

POLAND

Joanna Hanson

General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, the commander of the Polish Home Army (the AK) from June 1943 to October 1944 during the latter half of the Second World War, has written of the occupation of Poland during the Second World War: 'Both invaders drew up similar aims for themselves – to annihilate the Poles. Their methods, however, differed. The Germans quite simply tried to exterminate us. The Bolsheviks were not interested in the physical destruction of the Poles, but in breaking and enslaving the national spirit, which had been born and raised in traditions of freedom.'¹ Both invaders, both occupiers: that is the German and the Soviet. Occupied Poland during the Second World War is usually understood as the German occupation. Few remember that the eastern territories of Poland were occupied by the Soviets for nearly two years at the beginning of the war, and very few have any idea as to what that occupation meant for those peoples living there. Little attention has been paid to this problem by western historians and it has only been with the changes in Poland after 1980 and Gorbachev's policy of 'Glasnost' in the Soviet Union that the real stimulus has come to research that tragic chapter of Polish history, a chapter so alike and yet so different to that of the German occupation.

A word or two here should be said about the materials on which this study can be based. Polish historiography has not produced many monographs on the German occupation. This is partly due to research directions and lack of access to materials for whatever reasons. German historians with ready access to materials have done little to make up for this. In the 1940s memoirs and reports were compiled by the Polish authorities in exile from survivors of the Soviet occupation and deportations on their experiences. The Sikorski Institute in London and the Hoover Institute in Stanford hold these very valuable collections. Naturally, however, they mainly deal

with the earlier period of the Soviet occupation. Emigré publishers have published memoirs and diaries. The subject has been virtually taboo in Poland for the last 45 years and it is only now, and with a vengeance, that the Poles in Poland are making up for lost time, but again mainly memoirs are being published. Jan Gross has made an invaluable contribution to our knowledge on both the occupations.²

Poland before the outbreak of the war was a country which had only been an independent state since 1918. It had a population of more than 35,000,000, predominantly agricultural. That population was far from monolithic, there being large German, Belorussian, Ukrainian and Jewish minorities.

On 20 August 1939 Molotov and Ribbentrop signed their famous Pact whose secret clause agreed a new partitioning of Poland. On 1 September 1939 German forces invaded Poland. Poles had feared an attack from their German neighbours after Jozef Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, had rejected Hitler's claims to Gdansk in May 1939, stating that Poles did not regard peace as being desirable at any cost. A few days earlier Hitler had renounced the 1934 Polish-German Non-Agression Pact. On 17 September, the Red Army invaded Poland from the east. This 'stab in the back' was quite unexpected, and left the Polish nation stunned. No declaration of war was made. Stalin had not renounced his Non-Agression Pact of 1932 with the Poles and gave a defence of the minorities as an explanation of his action. The communiqué handed to the Polish Ambassador at 3 a.m. on 17 September referred to the Polish state and government having ceased to exist and the Soviet government's inability to remain indifferent to the fate of their Ukrainian and Belorussian brothers living on Polish territories. It also renounced all existing treaties between Poland and the USSR.³

Occupied Poland was thus a double occupation, at least until 21 June 1941, and the country was divided into three. The Germans annexed part of the Polish territories – Polish Pomerania, Upper Silesia, the Dabrowa Basin, part of the Lodz and Cracow provinces and the Suwalki district – which were included in the Third Reich. This area was 91,974 km², a quarter of the area of the Polish state, and its prewar population numbered 10,139,000 inhabitants, of which 8,905,000 were Poles, 603,000 Jews and 600,000 Germans. The remainder of the Polish lands occupied by the Germans were formed into the *Generalgouvernement* (not a buffer state as once planned) and formed a reserve of Poles and Jews administered by the Germans. Up until the summer of 1941, this was an area of about 95,000 km², with a population of c.12,300,000, and after then when the district of Galacia was added, 142,000 km², bringing the population up to 16,000,000.⁴ The *Generalgouvernement* was divided up into four districts: Cracow, Lublin, Radom and Warsaw. On 12 October, Hitler appointed the leading Nazi lawyer, Hans Frank, as Governor

General. His administration was almost entirely made up of Germans although Poles were employed at lower regional levels.⁵

These eastern frontiers between Soviet-occupied Poland and German-occupied Poland were the result not only of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact but of important modifications made to it. The German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty of September 28 conformed to new demands by Stalin and gave him nationalistically a more consolidated area. This also included a secret protocol stating:

Neither party will permit on its territories any Polish agitation which affects the territories of the other party. They will suppress in their territories all beginnings of such agitation and inform each other concerning suitable measures for this purpose.⁶

The Germans had originally captured some of these territories only to hand them over to the Soviets. They covered an area of c.200.000 km², inhabited by about 13 million people.⁷ The Poles made up about one third of the population, the Ukrainians another third and the Jews and Belorussians the rest. Part of this Polish territory, including Wilno, was handed by Stalin to the Lithuanians, until June 1940 when he incorporated the Baltic states into the Soviet Union.

Administratively, the Soviet-occupied area became an integral part of the Soviet Union. Many Polish or former Polish state employees initially remained in their posts, otherwise the posts were taken over by other Poles for purely careerist or opportunistic reasons, or were given to Poles regarded as being politically safe, or to representatives of other nationalities. Russian officials and other Soviet citizens were also brought in. Posts in Soviet-occupied territory were much sought after by Soviet citizens.

The average Pole who survived the German occupation would probably describe it in three words: terror, hunger and destitution. In the Soviet occupation the words would be: Communist indoctrination, terror and hunger. Two further adjectives should also be added: insecurity and humiliation. The treatment of Poles as *Untermenschen* in the sublime form of German chauvinism, struck at the most sensitive place of the Polish character, their national pride and dignity. At times it was more difficult to sustain this national humiliation than the brutality and cruelty. But terror was the common denominator of both occupations, ever present, ever visible, and virtually inescapable. To understand this terror one must first look at the attitude of the two respective occupiers towards the Poles.

Hitler's attitude to Poland and his aspirations for *Lebensraum* in the east are well known. His policy was a racist one *par excellence* and he had, albeit not always precise and constant, long-term objectives for the territories involved. Poland was to cease to exist, its population was to be gradually destroyed, and that which remained was to form a labour supply and reserve for the Third Reich. The lands

were to be gradually colonised by German settlers. This policy was to be realised by systematic extermination policies, especially in relation to the Jews, by the removal and transfer of population and forced labour, by depriving the Poles of the necessary means of livelihood, and thus biologically weakening and destroying them, and by intellectually depriving them of all necessary schooling and education, bar a minimum required by their German employers.

