with official repatriation there was a movement to Poland of the individual migrants. We have mentioned already before of the Polish refugees from Volhynia and partly from Podole, who fled for fear of extermination from the side of the nationalist Ukrainian formations – 200,000 persons having come to the General Governorship in the years 1942-1943. At the turn of 1945 additional 100,000 refugees made their way to the ethnically Polish areas. Besides, the 1st Polish Army, formed in the Soviet Union, of some 100,000 soldiers and officers, entered the territory of Poland. This army was largely composed of the Poles having inhabited the eastern lands of the 2nd Commonwealth. There were also a relatively high number of returns of the Poles originating from the eastern lands, who found themselves on the territory of Germany during the war. These were primarily the persons deported to work or the POWs. They did not return to their home areas, but remained in Poland on their way back. It is estimated that this group was composed of some 200,000 persons. This group was accompanied by the few of those who left the Soviet Union with General Władysław Anders, and through Persia, Middle East and Italy, reached Poland. According to K. Piesowicz (1988a, p. 55) around 500,000 persons originating from the eastern borderlands came to Poland outside of the official repatriation action. S. Banasiak (1963, p. 151) performed a more accurate calculation of the number of repatriates. Thus, in his opinion the total number of repatriates from the East amounted to 2,207,716 (Fig. 13). It can be judged that this precise calculation is close to the actual numbers. The population census carried out in 1950 reported 2,136,000 persons, whose residence on September 1st, 1939, was located on the areas lost to the Soviet Union. Numerous Poles from the Eastern Borderlands did not return to Poland from the West and dispersed across the globe.

Among the broadly understood repatriates relocated from the East the persons of Polish nationality dominated. Approximately 140,000 Jews came as well. Half of the latter migrated during the next two years to Palestine. The groups of repatriates of other nationalities were quite marginal. The next action of repatriation of Poles from the Soviet Union took place in the years 1956-1959. At that time 249,000 repatriates came to Poland, of whom 101,100 from the Byelorussian SSR, 76,000 from the Ukrainian SSR, and 46,000 from the Lithuanian SSR. Soon after this repatriation action, in 1959, a population census was carried out in the Soviet Union. This census reported 539,000 Poles in the Byelorussian SSR, 363,000 in the Ukrainian SSR and 230,000 in the Lithuanian SSR. Thus, in these three republics bordering with Poland, altogether 1,132,000 persons declared Polish nationality in 1959. These were the persons, who for various reasons were not included in the repatriation.

Fig. 13. *Repatriation and return migration of Polish population to Poland from the East and West after termination of military operations*



10. Return to Poland of the population deported by the Nazi occupants and re-emigration from the West

When considering the movements of the population on the areas occupied by the Reich we provided the estimates for the scale of relocations to work in Germany. The complete military defeat of the Nazis and the entering of the allied armies into the territory of Germany, as well as establishment of a new geopolitical situation allowed for the return of the deported to the country. The matter, though, was not so simple. The fact that Poland fell under the Soviet domination, and that the authorities in Poland had been established by victorious Stalin made the decision of return more difficult. On the other hand, administration of the new Poland undertook a propaganda action persuading to return to the home country. The deported population, who found themselves on the areas liberated by the western allies, became the object of a two-sided propaganda, from the Polish government in exile and from the administration in Warsaw. The two sides had different aims and used different arguments. Nowadays, looking back from a sufficiently far historical perspective, we can state that despite the patriotic rhetoric, used by the delegates of the government in exile, the blocking of the return to Poland was decidedly harmful for the demographically damaged country. It should be added that the western allied governments were interested in the return of Poles to their homeland and collaborated on that issue closely with the administration in Warsaw. It is very difficult to establish a general demographic balance and estimate with a decent precision the number of Poles, who remained in Western Europe after the war. It is even more difficult to provide a statistical estimate of their later fates, since many of them never returned to Poland and dispersed across the globe. Only very rough assessments can be forwarded in this domain.

Polish literature of the subject reserves for the persons sent by force to work in Germany and returning to the home country the not too adequate term of "repatriates from the West" or, less frequently, "war repatriates". The returns to Poland encompassed also the persons, who left Poland before September 1939 of their own will, looking for a job, and decided to come back to the homeland after the war. This group was referred to as "re-emigrants".

Hence, the post-war return wave from the West to Poland encompassed quite a variety of population categories, namely:

- the demobilised soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West, who fought against Germans side by side with the allies; in the final stage of war the Polish Armed Forces in the West were the army of some 200,000 officers and privates;
- the prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps;
- the POWs from the September 1939 campaign, the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, etc.;
- the persons deported during occupation to work in Germany;
- civilians, who fled from the country for fear of the German or Soviet terror;
- the former job migrants, who had left Poland before the outbreak of the World War II.

It is not possible to present the scale of returns to Poland for each of the population categories mentioned. The statistical documentation makes it possible to only separate from the general evidence of the returning persons the “re-emigrants”, but even in this domain quite significant divergences exist. Ultimately, the entire classification of the return flows was not fully unambiguous, because the cases were known of persons being simultaneously “repatriates” and “re-emigrants”.

The largest groups of the persons returning were those sent to work in Germany and the Polish POWs interned by the *Wehrmacht*. It is estimated that around 400,000 of those people remained at the end of war on the area of the Reich to the East of the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers. After the decisions taken in Potsdam these areas became an integral part of the Polish state. So, the respective persons were not included in the repatriation reporting. It can be said that they did not return to Poland but Poland came to them, encompassed them with its new boundaries, and brought their citizenship back to them. Many of them, anyway, did not have where to return any more, because they had frequently been the residents of the lands that Poland lost in the East, or their dwellings in central Poland were destroyed. They stayed, therefore, on place, and became the first settlers on the so-called Regained Lands.

Approximately 700,000 persons sent to work in Germany during the occupation and POWs were in the Soviet occupation zone in Germany at the instant of end of war. Immediately after the military operations terminated, in the first half of 1945, half of them returned to Poland. They were not included in the repatriation reporting, because the newly established Polish-German border was not yet under the supervision of the Polish border guards. The remaining Poles left the Soviet occupation zone and returned to Poland in the second half of 1945. At the same time, also without any registration, more than 100,000 Poles returned to Poland from the American, British and French occupation zones. They were taken care of by the UNRRA, this organisation having adopted the term of “displaced persons” (DPs, or, in the Polish colloquial expression, the “dipis”) for the civilians that remained under its wardship.

On the basis of the work by K. Kersten (1974, p. 207) we can determine in an approximate manner, the numbers of Poles in particular zones of western Germany and the course of their repatriation to Poland. Thus, according to the data as of 28 July 1945 there were:

- in the British zone (Ruhr, Rheinland, Westphalen, Hannover, Oldenbourg, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Friesen): 435,388 DPs and 106,438 POWs;
- in the American zone (Bavaria, a part of Württemberg, Hessen, Hessen-Nassau, Bremen): 157,258 DPs and 24,722 POWs;
- in the French zone (Saarland, Rhein-Pfalz, northern Rheinland, Baden, a part of Württemberg): 31,477 DPs and 584 POWs;
- in the camps not positioned according to zones: 149,259 DPs and 7,400 POWs.

Thus, according to this statistic, there were at the end of war altogether 912,526 Polish citizens on the western territories of Germany, most of them of Polish nationality. One should add to this number the ones in Austria – 36,000 Polish DPs, conform to an underestimation, and those, who were

not accounted for in the official statistics. It can therefore be supposed that there were around 1.2 million Poles in western Germany and in Austria in the middle of 1945.

The organised repatriation of Polish population was undertaken in the effect of the September Berlin agreement among the allies. It started with a delay with respect to the envisaged deadlines. The first transport from the American zone left on 17 September 1945, from the British zone – on 13 October 1945, and from the French zone only in November of the same year. Thus, in October of that year 127,308 Poles were sent back to Poland in an organised manner (73,733 from the American zone and 74,005 from the British zone), in November – 106,393 (23,388 from the American zone, 74,005 from the British zone and 9,000 from the French zone), and in December – 40,049 (5,851 from the American zone, 28,265 from the British zone and 5,933 from the French zone) (see Kersten 1974, p. 213).

In view of technical difficulties this repatriation lasted long and terminated in principle only at the end of 1948. It encompassed altogether 864,674 persons (see Table 11).

Table 11. *Repatriation from the western zones of Germany and from Austria to Poland*

No.	Dates	Numbers of repatriates				Totals
		From the American zone	From the French zone	From the British zone	From Austria	
1	Until 1.01.1946	196,585	14,933	155,845	59,308	426,671
2	1.01-31.12.1946	130,605	26,517	200,816	9,525	367,463
3	1.01-30.06.1947	26,258	3,563	12,625	2,151	44,597
4	1.07.1947-31.08.1948	10,731	1,437	13,818	920	26,906
Totals		364,179	46,450	383,104	71,904	865,637

Source: K. Kersten, *Repatriacja ludności polskiej po II wojnie światowej (Studium historyczne) (Repatriation of Polish population after the World War II (An historical study))*, Ossolineum, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1974, pp. 216-217.

Many Poles did not decide to repatriate and remained abroad. These persons acquired the status of “refugees”. According to the official statistics 275,000 Poles refused to return home. By adding the persons, who were not accounted in the international documentation, we arrive at the rough estimate of half a million Poles, who were forced by war to leave the homeland and remained in the countries of Western Europe.

Besides the repatriation of the Polish citizens, who were forced to leave after September 1st, 1939, there was the already mentioned re-emigration of those Poles, who had departed before. This action did not bring all of the expected results. Thus, in particular, not even a symbolic return of the Poles living in the United States was achieved. Still, the appeal of the new government found a positive response in the form of return of some 200,000 “old” emigrants. The biggest group returned from France (78,000), then from Germany (60,000), Yugoslavia (15,000), Romania (4,000), Belgium (4,000), etc. They were settled on the newly acquired Western and Northern Lands (Piesowicz 1988a, p. 72).

