

Bogdan Chrzanowski

GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FOR POLAND IN POMERANIA



**UNKNOWN FACTS FROM THE CIVILIAN FRONT
DURING AND AFTER
THE GERMAN OCCUPATION**

FOUNDATION OF GENERAL ELŻBIETA ZAWACKA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FOR POLAND IN POMERANIA

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BOGDAN CHRZANOWSKI

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TRANSLATED BY
AGNIESZKA CHABROS



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INTRODUCTION

It might seem that almost everything has been said about the Pomeranian underground resistance movement. However, despite the fact that WWII finished almost 80 years ago, we continue to come back to those tragic years, the memory of which will remain in our consciousness for a long time. Due to the German attack, and the Soviet invasion, the Polish nation had to struggle, and the population of the Western territories had to face the hitherto unknown wartime reality. Pomeranians found themselves within the boundaries of a foreign state – the administrative unit of the Reich District Danzig-Western Prussia (Reichsgau Danzig Westpreussen), where they were subjected to the mass extermination and Germanization. Mass executions in 1939–1940 and the wartime terror caused that the native population became intimidated and over 60% of Pomeranians decided to join the German People's List. Still, it did not stop Poles from becoming soldiers-activists of Underground Poland (PP) and the Polish Underground State (PPP) set up from the beginning of the occupation period. The term "Underground Poland" should be understood as a variety of underground actions in Pomerania undertaken by all secret organizations and the "Polish Underground State", whilst the term "Polish Underground State" constitutes a certain abbreviation as it refers to the military pillar – the Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army, and the civil-political pillar – the Government Delegation for Poland (DR) and the political background consisting of the political parties recognizing the Polish Government in Exile. The Government operated on the strength of the April Constitution of 1935 and it ensured the legal continuity of the Polish state despite the fact of it having been taken over by foreign states. It was the civil-political branches of the Government Delegation- precisely the District Government Delegations for Poland (ODR) operating in Pomerelia, partly in Kuyavia, West Prussia and East Prussia that constitute a separate subject of interest in this publication. The subject range of the book embraces the whole variety of themes connected with the organization and activity of the Central Delegation in those areas, administered directly from Warsaw and organized beyond the District (Pomeranian) Government Delegation, but cooperating with it closely.

The work presented here uses the literature of the subject matter available so far to researchers along with archival sources and accounts which have been hitherto unknown. The issues of the military pillar of the PPP – the Service for

the Victory of Poland, the Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army in Pomerania have been addressed in many studies. Not much is known about the civilian pillar, which gave rise to the creation of this book.

The author used the archival materials from the resources of the Archive of New Files in Warsaw. The most important of them were: files of the Government Delegation for Poland of the central level and the District (Pomeranian) Government Delegation, partly the Main Headquarters of the Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army, individual ministries of the Polish Government in Exile, and underground organizations. The query was carried out during the times of the Central Archive of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (CA KC PZPR) when the collections were being taken over by the Archive of New Files. Yet, it did not affect the research as the materials used in this work kept their old entry numbers.

The most comprehensive and useful materials to do research on the history of Underground Poland in Pomerania are kept in the Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka, the "Pomeranian Archive and Museum of the Home Army along with the Military Service of Polish Women"). The foundation owns fragments of documents of the Pomeranian District of the Home Army, the District Government Delegation for Poland, secret organizations operating in Pomerania and other territories of the occupied state. The collection also includes documents referring to the postwar period and very valuable accounts (also by workers of the ODR) along with numerous photographs.

As far as Pomerania is concerned, apart from the Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka, an even more extensive collection of documents is to be found in the Polish Institute of National Remembrance – the Main Committee for Persecuting Crimes against the Polish Nation in Warsaw, in the Department in Gdańsk and its branch in Bydgoszcz. It refers to archival documents generated by individual structures of Underground Poland and the Polish Underground State, mainly the Government Delegation, along with investigation and court documents. The major part of those materials were transferred to the Central Archive of the Home Ministry and Administration and Archives of the former Bureau for State Protection (UOP) and the Archive of the Provincial Court in Bydgoszcz and Gdańsk. As with CA KC PZPR-AAN, the query had been made both before the collections were transferred to the Institute of National Remembrance and after it, the result of which was that some entry numbers were slightly changed. Thus, in some footnotes the reader is asked to refer to the materials which constitute photocopies and notes made on the basis of the original documents, where the place of their storage and the address of the present archive are indicated.

The collections of the Institute of History of Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw are also very interesting – in particular accounts provided by people who are no longer alive.

The Western Institute in Poznań play a major role in the research on the problem of WWII as it is the place where documents and accounts of people connected with the centres of the Polish Underground State in the Western Territories (such as the organization "Ojczyzna", the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press of the Government Delegation, etc.) are kept.

The extensive documentation concerning Underground Poland is to be found also in the Archive of the Stutthof Museum in Sztutowo and the Branch of the Museum in Sopot. The material includes German documents such as transport registers, personal files and cards of prisoners. In the case of the Government Delegation for Poland in Pomerania German documents are scarce, which makes them very precious. The museum also has documents of Underground Poland such as original materials and photocopies from Polish and foreign archives (e.g. from the Archive of New Files – fragments of files of the DR, from the former Bureau for State Protection in Bydgoszcz – investigation documents concerning workers of the ODR in Pomerania), the Study of Underground Poland in London and accounts. The files from the last two archives were registered and compiled as collections.

The author also used documents of the National Party belonging to the former Military Archive of the Historical Institute of National Defence, which later transmitted to the Military Bureau for Historical Research; now they are kept in the collections of the Military Historical Bureau in Warsaw. Other sources include personal files of some workers of the District Government Delegation, which constitute the collection of the Central Military Archive.

The Study of Underground Poland in London also contains a variety of materials also concerning the Pomeranian territory.

The work presented here was based on the available literature of the subject matter. Books addressing the issue of the Polish Underground State are essential to understand the work of its military and civilian structures in Pomerania, the existence of the underground state in Europe including the Government Delegation for Poland. The following works should be mentioned here: works by S. Dołęga-Modrzewski¹, S. Korboński², E. Duraczyński³, J. Szczepański⁴, A. Friszke⁵,

¹ See: S. Dołęga-Modrzewski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne*, Londyn 1959.

² S. Korboński, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne. Przewodnik po Podziemiu z lat 1939–1945*, Paryż 1975.

³ E. Duraczyński, *Wojna i okupacja. Wrzesień 1939–kwiecień 1943*, Warszawa 1974; idem, *Kontrowersje i konflikty. 1939–1941*, Warszawa 1979; idem, *Między Londynem a Warszawą. Lipiec 1943–lipiec 1944*, Warszawa 1986; idem, *Rząd polski na uchodźstwie 1939–1945. Organizacja, personalia, polityka*, Warszawa 1993 i inne prace tego autora; M. Hułas, *Goście czy intruzi? Rząd polski na uchodźstwie wrzesień 1939–lipiec 1945*, Warszawa 1996.

⁴ J. Szczepański, *Niektóre aspekty funkcjonowania państwa podziemnego*, *Dzieje Najnowsze* (further: *Dz. Najn.*), 1984, nr 2.

⁵ A. Friszke, *O kształt niepodległej*, Warszawa 1989.

Z. J. Hirsza⁶, J. Paśnik⁷, L. Gondek⁸, T. Strzembosz⁹, S. Salmonowicz¹⁰, G. Górski¹¹, W. Grabowski¹², S. Salmonowicz, M. Ney-Krwawicza, G. Górski¹³, J. Karski¹⁴, A. K. Kunert¹⁵ and others¹⁶. Other useful publications are the materials concerning the Home Army including the data referring to the Western Territories along with Pomerania¹⁷.

Despite the fact that over 60 years have passed, the publications of *Polskie Siły Zbrojne w drugiej wojnie światowej*¹⁸ along with the source publications of *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach*¹⁹ continue to be used.

⁶ Z. J. Hirsza, *Państwo polskie po układzie Ribbentrop-Mołotow (1939–1945)*, Białystok 1991.

⁷ J. Paśnik, *Prawny status Delegatury Rządu na Kraj. 1940–1945*, Warszawa 1991.

⁸ L. Gondek, *Polska karząca. Podziemny wymiar sprawiedliwości w okresie okupacji niemieckiej*, Warszawa 1988.

⁹ T. Strzembosz, *Refleksje o Polsce i podziemiu 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1987; idem, *Rzeczpospolita podziemna: społeczeństwo polskie a państwo podziemne*, Warszawa 2000 i inne prace tego autora.

¹⁰ S. Salmonowicz, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne. Z dziejów walki cywilnej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1994; idem, *Z dziejów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego 1939–1945*, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 1992, z. 1–2, pp. 179–187; idem, *Walka cywilna w latach 1939–1945. Pojęcia – struktury – rodzaje*, ibid., 1993, z. 1–2, pp. 353–363 i other works by this author.

¹¹ G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej w latach 1939–1945. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Toruń 1995; idem, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne 1939–1945*, Toruń 1998 and other works by this author.

¹² W. Grabowski, *Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj 1940–1945*, Warszawa 1995; idem, *Polaka tajna administracja cywilna 1940–1945*, Warszawa 2003. The latter discusses the activity of underground civil structures and includes a rich bibliography.

¹³ S. Salmonowicz, M. Ney-Krwawicz, G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne. Polish Underground State*, przedm. J. Ślaski, Warszawa 1999.

¹⁴ J. Karski, *Tajne państwo. Opowieść o polskim podziemiu*, opr. W. Piasecki, wyd. II poszerzone, Warszawa 2004.

¹⁵ A. K. Kunert, *Rzeczpospolita walcząca. Wrzesień–grudzień 1939. Kalendarium*, Warszawa 1993; idem, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Polsce Podziemnej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1996; idem, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne – ujawnienie nazwy i faktu istnienia*, [in:] *Niepiękny wiek XX*, pod red. J. Eislera, Warszawa 2010, pp. 207–229 and other works of this author.

¹⁶ See e.g. W. Borodziej, A. Chmielarz, A. Friszke, A. K. Kunert, *Polska Podziemna 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1992; *Encyklopedia konspiracji wielkopolskiej 1939–1945*, pod red. M. Woźniaka, Poznań 1998; *Polski ruch oporu 1939–1945. Praca zbiorowa*, Warszawa 1988; C. Madajczyk, *Państwo podziemne w okupowanej Polsce (Analiza pojęcia w historiografii)*, [in:] *Polska myśl polityczna XIX i XX w.*, pod red. W. Wrzesińskiego, t. VII: *Państwo w polskiej myśli politycznej*, Wrocław 1988, pp. 173–185; B. Chrzanowski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Jednostka. Społeczeństwo. Instytucje. Wybrane problemy badawcze z zakresu nauki o polityce. Księga Jubileuszowa dedykowana Prof. Markowi J. Malinowskiemu*, pod red. P. Czachorowskiego i R. Ożarowskiego, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 81–89.

¹⁷ Comp. e.g.: M. Ney-Krwawicz, *Komenda Główna Armii Krajowej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1990; *Armia Krajowa. Rozwój organizacyjny*, pod red. K. Komorowskiego, Warszawa 1996; *Armia Krajowa. Szkice z dziejów Sił Zbrojnych Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, pod red. K. Komorowskiego, Warszawa 1999.

¹⁸ See: *Polskie Siły Zbrojne w drugiej wojnie światowej* (dalej: PSZ...), t. III: *Armia Krajowa*, Londyn 1950.

¹⁹ See: *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939–1945* (dalej: AK...), t. I, Londyn 1970; t. II, Londyn 1973; vol. III, Londyn 1976; t. IV, Londyn 1977; t. V, Londyn 1981; t. VI, Londyn 1989.

The hitherto available literature concerning Underground Poland in Pomerania is diversified. There have appeared very interesting publications, but there have been also texts which presented the subject matter in a controversial manner, which was connected with the political system in Poland until 1989 and the interference of the Main Bureau for Control of Press, Publications and Performances (from 1981 the name was the Main Bureau for Control of Publications and Performances), commonly referred to as censorship. The research was difficult also due to a small number of archival sources²⁰.

In the years 1976–1992 the Stutthof Museum issued a periodical *Stutthof. Zeszyty Muzeum*²¹, where the research findings on the issue of the annexation of the western territories, mainly Pomerania (including Stutthof and Underground Poland), were published. The periodical also included articles concerning the Government Delegation for Poland – with one whole issue devoted to documents of the civilian apparatus²². There were also published books about the occupation period, including two small books about the Pomeranian underground written by Andrzej Gąsiorowski²³ and Bogdan Chrzanowski²⁴.

Among the publications addressing the problem of the Pomeranian underground one should mention the lexicon by K. Komorowski issued in 1993, which includes also the information about the Government Delegation²⁵.

The Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka has been conducting an extensive scientific and publishing activity. Thanks to the so called Library of the Foundation there have appeared over 60 publications addressing the subject of Underground Poland in Pomerania²⁶. Along with the work about the Polish Underground State

²⁰ Comp. e.g.: L. Lubecki, *Ruch oporu na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1961; idem, *Harczerze Wybrzeża w walce z okupantem w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1962; K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu na Pomorzu Gdańskim 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1972 (rec. M. Woźniak, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1973, nr 2).

²¹ There came out ten issues of *Zeszyty*...

²² B. Chrzanowski, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej i żydowskiej na terenach północnego Mazowsza i Białostoczczyzny w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, *Stutthof. Zeszyty*..., 1981, nr 4; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Stutthof w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, *ibid.*, 1984, nr 5; idem, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, *ibid.*, 1987, nr 8 i in.

²³ A. Gąsiorowski, *Geneza i początki ruchu oporu na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, Gdańsk 1991.

²⁴ B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1992.

²⁵ See: K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska 1939–1947. Leksykon*, Gdańsk 1993.

²⁶ See more: B. Chrzanowski, Dorobek wydawniczy Biblioteki Fundacji „Archiwum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej w Toruniu”, a paper given in June 2000 in the Central Military Library in Warsaw further: CBW), a typed copy (further: mps) in CBW and in the Library of the Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka. Archiwum i Muzeum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej oraz Wojskowej Służby Polek w Toruniu (further: FAPAK), pp. 1–8. See also the list of individual publications: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, K. Steyer, *Polska Podziemna na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 11–12 (footnotes to Introduction).

there have been published also other studies by Grzegorz Górski which address the problem of the District Government Delegation in Pomerania²⁷.

In 2001 the Foundation in Toruń organized a session devoted to the Government Delegation for Poland²⁸. A similar session was organized by the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw²⁹. Both sessions contributed significantly to the development of further research on the history of the civilian pillar also in Pomerania.

It is not possible to undertake scientific research without taking into account publications of the Institute of the National Memory. Apart from biographic dictionaries³⁰, articles appearing in *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* [English: Bulletin of the Institute of National Remembrance] and the significant work by Grabowski, quoted above, a major role is played by publications showing the activity of the postwar security apparatus which fought any signs of resistance against the policy of the communist authorities³¹. They contain a great deal of information, thanks to which it was possible to verify many issues. In the future research it will be possible to use the protocols of interrogations, which included personal data of workers of the Security Bureau (UB) who conducted interrogations: their first names, surnames, ranks, positions. Those documents could be useful to reconstruct the personnel of the Security Bureau.

The real image of the security apparatus in communist Poland is revealed by many scientific publications. The literature of the subject matter is very extensive³².

²⁷ G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj w latach 1941–1945*, [in:] *Walka podziemna na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945. Materiały I sesji naukowej w Toruniu 27–28 IX 1989 r.*, pod red. J. Szilinga, Toruń 1990; idem, *Podziemie cywilne, czyli Delegatura Rządu RP na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Polskie Państwo Podziemne na Pomorzu 1939–1945*, ed. by G. Górskiego in cooperation with K. Minczykowska, Toruń 1999. See fn. 11.

²⁸ Comp.: *Terenowe struktury Delegatury Rządu Rzeczypospolitej na Kraj 1939–1945. Materiały XI sesji naukowej w Toruniu 17 XI 2001*, pod red. G. Górskiego, Toruń 2002.

²⁹ See: *Organy bezpieczeństwa i wymiar sprawiedliwości Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, pod red. W. Grabowskiego, Warszawa 2005.

³⁰ *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944–1956. Słownik biograficzny*, vol. I, Kraków–Warszawa–Wrocław 2002; vol. II, 2004; vol. III, 2007. Volume IV in print.

³¹ See e.g.: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Kadra kierownicza*, vol. I: 1944–1956, pod red. K. Szwagrzyka, Warszawa 2005, vol. II: 1956–1975, pod red. P. Piotrowskiego, Warszawa 2006, vol. III: 1975–1990, pod red. P. Piotrowskiego, Warszawa 2008 or the periodical „Aparat represji w Polsce Ludowej 1944–1989”. Comp. also: A. Paczoska-Hauke, *Działania represyjne aparatu bezpieczeństwa wobec pracowników Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu (ODR) na Pomorzu*, Kronika Bydgoska, vol. XXVII, 2005, Bydgoszcz 2005; *Rok pierwszy. Powstanie i działalność aparatu bezpieczeństwa publicznego na Pomorzu i Kujawach (luty–grudzień 1945)*, pod red. B. Binaszewskiego, P. Rybarczyka, introduction by P. Rybarczyk, Warszawa–Bydgoszcz–Gdańsk 2010. The publications given here include an extensive list of the literature of the subject matter.