However, life in the annexed territories and the *Generalgouvernement* varied. In the annexed territories not a single Polish school or library was left, and the use of the Polish language resulted in persecution. Here the principle that Poles were only a work force was fully implemented and they were shown in the most brutal manner that the Germans were their masters and the Poles mere slaves. Here the stereotype of *Übermenschen* and *Untermenschen* was cultivated and all the Polish leaders, patriotic acts and symbols, or acts of self-defence cruelly suppressed. In the *Generalgouvernement*, however, in spite of the appalling living conditions, especially for the intelligentsia and the working class in the towns, and in spite of the terror and preparations being made to absorb these territories into the Third Reich, Polish employers were allowed to exist, primary and vocational schools teaching in Polish functioned and, to quote a Polish specialist, 'They were allowed to be Poles', although this must be understood in a relative sense.⁸

Stalin's attitude to the Polish territories he had obtained is not so straightforward, although it would be a mistake to look for deep and complicated motivations. He had regained lands Russia felt she had lost at the Treaty of Riga in 1921 and he had agreed to Molotov signing a pact with Ribbentrop for specific reasons, which are not important here, but the primary aim was probably not the regaining of those territories. It is argued he was playing for time, but having gained the territories he incorporated them into the Soviet Union on a permanent basis and introduced similar changes to those which had been introduced in the USSR since the Revolution. His approach was surely part of his universal policy and not a specific one to Poland. His treatment of the populations there is comparable and often identical to that of other populations in the Soviet empire. It carried in its wake all the negative aspects, horrors and terror of the Bolshevik Revolution. One of his main tasks was to put Poland on an equal footing with the rest of his Union of Soviets, to level it down to their level and erase the glaring differences between the standards and styles of life. His Poland, 'the bastard of Versailles', and its independence, was to cease to exist, the independence of its citizens likewise, and their total dependence on the Soviet state to be initiated. This was not a racist policy, although there may have been traits of national complexes in it; it was a Marxist and class policy. It was to be the end of reactionary Poland.

The outbreak of the war immediately brought heavy civilian losses and suffering. Refugees and people escaping to the east were indiscriminately attacked and shot at from the air; hospitals were bombed. The German terror began straight away. *Einsatzgruppen* of the *Sicherheitspolizei* (Sipo), which had been created before the outbreak of the war, were attached to each of the five German armies involved in the invasion of Poland. They were to operate in the rear, were commanded by an SS Brigade Commander and were the responsibility of Reinhard Heydrich, the head of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, and their ranks contained SS men and police. Hitler's orders to shoot all Poles offering resistance were applied very liberally and even led to conflicts with the *Wehrmacht*, although the latter were not guiltless. It is estimated that more than 16,000 Poles were executed in the first ten days of the war.⁹

The Nazi terror took on specific forms. Imprisonment, often accompanied by brutal torture and death, and executions or transportations to concentration camps or to the Third Reich as forced labour, were the most common. This mainly affected the Polish intelligentsia and public and politically prominent individuals, who could be considered to be a possible centre for any opposition. The Germans thereby attempted to deprive the Poles of their elite. Hitler had ordered that the Polish 'gentry, clergy and Jews' be liquidated. It was amongst these sections that widespread arrests were carried out from the very outset, lists of undesirables often having been compiled before the outbreak of the war. These were far more extensive for the western territories where according to Heydrich at the end of September at the most only 3 per cent of the political leaders remained. Examples of this policy of terror can be found from the very first months of the occupation: on 6 November 1939 in a 'Sonderaktion' in Cracow, 183 Jagiellonian University professors and academics were arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen; on 9 November, the first mass arrests of the intelligentsia in Lublin and Czestochowa began.¹⁰

Mass arrests were carried out within the Polish underground movement and this affected not only the military underground but also the civilian and government underground bodies. Poles could also be arrested for a whole series of petty offences under the Nazi occupation, such as smuggling food, black marketing, failure to raise their hats to the Germans in the annexed territories, breaking curfews, entering *Nur für Deutsche* areas, etc., apart from normally accepted petty and common law crimes.¹¹

Another form of terror was the German policy of expulsions, resettlement and deportation. This mainly affected the annexed territories, although later, when the Nazis started to implement their resettlement policy – which, however, never really got off the ground – it was also carried out in the *Generalgouvernement*, particularly

the *Wehrwolf* operation in the Zamosc area. About 1.5 million people were resettled into the *Generalgouvernement* from the annexed territories. Poles were transported to the Third Reich as forced labour. Throughout the entire war between 1.3 and 1.5 million workers were deported from the *Generalgouvernement* and 645,000 from the annexed territories to the Third Reich.¹²

It is worth saying a word or two more here about the forced resettlement of Poles from the annexed territories to the *Generalgouvernement*. The criteria applied in selecting Poles to be deported were somewhat fluid. Initially, the most important were their political past, their role in the community and ability to command respect, the size of their properties and local animosities between Poles and *Volksdeutsche*. Himmler had instructed that all Poles who had moved into these areas after 1918 were to be removed as a priority, but, as these were mainly small farmers or farm labourers, the instructions were impractical. The Germans wanted large estates and properties. All Jews were to be evacuated from the annexed territories. Numerically, the German plans were to prove to be unrealisable and the original numbers of transports planned were never to be realised.¹³ These dispossessed Poles were often transported in the most foul and inhumane conditions, journeys lasting several days in below freezing temperatures. The following is a description of the arrival of such a train somewhere in the *Generalgouvernement*:

All six carriages were opened at the same time and out of them people wrapped in rags and blankets, white, covered in frost, started to fall. Some fell on their knees straight away and started to eat the snow. They were not allowed to leave. Many of the women were clutching dead children under scarves. With kicks and beatings they were made to pile the corpses up in one of the carriages. Next the men were told to clear out the remaining carriages. First of all suitcases and bundles were thrown out, and only then the stiff and twisted corpses, which had to be piled up. The women and children stood there stupified and resigned, looking at the bodies, where they could also see their nearest and dearest. When one of the women tore herself away from the group, a shot was heard. Another corpse was added. After emptying the carriages the men were given spades and told to clean the floor. This seemed to take an eternity. The frozen dirt stuck hard and the frozen and starving people had no strength. Shouting and beatings by SS men speeded up the work somewhat. When the carriages were regarded as being clean enough, they were ordered to put the bodies into one of them, whose doors were then closed ... When the train had been 'unloaded' and cleaned, a whistle was blown and in a moment the whole company had formed into ranks. The commanding officer accepted a report, made some sort of command and the unit marched off. A second later a locomotive drew up and the ghost train left. The groups of people left on the railway tracks didn't move. The sudden departure of the SS hadn't made the slightest impression on them. They couldn't understand they were free to leave ... it was dusk before the locals ventured to approach this phantom of people.¹⁴

Random round-ups were one of the forms of terror most practised by the Germans. Houses, blocks of flats, streets or specific areas were suddenly sealed off and the inhabitants or anyone there at the time rounded up. These people were usually deported for forced labour or to concentration camps, or taken as hostages or victims in the German policy of applying collective responsibility for attacks of whatever kind on Germans. For example in Wawer, a suburb of Warsaw, 107 innocent Poles were dragged from their beds and shot in retaliation for the murder of two German NCOs in a bar by local criminals.¹⁵ Their only offence was that they happened to be in the area covered by the raid. This was probably the greatest fear for the Poles, the perpetual fear of going out and being caught in a street round up, lined up against the wall and shot just because you were there, just because you were Polish. 'After all, it made no difference whether your papers were in order or not, whether you were guilty or innocent. The German terror was incalculable and the fact of being a Pole a deadly sin in itself – so you left it at that.'¹⁶

Polish families also lost children, who were removed by the Germans to be Germanised. Between 160,000 and 200,000 Polish children were sent to the Third Reich from German-occupied Poland by the Nazis during the war.¹⁷ In the annexed territories all Polish men born between 1910 and 1945 were registered as *Volksdeutsch* and forcibly drafted into the German army.

It would require a separate paper to deal with the question of terror in relation to the Polish Jews, who were herded into ghettos, overcrowded and cut off, where the death rate soared due to starvation and disease. German policy towards the Jews was straightforward, extermination. 2,600,000 Polish Jews perished under the German occupation out of a pre-war population of about 3,000,000.¹⁸

In Soviet-occupied Poland the terror also started on the first day. But this was of a slightly different nature in so far as the invading Red Army allowed the local populations to settle long-outstanding political, nationalistic and personal accounts; 'a period of lawlessness was decreed'. From the very outset in leaflets and propaganda the Poles were referred to as a nation of 'exploiters and landlords' and local populations were encouraged to take their vengeance on them. People took justice into their own hands and a bloodbath of indescribable cruelty and sadism followed. I quote just one example from the Polesie area:

They took away my 68 year old father and a cousin, all the neighbours who didn't get away in time, and a few officers caught on the road. All were brought to the schoolhouse. A Soviet commissar came by and shot one lawyer who admitted he had prosecuted in some communist trials; the rest he left for the hoodlums to do with as they pleased.

Or in a parish in the Nowogrod voivodship its governor, some policemen and some settlers were brought in, sentenced to death and killed with axes. In Karczewka in

the Wolyn area, 24 Polish settlers were tied up with barbed wire, and then shot or drowned by Ukrainian peasants.²⁰ The examples are legion. It would appear that the Poles had no protection or redress from this violence as often its perpetrators were agents of the new authority being established in an area. Peasant groups on the rampage were often appointed to be the new authority in an area by a passing Soviet commander or commissar.

As life in the Soviet-occupied territories became more stable and organised following the invasion, a mass wave of organised and systematic arrests began. They became such a fact of life that they brought daily fear to virtually everyone, and some even felt relief when their eventual arrest materialised. To begin with, it was the elites, the social and political activists, the police, professors, priests, landowners, and industrialists, who were arrested but later the arrests embraced far wider sections of society. They were usually made on the basis of lists. There were also spontaneous random arrests, street round-ups (but less frequently than in German-occupied Poland) and individual arrests.²¹ The Soviet authorities were far better informed about the residents of the territories they occupied than the Germans were. This is partly due to the fact that records fell into their hands and because by various devious means they drew up lists (e.g. for elections, or of people wishing to return to occupied Germany etc.). Furthermore, Poles could be arrested for far more trivial things than in the German-occupied territories e.g. for being late to work, having overdue taxes, selling off their own goods.²² Many were arrested trying to cross the border. Prisons were inhumanely overcrowded and new and totally unsuitable premises were sought.²³

Arrest and deportation were often synonymous in the Soviet-occupied territories. No one was safe from them as the net drew in both 'reactionaries' and people known for their leftist views. These were the worst fears, the fear that the whole family would be uprooted, removed and deported deep into the Soviet Union, in the most awful conditions, never to return. There were four waves of deportations: the first in February 1940, the second and third in April and June of that year, and the fourth in June 1941 just before the outbreak of the Russo-Soviet War. The deportations embraced everyone, although each one had a specific character. The first deportations removed Polish 'military settlers' and forestry employees, police and officials – about 220,000 people were deported in this wave. The second deportation embraced the families of previous deportees or arrested persons, POWs or internees, farmers, teachers, workers, landowners, merchants, Jews, Ukrainians and Belorussians: about 320,000 people were deported. In the third deportation mainly Jews were affected. In total during these three deportations c.780,000 people were deported. The final deportation in 1941 removed 200-300,000 people, mainly from

the areas incorporated into Lithuania, including many children and orphans. Thus in all about 1,100,000 people were deported, i.e. about 7-8 per cent of the population (of which 50 per cent were peasants, 24 per cent workers and 17 per cent intelligentsia).²⁴ To these figures should be added about 210,000 men forcibly conscripted into the Red Army.²⁵

This is a comparable record to the German one and the deportees were transported in equally awful conditions, the journeys often lasting far longer. The worst was probably the February deportation which took place in below freezing temperatures. Deportees were given between 15 minutes and two hours to pack their possessions and leave. Such was the deportation mentality, however, that some already had bags ready.²⁶ Another policy which was common to both occupiers was that of forcing Poles to vacate their homes and even villages, in favour of Germans or others. In the territories annexed to the Third Reich this policy usually resulted in deportation to the *Generalgouvernement* or the Third Reich as forced labour. In German-occupied territories Poles were also forced to vacate their homes in areas where ghettos were organised.