An overall synthesis of the dimensions of the official repatriation and re-emigration was performed by K. Kersten (1974, p. 242). According to her calculations, repatriation from Germany between 1945 and 1950 encompassed 1,642,500 persons. Repatriation and re-emigration from other European countries encompassed 298,500 persons, and from outside of Europe – 8,000 persons of Polish nationality. Thus, not considering the “immigration” from the areas that had been incorporated into the USSR, 1,949,000 persons moved after the war to Poland from other European countries, mainly from Germany (Fig. 12).

11. Post-war movements of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population

Determination of the eastern boundary of Poland on the basis of the Curzon line was not only meant to legalise the territorial acquisitions of the Soviet Union, but also to ultimately solve the growing ethnic problems existing between Poland and its eastern neighbours. In connection with this an agreement was signed on 9 September 1944 between the Soviet government and the PKWN, representing the new authorities in Poland, on the mutual exchange of population. Conform to the stipulations of the agreement the Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Belarusian, Russian and Lithuanian populations living on the territory of Poland in its new boundaries were to be relocated to the Soviet Union, while persons of Polish nationality living on the eastern side of the Curzon line were to be moved to Poland. An integral part of the agreement was constituted by the deal on the resettlement of the Ukrainians and the so-called Ruthenians from Poland and Poles from the Ukrainian SSR. The intention of the agreement was to liquidate the basis for the tensions and conflicts between the two nations in a freewill, but at the same time ultimate (which was apparently inconsistent) manner.

The number of Ukrainians, who lived on the Polish side, was initially estimated as equal between 493,800 and 546,200 (Skrzynecki 1988, p. 4). The actual number of the Ukrainian population (including the Lemko population inhabiting the northern slopes of the Carpathians between the river Poprad and upper San) was higher. The estimates in this domain are quite divergent, although determination of the approximate numbers of population is not very difficult. The Ukrainians living in south-eastern Poland were either of Eastern Orthodox or of Greek-Catholic religion. Within this area national identification was associated with religious denomination, and the faithful of the Roman Catholic Church fully identified themselves with the Polish nationality. Ukrainians lived in southern parts of four counties of the Cracow province (Gorlice, Jasło, Nowy Sącz, Nowy Targ), in nine western counties of the former province of Lwów, these counties now belonging to Poland (Brzozów, Jarosław, Krosno, Lesko, Lubaczów, Łańcut, Przemyśl, Przeworsk, Sanok), and six eastern counties of the province of Lublin (Biała Podlaska, Biłgoraj, Chełm, Hrubieszów, Włodawa). All these counties were inhabited, in accordance with the census of 1931, by 2,272,800 persons, of whom 208,400 were of Orthodox religion and 398,100 were Greek Catholics. By subtracting the few Russians and Poles of Orthodox faith, and adding the dispersed Ukrainians, living in the remaining counties, situated farther West, we arrive at the rough number of more than 600,000 Ukrainians. Between 1931 and 1939 this population featured high natural increase and approached 700,000 persons.

A number of distinct stages can be distinguished in the action of resettlement of the Ukrainians. During the first stage, until 15 November 1944, 3,505 Ukrainians were deported from Poland, then, between 15 November 1944 and 1 January 1945, 36,359 Ukrainians were resettled, between 1 January 1945 and 1 March 1945 – 41,459 persons, and between 1 March 1945 and 15 August 1945 yet 141,186 persons were resettled. Since the beginning of the action until the middle of August 1945 altogether 222,509 persons were evacuated. Until that time administrative pressure was applied, but the resettlements were not done by force. In the later phase the principle of freewill resettlement was being violated quite decisively. This amounted to the possibility of relocating to the Ukrainian SSR, until 1 April 1946 further 122,524 Ukrainians, and then between 1 April and 1 September 1946 – of 137,629 Ukrainians. The proper action of re-settling the Ukrainians ended with the total number of 482,662 persons of Ukrainian nationality deported outside of Poland (A. B. Szcześniak, W. Z. Szota 1973, p. 491). Another source (*Repatriacja...* 1996, pp. 10-11) quotes a similar number of the Ukrainians re-settled from Poland to the USSR, namely 480,293. After the final date here quoted the deportations of the Ukrainians from Poland encompassed only 5,950 persons.

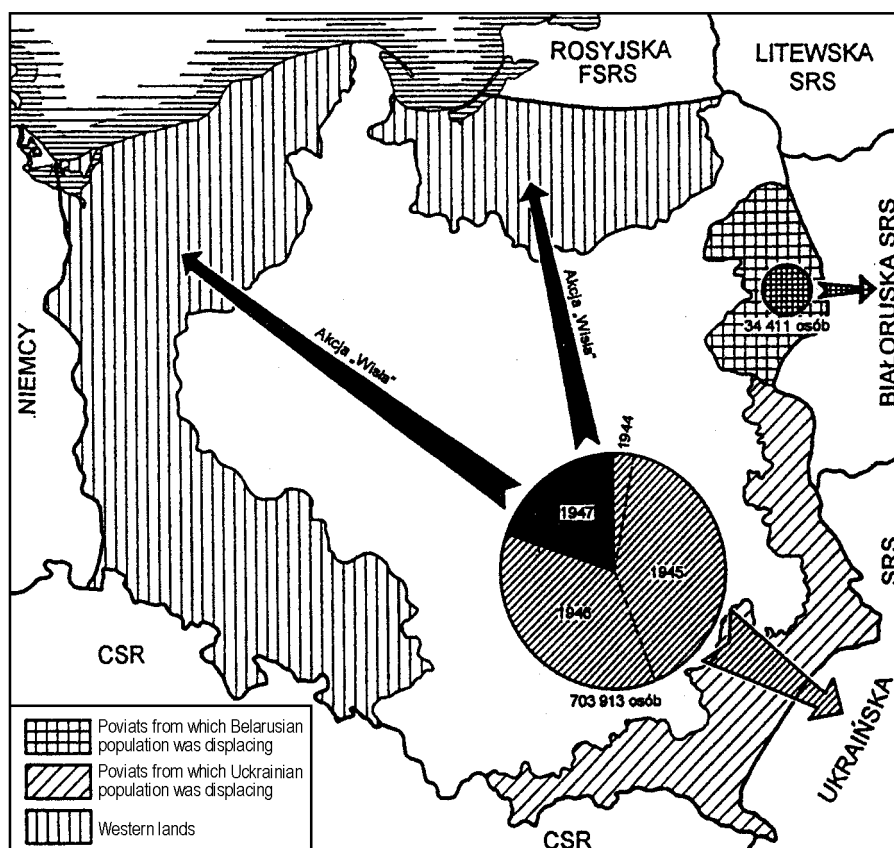
After the planned resettlement has been terminated, there still remained some 200 thousand Ukrainians in Poland. They concentrated mainly in south-eastern part of the region of Rzeszów, in the mountainous areas (150 thousand). The other ones were dispersed across the territory of Poland. Despite the large scale of deportations to the Ukrainian SSR the situation was not brought to “normality”. In the spring of 1947 armed groups of the Ukrainian UPA were still operating on the areas inhabited by the Ukrainians. They attacked the neighbouring Polish villages, and the police as well as military posts. This, in turn, caused retaliatory actions, directed against the Ukrainian villages, which also gave rise to high losses among the civilians. A massive action against UPA and the

Ukrainian population at large was being prepared since the end of 1946. The death of General Karol Świerczewski in April 1947 accelerated the so-called action “Vistula”, that is – the deportation of the Ukrainian population. This operation, of military character, lasted between April and end of August 1947 and was meant to bring normalisation of the situation over the small border area, located to the South of Przemyśl and to the East of Sanok. Problems, associated with the action “Vistula” are described in a very vast literature of the subject. Thus, there is no need of performing the political or ethical assessment of the decision taken and of the methods of carrying out the undertaking. In order to liquidate the minority disloyal with respect to the state the principle of collective responsibility was applied. Forced deportations encompassed the entire population of Ukrainian nationality, inhabiting the area, on which the Ukrainian military formations were active. When seen against the background of the resettlements, which took place in the very same period, the demographic scale of the deportations considered above was not very big. They encompassed approximately 140,000 Ukrainians, who were deported from their locations of residence and then dispersed across the new Polish Western and Northern Lands. The ultimate effect was the complete liquidation of the Ukrainian minority within the border areas. The political Polish-Ukrainian boundary became the national, language and denominational boundary (Fig. 14).

The resettlement of the Belarusian population to the Byelorussian SSR took on quite limited dimensions. After the end of war, in the years 1944-1946, 34,411 persons left for the Byelorussian SSR from the province of Białystok (12,828 persons from the county of Białystok and the city of Białystok, 10,122 from the county of Bielsk Podlaski, and 960 persons from the county of Sokółka). This, however, was not quite 20% of the totality of the Belarusian population living to the West of the Curzon line.

On the Polish side a relatively limited Belarusian minority remained, inhabiting the areas around Bielsk Podlaski, Hajnówka and Siemiatycze.

Fig. 14. Resettlement of the Ukrainian and Belarusian population from the eastern border-adjacent territories



12. Planned resettlement of the German population to the Potsdam Germany

Certain changes in the population inhabiting the areas that were incorporated after the war to Poland due to the decisions taken in Potsdam, took place yet in the years of war. On the one hand there was a significant natural increase and the inflow of population from western Germany, fleeing the bombings by the allies, on the other hand – there were war losses among men serving in *Wehrmacht*, as well as a limited outflow of population to the occupied areas of Poland. Scholars dealing with these issues assume that the overall balance of the two processes was positive, and that the population number on these areas exceeded during the war nine million. This balance sheet does not account, of course, for the numerous foreigners (like those in forced labour, prisoners of the concentration camps, POWs, etc.). Only when the Soviet army approached and the evacuation, and then chaotic and dramatic flight to the West took place – as described before in this report – amounting to a huge outflow of population, attaining five million persons. The very rough estimates suggest that at the instant of cessation of military operations and signing of the unconditional capitulation of the Third Reich, there were still approximately four million persons having pre-war German citizenship on the territories that Germany was about to lose. It is very hard to determine how many of them were of Polish nationality. Polish authorities maintained, on the basis of diverse documents, including German materials, that there were more than one million persons of Polish nationality. This was also roughly the number of the former German citizens, who passed after the war the difficult verification procedure and demonstrated their Polish extraction. Later on it turned out that this was largely an opportunistic effect and that this population, even if of Polish origins and language, was deeply imbued with the influence of German culture and civilisation. This fact bore an impact on the evolution of their consciousness and brought a gradual identification with the German community. In addition, this kind of evolution started to bring definite economic advantages. The later change of the ethnic option of a large part of this population was not expected immediately after the war and because of this, on the basis of the situation as of 1945, they were considered to be the native Polish population. Such assumption was of high practical importance, since on the basis of the decisions taken at the Potsdam conference Poland was only obliged to resettle from its territory the entire German population. The wording of the respective decision of August 2nd, 1945, was with this respect quite unambiguous: “*The three governments, having considered the issue under all aspects deem it necessary to undertake the resettlement to Germany of the German population or its elements having remained in Poland...*” (Kokot 1957, pp. 79-82). Fulfilment of this stipulation under the circumstances of 1945 required the relocation of more than three million former German citizens to the Potsdam Germany. Besides, there were close to half a million persons of German nationality residing on the territory of the 2nd Commonwealth situated to the West of the Curzon line. The plan of resettlement of Germans from Poland was approved by the Allied Supervising Council on 20 November 1945. This body was fully aware of the dimensions and consequences of the envisaged action and expected that 3.5 million persons of German nationality be relocated from Poland to Germany. The intention was to direct two millions of them to the Soviet zone, and 1.5 million to the British zone.