³² See e.g.: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1944–1956. Taktyka, strategia, metody*, oprac. A. Paczkowski, cz. I: *Lata 1945–1947*, cz. II: *Lata 1948–1949*, Warszawa 1994–1996; *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1950–1952. Taktyka, strategia, metody*, oprac. A. Dudek, A. Paczkowski, Warszawa 2000; *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1953–1954. Taktyka, strategia*,

Apart from the above mentioned authors who examined the activity of the Government Delegation, one should mention the publications by the organizations "Ojczyzna", the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press or the Western Bureau, mainly A. Pietrowicz³³, memoirs by E. Serwański³⁴, W. Wnuk³⁵, Z. Bednorz³⁶, L. Gluck³⁷, J.J. Nikisch³⁸ and others.

The work is based on the chronological layout of the problems. The situation in the Western Territories, in particular Greater Poland, during the occupation period has been analyzed. It is not possible to discuss the problem of Underground Poland and the Polish Underground State in Pomerania without examining other regions since it was the underground movement in Greater Poland that influenced the organization of underground Pomeranian structures.

The work presented here consists of the introduction, seven chapters, conclusion and the list of important sources and literature.

In Chapter One the specific nature of the Western Territories was addressed, with particular emphasis on Greater Poland and its links with Pomerania. Chapter Two presents the work of the Government Delegation in Warsaw and its influence on Pomerania. Chapter Three is devoted to the issues connected with the creation of the District Government Delegation in Warsaw and the Branch of the Bureau in Pomerania. Chapter Four describes the internal and territorial structure of the District Government Delegation, while Chapter Five embraces the works of the Department of Security and the problem of the German People's List. Chapter Six depicts generally the conceptual work conducted by the apparatus of the Government Delegation within the field of the reconstruction of economy and administration in Pomerania after the end of the war. The year 1945 did not constitute any date terminating the work of the Government Delegation. Chapter Seven discusses the situation which the Polish Underground State (PPP) had to face after the creation of the Polish Committee of National Liberation in July 1944 and the establishment of the Provisional Government (1944–1945), the Provisional Government of National Unity (June 1945). After the end of the war the workers of the civilian pillar underwent severe repressions. Some of them were killed during the investigation on the strength of a court verdict or during the imprisonment.

metody, oprac. G. Majchrzak, A. Paczkowski, Warszawa 2004; *Dokumenty do dziejów PRL. Aparat bezpieczeństwa w latach 1944–1956*, Warszawa 1994–1996; H. Dominczak, *Organy Bezpieczeństwa PRL 1944–1990*, Warszawa 1997 i in.

³³ A. Pietrowicz, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna” 1939–1945*, Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (further: BIPN), 2007, nr 8–9; idem, *Sekcja Zachodnia Departamentu Informacji i Prasy Delegatury Rządu RP – zarys struktury organizacyjnej i działalności (wrzesień 1942–lipiec 1944)*, Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość, 2005, nr 2 and other works by the author.

³⁴ See e.g. E. Serwański, *Wielkopolska w cieniu swastyki*, Warszawa 1970; idem, *W kręgu myśli zachodniej. Wspomnienia i zapiski Wielkopolanina*, Poznań 2003 and other works by this author.

³⁵ W. Wnuk, *Byłem z Wami*, Warszawa 1972.

³⁶ Z. Bednorz, *Lata krecie i orłowe*, Warszawa 1987.

³⁷ L. Gluck, *Od Ziem Postulowanych do Ziem Odzyskanych*, Warszawa 1971.

³⁸ See e.g.: J. J. Nikisch, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna” w latach 1939–1945*, Więź, 1985, nr 10–12.

The publication also includes selected biographic notes of the people involved in the work of the Government Delegation. Most of them have been already published in commonly known biographic dictionaries such as *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji pomorskiej 1939–1945*³⁹ published by the Foundation in Toruń or by the Institute of National Remembrance – *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944–1956. Słownik biograficzny* and others.

I would like to dedicate this book to Professor Elżbieta Zawacka, alias Zo, the founder of the Foundation in Toruń, who supported me in my research on Underground Poland and encouraged me to participate actively in scientific sessions organized by her. The problem of the Government Delegation was very close to her. It was owing to her initiative that the Historical Club under the name of Antoni Antczak – the District Government Delegate in Pomerania – was set up.

³⁹ *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji pomorskiej*, cz. 1, pod red. H. Maciejewskiej-Marcinkowskiej i E. Zawackiej, Toruń 1994; cz. 2, pod red. E. Zawackiej, Toruń 1996; cz. 3, pod red. A. Zakrzewskiej i E. Zawackiej, Toruń 1997; cz. 4, pod red. A. Zakrzewskiej i E. Zawackiej, Toruń 1998; cz. 5, pod red. E. Skerskiej, Toruń 2001; cz. 6, pod red. E. Skerskiej, Toruń 2004.

THE GENESIS OF A CIVILIAN APPARATUS AND A POLITICAL BASE IN POMERANIA

1. Western thought against the background of the socio-political situation of the Western Territories and Pomerania

In regard to the organization of civilian structures in Pomerania, it is hard not to refer to Western thought, which influenced public awareness of the Western Territories, and other areas of Pomerania. Essentially, the definition of this concept was shaped over the years, and in the postwar period, it covers five main issues: a) opposition to the process of Germanization, while furthering the sense of Polish nationality, b) the pursuit, after independence, to determine the appropriate western border to safeguard the security of the state, c) taking the Western Territories into possession, d) the economic and cultural development of the areas populated after World War II, and e) liaising with Polish⁴⁰ immigration.

In its programme, the National Camp, almost from the beginning of its existence⁴¹, so even during the Prussian occupation, emphasised the taking over of the Western Territories, particularly those where the Polish element was strong, i.e. the Gdańsk Pomerania, Greater Poland, Upper Silesia, parts of Lower Silesia and parts of East Prussia. It is in these areas that national solidarity was particularly strongly shaped and forged a stronghold against the Prussian policy of Germaniza-

⁴⁰ Comp.: A. Kwilecki, *Geneza i oddziaływanie wielkopolskiego ośrodka myśli zachodniej w ujęciu socjologicznym*, [in:] *Polska myśl zachodnia w Poznaniu i Wielkopolsce. Jej rozwój i realizacja w wiekach XIX i XX*, pod red. A. Kwileckiego, Poznań 1980, p. 7. See also: M. Tomczak, *Polska myśl zachodnia*, [in:] *Polacy wobec Niemców. Z dziejów kultury politycznej Polski 1945–1989*, pod red. A. Wolff-Powęskiej, Poznań 1993, p. 162 i n. (the publication was devoted to the Polish-German relations in the historical, political and cultural context); W. Irek, *Integracja społeczno-narodowa Ziemi Odzyskane/Ziemi Zachodnie i Północne 1945–2005. 60 lat w granicach państwa polskiego*, pod red. A. Saksona, Poznań 2006.

⁴¹ In 1897 the National Democratic Party was set up. In 1919 the name was changed into the Popular National Union, and in 1928 – the National Party.

tion. The battle was fought in many areas of political, social and economic life. It involved the struggle for culture (*Kulturkampf*), fighting in defence of the Catholic Church, of the Polish language and of Polish property (including opposition to the Prussian Settlement Commission, and the German Eastern Marches Society, the association for promotion of the German language – *Hakata*), as well as protests against the Settlement Act from 1904 which prohibited the building of facilities by Polish peasants on the lands newly acquired by them, unless they received special permission from the authorities. The symbol of resistance against this was the famous Drzymała's wagon. Thus it was a change of existing Polish politics, directing their attention not so much toward the eastern lands, but above all to the west – toward the ancient lands of the Piasts. The approach to independence was to be realised through economic activity, taking over businesses, cooperatives, and through education. Actions of this type rendered a national (Polish) character. The slogans of organic work and the visions of Jan Ludwik Popławski and of Roman Dmowski, who sought for Polish lands to be occupied by the Russians, so it would be easier to fight against one occupant rather than three at a time, encompassed a vision that gained many followers. Hence the efforts to reach a Polish-Russian consensus of an anti-German character. Already in the late nineteenth century, J. L. Popławski saw the threat of an emanation of German influence over Pomerania from East Prussia. Dmowski⁴² shared a similar view. In addition comes the strong position of the Catholic Church, constituting the mainstay of Polishness, although *Kulturkampf* crashed into Catholicism not only in the Prussian sector, but across the whole of the German Empire. The national movement was nationalistic in nature and conducted extensive work aimed at awakening the national consciousness and the recovery of national identity while respecting, as it was called, „national political culture.” Nationalist slogans fell on a fertile ground against the policies of Germanization and Russification in the Russian Partition⁴³. National interest was a priority in the program of National Democracy. National unity and national solidarity were the chief maxims of the national movement. Hence, primarily in the Western Territories, the attitudes of Polish Catholics were shaped. And Polish patriotism was identified by Catholicism, which constituted a paradigm of national solidarity⁴⁴. Also the stance towards national minorities, including the Jews, was

⁴² See: R. Dmowski, *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, Lwów 1904; idem, *Niemcy, Rosja i kwestia polska*, Lwów 1908 and other publications by activists of the national Democracy (e.g. Zygmunt Balicki, Jan Ludwik Popławski). Szerzej: R. Wapiński, *Roman Dmowski*, Lublin 1998; idem, *Historia polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Gdańsk 1997, passim; *Roman Dmowski i jego współpracownicy*, pod red. M. Białokura, M. Patelskiego, A. Szczepaniaka, Toruń 2008.

⁴³ Germans were associated with the Protestant religion, Russians with the Orthodox Church – so additionally there existed religious animosities.

⁴⁴ More: M. Mroczo, *Polska myśli zachodnia 1918–1939 (Kształtowanie i upowszechnianie)*, Poznań 1986, p. 21–28 i n.; E. Serwański, *Myśli zachodnia w działalności politycznej Wielkopolan w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, [in:] *Polska myśl zachodnia...*, p. 186–224; idem, *Z dziejów wielkopolskiej konspiracji 1939–1945*, Poznań 1999, pp. 25–27, 30–34, 65–85; M. Tomczak, op.cit., pp. 161–193; M. Orzechowski, „Idea zachodnia” w myśli politycznej Wielkopolski (1918–1945), *Kronika*

determined. Generally, Polish anti-Semitism was not essentially racist in character, but rather determined by economic factors⁴⁵.

The main political thought of the National Democrats boiled down to the conclusion that an economically strong, educated and self-aware Polish people would be able, in the future, to start the armed struggle for independence. The only entirely successful Greater Poland Uprising of 26–27 December 1918 was proof that in addition to organic work, the National Democratic Party was not averse to armed struggle.

News of the Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) Uprising quickly reached Pomerania. The Supreme People's Council, The Polish Military Organization of the Prussian Partition, and The Pomerania Military Organization were just some of the organizations leading the fight for independence. In Pomerania there had been no uprising, despite preparations made in various parts of the region, i.e. in Gdańsk and in the counties of: Puck, Kościerzyna, Kartusy, Wejherowo, as well as near Brus, and elsewhere. The Polish People's Councils acted in many cities, including Gdańsk, Kościerzyna, Wejherowo, Wąbrzeźno, Tczew, Brodnica, Świecie, Lubawa, Chełmno, Grudziądz, Kartusy, Starogard, Puck, Toruń, Złotowo, Chojnice and Kwidzyn. There occurred some clashes with the German military police, although these were limited in scope and often responses to anti-Polish harassment: in the Tuchola Forest, Czersk Tuchola, Kościerzyna, Chełmża, and in Potulice. Thus, the

Wielkopolski, 1975, nr 2/3, pp. 29–30; B. Piotrowski, *O Polskę nad Odrą i Bałtykiem. Myśl zachodnia i badania niemcoznawcze Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego (1919–1939)*, Poznań 1987; idem, *Polska myśl zachodnia w szeregach wielkopolskich powstańców ostatnich lat II Rzeczypospolitej*, Prace Instytutu Nauk Społecznych, Wyższa Szkoła Inżynierska w Koszalinie, 1985, z. V, pp. 50–65; Z. Mazur, *Antenaci. O politycznym rodowodzie Instytutu Zachodniego*, Poznań 2002; G. Strauchold, *Myśl zachodnia i jej realizacja w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1945–1956*, Toruń 2003; Z. Zieliński, *Duchowieństwo w walce o polskie granice zachodnie w latach 1918–1921*, *Więź*, 1979, nr 1, pp. 60–71; R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1980; *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie. Integracja i rozwój Ziemi Zachodnich i Północnych*, pod red. B. Jałowieckiego, J. Przewłockiego, Katowice 1980; W. Wrzesiński, *Sąsiad. Czy wróg? Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem obrazu Niemca w Polsce w latach 1795–1939*, Wrocław 2007.

⁴⁵ It said 'essentially' as representatives of some right-wing circles, later activists of the national-radical movement spread quasi-racist remarks. More: *Pamiętnik I Konferencji Żydoznawczej odbytej w grudniu 1921 roku w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1923; B. Chrzanowski, *Kwestia żydowska w myśli politycznej polskiej prawicy*, [in:] *Jednostka – społeczeństwo – państwo wobec megatrendów współczesnego świata*, pod red. G. Piwnickiego, S. Mrozowskiej, Gdańsk 2009, p. 326 i n.; A. Friszke, *Myśl polityczna stronnictw Polski Podziemnej 1939–1945*, [in:] *Testament Polski Walczącej. Myśl programowa Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 24, 34–36 i n. Comp. also: A. S. Kotowski, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec nazizmu i Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Toruń 2007. Literatura odnosząca się do ruchów nacjonalistycznych jest bardzo obszerna. See e.g.: B. Grott, *Nacjonalizm chrześcijański. Myśl społeczno-państwowa formacji narodowo-katolickiej w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1991 and other works by this author; R. Tokarczyk, *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*, wyd. XIII, Zakamycze 2005, pp. 350–376 (in 2010 – the 1st edition appeared); A. Heywood, *Ideologie polityczne. Wprowadzenie*, przekład M. Habura, N. Orłowska, D. Stasiak, Warszawa 2007, pp. 165–194; idem, *Klucz do politologii. Najważniejsze ideologie, systemy, postaci*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 245–249; idem, *Politologia*, przekład B. Maliszewska, M. Masojć, N. Orłowska, D. Stasiak, Warszawa 2009, pp. 132–156.

Greater Poland Uprising failed to extend to the area of Pomerania. No hope for help from the outside prevented a greater uprising⁴⁶.

The memory of these events was alive not only in the interwar period, but also during the German occupation (annexation) between 1939–1945. After regaining independence in November 1918, the Polish centres of Western thought developed in Poznań⁴⁷, Pomerania, and Silesia. The main promoters of Western ideas were: the Association of the Defence of the Western Borderlines, the Association of Silesian Insurgents, the National Workers' Party, the circles of the University of Poznań, the Baltic Institute⁴⁸ and the Scientific Society of Toruń⁴⁹.

One ought to remember that Pomerania remained under occupation for 148 years, that is, since the first partition of the Polish Republic in 1772. This long period left a lasting impression on the native population. For that reason, the brief interwar period failed to abolish all the repercussions related to the partitioning in the Pomeranian Voivodeship⁵⁰ which was created on 8 January 1919. Additionally, there occurred various kinds of disputes and animosities between the Pomeranians and the immigrant population. These facts should not be dramatized, but they cannot be completely omitted. At that time, in the Western Territories, and therefore in Pomerania, the greatest influence was attributed to the National Camp, together with its main political force, the National Party, as well as to the Christian Democratic Camp and the Labour Party⁵¹ which stood in opposition to the government that instigated the coup of May 1926. The government camp was not much supported here. The political base of the so-called sanation came from the interior of the country in the early 1920s, as well as after May 1926. They were state functionaries (civil and military), as well as job seekers; however, they were

⁴⁶ See more: A. Gąsiorowski, *Geneza...*, pp. 9–14; M. Wojciechowski, *U zarania odradzającej się państwowości polskiej na Pomorzu w latach 1918–1920*, [in:] *Pomorze i Wielkopolska po odzyskaniu niepodległości w 1918 r.*, Gdańsk 1983, pp. 13–15; *Dziesięciolecie Polski Odrodzonej. Księga pamiątkowa 1918–1928*, Kraków–Warszawa 1928, passim; K. Osiński, *Walka o Wielką Polskę. Narodowa Demokracja wobec rządów sanacji na terenie województwa pomorskiego w latach 1926–1939*, Toruń 2008, pp. 26–27.

⁴⁷ One of the most important people was the future Government Delegate for Poland, at that time the mayor of Poznań – Cyryl Ratajski.

⁴⁸ The Baltic Institute issued „Pamiętnik Instytutu Bałtyckiego” promoted during the occupation period. See the part of the work devoted to the publications of the Department of Information Press of the Western Section of the Government Delegation.

⁴⁹ M. Mroczko, op.cit., pp. 172–227, 263–298; Z. Mazur, op.cit., pp. 79–123.

⁵⁰ In 1919 the Pomeranian Voivodeship consisted of 20 counties, while after the administrative reform of 12 June 1937, which started to be enforced on 1 April 1938 – it consisted of 23 counties plus 5 municipal counties constituting the so called Great Lakes: Brodnica, Bydgoszcz, Bydgoszcz (Miasto), Chełmno, Chojnice, Gdynia (Miasto), Grudziądz, Grudziądz (Miasto), Inowrocław, Inowrocław (Miasto), Kartuszy, Kościerzyna, Lipno, Lubawa, Morski, Nieszawa, Rypin, Sępólno, Starogard, Szubin, Świecie, Tczew, Toruń, Toruń (Miasto), Tuchola, Wąbrzeźno, Włocławek, Wyrzysk. More: K. Osiński, op.cit., pp. 28–44.