These were the direct methods of terror and extermination, but the specific policies of both occupiers went far further directly or indirectly in destroying, enfeebling or humiliating the nation they had chosen to subdue. This was particularly evident in specific aspects of life such as education, culture, religious life, health, accommodation and feeding.

In all the areas of Poland annexed to the Third Reich Polish schools were closed. Polish children were mainly taught only their three 'R's', in German, so as to be able to communicate with and work for German employers later on. The school day and length of compulsory education was shortened. Poles were not allowed to attend vocational schools. In the *Generalgouvernement*, however, compulsory schooling lasting seven years was maintained, although classes tended to be much larger, and the staff more elderly. In the middle of 1944 there were on average 90 children per teacher. The teaching of Polish history, geography and literature was forbidden. Instruction was in Polish. Vocational schools were permitted. The result of this was the formation of a secret underground educational organisation, TON, some illegal classes even being held in legal schools. Secret schooling and also secret university lectures and seminars (as all Polish universities in the German-occupied areas were closed) became a specific part of the Polish civilian resistance movement. This was the result of the exceptional restrictions on schooling introduced in occupied Poland, comparable only with the occupied part of the Soviet Union, as well as the belief of the Polish teaching profession in a better future, for which young people would be needed.²⁷

Secret schools were also created in the Soviet-occupied territories; we know of ones in Lwow and Wilno, although no studies have been made of them. In the Soviet-occupied territories schools were reformed to fall in line with the Soviet system of education and this was done very swiftly. Schools were secularised and depolonised. The teaching of religion, history, Latin (if taught), and, in some, Polish was banned. Marxism and atheism were added to the curriculum. One of the biggest struggles in schools was over the crucifixes, which were forcibly taken down as were portraits of Polish statesmen. Parents were usually given the choice of the language of instruction of their children's schools, but frequently in practice there was no choice. Teachers were speedily and badly trained in these new languages. An attempt was also made to make children attend school on Sundays, but this failed due to the opposition it encountered. The Polish universities of Lwow and Wilno were not closed down, but departments of Marxism and Leninism opened and the old faculties of law, philosophy and history disbanded. New staff were brought in. Ironically, the Soviet occupation resulted in more schools, more opportunities for higher and vocational training, and more instruction in the native language of the minorities.²⁸

As Poland is an overwhelmingly Catholic nation and the Polish Church played a very important role in Polish life, the attitude of the occupiers to that institution and to religion was important not only as an instrument of their policies but also because of the reaction it generated. German policy to the church was obviously an integral part of its policy to destroy the Polish nation. In the territories annexed to the Third Reich the Polish Church was to be destroyed. Polish Roman Catholic churches were closed down, some blown up or destroyed, plundered of their treasures, transformed into stores, garages, stables and the like, or handed over to the Evangelical Church. Polish priests were removed, imprisoned or sent to concentration camps, replaced by German ones or put on the *Volksdeutsche* list. The use of the Polish language was forbidden in churches. In some cemeteries Polish headstones were removed or inscriptions replaced by ones in German. Roadside crosses, altars and chapels were removed; round-ups were organised of peasants leaving churches on Sundays. In the Warta area, where these policies were probably applied most severely, of 2,500 pre-war Polish priests, 752 died, and approximately another 800 ended up in prisons or concentration camps; in the Poznan diocese of the 800 pre-war Polish priests there were only 34 left in 1943 and 30 of the 841 Polish churches.²⁹

In the *Generalgouvernement* the policy was more moderate and there was no real fight as such with the Church and religion, as it was felt that it would be possible to persuade the clergy to preach according to the desires of the Third Reich, and any resistance to this would be quickly dealt with. The taking over of churches was

a sporadic practice. But the losses amongst the Polish clergy and monastic orders were high. Hundreds died and far more were arrested. Poland was the only country where bishops were arrested, some later to die in concentration camps. There were no real financial burdens placed on the Church by the German occupier.³⁰

In the Soviet-occupied territories, however, the Church was obviously the victim of Communist secularisation of life. Heavy taxes were imposed on it. Stalin was now to be the Poles' God. Polish children had chains with religious emblems removed and replaced by ones with Stalin's picture. One small boy from Baranowicz recalls how two holes were drilled in the ceiling of his class room and:

To one hole the (teacher) said, God, O Lord, give us some dumplings, and nothing happened. To the other he said, Soviet, Soviet give us some sweets, and the sweets came pouring down.³¹

All evidence points to an increase in church attendance under both occupations. The pattern was to be the same with cultural life under the occupation. In the Soviet occupied territories Communist policies were applied, which excluded all patriotic, nationalist and bourgeois elements from the cultural life of those territories. People were forced to attend propaganda meetings both in their places of work and homes. These were frequent and absorbed a great deal of time in the difficult and daily lives of the people.³² This was a totally new factor for them. Polish writers and artists were allowed to work as long as their work conformed to the Marxist guidelines; many did conform, especially those who could find an ideological (albeit at times, opportunist) justification for it. This did not always spare them later from imprisonment or deportation.³³

In German-occupied Poland there were no possibilities of participating in any cultural life except as blatant collaborationists. The only exceptions were probably one or two actors, who performed in variety theatre, which was permitted for Poles. Cinemas were open to Poles but the films shown were of an undesirable quality. A slogan was developed by the Polish underground; 'Tyłko swienia siedza w kinie' – only pigs go to the flicks! But people did go to the cinema because they had nothing else to do. All Polish libraries were closed down as were sports facilities. An underground theatre network slowly developed, where actors and artists would perform or give recitals to very small groups of people in private flats. Concerts were held in coffee shops. Books were published by the underground; new novels and beautiful poetry were written and clandestinely published. Books were circulated secretly. Bridge became extremely popular, if only to pass away the curfew hours.³⁴

Here was a nation terrorised, nationally, intellectually and culturally humiliated by its occupiers, and, at the same time, physically enfeebled by the living conditions

it was forced to live in. The information available for the German-occupied territories is very detailed and well sourced, whereas for the Soviet-occupied areas it is fragmentary so no real picture can be drawn up for those areas.