During the second half-year of 1945 the situation of the German population was unstable. Immediately after the end of military operations German population started to return to their home areas. Thus, for instance, the German population of Szczecin (Stettin), at mere 6 thousand in April 1945, grew to 84,000 over just a month (the population number in Szczecin was 380,000 in 1939). This, however, lasted for a short time. The border was blocked and the spontaneous or coerced outflow of the German population to the West continued. According to the data quoted in the book *Polska Zachodnia...* (1961, p. 317) the spontaneous outflow amounted in 1945 to 450,000-500,000 persons, while the local resettlement actions affected 150,000-225,000 Germans. Thus, in particular, at the beginning of October 1945 nine transports from Wrocław carried 12,537 persons, while between 8 November and 3 December 1945 yet 29,600 persons were deported. As a consequence of the harsh living conditions the number of deaths among the German population was higher than the number of births by 50,000 to 100,000.

The organised resettlement of the German population started only in 1946, and it was preceded by the Polish-British agreement of February of that year. At the same time (14 February 1946) population census was carried out in Poland, according to which there were 2,288,000 persons

of German nationality on the territory of Poland. Besides, 417,400 persons were included in the verification action, aiming at the establishment of nationality. The negatively verified persons, who did not succeed in demonstrating their Polish nationality, were directed for resettlement.

Four transportation routes meant to carry the relocated persons were determined jointly with the British representatives: Route "A": Szczecin – Lübeck, Route "B": Szczecin – Bad Segeberg, Route "C": Kaławsk (now Węgliniec) – Helmstedt, and Route "D": Kaławsk – Friedland.

The first transport left Szczecin for the British zone on 27 February 1946. Conform to the agreement one railway transport was to depart every day, carrying 1,500 persons. Then, starting with 25 March 1946, sea transport was put in motion. It was envisaged that 1,000 persons would sail away every day. Since the British did not provide the promised transport means, the entire action proceeded slower than planned. Simultaneously, railway transports carrying the relocated persons were going through two border crossings in Lower Silesia – in Kaławsk and Tuplice, heading both for the British and Soviet zones. Within the framework of the so-called "Swallow" operation altogether 1,360,000 Germans were deported to the British zone. The first resettlement transport to the Soviet zone left from Szczecin on 29 January 1946. The relocation lasted over the entire year 1946. The frosty winter of 1946-47 interrupted the deportations for a short time. They were resumed in April 1947. The transports were directed then only to the Soviet occupation zone, and Polish railway transport facilities were used (Kosiński 1963, p. 38).

Table 12. *Numbers of German population resettled from Poland in the years 1946-1949*

No.	Sub-periods of resettlement ¹	Numbers of the resettled
1	February 1946	10,700
2	March 1946	131,600
3	April 1946	153,400
4	May 1946	231,400
5	June 1946	241,800
6	July 1946	232,500
7	August 1946	198,800
8	September 1946	89,000
9	October 1946	97,700
10	January 1947	59,600
11	April 1947	25,700
12	May 1947	63,500
13	June 1947	61,400
14	July 1947	84,600
15	August 1947	93,000
16	September 1947	90,500
17	October 1947	46,500
18	November 1947	13,500
19	Entire year 1948	42,700
20	Entire year 1949	61,400
	Total	2,275,300

¹ The table contains certain gaps. According to the monthly data between February and October 1946 the number of the resettled Germans was 1,286,900. On the other hand, the source quoted specifies that during the entire year 1946 as many as 1,632,900 persons of German nationality were relocated from Poland. Hence, 246,000 persons are not accounted for in the month-by-month breakdown.

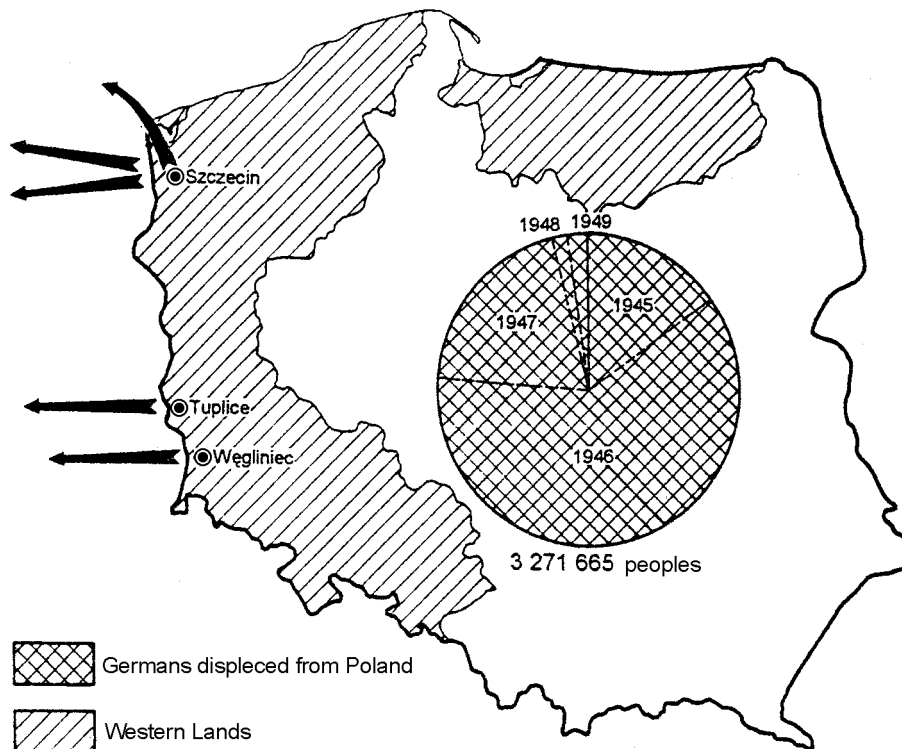
Source: L. Kosiński, *Procesy ludnościowe na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945-1960 (Demographic processes within the Regained Lands in the years 1945-1960)*. In: *Prace Geograficzne*, 40, 1963, p. 39.

During the resettlement action the biggest number of transport passed through Kaławsk. Between 20 February and 5 December 1946 as many as 512 railway transports heading for the British zone passed through this station, carrying 886,652 persons of German nationality, while 197 transports

with 287,873 persons went to the Soviet zone (*Polska Zachodnia...* 1961, pp. 316-317). Since the end of 1947 the intensity of the resettlement action decreased considerably. Yet, it continued over 1948 and 1949. In the consequence of this action 2,275,300 persons considered Germans were altogether resettled from Poland to Germany, of whom 1,632,900 in 1946, 538,300 in 1947, 42,700 in 1948, and 61,400 in 1949. The breakdown of the numbers of the resettled according to sub-periods is shown in Table 12.

As we add to those resettled in the years 1946-1949 the ones having been transported already in 1945, we can estimate the total number of the resettled German population after the capitulation of the Third Reich. This calculation was carried out by B. Nitschke, who stated, when summing up her study: “*The above calculations allow for the conclusion that during the organised resettlement action 2,871,665 Germans were removed from Poland. This number was lower by approximately 600,000 than envisaged in the plan of the Allied Council of Supervision of Germany. Yet, if we account, in addition, for 400,000 Germans, who were resettled from Poland during the deportations having taken place before the Potsdam agreement, we can conclude that the plan was fulfilled almost entirely. The number of the resettled Germans that we ultimately arrive at is 3,271,665*” (Nitschke 1997, p. 89, Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Planned resettlement of the German population from Poland in the period 1946-1949



Now, if we yet add to this number all those evacuated by the German authorities in the final stage of war and the refugees, we obtain the number significantly exceeding eight million, referring to the Germans, who left for good the territory of Poland in its new boundaries – the eastern ones determined at Yalta and the western ones established by the victorious allies in Postdam. This estimate does not account, of course, for the military, nor the civilian population, who moved during the war into the territories situated to the East of the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers.

The problems, associated with the number of the resettled Germans and the losses that the German population suffered during the movement of the front, mass flight, as well as in the effect of the retaliatory activities carried out by the Soviet and Polish side, are very popular in German literature. Various estimates and balances of losses are being provided, differing from the ones given

by the Polish authors. The German studies have a highly differentiated value, ranging from the clearly tendentious reports, meant to demonstrate that planned genocide was carried out on the eastern territories of Germany, up to the more objective calculations, in which the scale of the German losses and the volumes and directions of resettlement movements were determined in a more reliable manner.