⁵¹ Set up in 1937 as a result of the merge of the Polish Christian Democratic Party, the National Workers' Party and the Union of Haller's soldiers

not a majority of civil servants and workers in other fields of economy and public life. The influx of people from central Poland and the south was backed by government circles who wanted to wield their influence here, and who even encouraged the change of residence in face of the negative position of Pomerania towards Piłsudski in May 1926⁵².

A minor influence could be noted by the People's Party (mainly in Grudziądz)⁵³, by the Polish Socialist Party (the strongest influence in Gdynia)⁵⁴ and the Communist Workers' Party of Poland (since 1925 the Polish Communist Party or PKP) trying to organize their cells, among others in Toruń, Grudziądz and Gdynia, as well as in the Free City of Gdańsk⁵⁵.

The reborn Republic of Poland also faced the problem of the German minority. This issue concerned the area of Pomerania. According to the census of 1931, the German population accounted for 9.7% of the total inhabitants of the province of Pomerania. This percentage exceeded the average in the country⁵⁶.

2. Pomerania in the years of war and occupation (annexation)

The territory of Pomerania within the Pomeranian Voivodeship in the period between 1920 to March 1938 and September 1939, along with Bydgoszcz, Włocławek and the Free City of Gdańsk, played an important role in the Polish-German conflict⁵⁷. Additionally, there occurred a matter of the so-called Pomeranian corridor. The government of the German Reich demanded from the Polish

⁵² One of the scholars who underlined the specific nature of Pomerania was G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne na Pomorzu na tle ogólnopolskim*, [in:] *Losy Tajnej Organizacji Wojskowej „Gryf Pomorski”*. Materiały z konferencji w Gdańsku z dnia 12 maja 2000 roku, pod red. J. Borzyszkowskiego, Gdańsk 2000, pp. 14–17. More about the prewar political constellations and repercussions e.g. the creation of spectacular coalitions on the local authority level (e.g. the coalition of the Camp of National Unity, PPS, SP in Toruń), see: G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu RP na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, *Zapiski Historyczne* (further: ZH), 1998, z. 3–4, pp. 73–89; idem, *Podziemie cywilne...*, pp. 77–78; K. Osiński, op.cit., pp. 59–62; M. Woźniak, *Geneza i początki organizacji Służby Zwycięstwu Polski–Związku Walki Zbrojnej w obszarze poznańsko-pomorskim (październik 1939–wrzesień 1940)*, [in:] *Walka podziemna na Pomorzu...*, pp. 67–69 i n. See also: M. Mroczo, op.cit., passim; R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja...*, pp. 199–329; idem, *Kierunek przemian społeczno-politycznych w woj. pomorskim w latach 1920–1939*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego. Historia*, z. 4, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 53–65.

⁵³ Set up in 1895, from 1903 to 1913 – the Polish People's Party (PSL), next in 1913 the split into PSL-Lewica (the left wing) and PSL-Piast. In 1931 again the name was the People's Party (SL), and in 1945 again the name PSL.

⁵⁴ Set up in 1892. In 1906 the split into the revolutionary faction PPS-Frakcja rewolucyjna and the left-wing faction – PPS-Lewica.

⁵⁵ K. Osiński, op.cit., pp. 59–67; R. Wapiński, *Życie polityczne Pomorza w latach 1920–1939*, Poznań 1983, pp. 26–34 i n.

⁵⁶ K. Osiński, op.cit., pp. 73–74 i n.; M. Wojciechowski, *Życie polityczne mniejszości niemieckiej na Pomorzu w okresie międzywojennym (1920–1939)*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, pod red. M. Wojciechowskiego, Toruń 1998, pp. 51–72.

⁵⁷ About the complicated German-Polish conditions in the Free City of Gdańsk, see e.g.: A. Chodubski, *Nauka, kultura i sztuka w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku*, Toruń 2000.

government a concession for building an extraterritorial motorway and a railway line running through Polish Pomerania to connect East Prussia with the Reich⁵⁸. It was here that the first shots of World War II were fired, and here, immediately after, where the martyrdom of the Polish population began. The territory of Poland was once more under German occupation and annexation, as well as under Soviet annexation⁵⁹. By the decree of Adolf Hitler from 10 August 1939, which was illegitimate from the point of view of international law, followed the annexation of a part of western and northern Poland, and the formation of new administrative units. The Free City of Gdańsk, several districts of East Prussia, a patch of the Warsaw Voivodeship, as well as the greater part of the Pomeranian Voivodeship fell within the borders of the Reich District Gdańsk-West Prussia (Westpreussen Reichsgau Danzig). Three districts were created: the district of Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz and Kwidzyn.

The annexation also covered the Voivodeship of Poznań, and a part of the Łódź Voivodeship. In this way, together with part of the Pomeranian and Warsaw Voivodeships, the Reich Poznań region (Posen Reichsgau) was created. On 29 January 1940 it was renamed Reich Wartheland (Reichsgau Wartheland). Upper Silesia and the Dąbrowski Basin as well as parts of the Cracow Voivodeship became part of the Silesian province (Provinz Schlesien). A part of northern Mazovia was annexed into the province of East Prussia (Ostpreussen province). The annexed territories were referred to by the German authorities as the „embodied eastern lands” (eingegliederte Ostgebiete).

On other Polish lands the General Government was created, whose full name was ‘General Government for the occupied Polish territory (Das General-gouvernement für die polnische bestetzten Gebiete). From 8 July 1940, the words „Polish territory” were erased, leaving only the General Government (General-gouvernement). While from the second half of 1940 it was referred to as „peripheral country” (Nebenland des Deutschen Reiches)⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Comp. K. Fiodor, *Polska i Polacy w polityce Trzeciej Rzeszy 1933–1939*, Łódź 2006, pp. 125–181. See more also: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii. Część trzecia. Studia z dziejów historiografii polskiej i niemieckiej*, pod red. J. Krasuskiego, G. Labudy, A. W. Walczaka, Poznań 1991.

⁵⁹ A minor part of the territory of the Second Polish Republic was occupied by the Slovak and Lithuanian armies. W. Długoborski rightly pointed out that “the incorporation of the western territories into the Reich and the eastern territories in the USSR was in fact the annexation, »it was the territory of the General Government that was occupied« (transl. A.C.). Comp.: W. Długoborski, *Spółeczeństwo polskie pod dwiema okupacjami 1939–1941*, Rocznik Muzeum w Gliwicach, vol. XVII, Gliwice 2002, pp. 439–440 i n.; B. Chrzanowski, P. Niwiński, *Okupacja niemiecka i sowiecka – próba analizy porównawczej (wybrane zagadnienia)*, Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość, 2008, nr 1, pp. 13–39; W. Jastrzębski, *Sowietyzacja kresów wschodnich i germanizacja ziem zachodnich. Dwie koncepcje okupantów na ziemiach polskich w dobie II wojny światowej*, [in:] *Sowietyzacja kresów wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej po 17 września 1939 r.*, wyd. A. Sudół, Bydgoszcz 1998, pp. 81–87.

⁶⁰ E. Jędrzejewski, *Hitlerowska koncepcja administracji państwowej 1933–1945. Studium polityczno-prawne*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, pp. 221–231; C. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. I, Warszawa 1970, pp. 64–82; C. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w drugiej wojnie światowej*, Poznań 1993, pp. 91–97; idem, *Polityka ludnościowa i ekonomiczna hitlerowskich*

The incorporated territories, and thus Pomerania, were included in the German legal system. The annexation of Polish territories, as well as the introduction of German legislation, constituted a repudiation of fundamental norms of international law. In the Third Reich, the will of Hitler as Führer and Chancellor, together with the program of the NSDAP, became the supreme law. F. Ryszka rightly wrote that „a country in state of emergency,” which refers to the Reich, brings lawlessness, the denial of legal order as based on the principles of humanity. The German criminal law in the areas occupied by the Wehrmacht was enforced by infantry commander gen. Walther von Brauchitsch as early as 5 September 1939. In the Western Territories, on 4 December 1941 a special law for Poles and Jews was introduced, which allowed the use of the death penalty to an almost unlimited extent. In Pomerania, the penalties were executed by the courts under the Ministry of Justice of the Third Reich. The highest authority there was the Higher National Court in Gdańsk, which the National and Local Courts were subjected to. At the National Courts operated Special Courts: in Gdańsk, Chojnice Bydgoszcz, Toruń and Grudziądz. Some indications point to the existence of Police Emergency Courts. Some matters; conspiracy, for example, were treated as „high treason” and dealt with during the so-called sessions by the Reich Court Martial or the Supreme People’s Tribunal⁶¹.

The first executions in Pomerania took place from the first hours of the war. They were carried out by the Wehrmacht and special operations group of Security Police and Security Service (Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes). Later, their role was taken over by the so-called self-defence units (Selbstschutz). They performed arrests and executed activists; political, social, local, cultural, and others. They used special lists, drawn up before the war, which named those whose physical liquidation was required. These activities were marked by the codename Action Tannenberg (Unternehmen Tannenberg) con-

Niemiec w okupowanej Polsce, Poznań 1979, pp. 9–21. In April 1940 the Ministry of Propaganda of the Reich recommended that the term „enemy state” should not be used in reference to Poland.

⁶¹ See e.g.: F. Ryszka, *Państwo stanu wyjątkowego. Rzecz o systemie państwa i prawa Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1974, s. 342–443; K. M. Pospieszalski, *Hitlerowskie „prawo” okupacyjnej Polsce. Wybór dokumentów. Część I. Ziemie „wcielone”*, Poznań 1952; idem, *Polska pod niemieckim prawem, 1939–1945 (Ziemie Zachodnie)*, Poznań 1946; A. Konieczny, *Pod rządami wojennego prawa karnego Trzeciej Rzeszy. Górny Śląsk 1939–1945*, Warszawa–Wrocław 1972, pp. 17–137; J. Waszczyński, *Z działalności hitlerowskiego sądu specjalnego w Łodzi (1939–1945)*, Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, 1972, t. XXIV, pp. 22–41; L. Teresiński, *O działalności Sądu Wojennego Rzeszy w okresie II wojny światowej*, *ibid.*, pp. 169–221; J. Bardach, B. Leśnodorski, M. Pietrzak, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 596–605; W. Lemiesz, *Paragraf i zbrodnia*, Warszawa 1963, pp. 159–163, 205–221; K. Ciechanowski, *Sądownictwo i więziennictwo na terenie Pomorza Gdańskiego w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Symposium. Hitlerowskie sądownictwo, więziennictwo i obozy w okręgu Rzeszy Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie 1939–1945*, Sztutowo 1976, pp. 9–14, 30–32; M. Broszat, *Narodowosocjalistyczna polityka w sprawie Polski 1939–1945 (Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945)*, Stuttgart 1961). Archiwum Przekładów. Opr. Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny i Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa. Zeszyt 42, Warszawa–Poznań 1966, pp. 201–232.

nected from 9 July 1939 with actions against the Pomeranian intelligentsia (Intelligenzaktion Pommern). The most widely known places of German crimes in Pomerania are, among others: Piaśnica near Wejherowo, the Szpegawski forest in Starogard, the Barbarka forest near Toruń, and the vicinity of Grudziądz: Księże Góry and Mniszek, the valley near Fordon (now a part of Bydgoszcz called Death Valley) and many others. By the end of December 1939 and the beginning of January 1940 on the Western and Northern Territories, more than 40,000 people had been killed, including about 30,000 in Pomerania, about 10,000 in Greater Poland, about 1,500 in Silesia and another 1,000 in northern Mazovia⁶².

Thus the losses suffered by the residents of Pomerania until December 1939–January 1940 were the largest in comparison not only to other areas of the Western lands, but also to those of central Poland and the eastern territories occupied by the USSR. One can agree with the ascertainment of C. Madajczyk, who noted that „the western lands of the Second Republic after the incorporation into the Reich were the front lines fighting for independence”⁶³.

During the subsequent years under occupation, the authorities of the Reich District Gdańsk-West Prussia began the process of germanization in Pomerania. As has already been mentioned, the population of Poland was subjected to the harsh rigours of the criminal law in force since 12 April 1941. The courts tried and very severely punished all forms of resistance. Many soldiers of the Polish Underground stood before German courts, which administered capital punishment

⁶² C. Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy...*, pp. 98–101 i n.; M. Wardzyńska, *Był rok 1939: operacja niemieckiej policji bezpieczeństwa w Polsce „Intelligenzaktion”*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 144–185; W. Długoborski, *Geneza Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen i jej funkcje w kampanii wrześniowej i pierwszych tygodniach okupacji*, mps referatu wygłoszonego na sesji Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (w zb. aut.), pp. 1–6. See also: D. Steyer, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdynia 1967; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, *Okupacja hitlerowska na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1979; B. Bojarska, *Eksterminacja inteligencji polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim (wrzesień–grudzień 1939)*, Poznań 1972; idem, *Piaśnica. Miejsce martyrologii i pamięci. Z badań nad zbrodniami hitlerowskim na Pomorzu*, wyd. IV uzupełnione i poprawione, Wejherowo 2009; S. Grochowina, J. Sziling, *Barbarka. Miejsce niemieckich egzekucji Polaków z Torunia i okolic (październik–grudzień 1939)*, Toruń 2009; J. Milewski, *Ofiary wojny 1939–1945 Starogardu Gd.*, Starogard Gd., 1979; S. Goszczurny, *Mord w lesie kociewskim*, Warszawa 1973; *Wokół strat ludności pomorskiej w latach 1939–1945. Materiały z XVII sesji naukowej w Toruniu w dniu 21 listopada 2007 roku*, pod red. D. Kromp, K. Minczykowskiej i J. Szilinga, Toruń 2008; *Stutthof. Hitlerowski obóz koncentracyjny*, pr. zb. pod red. nauk. D. Steyera, Warszawa 1988; J. Grabowska-Chałka, *Stutthof. Informator historyczny. Przewodnik*, Gdańsk–Sztutowo 2004 and other publications addressing the issue of the war and occupation in Pomerania. The interest in the problem of the occupation of the Polish territories and the resistance to it is also evinced by some Germanscholars. Comp. e.g.: M. Broszat, op.cit., and other works of this author; D. Schenk, *Poczta Polska w Gdańsku. Dzieje pewnego niemieckiego zabójstwa sądowego*, przełożyli i przypisami opatrzyli W. Tycner i J. Tycner, Gdańsk 1999; idem, *Albert Forster, gdański namiestnik Hitlera. Zbrodnie hitlerowskie w Gdańsku i Prusach Zachodnich*, przełożyli i przypisami opatrzyli W. Tycner i J. Tycner, Gdańsk 2002; W. Jacobmeyer, *Heimat und Exil. Die Anfänge der polnischen Untergrundbewegung im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Hamburg 1973; M. Foedrowitz, *W poszukiwaniu „modus vivendi”. Kontakty i rozmowy pomiędzy okupantami a okupowanymi*, Mars, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 165–179.

⁶³ See more: C. Madajczyk, *Polityka Trzeciej Rzeszy...*, vol. I, Warszawa 1970, pp. 393–449.

or sentences of either a long imprisonment or internment in camps. The Stutthof Camp (from 1 July 1942 – a concentration camp) was the terror of the native population and was called „the Pomeranian Auschwitz.” As early as in October 1939 there began the expulsion of the Poles to the General Government. By January 1943, from 120,000 to 170,000 people were expelled from Pomerania, including many members of the intelligentsia, making it very difficult to organize underground structures. Relocation camps in Potulice, Smukała in Toruń (Szmalcówka) and others claimed numerous victims⁶⁴.

A completion of the tragedy was attained in Pomerania with the German People's List – Deutsche Volksliste (DVL). The regulation referring to the German National List and the German Nationality of the annexed eastern territories is dated 4 March 1941. It was signed by the following people: Wilhelm Frick – Minister of the Interior, Rudolf Hess – the deputy of Hitler, and Heinrich Himmler – Reichsführer SS. After the famous proclamation (Aufrufe) of the governor of the Reich District Gdańsk-West Prussia, Albert Forster, from 22 February 1942, which ordered the change of nationality from Polish to German by entering signatures on the list until 31 March 1942, the officials resorted to a method of coercion and terror⁶⁵. The situation in Pomerania or Silesia differed from that in Greater Poland

⁶⁴ The conceptual plans concerning the incorporated and occupied territories (the General Government) essentially started to be set up in the autumn of 1939. A case in point may be the study by Dr Erhard Wetzel and Gerhard Hecht "The problem of treating the inhabitants of the former Polish territories from the racial-ethnic point of view" (25.11.1939), 'Legal basis for the German policy towards Poles according to the national-political point of view' and 'Assumptions forming the resettlement and settlement policy in former Poland' (1940). The texts include opinions about the Masurians, the so called Wasserpölnischen, highlanders and Kashubians. Heinrich Himmler also spoke about the issues in his memorial "A few remarks about the treatment of foreign tribes in the East" (15.05.1940). The issues were to be regulated by the General Eastern Plan (Generalplan Ost – GPO) prepared from at least 1941 in the Bureau for the Affairs of Reinforcing the Germanization and the Main Bureau of Security of the Reich. The works were conducted in the years 1942–1944. In May 1942 Adolf Hitler ordered A. Forster to finish the Germanization process within 10 years. See more: W. Jastrzębski, *Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia z ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy w latach 1939–1945*, Poznań 1968; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op.cit., pp. 141–159; J. Sziling, *W Rzeszy – czym była okupacja na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Polskie Państwo Podziemne na Pomorzu*, pp. 28–29; B. Chrzanowski, *Wysiedlanie ludności polskiej z Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego w latach 1939–1944*, [in:] *Procesy migracyjne w kontekście przemian kulturowo-cywilizacyjnych*, pod red. E. Polak i J. Leskiej-Ślęzak, Pelplin 2007, pp. 83–92; idem, *Ogólne założenia polityki niemieckiej na polskich ziemiach wcielonych do Rzeszy*, [in:] *Kościerzyna i powiat kościerski w latach II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, Kościerzyna 2009, pp. 62–77; *Wysiedlenia na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945. Materiały pokonferencyjne*, pod red. J. Borzyszkowskiego, Gdańsk–Wejherowo 2004. See also: *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia i ucieczki 1939–1959. Atlas ziem Polski. Polacy, Żydzi, Niemcy, Ukraińcy*, pod red. W. Sienkiewicza, G. Hryciuka, Warszawa 2008.