The war and new administrative divisions resulting therefrom totally broke up the economic organisation of Poland. Polish towns and cities were cut off from their normal supplies of food. In addition to this, Poland was to be a source of food for the Third Reich and the German army. No food was permitted to be imported from the Third Reich into the *Generalgouvernement*. The result of this was well summed up by a Polish underground emissary on his return to London:

The standard of living became primitive in the extreme. The diet of those who fared the worst consisted exclusively of black bread mixed with sawdust. A plate of cereal a day was considered a luxury. During all of 1942 I never tasted butter or sugar ... we were all hungry nearly all of the time...³⁵

Rationing was introduced, though not for everyone, and the calorific value of the rations was very different for Germans, Poles or Jews. In 1941, the German daily ration was about 2,600 calories, whereas that for the Poles and Jews was 669 and 184 respectively. The Poles and Jews had obviously, therefore, to make up the difference by buying on the free market where prices were very high. It was this black market that bridged the gap between survival and starvation. The people who smuggled in goods did so at very great expense because of the high cost of train fares and the bribes often involved, and the risk of confiscation, being sent to a concentration camp or even death. The Germans were always on the look out for smugglers. They would set up road blocks and search trains, they would raid markets. But the traders soon came back, although a successful raid by the Germans could result in a quick rise in prices, often by as much as 30 to 50 per cent.³⁶

For many people survival was found in their contacts with the villages and countryside; help came from families there, who might have farms or land on which extra food could be grown. For others, especially workers, who worked in factories for the *Wehrmacht* or occupation authorities, there was a meal, usually only a bowl of soup, in the factory canteen.³⁷ The Poles also dug for victory as Jozef Retinger, a Polish emissary, wrote after his visit to Warsaw in 1944:

... the aspect of the city amazed me; it had changed so much. The inner courtyards of all the bigger houses and buildings have been turned into vegetable gardens. The grass strips down the centre of the broad avenues have been dug up and made into allotments ... vegetables were everywhere.³⁸

The situation was alleviated also by self-help organisations which set up soup kitchens, and also provided clothing, financial help, care for children, orphans,

refugees, families of POWs and prisoners. This work was carried out and organised by the Poles, but with the agreement of the Germans.³⁹

A brief look at prices will explain why feeding was such a problem. In 1938 the average cost of feeding a worker's family of four was 61.27 *zloty* per month, by June 1941 it was 1,568 *zloty*. A worker in an average non-heavy industry enterprise in June 1941 earned between 120 and 300 *zloty* a month, white collar workers between 100 and 250 *zloty*. By the turn of 1943/44 the wages of a Polish worker represented about 8 per cent of the real value of pre-war wages.⁴⁰ Where then did people get the extra money from to buy food? Those who could sold or bartered possessions; people rented out rooms or found extra employment; many were involved in the Polish underground and were paid for that; others black marketed; some moonlighted; other stole from work and sold what they could. Many women had to start working; some were even forced into prostitution. In some enterprises workers were even sold goods at normal prices or given bonuses in kind, e.g. cigarettes and vodka which they were later able to sell on the black market.⁴¹ A result of this was something called *Bumelanctwo*, which literally means shirking from work, but during the occupation it was a manifestation of Polish workers' total disrespect for the work they had to do and the fact that they could earn considerably more by other means in the same time. The occupier tried to fight these practices by removing ration cards, even police intervention, and in one factory in Stalowa Wola an *Erziehungslager* was started with re-education courses lasting eight to fourteen days. But these policies were obviously unsuccessful as, by the end of 1941, the shirking rate fluctuated between 6 per cent and 20 per cent of the workforce. In Warsaw, in 1943, 30 per cent of the work force were not turning up for work and it was quite normal for a worker to work only four days a week.⁴² Polish workers also went on strike.⁴³ This would never have been possible in the Soviet-occupied territories, where even arriving late for work resulted in imprisonment.⁴⁴

The effects of this on the general health of the Polish population probably do not need to be explained. There was an increase in the number of cases of typhoid, tuberculosis, scarlet fever, diphtheria, rickets etc. Hospital space was limited for the Poles, but they were treated by their own doctors. There was a terrible shortage of vaccines, medicines and dressings etc.⁴⁵

The Poles did, however, have information about what was happening in the rest of Europe and the outside world at the time. The news and propaganda fed to them was supplemented by what they could gain themselves from reading the underground press and from listening to the radio, particularly the BBC, illegally. In German-occupied Poland it was illegal to possess a radio, whereas in the Soviet-occupied territories it was only illegal to listen to foreign broadcasts. The author

has come across recollections there of people listening to both French and British stations. The Polish underground press, which was very voluminous in the *Generalgouvernement*, used to publish monitored broadcasts. It is impossible to say how wide the circulation was of these papers, although in the urban communities they were quite widely read and many different ones were published. People obviously also read the German papers.⁴⁶ I have not been able to find such references to underground papers in the Soviet-occupied territories although some were published, and even brought in from German-occupied areas. They also existed in the annexed territories, but to a far lesser degree. Resistance and underground work were far more difficult there. Correspondence from abroad also contained information.⁴⁷

The Poles did not succumb to the occupation and the policy of the German invader. Their resistance was both active and passive, both physical and psychological. They believed that a better future had to be envisaged, that humanism must overcome the awful inhumanity which they daily witnessed, and that national dignity had to be sustained. At the same time, they lived in the fear that they were next in line for the same fate as the Jews. The organisation of the Polish military underground and the underground part of the Polish Government in London are not the subject of this paper, but their presence and the overwhelming support they commanded amongst the Polish population must be emphasised and remembered.

A separate and organised civil resistance was also formed, and there were also many cases of spontaneous individual defiance and unorganised actions under both occupations. It must, however, be stressed here that, due to the greater difficulties of organisation in the Soviet-occupied territories and the fact that the occupation there lasted less than two years, no real civil resistance was established, although we have evidence of numerous individual acts.