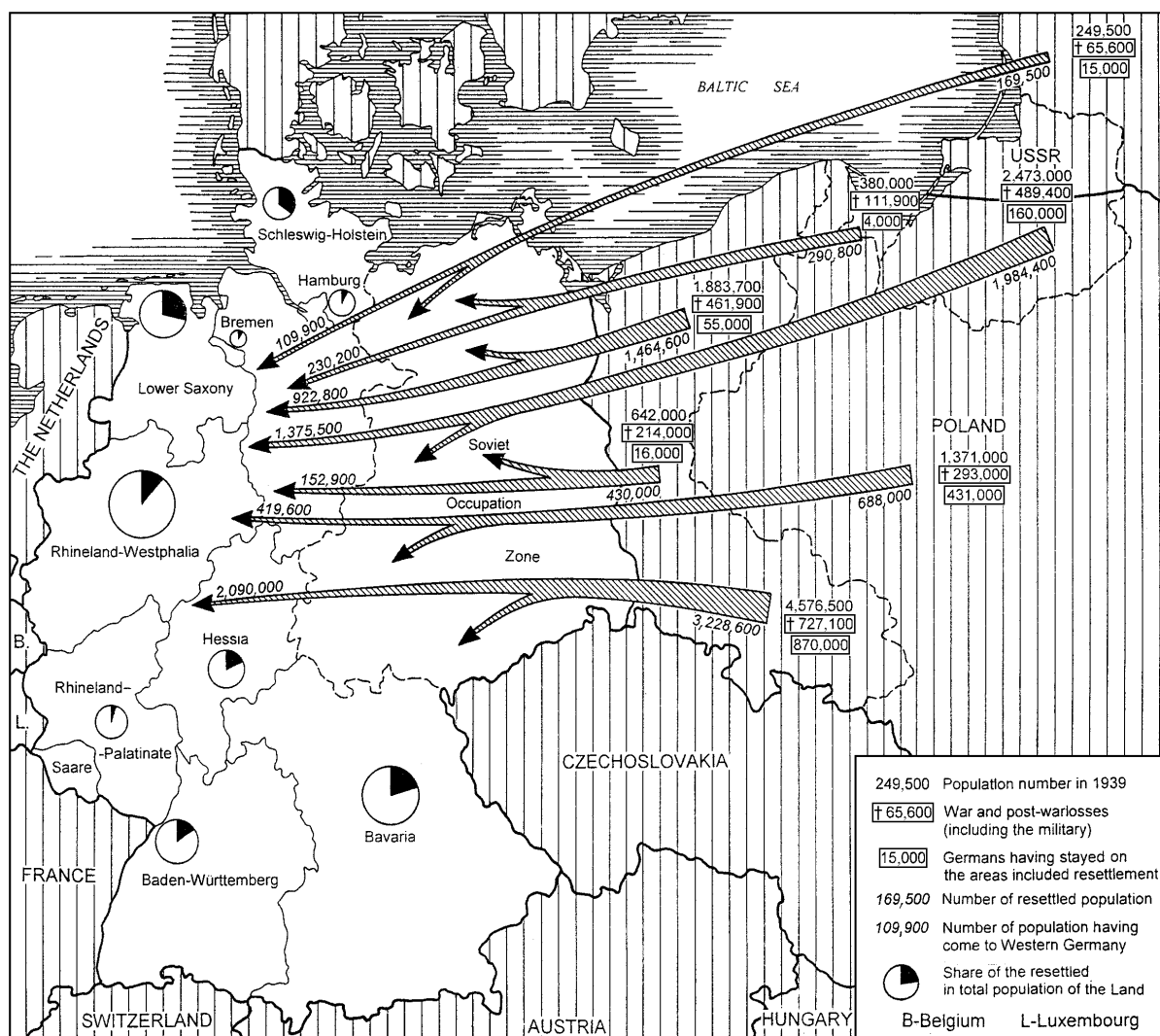
In view of the importance of this problem, which bears an impact on the Polish-German relations, it is worthwhile to give an example of assessment of the most common German opinions. The critical assessment we present here is based on the map contained in a popular historical atlas devoted to history of Germany in the 20th century (Hilgemann 1984, p. 63). This map is quoted in the present report (Fig. 16). The author referred to undertakes to show the demographic balance of the German population by putting on the map – in the breakdown according to a number of provinces – the following statistical data:

- the number of German population in 1939
- the irreversible demographic war and post-war losses of the German population
- the number of relocated Germans, including those, who moved to the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany,
- the number of German population having stayed in their previous places of residence, as of 1950.

The first of these data items specifies that the territories lost by Germany to the advantage of Poland and the USSR (the district of Kaliningrad – Königsberg, Królewiec) were inhabited in 1939 by 9,955,200 persons. This number includes both parts of East Prussia. The number as such is correct and does not give rise to reservations. One should perhaps only mention the fact omitted by the author of the map, namely that this number concerns all German citizens, and not the persons of German nationality. The magnitude of irreversible losses among the German population was estimated as equal 2,004,300. Even, though, if we account for the war losses among the German soldiers of the *Wehrmacht*, originating from these areas, this number is still too high. We can mention at this point that the most recent German calculations, performed by R. Overmans, and quoted in the report by Z. Zieliński (1998, p. 193) give the estimate of the losses borne during the flight, relocation and deportation from the Polish areas as equal around 400,000 persons. The total number of the resettled is estimated as equal 7,398,400 persons. The number of the remaining on place is also given: 1,105,500. This last number is definitely close to the reality of that time. The overall balance implies, though, that in this calculation the number of the relocated persons must have been underestimated.

Simultaneously, the map presents the analogous calculations for the territory contained within the boundaries of pre-war Poland. The estimates concerning this issue are by all means far from reality. The total number of Germans in Poland is given as equal 1,371,000. According to the Polish census of 1931 there were altogether only 741,000 Germans on the entire territory of Poland (that is – including the areas to the East of the Curzon line), and even accounting for the real increase in the period 1931-1939 we cannot obtain more than 822,000 Germans. The demographic losses, prohibitively difficult to estimate, were shown as equal 293,000. Further, 431,000 Germans supposedly remained on the Polish lands to the East of the boundaries defined at Versailles. It goes without saying that this estimate has nothing to do with reality, neither.

Fig. 16. Demographic losses, flight and resettlement of the German population from the areas lost by Germany, after W. Hilgemann



Generally speaking, the German estimates here illustrated are not only highly arbitrary, but also clearly tendentious in presentation of the German losses. Putting together of a reliable balance is, however, very difficult. The issue is made more complex by the fact that during the war there was a very large inflow of the German population to the areas to the East of the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers (2.5-3 million civilians, the military put apart). Some of them came in the initial phase of war, while other ones were resettled temporarily at the turn of 1944 in order to avoid British and American bombings. If we consider this whole German population, we reach the number of close to 11 million relocated Germans, who were forced to leave at the end of war and in the post-war period the areas to become an integral part of Poland.

The issue here considered was not presented in Polish literature in a very reliable manner, neither. The losses of the German civilian population were neglected and treated, even if implicitly, as the justified compensation for the wrongs suffered by the Poles, displaced here and there over the entire period of the World War II. Currently, efforts are made to achieve a higher degree of objectivity. Evidence to the point is constituted by the report published recently in Toruń (B. Nitschke 2000). The issue in question gained popularity of late again in connection with the announcement of the establishment of the so-called "Centre for Expulsion" in Berlin. Polish side is trying to point out that such a design is not contributing to concordance, since it leaves completely aside the initial causes that ultimately brought about the dramatic exodus of the German population. This exodus, namely,

was the penultimate stage in the political cause and effect chain, which, it should be remembered, was triggered off by the German state, having attacked its neighbours and then implemented the plan of mass extermination and deportations.

13. Settling of the Regained Lands by the population of Polish nationality

The establishment of the new western border, connected with acquisition of 102,700 sq. km of territory by Poland, put forward a very difficult task of settling this area, depopulated by war, with the Polish population. At the same time Poland lost its eastern territories and was totally destroyed by war. In a paradoxical manner these two factors facilitated the undertaking. After the agreements with the Soviet Union had been concluded it was expected that between three and three and a half million Poles would come from the East, for whom some place would have to be found. All in all 2.2 million persons came, but this was of secondary importance. Following a few years of occupation and the passage of the front the country was completely devastated. Millions of people had no dwellings. They constituted the potential population of the settlers. This was yet amplified by other demographic conditions, facilitating the task. Polish countryside was traditionally overpopulated and disposed of surpluses of labour. The return to Poland was expected of the re-emigrants from the West, and of two million persons sent during the war to Germany. These people often had no possibility of returning to their previous places of residence. They could, therefore, become the new settlers, which was what largely happened. The territories acquired at the expense of Germany were attractive for settling for the Poles. Higher quality of structures, potential jobs and more developed settlement infrastructure than in the pre-war Poland made the migration decision easier. This was yet compounded by the political issues. Rapid settling of the acquired territory by the Polish population would turn the acquisition into a permanent one. A *fait accompli* would be created, hardly reversible in the future. This would namely require another wave of gigantic population resettlements. Thus, settling of the so-called Regained Lands became a priority task for the Polish state. There existed a complete agreement of opinions in this domain between the new Polish administration, imposed by the Soviet Union, and the society. It can be stated from the historical perspective that the undertaking was fully successful. The settling of these areas by the Poles brought their full integration with the remaining parts of the country and made the possibility of a change of their political status unrealistic. This, however, required carrying out of large-scale population movements over a short period of time.

After Polish administration took over the territory situated to the East of the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers two parallel resettlement actions started. On the one hand, the still remaining German population was being relocated to the Potsdam Germany, and on the other hand – both planned and spontaneous settling of the areas incorporated into Poland by Polish population was taking place.

Polish population of a variety of territorial origins started to flow into the area of the so-called Regained Lands. This population is usually divided into three groups. The first category is constituted by the so-called re-settlers. These were the persons, who lived on the territory, which was both before and after the war within the boundaries of the Polish state. The second category was composed of those, who were the so-called repatriates from the East. They came from the areas lost by Poland to the advantage of the Soviet Union. They usually had Polish citizenship from before the war. The third category of settlers came from Germany and other countries of Western Europe. They were referred to as re-emigrants or repatriates from the West. Most frequently these were the people sent during the occupation to Germany. This group included, though, also the representatives of the older Polish job emigration.

In view of the fact that the Polish native population, who remained in their previous places of residence, were concentrated on only small part of the entire area in question (Opole Silesia, Masuria, Warmia), the primary task in settling the whole area had to be fulfilled by the population moving in, who also played the essential role in the re-development of the entire territory.