⁶⁵ There were four national groups: 1) people of German nationality actively supporting the Germans; 2) people of German nationality showing little or no activity about their background; 3) people of German nationality, colonized to a greater extent, expected to be re-Germanized; 4) completely Polonized people. In Pomerania the major percentage of the population belonged to the third group. See more: S. Bykowska, *Rehabilitacja i weryfikacja narodowościowa polskiej ludności w województwie gdańskim po II wojnie światowej*, praca doktorska obroniona w Instytucie Politologii Wydziału Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 114–148 i n. See also: E. Ogłóża,

or northern Mazovia. A. Forster and the superior president of Silesia, Fritz Bracht, used coercion, and as a result in Pomerania almost 63% of the population signed the list, although there was a differentiation between the southern and northern part of the province, the number of entries in the latter being higher. In Silesia, the percentage was much higher still: about 90%. In Greater Poland, however, coercion was not used (enlisted were less than 4%), neither was coercion enforced in northern Mazovia. In the General Government, the German National List was signed by a small percentage of the population, which became the reason that both during the occupation and after the war, Poles from Central and Eastern Poland did not understand the problem of the list in Western Territories like Pomerania and Silesia.

Under such conditions, of annexation and occupation, the structures of the Polish Underground still had to function. This included the Government Delegation in Pomerania, which suffered greatly, especially in the autumn and winter of 1939/1940. As shown, the further years of the occupation were also difficult for the population of Pomerania (as well as for almost the whole of Polish society).

3. The activities of political parties in the Western Territories

The loss of independence and the repressions of the occupier, which were mentioned above, initially caused the disappearance of political life in the country, also in the Western Territories and Pomerania. However, this did not last long. In the early autumn of 1939, under the conditions of conspiracy, some political parties started their activities. Just as before the war, on the Western Territories, and therefore also in Pomerania, the influence of the National Party was dominant, while the Labour Party (SP) featured less prominently. In contrast, the range of influence of both the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) ('Freedom-Equality-Independence – WRN')⁶⁶ and the People's Party⁶⁷ was faint. Thus it was the National Party that played the major role in the creation of a military and a civilian conspiracy in the area of the Poznań Voivodeship and Pomerania, adapting it to the prevailing conditions of occupation. The governing bodies of the Polish Underground State of the Western Territories quickly spotted the differences of assets of these western areas and in the General Government, not to mention in the eastern territories. Thus, while organizing the underground structures in those regions (Service for Poland's Victory (SZP), Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army (ZWZ-AK), the

Pomorze pod okupacją niemiecką w latach 1939–1945. Fragment toruński, Toruń 1945, pp. 52–54 i n.; W. Jastrzębski, J. Sziling, op.cit., pp. 160–199; J. Sziling, *W Rzeszy...*, pp. 29–34; idem, *Polityka narodowościowa niemieckich władz okupacyjnych na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Problemy narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim i Kujawach w XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, pod red. R. Sudzińskiego, Toruń 1997, pp. 35–51. See r. III.

⁶⁶ During the occupation period until 2 May 1944 the name Freedom, Equality, Independence (WRN) or PPS-WRN was used.

⁶⁷ About the whole proces of the original creation of the civil structures in Pomerania see: G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 73–89.

Government Delegation) contacts among the members and supporters of the National Democracy were involved. This included, formed at the end of September 1939 in Poznań, the organization "Ojczyzna" ['Ojczyzna']. This was not a coincidence since the capital of Greater Poland was a leading centre for the so-called western thought, advocating the defence of the western borderlands and the extension of the Polish border to the rivers Odra and Nysa⁶⁸.

The first documented information about the activities of political parties of the Polish Underground in western regions relate to the turn of 1939/1940. In report No. 4 of 2 August 1940, the Commander of the Union of Armed Struggle on the lands under German occupation, Col. Stefan Rowecki ('Grot') informed the Commander in Chief of ZWZ – gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski ('Godziemba')⁶⁹ that: 'The activity of the National Party is the strongest in the Poznań Voivodeship, as well as in Pomerania, and in the Cracow Voivodeship.'⁷⁰

It is also worth quoting a few others, not commonly known documents which shed some light on the underground activities of political parties within the Western Territories, including Pomerania. At a conference in Belgrade in late May–June 1940 it was stated that: 'The initially well-developing centre [Polish Socialist Party – Peasants' Battalions] in Gdynia was wrecked.'⁷¹ In turn, a document already known, 'The characteristics of organizational life in the Western Territories' from 6 May 1941, drafted by Delegate A. Bniński, reads: 'the society of the Western Territories realizes the ideology of the four major parties. The parties are also a manifestation of the current concerns in society [...]. The whole of the Western Territories is influenced by the National Party, as before the war [...]. Not everywhere is the work coordinated as in the districts of Poznań, Pomerania and Ciechanów [...]. The Labour Party is not perceptible in the Western Territories except in some urban centers of the Poznań region, as well as Pomerania and outside Silesia [...]. In Pomerania, according to a statement representative of the People's Party, no work is carried out [...]. The activity of the Polish Socialist Party can only be felt in

⁶⁸ M. Mroczo, *op.cit.*, pp. 172–193 i n.

⁶⁹ The Commander in Chief from 13 Nov 1940 was General of arms K. Sosnkowski, and from 30 June 1940 Brigadier General S. Rowecki (appointed to the rank on 26 May 1940). Until 30 June 1940 Col./Gen. S. Rowecki held the function of the Commander of Territory No. 1 (Warsaw), in practice the Commander of the German Occupation. After the Home Army was set up on 14 Feb 1943 he became the Chief Commander of the Home Army. He was arrested on 30 June 1943 and replaced by Brigadier General Tadeusz Komorowski, alias "Korczak", "Bór" (Col., from 26 May 1940 – Brigadier General, from 14 March 1944 – Divisional General). The last Commander in Chief of the Home Army was Gen. Leopold Okulicki, alias "Kobra", "Niedźwiadek" (sub-Col., from 1 July 1940 – Col., promoted to the rank of Brigadier General on 22 May 1944). See more: A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, pp. 507, 540–541, 573; M. Ney-Krwawicz, *Komendanci Armii Krajowej*, Warszawa 1992, *passim*.

⁷⁰ AK..., vol. I, p. 114; Studium Polski Podziemnej w Londynie (dalej: SPP), Oddział VI (further: O VI), Raporty i meldunki, sygn. 3.1.1.1.1. (kopia: Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (dalej: AMS), sygn. K-5-8).

⁷¹ SPP, O VI, Konferencja w Belgradzie, sygn. 2.2.2.1. (kopia: AMS, sygn. K-5-2).

the urban and suburban environment [...]’⁷² The tremendous difficulties, in which the Polish Underground had to operate in the Western Territories and Pomerania, were acknowledged in the following document, titled ‘Situation Report between 15 September 1941 and 1 June 1942.’ Also, in Pomerania – the conditions prevent any political activity.⁷³ In the ‘Report on the situation in the period between December 1942 and January 1943’ prepared by the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press it was reported that: ‘Of the political organizations developing their activities, the National Party and the Labour Party ought to be mentioned. The People’s Party and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) are less active. There is no communist activity.’⁷⁴ A report of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland 1943⁷⁵ contained a similar assessment. This picture did not change until mid-September 1943 when the ‘The field overview 15.07–15.09.1943’ reported: ‘The activity of political parties is still minuscule. Their relations with the army⁷⁶ are correct. Quite a number of the Kwadrat⁷⁷ cells function without supreme leadership. The ones functioning less are the Romb⁷⁸ and the Lizard Union. The Gwiazda⁷⁹ is not perceptible [...]’⁸⁰. In October 1943, Regional Government Delegate Antoni Antczak⁸¹, in an interview with the Head of Security at the Department of Internal Affairs Tadeusz Miklaszewski (‘Sten-cel’) said: ‘Our society before the war was mostly organized into the SN [National Party], then the SP [Labour Party], a small fraction into the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and less still into the SL [People’s Party]. Currently, only the SP is working more intensively. A certain activity of the SN is noticeable; however, neither the

⁷² AK..., vol. VI, pp. 189–190.

⁷³ Archiwum Akt Nowych (further: AAN), Akta Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj (further: Akta DR), Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mikrofilm (further: mf) 2225/1, sygn. 202/II-1.

⁷⁴ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154.

⁷⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/2, sygn. 202/II-12.

⁷⁶ It refers to the Home Army.

⁷⁷ The conspiracy cryptonym of the National Party.

⁷⁸ The conspiracy cryptonym of the National Party.

⁷⁹ It refers to the Polish People’s Party and its military organization – Gwardia Ludowa– People’s Guard

⁸⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3 oraz 2270/8, 2225/2,3. See also: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj (1940–1944)*, ZH, 1991, z. 4, pp. 103–121.

⁸¹ Born on 15 May 1890 in Wolenice, the country of Krotoszyn, son of Jan and Franciszka née Owczarczyk. In the years 1921–1922 the president of the Provincial Board, and later of the District Board of the National Worker’s Party. The president of the Provincial Board of the Labour Party in Pomerania. See extensive biograms in: K. Przybyszewski, A. Zakrzewska, *Antczak Antoni (1890–1952)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 3, Toruń 1997, pp. 25–29; A. K. Kunert, *Antczak Antoni (1890–1952)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny konspiracji warszawskiej 1939–1944*, przedm. A. Gieysztor, vol. II, Warszawa 1987, pp. 27–28; K. Przybyszewski, *Antoni Antczak (1890–1952)*, *Rocznik Toruński*, 1992, pp. 49–59; R. Wapiński, *Antoni Antczak*, [in:] *Zasłużeni Pomorzanie w latach II wojny światowej*, pod red. W. Andrusiak, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1984, pp. 9–13; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, K. Steyer, op.cit., p. 592.

PPS nor the SL displays any organizational achievements.⁸² In May 1944, the Chief Commander of the Home Army, gen. Tadeusz Komorowski ('Bor'), stated that the National Party 'in Greater Poland and Pomerania is the only organized political force.'⁸³

The documents cited above reflect the actual state of affairs and the range of influence of the National Party, the Labour Party, the Polish Socialist Party, and the People's Party.

As the preserved sources declare, among them the document from Belgrade, in Gdynia in 1940, a resilient PPS cell was indeed formed; however, its activities were short-lived. Only in 1944, from the initiative of Alfred Przybój-Jarecki ('Jan Brzeziński') residing in Warsaw, who was a member of the prewar PSP, the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (RPPS)⁸⁴ was started in Gdynia. A. Przybój-Jarecki, on behalf of the RPPS, travelled to Pomerania (including Gdynia) as well as to the Reich. He made two reports from these trips entitled: 'A report from a trip to Germany in the period between 15 January and 3 February 1944.' And 'An economic report from a trip to Germany between 20 March and 16 April 1944.' These documents got to, among others, the Office of Information and Propaganda of the Headquarters of the Home Army⁸⁵.

The People's Party and its armed formation, the Peasant's Battalions, failed to organize their branches in Pomerania, although such attempts were made, i.e. in Wyrzysk and Brodnica (Romuald Wasilewski). Also, some of the pre-war SL activists engaged in the Pomeranian underground organizations. The Peasant Battalions' Commander in Chief Col. Franciszek Kamiński delegated Stanisław Kasperlik to Pomerania. Kasperlik was the pre-war instructor for the SL in the area and a friend of Wincenty Witos. For the commandant post of the Pomeranian Peasant Battalions Col. F. Kaminski swore in a teacher, Pawłowski, who due to his illness

⁸² AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, Protokół rozmów odbytych w dn. 8/X; 14/X z p.[anem] Del.[egatem] Okr.[ęgu] Pomorskiego (further: Protokół...), mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-15.

⁸³ AK..., t. III, p. 453 (Meldunek Specjalny. Ogólny stan społeczeństwa i stan AK z 22.05.1944 r); Archiwum b. Urzędu Ochrony Państwa w Bydgoszczy (dalej: AUOP-B), sygn. 0-284, t. IV (odpis w zb. aut., ob. zb. Oddziałowego Biura Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów. Delegatura w Bydgoszczy [further: IPN-By]).

⁸⁴ During the occupation the socialist movement was split into Polish Socialists (September 1941) transformed into the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (April 1943). As a result of the next division (December 1943) a group of activists left the party and set up the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists II, which announced the accession to the Home National Council (May 1944), the legislative body of the Polish Workers' Party and joined the Polish Socialist Party created in Lublin. The former RPPS took on the name of the Polish Socialist Party – Left Wing (PPS-Lewica) (1944) and along with the Centralization of the Democratic, Socialist and Syndicalist Parties it recognized the authority of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN). Comp.: W. Borodziej, A. Chmielearz, A. Friszke, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., passim; A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, passim.

⁸⁵ See: AAN, Akta Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej (dalej: Akta KG AK), Oddział VI. Wydział Informacji, mf 2388/2, sygn. 203/VII-32; K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu...*, p. 283 i n.; A. Czystowski, *Warszawskie wydawnictwa PPS-WRN (1939–1944)*, Z Pola Walki, 1974, nr 1; Rel. F. Matuszaka, A. Przybój-Jareckiego (w zb. aut.).

was unable to assume this position. Other sources mention Alfons Grędzicki, under the pseudonym 'Twardy', 'Ogrodnik' as the Commandant of the B.Ch. Organizing the structures of the People's Party, and especially the Peasant Battalions in Pomerania, was the concern of Commander in Chief of the Peasant Battalions, Col. F. Kamiński⁸⁶, until the end of the occupation.

In turn, the National Party started to build its organizational network in the autumn of 1939. It was a very difficult task, since – as is now known – in the first months of the German occupation, within the plan to liquidate the Polish leadership, many SN activists were murdered. Therefore, a wider underground activity in the sense of a larger independent organizational structure was not developed here. Pre-war members of the SN joined the ranks of many underground organizations, i.e.: in 1940 'Piaś' which operated in Inowrocław, 'Grunwald' in Toruń⁸⁷, the Secret Military Organization 'Gryf Kaszubski' ('Pomorski'), the Union of Armed Struggle–Home Army, Regional Government Delegation, Grey Ranks, the Lizard Union, and others.

In October, 1939 the National Party Organization of the Western Territories was founded in Poznań. In November, the Western District Headquarters of the National Army was established. It also functioned under the internal name of National Combat Organization (NOB), or the National Army (AN), and later used the name: National Military Organization (NOW). In addition to the District of Poznań, new districts were established: Łódź, Silesia (Zagłębie-Silesia), Pomerania (codenamed 'Gryf') and the Kuyavia District, where the centres (districts) of Włocławek, Inowrocław and Aleksandrów Kujawski⁸⁸ were created.

Supervision over the network of the National Party in Greater Poland and Pomerania was held by Antoni Wolniewicz from Poznań ('Marian', 'Znicz', 'Bałt', 'Mróz'), who maintained contact with Warsaw. He collaborated with Zenon Ciemniejewski ('Zenon Bosiacki', 'Albert Schwarz') responsible for propaganda, but co-operating with the Gestapo, and with Zbigniew Goździejewicz, who worked for the

⁸⁶ See: K. Przybylski, *Ludowcy na ziemiach włączonych do Rzeszy 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1987, p. 101, 105 (there is a mistake here as neither Józef Dambek nor Józef Gierszewski had been activists of the People's Party before the war), p. 113, 296; K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu...*, p. 286; Rel. W. Wójcik (Michałowski), J. Gotówki (w zb. aut.); List F. Kamińskiego do autora z 2.03.1981 r.

⁸⁷ The organizational officer of the Service for Poland's Victory, later the Head of the Staff of the Pomeranian District Lt. Józef Chyliński („Kamień”, „Rekin”) after arriving in Toruń at the beginning of January 1940 established contact with „Grunwald” and the National Party. Rel. J. Chylińskiego (w zb. aut.).

⁸⁸ One of the organizers of the Kuyavian District, the Włocławek region, was Józef Olszewski, the subsequent Commander of the Sub-District North of ZWZ-AK, See: K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka. Konspiracja zbrojna ruchu narodowego 1939–1945*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 201, 211–213. Comp.: K. Komorowski, *Z dziejów obozu narodowego na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1947*, Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny (further: WPH), 1992, nr 1, p. 42; IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Wisła”, sygn. 069/207, t. 1k; AMS, Stronnictwo Narodowe. Okręg Pomorski (luźne notatki z AUOP-B).