In April 1940 a *Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej* (the KWC), the Directorate for Civilian Resistance, was established by the Polish Government in the *Generalgouvernement*. Later in 1943 it amalgamated with its military counterpart and was renamed the Directorate of Underground Resistance. The KWC was responsible for watching over the morale of the community and for maintaining an inflexible attitude towards the Nazi occupier. It set up a code of behaviour for the Poles based on three principles: a universal boycott of all German orders and measures which were socially harmful or damaging to the national substance; engaging in any sabotage causing material and moral losses to the Germans; obedience to the Polish underground authorities. Instructions were issued either by the underground press or on the SWIT (the Polish government's underground radio station in London), broadcasting from London to Poland on a whole array of issues including: a ban on

registering as *Volksdeutsch*; the boycott of forced labour in the Reich; the ban on maintaining any kind of relations with the Germans, buying German lottery tickets, going to the cinema, casinos, theatres or concerts performed by Germans; the sabotage of delivery quotas imposed by the German occupier on Polish farmers and peasants; sabotage at work. In addition doctors were instructed to issue false medical certificates to help people avoid being taken as forced labour, priests were instructed to falsify baptism certificates for Jews, and judges were forbidden to transfer cases from Polish to German courts. They would also warn the Polish population of impending events, e.g. round-ups. They called on the Poles to help their fellow Jews and Hungarian, Italian, Romanian or Slovak deserters.⁴⁸

Underground courts were set up by the KWC dealing with transgressions of a civil nature. Sentences were published in the underground press, on SWIT, or even posted up on posters. They could pass the death sentence. Smaller court commissions dealing with lesser cases were also established. They issued sentences of infamy or censure, or just a reprimand, and even head-shaving or flogging.⁴⁹

At the end of 1940, the KWC also set up a small sabotage organisation, the *Wawer* organisation, which was a scouting organisation personifying the aims of the KWC and making its activities openly visible. These were the young men and women, often boys and girls, who tore down German posters, put up Polish ones, painted nationalistic symbols or slogans on walls, set up various what to-day would be called 'happenings' etc. For example on 27 June 1943 a group of *Wawer* members clambered up the ruined tower which still stood following the destruction of the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1939, and hung up the Polish flag, which was to remain there for several hours, to the great satisfaction of the Varsovians. Similar actions were also performed in other parts of the *Generalgouvernement*, many quite spontaneously.⁵⁰

Likewise, in the Soviet-occupied territories there were also many examples of civilian defiance and resistance. They have in no way been catalogued and it is not possible yet to quantify them nor put some kind of structure on them. Most of them were uncoordinated and spontaneous actions, perhaps more so than in the *Generalgouvernement*, many were scout-inspired. The author has found one mention of scouts being sent from Warsaw to Lwow to set up a sabotage organisation there. The Soviets, when they entered the town of Lomza were met by demonstrating Poles dressed in black. The reception for the Red Army varied from great enthusiasm to hostility and indifference. In Suwalki an 18-year-old girl stepped forward to greet the entering Red Army commander with a bunch of flowers, in which she had hidden a gun, with which she shot him. It is interesting to note that there was an identical scene in Silesia, hundreds of miles to the west, when the Germans entered

there. On 11 November 1939, Poland's Independence Day, there were patriotic demonstrations in Bialystok and Lomza. A few days earlier, on 7 November, Poles in Nowogrod had turned up in mourning for compulsory October Revolution celebrations. Polish youth pulled down Soviet propaganda and slogans, and wrote up their own. Poles attending compulsory meetings would often in defiance stamp their feet, shuffle their chairs, cough and whistle. In Grodno, at a public meeting, Poles sang their national anthem. At one such meeting in Lwow in 1939 one of the participants remembers the audience defiantly singing the Polish patriotic song, 'We want God', in competition with the voices of the organisers on the stage singing the 'International' with clenched fists.⁵¹ The battle to remove crucifixes in schools only resulted in Polish school children making their own and putting them up. Soviet attempts to close down Polish churches were sometimes thwarted due to the resistance of local populations. The Huculi, a mountain and rural population in the border areas with Romania, put up an unbelievable fight against the Soviet policy of depopulating the border areas.⁵² In Wilno, in 1941, one of the priests preached a very strong sermon, condemning the Polish youth who had taken part in the May Day celebrations there, accusing them of succumbing to the occupier, when those were issues over which blood should be spilt.⁵³

Here one more example of civilian defiance in Soviet-occupied Poland must be cited. In Augustow a monument to Stalin had been erected and so designed that he had one of his hands stretched out. On to this hand, one night, a chamber pot was cemented, and then a few days later a bucket of excreta. The Soviets, therefore, had to put a guard on the monument. After a time it was removed, and then one night Stalin's head was unscrewed and placed between his legs!⁵⁴

The Soviets had hardly entered the Polish territories when they started to organise elections to the assemblies in part of them, in the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia.⁵⁵ The elections were announced by the Military Councils on 4 October for 22 October and were held according to the well-known principles of Soviet democracy. The whole area was gripped by an election fever, in which the local electorate felt totally lost and terrorised. Electoral lists were drawn up, later to be very useful for the deportations, and electoral meetings were organised in factories, offices, schools and places of residence. Landlords marched their tenants to meetings in compact groups, hamlets were marched to meetings singing, in factories gates were locked and people could not go home but had to attend meetings. People not attending meetings were regarded as enemies of the state and often arrested.

People were forced to vote. They were tempted to the polling stations by stalls with free white bread and sweets. They were dragged out of their homes by the

militia to vote, often with the help of rifle butts. Bands played music at polling stations. For those who were sick, old or forgetful, and had not turned up by the evening, the ballot box was brought, for their convenience, to their homes or to hospitals. In one town the ballot box was taken to Jews praying in the synagogue. Landlords had to take their tenants; villages voted en bloc and people at work came together. People tried to spoil their ballot papers, crossed or marked them with obscenities or patriotic slogans, rubbing the Polish eagle from a coin on bits of paper which were dropped into the ballot box. Many escaped to the forests so as not to vote. In some mountain villages, where there were no pens and the peasants were illiterate, they brought cow or horse manure, and put that in with their ballot. These were actions carried out by Poles representing both the intelligentsia and peasants. In a few areas there had to be a second round of voting. But true to the falsity of the elections the turn out was reported to have been between 93 and 97 per cent and about 91 per cent voted for the official candidates. In the Postawy constituency 103 per cent of the electorate voted yes! The outcome of these elections was that the Western Ukraine and Belorussia were included into the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that Poles felt shame and distress.