Immediately after the military operations had ended the so-called re-settlers started to come. They had the relatively shortest way to go, since they just had to cross the former Polish-German

border, no longer in existence. During 1945 as many as 1,630,638 individual “re-settlers” (see Table 13) came to the newly acquired territories.

Table 13. *Inflow of the “re-settlers” to the Regained Lands in 1945*

No.	Reporting period	Number of persons having settled on the Regained Lands
1	Until 1 June 1945	150,995
2	June 1945	166,332
3	July 1945	384,312
4	August 1945	295,741
5	September 1945	215,376
6	October 1945	153,689
7	November 1945	167,418
8	December 1945	96,775
Total		1,630,638

Source: S. Banasiak, *Działalność osadnicza Państwowego Urzędu Repatriacyjnego na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945-1947* (*The settling activity of the State Repatriation Office on the Regained Lands in the years 1945-1947*), Instytut Zachodni, Poznań 1963, p. 110.

The largest number of the “re-settlers” came in 1945 from the province of Warsaw (369,067 persons), followed by the provinces of Cracow (256,192), Lodz (228,680), Kielce (212,126), Lublin (202,226), Rzeszów (158,480), Poznań (112,698), Białystok (46,060) and Pomerania (45,106). The data quoted do not reflect fully the reality. On the one hand there were namely the cases of migration outside of any evidence, and on the other hand – some 300 thousand persons did not stay permanently, but returned to their former places of residence, while this fact was not recorded. There were even persons, who obtained twice the settler’s tickets.

At the same time the transports bringing repatriates from the East started to come from the East. The formal basis for the settling of the repatriates was constituted by the evacuation card and the list of belongings left to the East of Bug river, on the territories no longer Polish. During 1945 Polish eastern border was crossed in an organised manner by 724,000 repatriates, the majority of whom were transported to the Regained Lands.

The returns from the West had a differentiated character. The returns of the re-emigrants were organised in a planned manner and transports were directed in a purposeful manner. Thus, for instance, Polish miners from France or Belgium were settled in Wałbrzych or in Upper Silesia. The workers coming from Germany, deported during the occupation, did frequently in a haphazard manner find on their way back places for living and jobs and would stay for good in the localities situated on the new lands of western Poland. The demobilised soldiers of the Ist and IInd Polish (People’s) Army were granted farms for their war exploits. Until December 1st, 1945, as many as 200,400 military and members of their families settled (Banasiak 1963, p. 133).

The very first reliable information on the demographic situation date from the population census carried out on February 14th, 1946. The so-called Regained Lands were inhabited then by 5,022,000 people, of whom 2,725,000 were Poles, 2,076,000 were Germans, 27,000 represented other nationalities, and 194,000 were persons in the course of verification procedure, that is – their Polish nationality was being checked. If we subtract the native population of Polish nationality of about one million, we can estimate that until 14 February 1946 roughly 1.9 million Poles moved into the Regained Lands.

The entire year 1946 was the period of intensive population movements. During this year 1,386,900 Germans were deported, while 1,794,300 Poles moved in. According to the estimates made at that time Polish population of the territories taken over from Germany (i.e. not accounting for the

Free City of Gdańsk) was equal on January 1st, 1947, 4,642,800, and on June 1st, 1947, 4,985,000 (see Table 14).

Table 14. Territorial origins of the Polish population residing on the Regained Lands in 1947

No.	Territorial origin	1 January 1947		1 June 1947	
		number	in %	number	in %
1	Native population	1,008,500	21.7	1,067,000	21.4
2	Settlers from central Poland	1,934,500	41.7	1,957,000	39.3
3	Re-emigrants			309,000	6.2
4	Repatriates from the USSR	1,699,800	36.6	1,652,000	33.1
Totals		4,642,800		4,985,000	100.0

Source: L. Kosiński, *Procesy ludnościowe na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945-1960 (Demographic processes on the Regained Lands in the years 1945-1960)*. In: *Prace Geograficzne*, 40, 1963, p. 58.

The here considered years 1946-1947 brought first of all essential changes in the ethnic structure. The overall population number increased insignificantly, while the ethnic structure shifted in an essential manner. The number of Germans dropped from 2,036,000 in February 1946 down to 283,000 in June 1947. On the other hand, the number of Polish population (including the positively verified native population) increased from 2,760,000 to 4,985,000.

On the basis of the surprisingly precise calculations of S. Banasiak (1965, p. 22) it is possible to present the general scale of the settling action during the three post-war years. Thus, according to the author quoted during the period 1945-1947 the number of settlers having come was 4,082,610, of whom 2,220,772 were settlers from central Poland, and 1,861,838 were repatriates (Fig. 17). They were settled in the then provinces of Białystok (55,797 persons), Olsztyn (420,783), Gdańsk (369,162), Szczecin (833,152), Poznań (380, 870), Wrocław (1,570,321) and Silesia (442,525).

The subsequent period was characterised already by the smaller migration flows. Continuation of settling required reconstruction of the facilities completely destroyed during military operations and burned down on purpose by the still quartering Soviet troops. That is why in 1948 only 62,000 persons were resettled, in 1949 – 60,000, and in 1950 – 17,000. After the settling movement terminated the primary source of the further population growth was high natural increase, reaching even 30‰. It resulted from the very advantageous age structure – the share of the young was very high among the settlers. This was also the cause of high spatial mobility. It is only starting with 1950 that we can speak of the demise of temporariness and appearance of higher degree of stability.

Conform to the population census carried out in 1950, the territory that Poland obtained owing to the decision taken in Potsdam, was inhabited by 5,936,200 persons. This was close to three million less than in 1939. The young population structure, though, announced a rapid compensation of these demographic losses. That was, in fact, what happened in the years to come. In 1960 this territory was inhabited by 7,800,000 persons, while nowadays it is the home to around 10,300,000 persons. The census of 1950 included also the question of territorial origin. The results with this respect were as follows (Kosiński 1960, p. 8) (Fig. 17):

- native population	1,165,000 (19.6%)
- re-settlers	2,916,500 (49.1%)
- repatriates and re-emigrants	1,749,700 (29.5%)
- other and unknown	105,000 (1.8%)

Total: 5,936,200 (100%)

Fig. 17. The action of settling the Regained Lands with Polish population in the period 1945-1947

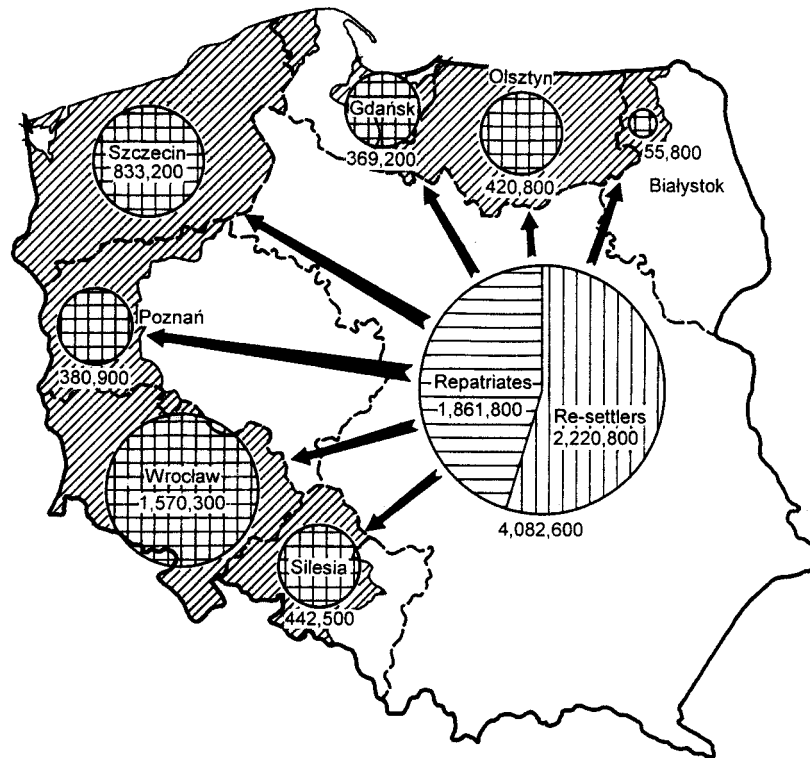
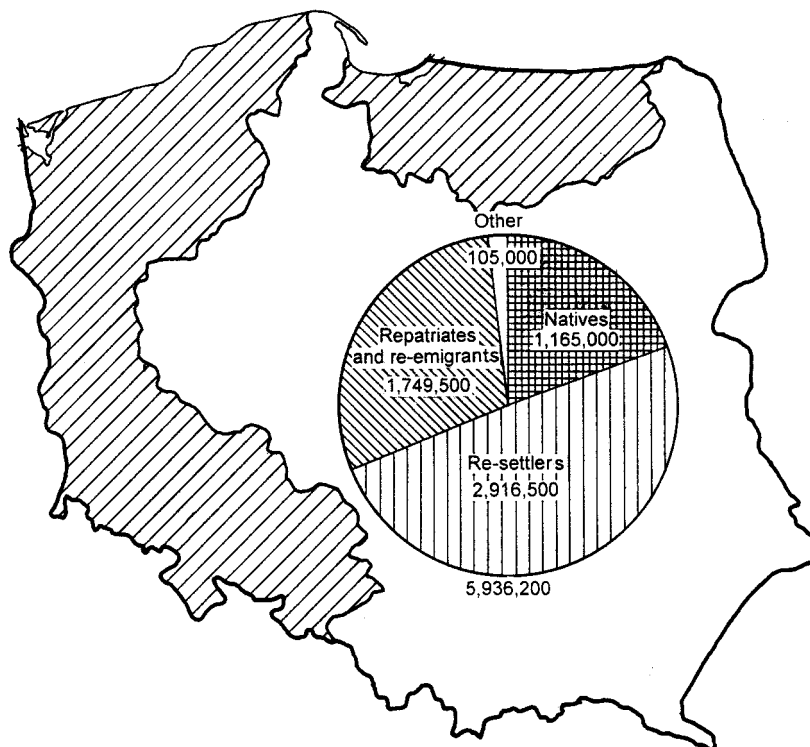


Fig. 18. Territorial origins of the population of the Regained Lands in 1950



The re-settlers, repatriates, re-emigrants and their children born already in the new locations of residence made up in 1950 a population of altogether 4,666,200 persons. These data witness to the scale of the post-war inflow of the population. These few years of the settling processes on the northern and western lands of Poland closed the period of large scale population movements, which were taking place due to political reasons on Polish territories. They lasted almost ten years. In the subsequent period migration processes took on a different character. Their reasons resulted from economic causes and were brought about by the transformations induced by industrialisation and urbanisation.