Generalkommando Posen Abwehrstelle as well as for the Gestapo⁸⁹. Goździewicz travelled to Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz, Toruń, and Inowrocław. In Bydgoszcz he made contact with representatives of the Christian democracy, in the hope that they would merge with national circles. However, despite two scheduled meetings, the talks, which were to be held in Bydgoszcz, did not take place. The activities of the National Party in the Poznań Voivodeship constituted one of the priority tasks put on the Abwehr. The National Party, as mentioned above, was the main political force in the Western Territories. The infiltration of its structures could facilitate further penetration of the Polish Underground; and possibly, by making use of its anti-communist attitude, aid political goals⁹⁰.

In Pomerania, the leading role in the creation of SN and NOB structures was played by W. Ciesielski. He remained in contact with A. Wolniewicz and Z. Goździewicz⁹¹. W. Ciesielski became head of the District of West Pomerania SN, AN–NOB. He held this position regardless of operating in the Pomeranian District of ZWZ [Union of Armed Struggle] and in the apparatus of the Government Delegate for Poland. The Pomeranian District of the National Party – National Military Organization (NOW) was divided into regions: Bydgoszcz with Nakło (commandant Albin Lewandowski, Franciszek Jabczyński), Toruń (presumably W. Ciesielski) and Grudziądz⁹². In the summer of 1942 in Warsaw, the Board of the Pomeranian National Party was appointed. It was formed for the period of the occupation and also for after the war. The acting president was Adam Tomaszewski (the nominal one was a priest, Józef Wrycza, President of the Supreme Council of the TOW [Secret Military Organisation] ‘Gryf Pomorski’, who, hiding in Pomerania, could not perform his function). Finances were managed by Tadeusz Cyłkowski, organizational matters by Lipski [B. Lipski? – B.Ch.], and propaganda by Jan Patalong. As NOW commander was appointed Lt.-Col. Ludwik Michalski (‘Kajetan’). During the meetings in Warsaw they discussed organizational issues of the Pomeranian SN in relation to the future takeover of power in Pomerania. Contact with the organization ‘Ojczyzna’ was also maintained. The team on the Board

⁸⁹ Born on 2.09.1903 in Poznań. Comp.: K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska...*, p. 162; B. Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy i Narodowe Siły Zbrojne na Pomorzu 1939–1947. Nieznane karty pomorskiej konspiracji*, Toruń 1997, s. 122; *Encyklopedia konspiracji wielkopolskiej...*, p. 277–278; Biuro Udośćępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie (dalej: IPN-W-wa), Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (dalej: MBP), sygn. 1007/659/2 (Protokół przesłuchania Z. Goździewicza z 30.09.1949 r.).

⁹⁰ Comp.: *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 61; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/2 (Protokół przesłuchania Zbigniewa Goździewicza...).

⁹¹ According to K. Komorowski it might have been Goździewicz who caused the arrest of W. Ciesielski on 18 Nov 1940 and his being sent to the Stutthof concentration camp (no. 12320) where he died on 3 Feb 1941. See: AMS, Teczka personalna, sygn. I-III-2412; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 204–205, 215 (here the date of death 2.02.1941).

⁹² See more: K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 201–207, 210–222 i n.; R. Sierchuła, *Formacje wojskowe Narodowej Demokracji w Wielkopolsce w latach 1939–1949*, *Życie i Myśl*, 1994, nr 14, pp. 17–18 i n.; IPN-W-wa, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych (further: MSW), sygn. 002312/173/2.

of the Pomeranian SN meant to go to Pomerania on 1 August 1944, where the Secret Military Organization 'Gryf Pomorski' was to serve as the fulcrum. The last meeting was held in the apartment of a member of the Committee of the Western Territories NSZ, Edward Bensch, in Żurawia Street. The outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising crossed those plans⁹³.

The National faction was ideologically linked to the organization 'Ojczyzna' (code name 'Omega'), which in late September–October 1939 was established in Poznań from the initiative of Kirył Sosnowski ('Konrad', 'Paprocki' 'Sęp', 'Szpital', 'Kaczmarek', 'Bronisław Palecki', '800')⁹⁴, Witold Grotta ('Andrzejewski', 'Gardański', 'Roman Górka')⁹⁵ Jan Jacek Nikisch ('Jacek', 'Sielecki', 'Sławek Sławkowski') and with the support of Fr. Prelate Józef Prądyński⁹⁶. Before the war, they were members of the All-Polish Youth organisation and the Camp of Great Poland [OWP]⁹⁷. The pastoral care of the students at the University of Poznań, centred around these organizations, which were close to the ideas of R. Dmowski, was in the hands of Fr. Prelate Józef Prądyński. The 'Ojczyzna' housed both the old 'endek' [national democrat] activists, as well as the so-called young, although the latter were generally focused on the conspiratorial National Party⁹⁸.

The programme goals of the organization referring to the political thought of the National Democratic Party were drawn up in 'Ideological Indications' of

⁹³ See more: Archiwum Wojskowego Instytutu Historycznego Obrony Narodowej (AWIH, ob. zbiory Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego – CAW – Wojskowego Biura Historycznego [WBH] w Warszawie), Akta Stronnictwa Narodowego, sygn. III/68/5; AAN, Akta Stronnictwa Narodowego, sygn. 206-2,4; Akta Narodowej Organizacji Wojskowej, sygn. 206/28; Akta KG AK, mf 2388/3; Archiwum Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Bydgoszczy (further: ASW-B) Akta J. Patalonga i towarzyszy, sygn. SR 427/50, vol. I; K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska...*, pp. 161–162; idem, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 213–216, 349–352. About the national movement see also: K. Komorowski, *Formacje wojskowe Narodowej Demokracji na Pomorzu – 1945*, [in:] *Walka podziemna...*, pp. 319–332; idem, *Konspiracyjny ruch narodowy na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim 1939–1947*, [in:] *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej historii NSZ*, Warszawa 1994; idem, *Obóz Narodowej Demokracji na przełomie wojny i pokoju*, [in:] *Polskie Państwo Podziemne i Wojsko Polskie w latach 1944–1945*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 83–100; L. Kulińska, *Narodowcy. Z dziejów Obozu Narodowego w Polsce w latach 1944–1947*, Warszawa–Kraków 1999; L. Kulińska, M. Orłowski, R. Sierchuła, *Narodowcy. Myśl polityczna i społeczna Obozu Narodowego w Polsce w latach 1944–1947*, Warszawa–Kraków 2001; M. Orłowski, *Prasa konspiracyjna Stronnictwa Narodowego w latach 1939–1947*, Poznań 2006.

⁹⁴ A. Pietrowicz, *Kirył Sosnowski (1910–1966) – zarys biografii*, [in:] *Obóz narodowy w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów*, pod red. R. Sierchuły, Warszawa 2010, pp. 204–217; H. Sosnowska, *Sosnowski Kirył Władysław (1910–1966)*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 523–524.

⁹⁵ J. J. Nikisch, *Grott Witold Henryk (1912–1943)*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 185–186

⁹⁶ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze przeciwko Nikischowi Jackowi, vol. I [further: Akta śledcze...], Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 25.06.1949 r.); A. Pietrowicz, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”...*, p. 51.

⁹⁷ The All-Polish Youth Organisation was set up in 1922, whilst the Camp of Great Poland in 1926. See more: L. Kulińska, *Związek Akademicki „Młodzież Wszechpolska” i „Młodzież Wielkiej Polski” w latach 1922–1947 (struktury, funkcjonowanie i główni działacze)*, Kraków 2000, *passim*.

⁹⁸ See: AK..., vol. I, p. 120 (Meldunek Nr nr 4). See also: *Protokoły z posiedzeń Komitetu dla Spraw Kraju*, cz. 1: 1939–1941, opr. i red. W. Grabowski, Warszawa 2008, p. 459.

“Ojczyzna” [„Ojczyzna”], and finally approved in the second half of 1943. Generally speaking, the future Polish state was to be Catholic, provide jobs and a decent life throughout the generations of Poles. And thus a national Poland – equitable, full of vitality with the lives of healthy children born from healthy marriages, hard-working, a Poland of brave Poles, and expansive. There was an emphasis on creative work and the moral side of the nation both in professional life and in family life. The keynote was the slogan: ‘National Poland – Homeland of Poles.’ These objectives were to be pursued on the basis of ten indications based on the national idea⁹⁹.

‘Ojczyzna’ helped those Poles displaced from the Western Territories to the General Government, by means of underground publications printed in the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press. They informed the public about the situation of Poles in the areas annexed by the Reich, as well as strived for an appropriate representation of the population from these lands in the Government Delegation. Such a need was acknowledged as Warsaw not always understood the diverse conditions of these occupied regions. „Ojczyzna” also provided secret education, organized medical care and charity. The organisation maintained contacts with the Polish Underground State: the Government Delegation for Poland, the Association of Armed Struggle–Home Army, the Grey Ranks, the National Party (with a critical attitude towards some of the SN work methods)¹⁰⁰, and with the regional Secret Military Organization ‘Gryf Pomorski’¹⁰¹. After creating the Western Corps (KZ) in the spring of 1941, ‘Ojczyzna’ was actively involved in its organization, delegating many of its members there. One of them was W. Grott, who liaised between the two structures¹⁰².

⁹⁹ About „Ojczyzna” see: J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie polskiej myśli zachodniej Instytutu Zachodniego, Przegląd Zachodni*, 1994, nr 3, pp. 108–110; idem, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”*..., pp. 184–207; idem, „Ojczyzna”, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji*..., pp. 399–402; E. Serwański, *Nad dziejami konspiracyjnej organizacji „Ojczyzna”*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1980, nr 1, pp. 261–267; idem, *Z dziejów wielkopolskiej konspiracji 1939–1945*, Poznań 1999, pp. 19–29, 65–85; idem, *Organizacja niepodległościowa „Ojczyzna” (1939–1945) w Ojczyźnie (1945–1990)*, *Dz. Najn.*, 1994, nr 1, pp. 91–102; idem, *W kręgu*..., pp. 100–102, 127–129; idem, *Wielkopolska*..., s. 463–468; A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia*..., s. 269–270; idem, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”*..., p. 57; „Ojczyzna” 1939–1945. *Dokumenty. Wspomnienia. Publicystyka*, pod red. Z. Mazura, A. Pietrowicz, Poznań 2004; Z. Mazur, op.cit., pp. 232–339; Z. Bednorz, *Lata krecie*..., pp. 26–27; G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu*..., p. 80, 82; K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska*..., pp. 129–131; *Dokumenty „Ojczyzny”* (udost. J. J. Nikisch, kopia w zb. aut.).

¹⁰⁰ See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 10.03.1949 r.).

¹⁰¹ Comp. E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia z pracy konspiracyjnej w Wielkopolsce i Generalnej Guberni w latach 1939–1945 z 1958 r.*, Instytut Zachodni w Poznaniu (dalej: IZ-Poznań), Dokument II-358 (further: Dok.). Recorded in 1958, the account has 87 pages.

¹⁰² The Commander in Chief of KZ became Col. Zygmunt Łęgowski („Janusz”) and his deputy Col. Franciszek Rataj („Paweł”). See more about the Western Corps in: AAN, Akta KG AK, mf 2369/1, Akta Armii Ludowej, mf 2071/1 II; AWIH, Akta KG AK, sygn. III/21/19, vol. II, III; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta Śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 10.03.1949 r. i z 25.06.1949 r.); A. Sanojca, *Materiały do akcji scaleniowej (mps)*, IH PAN, sygn. A/83a/59; idem, *Struktura aparatu scalania organizacji wojskowych z ZWZ–AK w latach 1940–1942*,

In December 1939, a branch of 'Ojczyzna' was established in Warsaw. Between 1940–1945, there arose expansive structures of the organization¹⁰³. After the arrests of employees of the Delegation of the Western Territories, which lasted from September 1941 to April 1942, the 'Ojczyzna' cells made a transfer to the Government Delegation for Poland. They worked, among others, in the Western Office, the Bureau of Education and School of the Western Territories, and the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press. One of the leaders of this organization, Edward Serwański ('Jan', 'Mieczysław', 'Mietek', 'Wojtek [for the Western Corps]) was delegated to the Western Office and later in mid-1943 moved to the Western Section¹⁰⁴. K. Sosnowski, and many others, found their place there. As part of the 'Ojczyzna', together with Karol Marian Pospieszalski, he drew up reports on the situation of the occupied Western Territories¹⁰⁵. Then they were sent to Angers in France to Marian Seyda, the Minister of the Government of the Republic of Poland, which formed part of the Committee of Ministers for Home Affairs. The reports were transported, among other means, by messengers: Anna Świeżawska ('Hanka', left Poznań on 11 November 1939) and Jadwiga Rozmiarek ('Siostra Zosi', who left the country in early January 1940). The 'Ojczyzna' messengers included also Hanna Szczepanowska-Zajączkowska ('Siostra Zosi', came to France 7 March 1940) and Halina Cimino ('Siostra Zosi', 'Róża')¹⁰⁶. Before the war, the latter was the wife of Italian diplomat Idolo Cimino. She travelled to Italy, as K. Sosnowski testified before the UB, to „where we had a box, which only Ctss. Cimono knew about'. Next Sosnowski explained that this box had been located at a Polish writer's, named Loret (name NN), who had for forty years lived in Rome¹⁰⁷. H. Cimono was not allowed to carry written reports; she had to learn them by heart. Her activities included the years 1940–1941¹⁰⁸.

IH PAN, sygn. 473/69; idem, *Odtwarzanie Sił Zbrojnych Kraju* (mps, fragm. w zb. aut.); AK..., t. II, pp. 105–106 (Meldunek Organizacyjny Nr 79 za czas od I.III do I.IX 1941), pp. 465–466 (Meldunek Organizacyjny Nr 190 za czas od I.IX.42 do I.III.43); *ibid.*, t. VI, p. 155; *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, s. 280; E. Serwański, *W kręgu...*, pp. 116–118.

¹⁰³ See more: A. Pietrowicz, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”*..., pp. 51–56 i n.

¹⁰⁴ See: E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*

¹⁰⁵ See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta Śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 25.06.1949 r.).

¹⁰⁶ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 10.03.1949 r. i z 12.04.1949 r.); A. Pietrowicz, *Służba kobiet w organizacji „Ojczyzna”*, [in:] *Służba Polek na frontach II wojny światowej. Materiały sesji popularyzacyjnej w Toruniu w dniach 16–17 listopada 1996 roku*, pod red. E. Zawackiej, cz. 2: *Referaty i komunikaty*, Toruń 1998, pp. 201–207; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁷ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 10.03.1949 r.). It refers to Maciej Loret (not Loret), a diplomat, employee of the Polish embassy in Rome, politician of the National Democracy. In 1911 he became the head of the Press Bureau of the Galician National Council in Rome. See more: S. Sierpowski, *Stosunki polsko-włoskie w latach 1918–1940*, Warszawa 1975, s. 22 i n.; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 74.

¹⁰⁸ The history of the life of H. Cimino could be made into a film based on facts. K. Sosnowski met her through J. Prądyński in December 1939. Since she was quickly released after having been

In turn, A. Świerżawska came to Paris in November 1939 with a report to Minister M. Seyda. A confirmation of her mission's success was a radio signal sent from Paris: 'Regards. Zosia'¹⁰⁹. Also H. Szczepanowska-Zajączkowska successfully completed her trip, and reached the French capital in March 1940¹¹⁰. J. Rozmiarnek, however, never got to France; she died in unknown circumstances while attempting to cross the Tatras¹¹¹.

Regardless of the above-mentioned organizational reshuffle, E. Serwański made vigorous efforts to create 'Ojczyzna' structures in Kuyavia and Pomerania. He travelled to Inowrocław, where there existed a thriving 'Ojczyzna' unit founded by Aleksander Rogalski ('Aer' 'Ren', 'Remigiusz'). There, among other, in 1943, he discussed organizing 'Ojczyzna' structures in Greater Poland, Kuyavia, and Pomerania. Serwański talked with Czesław Pilichowski ('Tomasz')¹¹², Bolesław Wysocki ('Benon') and second Lt. res., Eng. Józef Fromholtz ('Franek') from the National Party. This was intended to facilitate Fromholtz's departure for Pomerania. However, an excess of work on the other end prevented him from completing this task. In the area of Inowrocław, the organizational work was carried out on instructions of Stanisław Smoczkiwicz ('Mańkowski', 'Walerian') who also maintained contact with C. Pilichowski¹¹³.

Thus 'Ojczyzna' worked mainly in the region of Greater Poland, but its cells reached the area of Silesia, Pomerania, and Kuyavia. It is said that in Pomerania the organization used the name of 'Pomeranian Ojczyzna'. It was represented, among others, by its president – Janta Połczyński and Zbigniew Łukaczyński. By various means and capabilities the 'Ojczyzna' leadership maintained contact with Pomerania, i.e. with Grudziądz and Toruń. Antoni Soldenhof-Szczuka came to Toruń twice. The meetings were held on password. Soldenhof also went to Poznań with the 'Ojczyzna' publications from Warsaw. These tasks were commissioned to him by Jerzy Smidt of the 'Ojczyzna', who drew Soldenhof's sister Janina into

arrested, the entourage of the "Ojczyzna" started to suspect her of collaborating with the Gestapo. After being released, she attempted to contact W. Grott in Warsaw. She cooperated with the Polish Division II of the Staff of the Commander in Chief. She left Poland in 1946 for fear of being arrested. She died in Canada on 2 June 1951. See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 10.03.1949 r. i 11.03.1949 r.); M. Woźniak, *Cimono Halina (1901–1951)*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ J. J. Nikisch, *Świerżawska Anna Maria*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 562–563.