Finally a word must be said about the Polish peasant population, which represented about 60 per cent of the Polish population. The question of compulsory delivery quotas, however, is the key to understanding the peasant during the war; and they were being collected alongside the requisitions, round-ups and terror in the countryside, which were often far worse than in the towns. For example, in the towns if someone did not turn up for forced labour, the whole family was not made responsible as was the case in the countryside. Failure to hand over a quota could mean death or the destruction of a peasant's property. The size of the quotas increased as the war went on, becoming an increasing and often impossible burden for the peasants. Although landowners and peasants with larger farms undoubtedly gained from the occupation, if only because they could trade and speculate, the plight of the poorer peasants was very different. They might even have to buy supplies to be able to hand over quotas or feed their families; they had no money to pay bribes. However, generally speaking if these rural people were able to trade illegally, they were better off than before the war, especially in areas near large towns. In the *Generalgouvernement* the first two years of the war resulted in a more favourable economic situation in the countryside than before the war.⁵⁶

In the annexed territories Poles were no longer allowed to own land and were therefore, reduced to the role of labourers for their German masters. In the Soviet-occupied territories the situation was worse and there seems to have been no gain for anyone. There was a deterioration and fall in production. The peasant

lacked confidence in the new authorities and had little motivation to produce for the market. Many peasants had lost large stocks, including grain for sowing, as a result of Red Army requisitions in 1939. Compulsory quotas were also a disincentive. Unrealistic official prices in comparison to market prices meant that any money a peasant might earn had virtually no purchasing power. Peasants were as much a victim of the deportations as any group, and in fact made up 50 per cent of those deported. Land was redistributed; the landowners, colonists and better-off peasants were forced off their property. Many peasants, sometimes entire villages, refused to take part in the land distribution. The final nail in the coffin for peasant attitudes was, however, the forced collectivisations which were started in 1940.⁵⁷

What conclusions can thus be drawn, what impressions gained? Overwhelmingly and immediately, one of terrible human loss and destruction. Out of a population of 35,000,000, 6,028,000 had perished (only 664,000 as a result of military operations), 2,600,000 of whom were Polish Jews. Over one million had been deported into the Soviet Union, of whom probably 400,000 had died, including POWs and military internees, but not the Katyn victims. The intelligentsia had been devastated. Poland had lost 30 per cent of her academics, 57 per cent of her lawyers, 21.5 per cent of her judges and prosecutors, 39 per cent of her doctors, 15 per cent of her teachers, 50 per cent of her qualified engineers and 18 per cent of the clergy. Five million Poles were scattered around the world. About one third of the Poles in the Polish lands included in the Soviet Union were never to return to Poland.⁵⁸ Thousands more were in refugee and displaced persons' camps. Many Poles were still to die or to be permanently physically or mentally handicapped as a result of their experiences. Families had been irretrievably broken up. Up until today there are still thousands of untraced Poles and the searches still go on. Poland's capital Warsaw had been totally destroyed.

Generally amongst the Poles there was a determination to defy the occupier and to survive the war and a belief in a better future. There was support for civil resistance and many in their own ways – not only by participation in underground work, but by such actions as secret schooling, concerts in cafes, public demonstrations – manifested this. Of course there were some also who did not abide by the rules of accepted civic behaviour; Polish society was not totally uniform, but these were not frequent examples and were usually done for material gain. In the Soviet-occupied territories this was more complicated because of ideological and nationalistic factors. Here the Soviets were not always seen as the enemy in the same way as the Germans were. However, people to a certain extent came to terms with life and had to adapt, as this example of a Polish diarist shows:

25 November 1943. Round-ups again on the electric train line, four people were apparently shot when they jumped off the tram at the sight of the Germans ... If generally fear, depression and concern is the overriding mood – on the other hands the Varsovians have virtually adapted themselves to this: no longer do trams empty at the news of a round-up. People who have to go out and move on the streets, are resigned to doing so, not paying much attention to the dangers, which they have started to get used to.⁵⁹

The Nazi methods produced negative results as far as the Germans were concerned. Where they had hoped to divide they had united. The more vicious the terror became and the more intolerable the conditions, the more the Polish community became strengthened, unified, solidified, and the stronger the desire for revenge. German propaganda attempts at possible Polish-German cooperation in fighting the Communists found no resonance, and to quote one source: 'Class and party differences have disappeared. Everyone feels themselves to be above all Poles.'⁶⁰ In a memorandum to Hitler in 1943 Hans Frank wrote:

The paralysing of schooling and the considerable restriction on cultural activity results with increasing momentum in the strengthening of Polish national unity under the leadership of the Polish intelligentsia conspiring against the Germans. What had not been possible during the course of Polish history and during the first years of Polish rule, namely the creation of national unity having a common aim and internally linked in life and death, is at present as a result of German action slowly and surely becoming a reality.⁶¹

The intelligentsia during the occupation was to come into closer contact with other social groups, with whom they shared poverty and humiliation, and this was to have an important influence on their political and social outlook. Social origins and education were no guarantee of a greater chance of survival or better income.

To what extent this was true in the eastern territories is much more difficult to say; the occupation was shorter there. Different social and nationality structures complicate an assessment. Sources are very inadequate. General Bor-Komorowski, however, has written that Soviet methods managed to weaken and divide the nation, where German ones had solidified and strengthened it.⁶² The intelligentsia were probably more wavering in their attitudes in Soviet-occupied Poland. One factor which, however, is often mentioned is that Soviet policies actually brought the various minorities closer together with the Poles and they adopted a more sympathetic attitude to the Poles. One example is in a report sent by the Polish underground from the Wilno area to London, dated 28 August 1940:

The Belorussian people desire Polish governments as they never did when we ruled those territories. No activities of theirs can be counted on, however, due to the deportation of the most active elements... Fear of deportation to Kazakhstan and the far

north is having an extremely depressing effect, particularly on the intelligentsia, where morale is the worse. Hence a large section of the intelligentsia would like to move into German-occupied territories.⁶³

But these were probably only transitory changes as later events do not always confirm them.

From other information it would also seem that the German occupation was regarded, especially by the intelligentsia, as a lesser evil. There were even Jews who tried to leave the awful conditions in the Soviet-occupied territories and return to the German side. Perhaps here it should be mentioned that the German attack on the Soviet Union was in a way received with relief, relief from the prospect of deportation and a manifestation of the belief that Soviet-German conflict could only hasten the end of the war and a return to peace. This is also a reason given for the support shown by certain sections of the Polish intelligentsia for the communist occupier. They saw the inevitability of a German-Soviet conflict and its long-term implications.