III. The influence of the population movements on the development of the population number of the post-war Poland and the transformation of its ethnic structure

The politically-based population migrations taking place on the Polish territories, presented here in the consecutive chapters, had no precedent in the world history. This is true both for the scale of the population movements and for their demographic complexity. These large-scale movements started on September 1st, 1939, when German army attacked Poland. One of the objectives of the aggression was to conquer new settling areas for the German population as well as to exterminate and displace the nations not satisfying the racial criteria. Ultimately, after five years of bloodshed, total defeat of the Nazi Germany followed. It brought about the exodus of more than a dozen million Germans from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the change of the political boundaries of Germany. In the meantime, though, population movements took place of the character unknown until then. They were selective in ethnic terms. In the consecutive stages of conflict they affected different ethnic (national, racial, religious, etc.) groups of population.

This is not to say that only migrations impacted upon the demographic situation. During the entire period of war enormous numbers of deaths among the civilian population and the military took place. At the same time, there were also more usual demographic processes going on: births, natural deaths, and the resulting natural increase or decrease. Yet, population movements largely impacted upon the general demographic balances. Several shifts of political boundaries brought about each time appearance of a large number of forced migrants.

Close to 30 million people were directly affected by these movements on the territory contained between the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers on the one hand and the eastern boundary of the pre-war Poland on the other. This number does not account for the movements of the military, that is – the several million soldiers of the German and Soviet troops having marched through Poland. Exception was made for the interned Polish POWs of the 1939 and the Soviet POWs exterminated by the Germans in Poland. Analysis was in principle carried out for the civilian population. Further, the freewill, socio-economically motivated migrations, not associated directly to war, were not accounted for. Attention was concentrated mainly on the forced population movements. Despite this limitation the overall scale of the politically conditioned migrations is extremely high. There is no need for a precise summary nor for a reminder of all the migration movements. It is perhaps only worthwhile to mention the most important of the movements, just in order to illustrate the intensity of the respective processes, which took place on the Polish lands, namely:

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| - Polish POWs after the September 1939 campaign | 0.7 million |
| - Polish population deported from the areas incorporated into the Third Reich | 1.0 million |
| - deportations of the population under Soviet occupation in the years 1939-1941 | 1.0 million |
| - inflow of the German population into the occupied areas of Poland | 1.3 million |
| - Polish citizens sent to the Third Reich | 3.0 million |
| - Jewish population transported to the places of extermination | 4.0 million |
| - Soviet POWs transported to the death camps | 0.8 million |

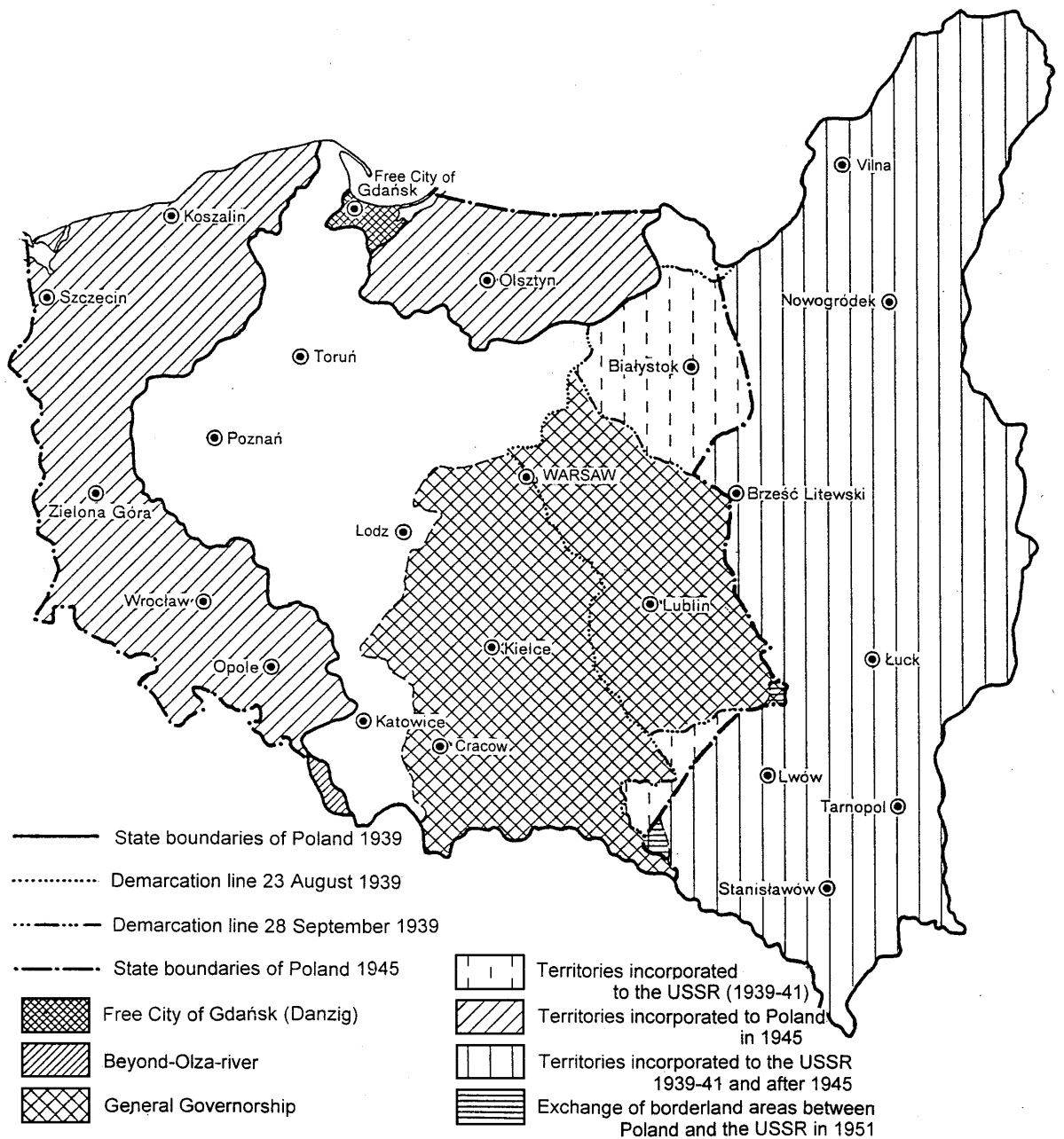
- inhabitants of Warsaw deported after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising	0.6 million
- flight of the German population before the approaching Soviet Army	5.0 million
- deportation of the Polish population from the areas lost to the Soviet Union	2.2 million
- deportation of the German population resettled to Potsdam Germany	3.2 million
- resettlement of the Ukrainian population to the Soviet Union	0.5 million
- return home of the Polish population from the West	2.0 million
- settling of the so-called Regained Territories by the Polish population	4.0 million

A statistical assessment of the here listed migration movements requires great care in interpretation. The very same person could be subject to more than one deportation and/or resettlement. Thus, for instance, the repatriates from the Soviet Union were at the same time the settlers populating the Regained Lands. This, of course, does not change the fact of large-scale character of the demographic phenomenon considered. More than a dozen million people were forced to abandon their previous places of residence and were subject to ruthless terror, including unconditional deportation. For many of them, and in case of Jews for almost all, the destination was death. In an explicit manner this purpose was served by the extermination or isolation camps, distributed over the space stretching from the river Rhine in the West to the Magadan in the Far East. These forced population movements were as a rule associated with the shifting political boundaries, which changed several times over between 1939 and 1945. In virtually all cases the population of a definite nationality had to follow the political verdicts imposed. The binding decisions concerning the fate of millions of people were taken by Hitler or Stalin, and in the final stage of war the successive decisions were taken in Yalta or Potsdam. These were ultimate and enforced decisions, and no right of appeal could serve, numerous human communities had just to follow them. Consequently, in the effect of these diverse movements of Poles, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians or Belarusians, taking place in various directions, an entirely new demographic and ethnic situation of the Polish state took shape.

Poland, as of 31 August 1939, had the territory of 389,700 sq. km and population of 35,339,000. After the World War II the re-established Polish state had 312,700 sq. km contained within completely different political boundaries (See Fig. 19).

The population census carried out on 14 February 1946 yielded the population number on the new territory equal only 23,929,000. The change of boundaries, demographic losses, as well as large-scale migration processes resulted in the decrease of the population number by 11,409,200 persons. Sure, the difference indicated does in principle not apply to the same territory nor to the same population. That is also why without a more precise territorial-statistical analysis this number by itself says only a little about the true demographic transformations, which took place over not quite seven years. Simultaneously, namely, essential changes of the ethnic structure took place. It is only a precise balance put together with respect to each of the nationalities involved that allows for formulation of definite conclusions as to the geographical direction and scale of demographic transformations. The analysis of population movements, presented in particular chapters of the report, these movements being selective in ethnic terms, provides the basis for establishing a full demographic balance of the country. The issue is not only in showing the causes of the so deep change of the population number in absolute terms, but – first of all – in presentation of the degree, to which the losses affected particular ethnic groups.

Fig. 19. State boundaries of Poland 1939-1951



In order to fulfil the condition of substantial adequacy the analysis must refer to the territories of pre-war and post-war Poland. This requires a separate treatment of the areas that belonged to Poland both before and after the war, those in the East that were lost by Poland due to war to the advantage of the Soviet Union, and those in the West, that Poland acquired at the cost of Germany. Each of these areas requires carrying out of a separate demographic and ethnic analysis.

For the area of pre-war Poland we dispose of an official statistical documentation, elaborated in 1941 in London, in which the population of the country is presented according to the state as of 31 August 1939, within the then valid political boundaries, that is – the ones established after the defeat of Poland in September 1939, and having persisted until 22 June 1941. These data provide the so-called language structure of the population of Poland, which, however, cannot be fully identified with the ethnic structure (Table 15).