¹¹⁰ Idem, *Szczepanowska-Zajączkowska Anna Beata*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 546.

¹¹¹ H. Sosnowska, *Gościńce i rozstajne drogi. Opowieść rodzinna*, Poznań 2002, pp. 67–68; M. Woźniak, *Rozmiarnek Jadwiga*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 485.

¹¹² See: Oświadczenie świadka Aleksandra Rogalskiego z 26.05.1970 r. Instytut Pamięci Narodowej. Oddział w Poznaniu; IPN-W-wa, MBP, 00231/173/27; E. Mikołajczak, *Rogalski Aleksander (1912–1996)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 4, pp. 124–126.

¹¹³ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 12.04.1949 r.); A. Smoczkiwicz, *Smoczkiwicz Stanisław*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 515–515; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 211–212; B. Ziółowski, *Tajne nauczanie i konspiracyjna działalność kulturalna na Kujawach wschodnich i w ziemi dobrzyńskiej (powiat lipnowski) w latach 1939–1945*, Włocławek 2005, pp. 119–120; Rel. E. Serwańskiego i J. J. Nikischa (w zb. aut.).

the organization¹¹⁴. The relations with Pomerania were multifaceted. For example, Włodzimierz Wnuk ('Wacek') a member of the 'Ojczyzna' and an employee of the Department of Information and Press of the Western Section, made contact with the Commandant of the Women's Military Service of the Secret Military Organization 'Gryf Pomorski', Halina Kurowska ('Kryształ'). After leaving Pomerania, she was active in 'Ojczyzna'¹¹⁵. A trusted representative of 'Ojczyzna' in Pomerania was the lawyer Tomasz Hemptowicz from Tczew. Leading figures of the Delegation of Poznań were Edward Piszcz ('Hubert') who knew Gdynia from before the war, where he worked as a journalist, and W. Grott, who knew both Gdynia and Gdańsk; they also used their relationship while working for 'Ojczyzna'. Similarly, the aforementioned S. Brzeziński used his contacts in Pomerania and performed tasks assigned by the organization. Another networking example was one of K. Sosnowski, who knew Zdzisław Jaroszewski and his brother Wiesław, the author of the '»Wiesław« Report'. The latter, on behalf of the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press, travelled to Pomerania. Both brothers were members of the 'Ojczyzna'¹¹⁶. On 23 July 1944, Warsaw hosted a meeting of 'Ojczyzna' delegates. Two resolutions were taken there. The first referred to the call for and the implementation of a directive about the demarcation of the border on the Odra and Nysa. The second ordered members of the inclusion to get involved in the process of rebuilding the country after the war¹¹⁷.

In August 1944, during the Battle of Warsaw, J. Kolipiński started the talks with representatives of „Pomeranian Ojczyzna” (including Z. Łukaczyński, Janta-Półczyński) on their closer ties with the leadership. 'Ojczyzna' was represented in the Council of National Unity (RJN) – a parliament of the Polish Underground State. It was represented by Jan Jacek Nikisch ('Jan', „Bogusław”, „Sławek”, for the

¹¹⁴ Rel. A. Soldenhofa-Szczuki (w zb. aut.).

¹¹⁵ W. Wnuk was sworn in to the „Ojczyzna” by K. Sosnowski. Comp.: List W. Wnuka z 13.05.1985 r. (w zb. aut.).

¹¹⁶ Some members of „Ojczyzna” were in touch with Gen. Michał Rola-Żymierski (Jerzy Gronowski, Julian Kopliński, who talked with him three times in Warsaw in Królewska Street). The contact concerned the territory of Pomerania. Reserve Cpt. Antoni Wiśniewski-Wiens ("A-14", "Grubski"), running the "A" network of the "Wybrzeże" group of the offensive long-distance intelligence service of the Main Headquarters of the Home Army. He also contacted Gen. Żymierski. Both Cpt. A. Wiśniewski and „Ojczyzna” members thought that Gen. "Rola" was an officer of the Home Army and represented the Pomeranian Association of Reserve Sub-Officers. In fact, he took over the information acquired by the "A" network and transmitted it to Moscow. Upon the order of the authorities of the Polish Underground State A. Wiśniewski signed the German People's List and changed his surname into Wiens-Wiśniewski. After the war in the vindication trial he was represented by J. Nikisch. He was redeemed by the Special Prosecutor's Office of the Civil Court in Poznań on 19 Dec 1945. See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., Protokół przesłuchania J. Nikischa z 16.03.1949 r. i K. Sosnowskiego z 13.07.1949 r.); AMS, Akta A. Wiśniewskiego-Wiensa, sygn. Z-II-7; B. Chrzanowski, *Wiśniewski Antoni (1892–1955)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 2, pp. 175–177; Rel. J. Kolipińskiego, E. Serwańskiego, J. Działak-Wiśniewskiej (żony), W. Przybylak (w zb. aut.).

¹¹⁷ W. Wnuk, op.cit., pp. 221–222.

Council of National Unity – ‘Sielecki’), and during the Warsaw Uprising, due to difficulties in getting to the meeting place, by Julian Kolipiński (‘Bartek’, for the Council of National Unity – ‘Olszewski’). After the fall of the Warsaw Uprising between October and December 1944, in Milanówek, J. Kolipiński together with J. J. Nikisch, E. Męclewski, and E. Serwański edited the paper ‘Ojczyzna’. In it, they propagated the idea of the return of Poland of the Western and Northern Territories. Five issues of the magazine were published. Other printed magazines were ‘Polish Culture’ and ‘Social Policy’ issued by priest Maximilian Rode¹¹⁸.

In contrast to the members of the SN, the Labour Party escaped the serious repressions of the occupier. Later, while forming the District Government Delegation apparatus, the influences of both National Party and the Labour Party crossed. The organizational potential of both parties was used. Particularly active was A. Antczak¹¹⁹. In addition to A. Antczak and F. Rochowiak, another Labour Party activist should be mentioned once again – Stefan Brzeziński. He was associated with the Western Territories, including Pomerania, and worked at the Office of the West, and sustained communication with Warsaw. Bronisław Krzemiński from Toruń is also worth mentioning. Brzeziński became the Labour Party representative in Greater Poland¹²⁰. He spoke for the SP in the District Government Delegation in Poznań. Poznań’s organization of the Labour Party maintained close contact with emerging centres of the party in Pomerania. As, for example, with Bydgoszcz, where they sought to create an SP branch, or in Toruń¹²¹. Apart from the activities of A. Antczak, F. Rochowiak, S. Brzeziński, and other members of the Labour Party within the framework of the Regional Delegation of the Government for Poland, and organizing cells of the party in Świecie, Chełmno, Tczew, Starogard Gdański and Wejherowo, little is known about the work of the SP in Pomerania. While characterizing the political parties in the country, the Chief Commander

¹¹⁸ See: AAN, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Trzeciej Rzeszy, mf 25168, sygn. 1628; Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 1; AMS, Akta „Ojczyzny”, sygn. Z-II-1-45; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. 1, Protokół z przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 3.04.1948 r.); J. J. Nikisch, „Ojczyzna”, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 401; idem, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”...*, pp. 184–207; E. Serwański, *Organizacja niepodległościowa...*, pp. 91–102; A. Pietrowicz, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”...*, p. 56; Rel. J. Kolipińskiego, J. J. Nikischa, E. Serwańskiego (w zb. aut.).

¹¹⁹ See more: G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, s. 77 i n. See also: W. Bujak, *Historia Stronnictwa Pracy 1937–1946–1950*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 44–49; A. Andrusiewicz, *Stronnictwo Pracy 1937–1950. Ze studiów nad dziejami najnowszych chadecji w Polsce*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 136–139; W. Łęcki, *Geneza i ewolucja myśli społecznej Stronnictwa Pracy (1937–1993)*, Toruń 2009, pp. 33–72.

¹²⁰ See: A. Andrusiewicz, op.cit., pp. 111, 441; W. Bujak, op.cit., pp. 20, 62.

¹²¹ See: Przyczynki do dziejów konspiracji polskiej w latach 1939–1945. Z relacji Stefana Brzezińskiego zamieszkałego w Poznaniu. Spisał E. Serwański, 1957, IZ-Poznań, Dok. III-60 (relacje z działalności konspiracyjnej na Ziemiach Zachodnich E. Serwański zaczął spisywać po Październiku 1956 r.); Rel. E. Serwańskiego (w zb. aut.). See also: E. Serwański, *Wielkopolska...*, pp. 468–469; A. Czubiński, Z. Szymankiewicz, *Konspiracja wielkopolska 1939–1945 (Zarys dziejów)*, Poznań 1988, p. 17 i n.

Gen. ZWZ S. Rowecki notified Gen. K. Sosnkowski on the arrival of the Labour Party emissaries to Pomerania. He criticized their conspiratory technique, which he thought threatening to the safety of underground work. He did not specify, however, what this carelessness entailed¹²². In another document, presumably from the Office of Information and Propaganda KG AK, there is a laconic mention of the Warsaw arrests of, among others, members of this party from Pomerania. It reads: "The arrests of members of the Labour Party are still in progress and acc. to an ex MP 5, 263, 395, 445, 5, 181 [Antczak – B.Ch.] are carried out on the basis of either longer surveillance, or indications by provocative agents. On 9 February the owner of the restaurant »Nasza« (Złota Street, corner of Zielona Street) was arrested with his family, staff and guests. The owner came from Bydgoszcz, among the guests were many Pomeranians. Members of the Labour Party met at this location."¹²³

The picture of the political configuration in Pomerania remained, as presented, without substantial changes throughout the occupation. All the parties with a greater or lesser effect sought to reach this difficult region. They tried to influence Pomeranian society and keep them in good spirits during these difficult years. References were made to the tradition of struggle with the Teutonic Order by the Lizard Union in that period. It was pointed out, admittedly, in a tone of pathos that „The underground of combative Pomerania is teeming with a strong current of Polish life, murmuring as the subsoil waters, like the glow under the ashes – keeps watch over the Polish life near the coast."¹²⁴

¹²² AK..., vol. I, p. 452 (Meldunek Nr 52. Raport o sytuacji wewnętrznej Nr 1/41 do dnia 31.I.41 r.).

¹²³ Actually in the night of 19–20 Jan 1942 the Gestapo arrested some members of the Labour Party. One of them was the leading activists at the central level of the Labour Party Franciszek kwieciński. After those arrests in Feb 1942 in a secret site in a flat in Plac Zawiszy in Warsaw there was a meeting of Antoni Antczak, Zygmunt felczak, Józef Kwasiborski and Stefan Kaczorowski. They discussed the future of the party. Antoni Antczak became the president of the party at home. They remained in touch with the party's authorities in London throughout all the occupation period. See: AAN, Akta KG AK, mf 2388/3; *Przyczynki do dziejów...*, IZ-Poznań, Dok. III-60; W. Bartoszewski, *1859 dni Warszawy*, Kraków 1984, p. 268; K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu...*, p. 285; A. Andrusiewicz, op.cit., pp. 150, 194; W. Bujak, op.cit., p. 72.

¹²⁴ AAN, Akta DR Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/8, sygn. 202-III-166.

POMERANIA IN THE OPERATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FOR POLAND

1. Creation of the civilian-political apparatus at home

After the cessation of fighting at the turn of September–October 1939, the Polish authorities were forced to leave the country. However, in accordance with international law, sovereignty of a country does not end with foreign occupation¹²⁵. As early as 1 September 1939, the Council of Ministers introduced a state of emergency throughout the country, but on the same day President Ignacy Mościcki, declared martial law on the territory of the Republic of Poland¹²⁶.

As early as on 30 September 1939 the new Government of the Republic of Poland (RP) was appointed in accordance with the Constitution of 23 April 1935, referred to as the April Constitution. The Government was the extension of the state and received international recognition, as it held representative offices in dozens of countries, though not all countries maintained diplomatic relations with it. Therefore, the constitutional continuity of the Polish state was maintained. The Polish government was also supported by the great majority of the Polish population¹²⁷. A wide

¹²⁵ G. Jellinek defined the state as a body consisting of three basic factors: territory, population and the highest authority playing the representative role on the international stage; the territory and population constitute the subject of international law, whilst the authority should be considered in legal terms in force in a given state. Cited after: J. Paśnik, *Status prawny Delegata Rządu na Kraj*, Warszawa 1991, p. 11 and other works by this author. See also: G. Jellinek, *Ogólna nauka o państwie*, Warszawa 1921, p. 50; S. Zabiełło, *O rząd i granice. Walka dyplomatyczna o sprawę polską w II wojnie światowej*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 8–10.

¹²⁶ In this way, all the regulations of the state of emergency lost their legal force. See more about the state's structures and the legal system of the Second Polish republic. See: G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 25–31 i n.

¹²⁷ Even communists from the Polish Workers' Party recognized the government of Gen. Sikorski (though with some reservations). See: P. Gontarczyk, *Polska Partia Robotnicza. Droga do władzy 1941–1944*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 126–127.

social approval was given, including in Pomerania, to the Polish Underground State (PPP)¹²⁸. Its structures were created in the occupied territories and annexed at the turn of 1939/1940. As mentioned earlier, the lost campaign in autumn 1939 did not weaken the spirits or the will to struggle for independence. In the occupied country, there began to form a large number of underground organizations. The overwhelming majority of them subjected themselves to the Polish Underground State, both militarily and as civilians. The military department of the Government of the Republic of Poland was the Union of Armed Struggle, and, from February 1942, the Home Army. The civil-political side was represented by the Government Delegation for Poland and the Political Consultative Committee (PKP), which was brought to life on 26 February 1940, and had representatives of the main political forces, the so-called thick four, namely: the National Party (SN), the Labour Party (SP), the People's Party (SL) and the Polish Socialist Party – PPS ('Freedom–Equality–Independence' – 'WRN'). On 18 June 1940, PKP was declared by the Polish government, the political representative of the underground leadership and on 21 March 1943 converted into the National Political Representation (KRP). The next step in the expansion of the underground political representation was the establishment of the Council of National Unity (RJN) on 1 September 1944. The body included representatives of: SN, SP, SL, PPS-WRN, the organization 'Ojczyzna', the Peasant Organization of Freedom 'Racławice', the Association of Democrats, the clergy and cooperatives¹²⁹. Its formative document was the Declaration of National Unity programme from 15 March 1944 – 'What the Polish Nation fights for' – which contained the basic concepts of political transformation, internal policy, external borders and the future of Poland¹³⁰.

The organisation of civilian structures in the country which had been overrun by both the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, and then annexed and occupied, began as early as at the end of September 1939. In the framework of the Service for Poland's Victory (SZP), in accordance with the decree of the President of the Polish Republic from 9 January 1939 – 'On the exercise of sovereignty over the Armed Forces, on the organization of the chief military authorities, and on civil commissioners from the time of appointment of the Commander in Chief', civil commissioners were assigned at various Army Corps military districts. Ac-

¹²⁸ The term was used in Warsaw from January 1944, and in London the Polish authorities in exile used it from December 1943. See more: A. K. Kunert, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 226–227 i n.

¹²⁹ See: G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 72–75, 105–116, 159–165; W. Borodziej, A. Chmielarz, A. Friszke, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 363–364, 376–377; A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, pp. 43, 189, 276–277.

¹³⁰ AAN, Akta Rady Jedności Narodowej, sygn. 199/2; AK..., vol. III, Londyn 1976, pp. 361–369 (Deklaracja Rady Jedności Narodowej); W. Grabowski, *Rada Jedności Narodowej – parlament Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość, 2002, nr 2, pp. 67–93; B. Chrzanowski, *Miejsce Polski w Europie – koncepcje Rządu RP podczas II wojny światowej i ich realizacja w kraju*, [in:] *Centra i peryferia globalne oraz regionalne w systemie stosunków międzynarodowych*, „Cywilizacja i Polityka” 2010, nr 8, pp. 149–159.

cordingly, the Chief Commanders SZP sought to appoint civil commissioners. On 10 October 1939, the Central Political Council of the Service for Poland's Victory was established. It included representatives of the Polish Socialist Party, People's Party, the National Party and the Democratic Party¹³¹.

The Government Delegation for Poland was therefore a civilian arm of the Polish government. Expansive, three-organizational units were subordinated to it; they were 1) at a central level: surrogate ministry departments; 2) at voivodeship level, regional structures: the Regional Delegation; 3) at county-level: the structure of the district subject to the Regional Delegations. Organizing the civilian structures continued in the occupied country throughout 1940, but essentially, they were created in the years 1941–1942¹³².

A delegate took over the Delegate Office, which included sections and departments. The Delegate Office was the equivalent of the government and its competence corresponded to the competence of the Cabinet Office. On 5 March 1944, by decree, the President of the Republic of Poland established the National Council of Ministers with the Deputy Prime Minister, the Delegate of the Government Stanisław Jankowski as head¹³³.

The activity of the departments was coordinated by the Executive Section, the Presidium Office (crypts. „Ul”, „Wieża”, „500/P”), which maintained a connection with the Polish government in exile. Based on materials sent from each department, the Office prepared, among others, reports for the Polish government in London. The Executive Section (Presidium) together with the Finance–Budget Section („Bak”, „Źródło”, „700”), the Control Section („Izba”, „Nik”, „710”) and the Section (Department) of Liquidation of the Effects of the War („Finis”, „Stop”, „580/L”) – they were called presidium.