The war and occupations shattered the accepted values of Polish life. Pre-war values of honesty, decency and openness had to be put into cold storage, although many were slow to realise this. Respect for work disappeared; behaviour such as stealing, pilfering, lying, black marketing, previously unacceptable, was approved and commended. Women had to play a far more predominant role in society than before the war and children often had to take on a more important role in family life. They were involved in street trading (usually cigarettes); they hawked papers, and matured earlier, often having to carry secrets and turn a blind eye to many activities. Polish society became atomised.

Poland by the end of the war was decimated, exhausted and enfeebled, and this coupled with the political and international problems helped to facilitate a new occupation of the entire country by the Red Army and NKWD, aided and abetted by their Polish Communist fellow travellers.

NOTES

1. T. Bor-Komorowski, *Armia Podziemna* (English version *The Secret Army*) (London, 1950), pp. 33-4.
2. The best works in English on the subject are: J.T. Gross, *Polish Society under German Occupation – The Generalgouvernement, 1939-1944* (Princeton, 1979) and id., *Revolution from Abroad – The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton, 1988);

- S. Korbonski, *The Polish Underground State – A Guide to the Underground 1939-1945* (Columbia, 1978).
3. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p. 12.
 4. E. Duraczynski, *Wojna i okupacja wrzesien 1939 - kwiecień 1943* (War and occupation September 1939 – April 1943) (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 39, 50.
 5. C. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce* (Third Reich policy in occupied Poland) (Warsaw, 1970), vol. I, pp. 118ff.
 6. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p. 13
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
 8. Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 137.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
 10. *Ibid.*, pp. 102ff.
 11. J. Hanson, *The Civilian Population and the Warsaw Uprising of 1944* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 14.
 12. Gross, *Polish Society* (above, note 2), pp. 72 and 78; Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 252.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-24.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
 15. W. Bartoszewski, *The Warsaw Death Ring 1939-1945* (Warsaw, 1968), p. 29.
 16. A. Pomian, *Jozef Retinger: memoirs of an eminence grise* (London, 1972), p.159.
 17. Madajczyk, (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 260.
 18. The fate of the Polish Jews has been the subject of many publications in English. The following are some of the main ones: A. Adelson and R. Lapidés, *Lodz Ghetto; Inside a Community under Siege*, (New York, 1989); R. Hilberg, S. Staron and J. Kermish (ed.) *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow: Prelude to Doom* (New York, 1979); A. Polonsky (ed.), A. Lewin, *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto* (London, 1988); L. Dobroszycki (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto 1941-1944* (London, 1984); M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (London, 1986); Y. Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943. Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (London, 1982); J. Kermish (ed.), *To Live with Honour and Die with Honour: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives* (Jerusalem, 1986).
 19. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p. 37.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 194; *Deportacje i przemieszczenia ludności polskiej w głąb ZSRR 1939-1945* (The deportations and resettlement of the Polish population in the USSR) (Warsaw, 1989), p. 154.
25. *Deportacje* (above, note 24), p. 154.
26. J.Malanowski, 'Sociological Aspects of the Annexation of Poland's Eastern Borderland to the USSR in 1939-1941' (unpublished paper), p. 10.
27. Madajczyk (above, note 2), vol. II, pp. 142ff.
28. General Sikorski Historical Institute (hereafter cited as GSI), A.9.III.2a/30ai; Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 157; Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p. 141.
29. Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 178ff.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 19ff.
31. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p. 131.
32. GSI. Kol.138/253.
33. Bor-Komorowski (above, note 1), p. 49
34. Korbonski (above, note 2), p. 71; T. Szarota, *Okupowanej Warszawy dzień powszedni* (Daily Life in Occupied Warsaw) (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 347-52 and 365-6.
35. J.Karski, *Story of a Secret State* (London, 1945), pp. 205-6.
36. Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, pp. 596-9 and vol. II, pp. 45ff and p. 71.
37. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 74.
38. Pomian (above, note 16), p. 162.
39. See B.Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuncza 1939-1945* (The Main Welfare Council 1939-1945) (Warsaw, 1985) for detailed information on this subject.
40. Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, pp. 69-71
41. *Ibid.*; Szarota (above, note 34), p. 251.
42. Madajczyk (above, note 5), vol. I, p. 68.
43. Hanson (above, note 11), p. 22.
44. IGS. A.9.III.2a/30 ai.
45. Hanson (above, note 11), pp. 30-2.
46. Korbonski (above, note 30), pp. 117ff.
47. Hanson (above, note 11), p. 38.
48. Korbonski (above, note 2), pp. 71ff.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
50. W.Bartoszewski, *859 dni Warszawy* (859 Warsaw Days) (Cracow, 1974), pp. 167 and 409; K.Gorzkowski, *Kronika Andrzeja, Zapiski z podziemia 1939-1941* (The chronicles of Andrzej, notes from the underground 1939-1941) (Warsaw, 1989), pp. 11-13.

51. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2), p.140; IGS.A.9.III.2a/30ai, 2a/30i, Kol.138/253, Kol.138/167B;
52. Gross, *Revolution* (above, note 2).
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., pp. 71-113 for all information on the elections.
56. Madajczyk (above, note 2), vol. I, pp. 93ff; cf. Gross, *Polish Society* (above, note 2), pp. 103-5.
57. IGS. A.9.III.2a/30ai; K.Sword, 'Soviet Economic Policy in the Occupied Polish Territories 1939-1941' (unpublished paper).
58. K.Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy, Polska 1943-1948* (The birth of a system of government, Poland 1943-1948) (Paris, 1986), pp. 131-3; id., 'Ludzie na drogach: O przesiedleniach ludności w Polsce 1939-1948' (People on the move: the resettling of the Polish population 1939-1948), *Res Publica*, 4 (1987), pp. 54-7.
59. Bartoszewski (above, note 50), p. 476.
60. GSI. A.9.III.2a/31.
61. *Dziennik Hansa Franka* (The diary of Hans Frank) (Warsaw,1970), p. 353.
62. Bor-Komorowski (above, note 1), p. 49.
63. *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939-1945* (The Home Army in documents) (London, 1970), vol. I, p. 283.

THE CIVILIAN IN WAR
The Home Front in Europe, Japan and the USA
in World War II

Edited by
JEREMY NOAKES

Exeter Studies in History No. 32
University of Exeter Press