The country-level data do not reflect appropriately the regional specifics, which were highly complex from the spatial point of view. The complexity of situation was particularly high on the eastern territories of the 2nd Commonwealth. An illustration of the scale of interregional differentiation in this domain is given in Fig. 18, showing the population structures of particular provinces of Poland according to the declared mother tongue in the year 1931.

Information on the population of Poland on the eve of the World War II is fully reliable and does not give rise to doubts. On the other hand, use of the language criterion in the estimation of ethnic groups must cause definite reservations. It is agreed among the demographers that the use of this criterion led to overestimation of the number of Polish population at the expense of the ethnic minorities. It requires, therefore, a definite verification. The second issue is associated with the division into two occupation zones. The eastern boundary of Poland, established after the World War II is not fully conform – as it was already explained – with the demarcation line adopted in the agreement reached in September 1939 between Ribbentrop and Molotov. An appropriate correction should be made with this respect and this part of the population of Poland should be accounted for, who lived to the West of the Curzon line and thus remained in Poland after the war. The territories to the East of the Curzon line were irrevocably included after 1945 in the Soviet Union. The ultimate effect of this quite labour consuming statistical procedure is shown in Table 16.

Table 15. *Population of Poland according to mother tongue on the occupied areas (as of 31 August 1939)*

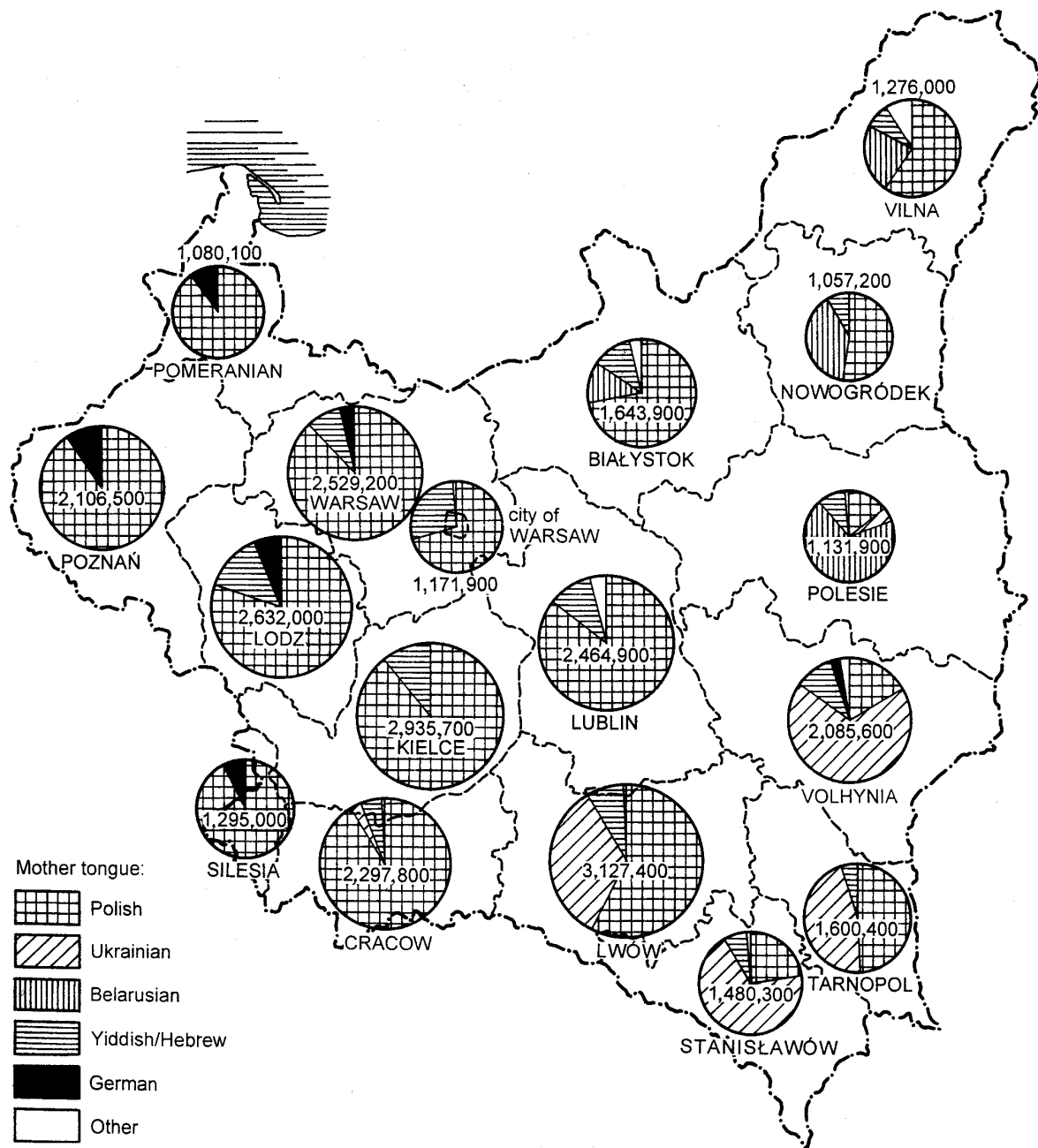
Occupied territories – breakdown as of 1 January 1941	Totals	Mother tongue (population numbers in '000)								
		Polish	German	Yiddish and Hebrew	Ukrainian and Ruthenian	Belarusian	Russian	Czech	Lithuanian	Other and not specified
Poland	35,339	24,388	803	2,916	4,890	1,127	155	107	92	861
Areas occupied by Germany, subdivided into:	22,140	19,114	714	1,807	361	4	21	72	8	39
- Reich ¹	10,568	9,221	653	582	4	1	11	71	8	17
- General Governorship	11,542	9,863	61	1,225	357	3	10	1	0	22
- Slovakia	30	30	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	0
Areas occupied by the USSR, subdivided into:	13,199	5,274	89	1,109	4,529	1,123	134	35	84	822
- Lithuania	537	371	1	71	0	14	17	0	61	2
- Belarus ²	4,733	2,320	6	426	55	1,105	90	0	23	708 ²
- Ukraine	7,929	2,583	82	612	4,474	4	27	35	0	112

¹ including the so-called “Beyond-the Olza-river” area disputed between Poland and Bohemia

² the Belarusian population, having declared the so-called “local language”

Source: *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski (wrzesień 1939-czerwiec 1941) (The Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland (September 1939-June 1941))*, London, 1941, p. 9.

Fig. 20. Mother tongue structure of the population of Poland according to voivodships (provinces) in 1931



Thus, on the eve of the outbreak of the World War II the areas, which remained Polish after the war, were inhabited by 23,482,800 persons, of whom 19,655,200 were Poles. On the territories that Poland lost after the war to the advantage of the Soviet Union, 3,474,200 Poles lived in 1939.

The territories of the Third German Reich and the Free City of Gdańsk, which were incorporated after the war into Poland, were in 1939 the home for 8,855,000 persons. We have already mentioned the difficulties with estimation of the number of Polish population inhabiting these areas. Moreover, this also makes it difficult to account for the later fate of this population. During the period analysed and just after the war a Polish minority of roughly one million existed on these areas. Other ethnic minorities were so small that they cannot be accounted for.

Table 16. Ethnic structure of the population of Poland (as of 31 August 1939)

No.	Nationality	Population numbers					
		To the East of		To the West of		Totals	
		the line of 16 August 1945					
		number	%	number	%	number	%
1	Poles ¹	3,474,200	29.3	19,655,200	83.7	23,129,400	65.5
2	Ukrainians ²	4,896,600	41.3	657,500	2.8	5,554,100	15.7
3	Jews ³	1,102,600	9.3	2,254,300	9.6	3,356,900	9.5
4	Belarusians ⁴	2,003,700	16.9	140,900	0.6	2,144,600	6.1
5	Germans	94,600	0.8	727,900	3.1	822,500	2.3
6	Other nationalities	284,500	2.4	47,000	0.2	331,500	0.9
	Totals	11,856,200	100.0	23,482,800	100.0	35,339,000	100.0

¹ It was assumed that the persons of Roman Catholic religion declaring Polish as mother tongue are Polish

² The persons of Christian Orthodox or Greek Catholic religion, living in South-eastern Poland were assumed to be Ukrainian

³ In the estimation of the number of persons of Jewish nationality the religious criterion was treated as more important than the mother tongue

⁴ The persons of Orthodox religion, residing in the north-eastern Poland (except for the Russians) were considered to be Belarusians. Likewise, the persons declaring "local speech" were also assumed to be Belarusians.

Sources: *Drugi powszechny spis ludności z 9.12.1931r. (The second population census of 9 December 1931)*, Warszawa 1934; *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski (wrzesień 1939-czerwiec 1941) (The Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland (September 1939-June 1941))*, London 1941.

In order to proceed with an adequate demographic balance, we should determine the potential and the ethnic structure of the population over the entire area, which made up the territory of Poland after the war. This area, situated between the Curzon line in the East and the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers in the West, split up at that time between Poland, Germany and the Free City of Gdańsk, was inhabited by 32,337,800 persons, whose nationalities were as follows:

Poles -	20,655,200 (63.9%)
Germans -	8,582,900 (26.5%)
Jews -	2,254,300 (7.0%)
Ukrainians -	657,500 (2.0%)
Belarusians -	140,900 (0.4%)
Other nationalities -	47,000 (0.2%)

Total - 32,337,800 (100.0%)

The post-war population census in Poland, carried out on 14 February 1946, showed, as mentioned already, the population number equal 23,929,800. Thus, the population of this territory decreased between 1939 and 1946 by 8,408,000 persons. Since we deal with the same territory, we can speak of demographic decrease caused by war. This decrease was brought about both by the direct war losses and by the migration movements caused by deportations. Consequently, essential changes of the ethnic structure took place (Table 17).