The organizational structure of the Delegation included departments which were focused on current operations, as well as those concentrated on economic issues. It also contained those departments and cells, to which it is difficult to apply a stringent criteria of division¹³⁴. The first group included departments of Internal Affairs („Ład”, „Sieć”, „Rój”, „510/W”), Information and Press¹³⁵ („Iskra”, „Antena”, „600/PP”), Education and Culture („Tęcza”, „Pochodnia”, „620/OK”), Labour and

¹³¹ About the original stage of the creation of the civilian structures see: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 18–40 (rec.: B. Chrzanowski, ZH, 2006, z. 2–3, pp. 230–237); G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 42–56; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 22–70. See also: *Polskie Siły Zbrojne w drugiej wojnie światowej*, vol. I: *Kampania wrześniowa 1939*, cz. I: *Polityczne i wojskowe położenie Polski przed wojną*, Londyn 1951, pp. 345–349; J. Paśnik, op.cit., pp. 25, 39–31 i n.

¹³² See more: G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 121–208; idem, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 103–155; J. Paśnik, op.cit., pp. 110–112.

¹³³ G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 166–168; A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, pp. 303–304.

¹³⁴ This division was introduced by W. Grabowski in the publication cited above *Polska tajna...*, p. 5 i n.

¹³⁵ See: AAN, Akta DR, mf 2201/1II, sygn. 202/I/1; IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu Londyńskiego. Kryptonim „Indeks” (further: Delegatura Rządu...), sygn. 01355/155/1; W. Grabowski, *Polska taj-*

Welfare („Praca”, „Radość”, „530/OP”), the Directorate of Civil Resistance („Czyn”, „720”). The second group consisted of: the Department of Agriculture („Krzew” „Rola” „540/R”), the Treasury („Safes”, „Żyro”, „550/SK”), Industry and Trade („Huta”, „Kopalnia”, „560/H”), Posts and Telegraphs („Awizo”, „Przekaz”, „570/T”), Communications („Ruch”, „Most”, „590/K”), Public Works and Reconstruction („Przyszłość”, „Wizja”, „610/OD”), the Economic Committee („730”) and the National Council for Reconstruction. The third group were: the Department of Justice (and Legislation) („Waga”, „Zwierciadło”, „520/S”), Section (Department) of Foreign Affairs („Moc”, „630/Z”), the Department of National Defence, Nationality Council – Nationality Office („Zgoda”, „740”), The Coordination Committee for Legislation, the Central Commission for Investigation and Documentation of the Crimes by the Occupying Forces in Poland, a Cell to Aid the English Prisoners of War. Moreover, there also functioned cells which closely cooperated with the Delegation of the Government, and made use of their human resources, such as the Council to Aid the Jews („730”), or a cell „West” leading activities among prisoners of war and Polish forced labourers in the Reich¹³⁶.

2. The Department of Information and Press and the Department of Interior Affairs

The apparatus of the Delegation extended almost over the entire area of the annexed and occupied country: the western and northern territories, the General Government, and the eastern regions (the latter in the second half of 1941). The management of the above-mentioned departments were located in Warsaw, but their envoys often travelled, collecting information and doing research about the possibility of creating organizational structures. The greatest interest in the Western Territories, including Pomerania, was shown by the Department of Information and Press and by the Department of Internal Affairs. Pomerania was reached, although in a much lesser extent, by the cells subordinated directly to individual Departments of the Government Delegation in Warsaw. And although they would mostly operate outside the local Regional Government Delegation, they sometimes collaborated.

As part of the Department of Information and Labour, whose director throughout the occupation was Stanisław Kauzik („Dołęga”, „Jezierski”, „Modrze-

na..., p. 215; G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 121, 184 i n.; idem, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, p. 170.

¹³⁶ See more: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 166–171; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomoc w świetle dokumentów...*, pp. 5–6; *Obóz koncentracyjny Oświęcim w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, Zeszyty Oświęcimskie, nr specjalny (I), 1968, s. VII; *Encyklopedia II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1975, p. 117; Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk (dalej: IH PAN), Relacja J. Michalewskiego – emisariusza do kraju na przełomie 1939–1940, sygn. A 338/68; AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyalne, mf 2201/1II, sygn. 202/I/1. See: podrozdział 7.

wski”) operated in two Sections: the Western („Chrobry”, „Piaś”, „6006”)¹³⁷, and the Eastern („6007”). These sections developed reports on the occupation in the western and eastern parts of Poland¹³⁸.

Initially, the director of the Western Section was Kirił Sosnowski¹³⁹, and then, from 15 March 1943, Edmund Męclewski („Andrzej”, „Andrzejewski”, „Maciejewski”, „Maciejewski Andrzej” „Poradnia” crypts. „1”, „11”)¹⁴⁰. The Head of the information service of the Western Section from the autumn of 1943 (October–November) was E. Serwański¹⁴¹.

The core of the Western Section, created on 15 August 1942, were employees of the information and propaganda apparatus of the aforementioned organization, „Ojczyzna” and the Office of the West. This organization published „The Western Newsletter” („Be Zet”) containing news from the Western Territories, including Pomerania. Reports of the Western Territories were drafted, among others, by K. Sosnowski. The contacts of his organization with the clergy proved useful. Thanks to this, in Warsaw there was a meeting between E. Serwański and „a conspiratorial band of priests displaced from the Western Territories”¹⁴². The priests got involved to work on collecting materials and following issues which referred to the incorporated territories, especially those concerning the Catholic Church. E. Serwański also established contact with the Poznań bishop suffragan Walenty

¹³⁷ See: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/1 II, sygn. 202/I/1; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/2, sygn. 01355/95, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 013355/153/1; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 188, 558.

¹³⁸ A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, pp. 271–292; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 226–229; idem, *Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 104–105; G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 121, 184–188; idem, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, p. 170; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, pp. 53–58; idem, *Cywilne struktury...*, 150–155; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 6–12.

¹³⁹ Arrested on 13 April 1944 in Warsaw at 14/3 Skorupki Street as Bronisław Palecki along with Włodzimierz Głowacki („Paweł”) and several other workers of the Department of Information and Press. On 24 May 1944 they were transported to the concentration camp in Stutthof where they were given the numbers 35 760 and 35 903. In the personal file of the prisoner the cause of the arrest was that “he ran an anti german activity and is a member of the Information Division of the Government Delegation”. The Gestapo knew quite a lot about the structures of the Delegation. See: AMS, *Teczka personalna*, sygn. I-III-11609, I-III-17580, I-III-4581; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 236; R. Domańska, *Pawiak. Więzienie gestapo. Kronika 1939–1944*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 446, 462, 465; Rel. W. Głowackiego (w zb. aut.).

¹⁴⁰ He worked for the organization „Ojczyzna”. He also set up the Union of Western Journalists in Warsaw, members of which were among others journalists from Greater Poland. K. Sosnowski also participated in the courses for journalists. IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół z przesłuchania J. Nikischa, 8.03.1949 r.); Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01222/3051; J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie...*, pp. 109.

¹⁴¹ He was asked to take the post by E. Męclewski in the summer of 1943. See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 2.04.1948 r., 4.01.1949 r., 1.02.1949 r., 11.04.1949 r.); E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 85; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 226–228.

¹⁴² E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 85 i n.

Dymek and gave him the nickname „Peter”. He was also introduced into the matters of the Western Territories¹⁴³. The Western Section included other activists of the „Ojczyzna”: Stanisław Roskosz („Franek”), Zbigniew Sadkowski („Zbyszek”), Tadeusz Kraszewski („Marek”), Alojzy Targ („Marcin”), Zbyszko Bednorz („Józek”), Włodzimierz Wnuk („Wacek”), Lt. reserve Antonin Spandowski („Michał”), Dionizy Wesolek („Smętek”), Aleksander Rogalski („Remigiusz”), and others¹⁴⁴. Gathering information took place in very difficult conditions of occupation which influenced the quality of the factual material. A memo of 5 October 1942, sent to the department director S. Kauzik, with the first „Report on the situation in the Western Territories No. 1/30.IX.42”, contained an explanation for the causes of any shortcomings in the material¹⁴⁵. The enormous difficulties in obtaining materials from the Western Territories and Pomerania were also referred to in some reports. The psychological aspect played a role as well. Namely, providing moral support for the society of the Western Territories and resisting the mood of panic and despair¹⁴⁶.

For organizational purposes the annexed areas were divided and labelled as follows: Silesia – I, Greater Poland – II, Łódź – III, Pomerania – IV. As Clerk of the Pomeranian Section (in one of the Western Section reports it is referred to as the Pomeranian Department) probably served Wiesław Jaroszewski. Following his arrest on 13 September 1943, the post was taken over by Dionizy Wesolek („Smętek”, „Pribe”) ¹⁴⁷. He was a pre-war editor of the „The Bydgoszcz Journal”, and had extensive contacts in Pomerania, which greatly facilitated his work. He supplied information from Pomerania, which was formulated into records and reports concerning the whole of the Western Territories. Wesolek frequently made use of accounts of people coming to the capital¹⁴⁸. The organizational difficulties in Pomerania featured in W. Jaroszewski’s Report of IV, which was cited earlier. As is now known, he was critical of many issues in Pomerania. He stated that some structures of the Polish Underground did not stand up to their task there. Jaroszewski’s assessment

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ See more: A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, p. 270 i n. See also: idem, *Działalność informacyjna i dokumentacyjna Głównej Delegatury Rządu RP dla ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy (1940–1941)*, [in:] *Działalność informacyjna Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, pod red. W. Grabowskiego, Warszawa 2003, pp. 42–57; W. Grabowski, *Departament Informacji i Dokumentacji Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, ibid., pp. 13–41; idem, *Polska tajna...*, p. 219.

¹⁴⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2271/4, sygn. 202/III-204. See also: Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, mf 202/III-135 (Najpilniejsze sprawy S.Z.), where the information about arrests in the summer of 1943 was included. Comp. also: A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, p. 280.

¹⁴⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-31.

¹⁴⁷ Comp. : IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 12.04.1948 r.); AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-136, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148.

¹⁴⁸ See: E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 85. See also: IPN BU, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 3.04.1948 r. i z 26.08.1949 r.); W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 228

is too harsh, though, and does not take into account the specificity and operational difficulties the Polish Underground State apparatus faced in that region¹⁴⁹.

Therefore, the Information Service was held in the Government Delegation district of Pomerania, ensuring an appropriate level of collected materials. Employees of the Western Section were very knowledgeable and had extensive experience in organization. Thus, they collected a considerable amount of information material, which today constitutes a valuable resource for historians and political scientists, who take up the issue of the Western Territories during World War II. The source material includes information on the following issues: legal and judicial, direct extermination, indirect extermination, the camp system (including the Stutthof camp, Potulice, and others), ethnic, demographic, and economic information, the Polish Underground and Polish Underground State, the Catholic Church, and others¹⁵⁰. At that time the material was also a source of information for the Government Delegation and for underground publications (underground press and books by the Polish Underground State, as well as many military-political organization of the Polish Underground). Drawing from the reports, individual Departments prepared extracts of their own interest. The submitted reports were a very important source of information for the Government of the Republic of Poland. Generally, they were fully reproduced and forwarded to individual Ministries, i.e. of the Interior, of Congress, Information, Foreign Affairs, and National Defence, as well as to Polish diplomatic missions to be used in a way consistent with the work of the ministry. Apart from that, on the basis of the material sent in from the country, the Polish government informed the allies of the terror in Poland under the occupation¹⁵¹.

3. Documentary work by the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press and the Department of Internal Affairs

The preserved documentation of the Western Section is a reflection of the tremendous work that the employees of the Department put into collecting information from the annexed areas, as well as from the territories which belonged to the pre-war Polish state. It is also an extremely valuable source of knowledge about the years of the occupation (annexation). Monthly reports from the Western

¹⁴⁹ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół z przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 11.04.1949 r.). Ibid., Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01222/3051; AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154 (Raport z IV...), mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148.

¹⁵⁰ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół z przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 11.04.1949 r.). Ibid., Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01222/3051; AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154 (Raport z IV...), mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148.

¹⁵¹ Employees of the Western Section (like in other departments) were employed by the Department of Information and Press. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, mf 2266/2, sygn. 202/III-4.

Territories, Western Pomerania, and East Prussia were sent to Warsaw and then by the courier service of the Delegation to London. The reports were developed, among others, by the head of Courier Service of the Western Section at the Information Department for Pomerania, Antoni Spandowski¹⁵² („Zbigniew”, „Michał”, „Michał Michalski”, „Antek”). In addition to D. Wesołek and W. Jaroszewski, an emissary collecting messages from Pomerania was also watchmaker Kaszubowski (name NN). Everyone stayed permanently in Warsaw. Sometimes informants were random people. Emissaries of the Delegation travelled to larger urban centers in Pomerania: Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Brodnica, Grudziądz, Gdańsk, Gdynia and Wejherowo. The result of these trips were reports of daily life in Pomerania. However, more material was collected from Greater Poland than from Pomerania, where the conditions for the collection of information were much more difficult the reports ranged from a few to a few dozen pages. The above-mentioned trips facilitated the development of the following: „The organizational report of the emissary's departure to the area of Pomerania (9–17.04.43): Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Brodnica, Grudziądz, Gdańsk, Gdynia, Wejherowo, the Baltic areas” and „Report on the situation in the period between December 1942 and January 1943” (see the chapter on political parties), „Interview with an agricultural worker from the area of the Free City of Gdańsk”, „Report from Pomerania and Gdynia”, „Miscellaneous news from Bydgoszcz”, and others. Occasionally, letters written from the Western Territories to the families living in General Government were used¹⁵³.

A document dated 10 June 1944, and passed through the Government Delegate Stanisław Jankowski to the Polish Prime Minister Stanisław Mikołajczyk contained a very positive summary of the work conducted by the Western Section at the Department of Information and Press¹⁵⁴. The paper emphasized the need for a particular treatment of the occupied areas of the General Government and the Western Territories. Therefore, a different technique of conspiracy should be applied there than in the General Government; thus adapting it to the real situation in the annexed areas. Documents containing information from the Western Territories, including Pomerania, and which were sent to London, mostly carried the title: *Pro memoria* (preserved are 29 reports covering the period between

¹⁵² It was underlined that there was a division into the military pillar and the civilian pillar. K. Sosnowski testified in the Security Bureau (UB) that “Any intelligence service of military nature was totally excluded from the tasks of the »department of information« and belonged exclusively to the Home Army, while other pieces of information that I have provided came from the »Department of Information« [transl. A.C]. Comp.: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 25.06.1949 r.); MSW, sygn. 1571/142; AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-27, vol. 2.

¹⁵³ He remained in touch with K. Sosnowski and Antoni Antczak, whom he had met before the war. He also delivered *Rzeczpospolita Polska* and *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczpospolitej* to individual posts of the Home Army in Warsaw, e.g. in Żłota street. See: Rel. A. Spandowskiego (w zb. aut.).

¹⁵⁴ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-137.

May–June 1941 to April–May 1944.)”.¹⁵⁵ Overview of the most important events in the country, Monthly reviews of records and situation reports of all matters relating to the territories annexed to the Reich, Report on the political situation, telegrams, situation reports, Report on the situation in the Western Territories”, annexes to the reports, From Western Poland, Current information, Western information, Information from the Western Territories of the Republic of Poland Be Zet, From the Western Poland the Be Zet Information Service, Chronicle of the Western Territories for a »Home« Agency, Announcement of the Western Territories, Reports about the situation in the Western Territories, The Western Territories. Terrain Overview, Weekly Review, Regional Overview, Nationality Information, Statements, Reports, Reporting period, Press under the occupation, German press Overview, Western Territories in the German press, and others.”

A lot of documents have been preserved showing the situation in the areas incorporated into the Third Reich. Accordingly, „Reports about the situation in the Western Territories” cover the period between September 1942 and June 1944.

¹⁵⁵ They were published in the publishing house under the title *Pro Memoria (1941–1944). Raporty Departamentu Informacji Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj o zbrodniach na narodzie polskim, wybór i oprac. J. Gmitruk, A. Indraszczyk, A. Koseski, Warszawa–Pułtusk 2004–2005*. It is a very valuable publication which facilitates extensive research. It includes entry numbers of individual documents, surnames and geographical names, the list of the most important prisons and camps, the most important organizations and institutions, people appearing in the published documents. However, the list of the enclosed documents is missing. The publication constitutes the continuation of the works conducted at the end of the 1960s, in the 1970s and 80s, which was not recorded here. Comp. e.g. *Obóz koncentracyjny w Oświęcimiu w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, wybór i opr. K. Marczevska, W. Ważniewski, *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie*, numer specjalny (I), Oświęcim 1968; K. Marczevska, W. Ważniewski, *Obóz koncentracyjny na Majdanku w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1973, t. 7; I. Caban, Z. Mańkowski, *Informacje o obozie na Majdanku w aktach Delegatury Rządu*, *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 1976, t. 2; W. Ważniewski, *Treblinka w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu na Kraj*, *Biuletyn Głównej komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce*, 1968, t. 19; J. Marszałek, *Rozpoznanie obozów śmierci w Bełżcu, Sobiborze i Treblince przez wywiad Armii Krajowej i Delegatury Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj*, *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu*, 1993, t. 35; *Raport komórki więziennej Delegatury Rządu z 1944 r. o Pawiaku, Oświęcimiu, Majdanku, Ravensbrück*, *Najnowsze Dzieje Polski*, 1968, t. 12; *Zbiór raportów Komórki Więziennej i Międzyorganizacyjnego Porozumienia Więziennego (fragmenty)*, *Kultura*, 1965, nr 33; K. Fiszman-Kamińska, *Zachód, emigracyjny rząd polski oraz Delegatura w świetle sprawy żydowskiej podczas II wojny światowej (w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu)*, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1967, nr 62; W. Sulewski, *Śląsk w walce, w oczach Delegatury Rządu (emigracyjnego)*, *Poglądy*, 1966, nr 1; W. Ważniewski, *Akta Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj jako źródło do badania zbrodni hitlerowskich*, [in:] *Stan i perspektywy badań w zakresie zbrodni hitlerowskich*, t. II, Warszawa 1973; J. Pietras, *Okupacja Bydgoszczy w latach 1942–1944 w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu Londyńskiego*, *Prace Komisji Historycznej*, 1975, t. II; B. Chrzanowski, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej i żydowskiej...*; idem, *Stan wiedzy o sądownictwie, więziennictwie i obozach na Pomorzu w świetle wydawnictw podziemnych oraz dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, [in:] *Referaty i komunikaty na sesję popularnonaukową: Formy i rozmiary eksterminacji ludności polskiej na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, cz. I, Gdańsk–Elbląg 1982; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Stutthof w świetle dokumentów Delegatury...*; idem, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP...* i in.