In view of the fact that the census took place in conditions of on-going resettlement movements, it does not reflect a fully stable situation. The relatively stable situation appeared only through the results of the subsequent census, carried out in 1950. It took place after the completion of the resettlement of the Germans and the mass inflow of the repatriates and re-emigrants to Poland. A comparison of its results with the pre-war situation shows demographic and ethnic transformations as

well as the scale of movements of Polish population (Fig. 21). The census of 1950 had one important shortcoming of the lack of information on the ethnic composition of the country's population. The data provided are only estimates, quoted after the official statistical sources of that time, which are not fully reliable. This does not, though, change the overall image: Poland became an ethnically homogeneous country, in which ethnic minorities started to play just a marginal role (Table 18).

Table 17. *Ethnic structure of the population inhabiting the territory of post-war Poland in 1939 and 1946*

No.	Nationalities	1939		1946	
		Number	%	number	%
1	Poles	20,655,200	63.9	20,520,200	85.7
2	Germans	8,582,900	26.5	2,288,300	9.6
3	Jews	2,254,300	7.0	70,000 ¹	0.3
4	Ukrainians	657,500	2.0	220,200 ²	0.9
5	Belarusians	140,900	0.4	116,500 ³	0.5
6	Other nationalities	47,000	0.2	10,700	0.1
7	Persons in the course of verification process	-	-	417,400	1.7
Totals		32,337,800	100.0	23,929,800 ⁴	98.8

¹ Population of non-Polish nationality, residing in the provinces of Rzeszów and Lublin.

² Estimated data, most probably underestimates.

³ Population of non-Polish nationality, residing in the province of Białystok.

⁴ In this census 286,500 persons had their nationality not established.

Source: *Powszechny sumaryczny spis ludności z dnia 14.02.1946 (Summary population census of 14 February 1946)*, Warszawa 1947.

Table 18. *Ethnic structure of the population inhabiting the territory of post-war Poland in 1939 and 1950*

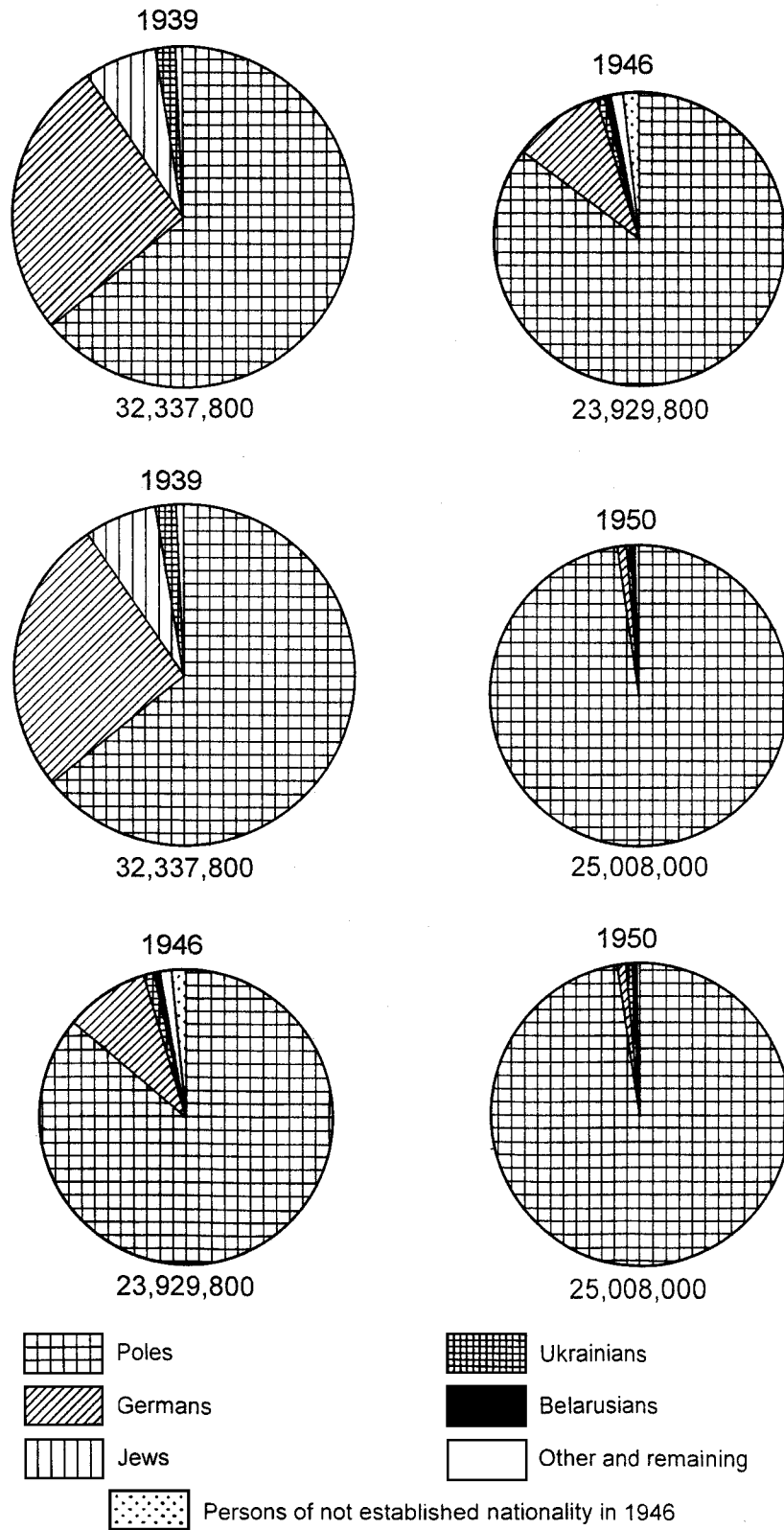
No.	Nationalities	1939		1950 ¹	
		Number	%	number	%
1	Poles	20,655,200	63.9	24,448,000	97.8
2	Germans	8,582,900	26.5	170,000	0.7
3	Jews	2,254,300	7.0	50,000	0.2
4	Ukrainians	657,500	2.0	150,200	0.6
5	Belarusians	140,900	0.4	160,000	0.6
6	Other nationalities	47,000	0.2	30,000	0.1
Totals		32,337,800	100.0	25,008,000	100.0

¹ Ethnic structure for 1950 was provided in an approximate manner on the basis of the contemporary estimates, lowering the numbers of ethnic minorities (especially of the German minority).

Sources: *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski (wrzesień 1939-czerwiec 1941) (The Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland (September 1939-June 1941))*, London 1941, p. 9; *Powszechny Spis Ludności z 4.12.1950r. (Population Census of 4 December 1950)*, Warszawa 1952.

The change of the ethnic structure of Poland had not only demographic and statistical consequences, but also the territorial ones. The vast areas of Pomerania, Lower Silesia, Lubusza, or the majority of East Prussia, had until 1945 had a German character. In effect of the virtually complete exchange of population these areas became ethnically Polish. Population movements changed also their denominational image. Except for the regions of Opole, Warmia or the Kłodzko Bowl, which were traditionally Roman Catholic, the remaining territories here considered had been inhabited until the war by Protestants. After the war, the Protestant population was resettled and the Roman Catholic population moved in. Thus, we can speak of a complete transformation of the population composition in its ethnic, language and denominational dimensions.

Fig. 21. Comparisons of the ethnic structures of the population inhabiting the territory of the post-war Poland in 1939, 1946 and 1950



Following several centuries of the German expansion, associated with the Germanising of the Polish population, World War II brought the catastrophe of all the pan-German plans, known through the slogan of “*Drang nach Osten*”. Germans not only lost the areas conquered in the 18th and 19th centuries, but the German-Slavic boundary moved far to the West, up to the line of Odra and Nysa Łużycka rivers. The territorial acquisitions in the West were linked for Poland with the simultaneous loss of the eastern territories, which were a very important element of the Polish national consciousness. Without going into details of these problems, which exceed the frames of the present report, it is perhaps worthwhile to present a comparison of the demographic and ethnic structures of the pre-war Poland in its boundaries of 31 August 1939 and the post-war Poland, shaped after the war due to decision taken in Yalta and Potsdam (Table 19 and Fig. 21).

Table 19. *Ethnic structures of Poland as of 31 August 1939 and 3 December 1950*

No.	Nationalities	1939		1950 ¹	
		Number	%	number	%
1	Poles	23,129,400	65.5	24,448,000	97.8
2	Ukrainians	5,554,100	15.7	150,000	0.7
3	Jews	3,356,900	9.5	50,000	0.2
4	Belarusians	2,144,600	6.1	160,200	0.6
5	Germans	822,500	2.3	170,000	0.6
6	Other nationalities	331,500	0.9	30,000	0.1
	Totals	35,339,000	100.0	25,008,000	100.0

¹ Ethnic structure for 1950 was provided in an approximate manner on the basis of the contemporary estimates, lowering the numbers of ethnic minorities (especially of the German minority).

Sources: *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski (wrzesień 1939-czerwiec 1941)* (*The Small Statistical Yearbook of Poland (September 1939-June 1941)*), London 1941, p. 9; *Powszechny Spis Ludności z 4.12.1950r.* (*Population Census of 4 December 1950*), Warszawa 1952.

It does not seem purposeful to consider in detail the demographic balance of the war losses of Poland. This work was done by K. Piesowicz (1988b, p. 82), who also presented the quite differentiated estimates forwarded by various scholars. Population of Poland decreased between 1939 and 1950 by more than ten million persons. Some 30 years had to elapse before the losses could be compensated for. It was only in 1980 that Poland attained the population number of the 2nd Commonwealth from 31 August 1939. Yet, an even more important consequence was constituted by the ethnic and religious homogenisation. From a multi-ethnic country, in terms of nationality, language and religion, Poland turned into one of the most homogeneous mono-ethnic countries in Europe. This effect was brought about by population movements counted among the largest in the entire history of Europe. In geographical terms these movements were of parallel character. Millions of Poles and Germans were forced by the political events to move from the East to the West. A change in the secular demographic trends took place. During the previous 1000 years the German and Polish populations have been gradually moving eastwards. After the World War II the ethnic boundary between the Slavic (Polish) and German populations returned to its position from the Middle Ages.

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- Fig. 21. Changes in the demographic-ethnic structure on the territory of post-war Poland as of 1939, 1946, 1950