They carry numbers and reporting periods. The reports were systematically accompanied by additional numbered annexes extending their thematic scope¹⁵⁶. Moreover, at least 27 issues of „The Western Information” were edited, as well as at least 22 numbers of „Chronicles of the Western Territories” for the agency »Country«. Manually drawn documents have also been preserved. Sometimes they were numbered and contain the information about the system and the German terror in Pomerania¹⁵⁷.

Records of the occupying authorities’ regulations were also kept. They date from 1 September 1939, including the criminal law of 6 June 1940 and 12 April 1941, at the same time demonstrating their deplorable function. Some of the regulations were translated into Polish. Reviews of the German press were also made. If needed, they were made available to the Delegation departments they related to, or published in the underground press. The German press reviews were also made up¹⁵⁸.

The Western Section of the Department of Information and Press also made a number of reports from Pomerania, which were then placed in the archive, which was located in Warsaw. The reports presented a shocking picture of the German terror that prevailed in the Western Territories, also in Pomerania. Some of them were published as articles in the underground press, mainly „The Western Territories of the Republic.” The following materials serve as examples: *Martyrdom and triumph of the Polish language* – referring to the practices of the elimination of the Polish language in the light of the whole process of Germanization. *There is no Great Poland without Great Pomerania, The day of reckoning has come, Pioneers of barbarism* – referring to the liquidation of Polish culture, books, libraries in Pomerania, among others in Bydgoszcz and Gdynia, Poznań and Toruń – a comparative reportage from both cities against the problem of Germanization. It included the German National List, the lack of Polish schools, the prohibition of hearing church confessions in Polish, and others. This correspondence was published in

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 1, 2. Por. także: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/2, sygn. 202/III-140, 143, 144, 145, 146; IPN-W-wa, Rząd Emigracyjny w kraju, sygn. 1571/136. Like *Pro memoria*, *Raporty* came out in a form of a source publication. It includes the list of surnames and places. However, there are no entries of published documents, no list of contents and no reference to any earlier works connected with those documents of the Government Delegation. See: *Ziemie Zachodnie, październik 1942–czerwiec 1944. Raporty Sekcji Zachodniej Delegatury Rządu na Kraj o sytuacji ludności polskiej i polityce okupanta niemieckiego*, wyb. i opr. M. Adamczyk, J. Gmitruk, W. Ważniewski, Warszawa 2004. See also: *Raporty z ziem wcielonych do Rzeszy (1942–1944)*, pod red. Z. Mazura, A. Pietrowicz, M. Rutowski, Poznań 2004.

¹⁵⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/2, sygn. 202/III-147.

¹⁵⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/16, sygn. 202/I/-52 (Korespondencja z Departamentami), mf 2201/2, sygn. 202/I-6, 11, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-157, Departament Informacji i Prasy, mf 2266/3II, sygn. 202/III-8, t. 2. Departament Sprawiedliwości, mf 2282/1, sygn. 202/IV-1; IPN-W-wa, MSW, sygn. 1571/141. See also: sygn. 1571/138, 139.

the underground newspaper „The Western Territories of the Republic.” Another article printed in the same newspaper should be mentioned: *Let's rename Stutthof to Bolt[hof]* was based on materials stored in the archives of the Western Section. This is the first and only such extensive account of the Stutthof camp which appeared in the underground press. It describes the first months of the camp and the tragic death – even martyrdom of Fr. Senator Felix Bolt. There are also other studies documenting the living conditions of prisoners in the camp of Stutthof, such as: „The tragic ovy vey (Against the background of memories from Stutthof)” – depicting the fate of Polish and Jewish prisoners, and „Prisoner's dream (an excerpt from the experience of a concentration camp)”. The author of all studies about the Stutthof camp was a former prisoner, Włodzimierz Wnuk, a member of the „Ojczyzna”, who was arrested in Gdynia in 1939. He lived in camps Stutthof and Mauthausen-Gusen, and after his release, wrote his memories on commission of the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press at the Government Delegation. There he also conducted so-called emotional propaganda, which consisted of publishing military operations, i.e. air or sea, with a particular emphasis on the contribution of Polish Armed Forces in winning the fight against the Navy (Kriegsmarine) and Luftwaffe¹⁵⁹.

According to the „Report on the care of prisoners in the camps abroad, except Auschwitz, in the months of May and June 1944”, addressed to the Delegation, in the framework of the Inter-organizational Prison Agreement – a social institution cooperating with the Government Delegation – some prisoners of the Stutthof camp were covered by the so-called Stutthof packet delivery action¹⁶⁰. Relatively little has been written about the Stutthof camp itself, although information about it can be found among the documents of the Delegation, dating from as early as December 1941¹⁶¹. Exceptions are the aforementioned article devoted to Father. F. Bolt and the two other reports by W. Wnuk cited earlier. The difficulties in reaching this camp, due to its location, meant that more has been written, e.g. about the camps in Potulice and Smukała, where it was easier to contact the prisoners and get accounts about the prevailing conditions. Therefore even the smallest mention of Stutthof was of great importance. Thus, the military report of 10 May 1942 indicated that the camp had been in operation since September 1939: „Concentration

¹⁵⁹ Those facts were published on the basis of the so called airdrop materials sent from Great Britain. See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 13.07.1949 r.); AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyjne, mf 2201/1, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/1: W. Wnuk, op.cit., pp. 15–38; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Stutthof w świetle dokumentów Delegatury...*, pp. 180–185; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja. Rządu RP...*, pp. 57. List W. Wnuka z 13.05.1985 r. (w zb. aut.).

¹⁶⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/4, sygn. 202/II-20; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 12.04.1948 r.); W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 226–228.

¹⁶¹ See e.g. AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyjne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-30 (*Pro memoria* o sytuacji w kraju w okresie 1 listopada–15 grudnia 1941 r.).

camp for Poles existing since September 1939 in Stutthof near Gdańsk is increasingly growing empty, because all the prisoners are gradually dying out"¹⁶².

Thus both the Department of Information and Press, as well as the Department of Internal Affairs, prepared comprehensive reports on the dramatic situation of Pomerania under the occupation¹⁶³.

Numerous reports spoke of mass executions carried out by the Wehrmacht and Gestapo. Although they did not know the name of the „Group of Operational Security Police and Security Service,” they correctly recognized that after the German army, police detachments ensued, and carried out mass arrests and executions. The reports mention Bydgoszcz (among others the so-called Bloody Sunday events between 3–4 September 1939¹⁶⁴), Toruń, Grudziądz¹⁶⁵.

A lot of space was devoted to executions, often carried out under court judgments, as well as to the living conditions of prisoners, including the already mentioned Potulice and Smukała as well as those in Pomeranian prisons. The records also asserted the situation of the Catholic Church and various forms of indirect extermination, i.e. the health situation, deportations, food situation etc¹⁶⁶.

The Germanization of religious life and the gradual elimination of the Polish language from church, as well as the removal of Polish religious emblems were followed anxiously. Some German clergy, and especially the bishop of Gdańsk, Carl Maria Splett, was implicitly criticized¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶² AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-30 (*Pro memoria* w sprawie sytuacji w kraju w okresie 16 marca–15 kwietnia 1942 r.). See more: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Stutthof w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 177–185; *idem*, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu...*, p. 15 i n.

¹⁶³ B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj (1942–1944)*, ZH, 1991, z. 4, pp. 103–121.

¹⁶⁴ The issue of the so called ‘bloody Sunday’ in Bydgoszcz was examined during the occupation period by K. Pospieszalski. See: list prof. K. M. Pospieszalskiego z 23.06.1998 r. (w zb. aut.). The events which took place then continue to be controversial. Comp.: *Bydgoszcz 3–4 września 1939. Studia i dokumenty*, red. nauk. T. Chinciński, P. Machcewicz, Warszawa 2008.

¹⁶⁵ See e.g. AAN, Akta DR, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III/154 (Raport z Pomorza. 1942), mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-170, where the creation of the Reich District Gdańsk-Western Prussia and the situation in this district were described.

¹⁶⁶ See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154. „Litanię” dołączono jako Załącznik Nr 5 do Raportu o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 12 (do 10 VI 44). Zob.: *Ziemia Zachodnie...*, pp. 663–664. See more: B. Chrzanowski, *Kształtowanie się nastrojów...*, pp. 43–44.

¹⁶⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, t. 1 (Raport o sytuacji na ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 5 (do 15 V 1943)), mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, t. 2 (Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 10 (grudzień 1943–styczeń 1944)), Nr 11 (styczeń–luty–15 marzec 1944)). Na temat kontrowersji wokół postawy biskupa K. M. Spletta zob.: B. Chrzanowski, *Wydawnictwa podziemne i dokumenty delegatury rządu RP na kraj o sytuacji Kościoła na Pomorzu w latach okupacji*, *Studia Pelplińskie*, 1993, t. XX, s. 33–36, 42; T. Bolduan, *Biskup Carl Maria Splett – od mitów ku prawdzie*, *ibid.*, s. 79–95; P. Raina, *Karol Maria Splett, biskup gdański na ławie oskarżonych*, Warszawa 1994; S. Bogdanowicz, *Karol Maria Splett – biskup gdański*

The Western Section of the Department of Information and Press has released a number of documents relating to the difficult issue of the German Nationality List.

Reports from Pomerania were also passed to Warsaw by envoys of the Internal Affairs Department who held contacts with the Security Department of the Regional Delegation. Even during the occupation, steps were taken to keep records of German crimes in Poland. For this purpose the Central Commission for Investigation and Documentation of the Crimes by the Occupying Forces in Poland was established, bearing the codename „Niezapominajka” [Forget-me-not]. Until then, the action of collecting documentation on war crimes was carried out by various departments of the Polish Underground. The Commission would lead to their unification. It was composed of representatives of the Departments of Internal Affairs, Justice, Information and Press, and the Directorate of Underground Resistance. A circulating missive „To Messrs. O.Ds” [Regional Delegates – ed. B.Ch.] of 29 February 1944, signed by the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs Leopold Rutkowski („Muszyński”), ordering the establishment of the Commission Delegation in each district. The Commission’s activities in the field were to be supervised by the head of the Security Department. He answered for his work to the Regional Delegate, and, in turn, the Regional Delegate to the authorities of the Delegation. Each committee was to collect, develop and properly classify materials, indicating the persons responsible for the crime, places, and dates of the offence. The following violations were listed: direct extermination (causing instant death) and indirect extermination (as a result of which followed a slow population decline and the loss of national consciousness: slave labour, the economic situation, the destruction of cultural heritage, etc.). The obtained information was to be sent to London and on their basis the Polish Government received a more complete picture of the situation in the annexed areas (including Pomerania) and the occupied territories. The next date of sending materials to Warsaw was set on 31 March 1944¹⁶⁸.

The missive was received by the head of the Security Department of the Regional Delegation, Bolesław Lipski, on 9 April 1944. He prepared its extracts and forwarded them to the lower levels of the administration. In accordance with the guidelines, he sent to Warsaw a list of names of persons responsible for crimes

czasu wojny, więzień specjalny w PRL, Gdańsk 1995; G. Erb, *Bischof von Danzig in Schwerer Zeit. Bisкуп Gdański w trudnych czasach*, Düsseldorf 2006.

¹⁶⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych (Okólnik Dyrektora Departamentu Spraw Wewnętrznych), sygn. 202/II-54, Departament Informacji i Prasy, Sekcja Zachodnia, sygn. 202/III-135, Departament Informacji i Prasy, Sekcja Wschodnia (Okólnik w sprawie rejestracji i dokumentacji zbrodni niemieckich w Polsce), sygn. 202/III-127; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-18 (Do Panów O.D-tów R.) [Do Panów Okręgowych Delegatów Rządu – przyp. B.Ch.], sygn. K-1-19; IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01355/176/1; B. Chrzanowski, *Dotychczasowe próby ustalenia strat na terenie Pomorza Gdańskiego w latach II wojny światowej*, [in:] *Wokół strat ludności pomorskiej w latach 1939–1945...*, p. 174.

committed in Pomerania. This data was sent in May, June, and September 1944, and included pictures of the graves of executed Poles. By June 1944, the Security Department had sent four lists with the names of victims, as well as the names of members of the German police and their administrative apparatus (3 May, 11 May, 25 May and 1 June 1944) – together 81 names. Further accounts were in preparation, although the Head of the Delegation Branch of Pomerania, F. Rochowiak, held the opinion that disclosing the names of German criminals could expose the local population to repressions. These letters reached Warsaw. Information about the terror was also added to organisational military reports. Regional Delegate A. Antczak was interested in the situation in Pomerania and during talks with the envoys of the [Government Delegation Branch] ODR, Stefan Stempniewski and Marian Hegenbarth, for example, raised issues which related to the policy of the occupation authorities¹⁶⁹. The western Section of the Department of Information and Press drew up so-called blacklists containing the names of German criminals, the positions they held, their origin, current address, description, dates, and circumstances in which they committed the offences. Sometimes the data was prepared on the basis of information supplied by the Department of Security of the Regional Delegation. One of the documents entitled „Black list of Pomerania” contained a list of 51 names of Gestapo officers, members of the NSDAP, German collaborators of the Gestapo and representatives of the administrative authorities. In addition, it specified 17 people from Grudziądz, 10 from Fordon, 9 from Golub, 14 from Kościerzyna, 24 from Pelplin, 3 from Osiek near Bydgoszcz and 6 from Maksymilianów. Even a picture of the guerrillas killed in Bory Tucholskie¹⁷⁰ was secured.

The District Government Delegation for Poland, the Department of Information and Press, as well as the Department of Internal Affairs closely followed the influence of political parties in the Western Territories, also in Pomerania¹⁷¹. The activity of individual underground organizations and guerrillas in Tuchola¹⁷² were also observed. One report had a title: „Official guerrilla assertion”. It concerned the death sentence of a partisan, Warachiewicz, by a Special Court in Gdańsk. The information was published in the newspaper „Danziger Vorposten.” The „Chronicle of the Western Territories for the »Country« Agency” No. 1/44 of 09 May 1944 stressed that: „This is the first case that in the Western Territories a judgement has been published. The captured guerrillas who, in groups, operate in the Tuchola

¹⁶⁹ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-18, K-1-19; IPN-By Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2304.

¹⁷⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202//III-135, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154, mf 2271/4, sygn. 202/III-204.

¹⁷¹ See r. I.

¹⁷² See more: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...*, pp. 103–121.

Forest and forests in the Kashubian region, had so far been executed by the Germans without a trial¹⁷³.

In August, October, and December 1941, the arrests in Pomerania (in Toruń and Gdynia, among others) were mentioned. The detained were suspected of involvement in secret underground organizations. In the following years, there was information on the activities of the Polish Army of Uprising, the „Kościuszek” organization in the area of Starogard, the Lizard Union¹⁷⁴, the organization „Sword and Plough” or the Secret Organization „Gryf Pomorski”¹⁷⁵. Numerous reports acknowledged participation in the conspiracy of the „eindeutsch”. The term referred to the Kashubians inscribed on the Deutsche Volksliste. They were not only present among the partisans troops, but also spread the news from BBC Radio. Citizens with a group of German National List had the right to own radios. There was a newspaper distribution conspiracy in Gdynia of „The Polish Word” paper. Also, transfer actions took place using Swedish ships, made from the port of Gdynia to neutral Sweden. And there was the organization of underground structures in Gdańsk. Other underground newspapers were distributed in Pomerania, published by the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press. They were: „The Western Territories of the Republic,” „The Western Guard of the Republic”, as well as the writings of the Delegation, the Home Army and the People’s Army. They were: „The Republic of Poland and Information Bulletin”, „The Polish News”, „Through Struggle for Victory”, „New Ways”, „People’s Poland” and others¹⁷⁶.

An unusual document of the Intelligence Services of the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press has survived. It contains information on the Secret Military Organization „Gryf Pomorski”. The report was to be sent to the Polish government in London. So far this is the only known document of the Government Delegation discussing so extensively the issue of TOW „Gryf Pomorski”. Such extensive data may have been obtained through contacts between the

¹⁷³ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/2, sygn. 202/III-145.

¹⁷⁴ See more: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/ III-154; B. Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy...*, p. 64 i n.; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...*, pp. 109–110.

¹⁷⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-29, 202/II-30 (Sprawozdania z sytuacji politycznej w kraju 1.10.–31.12.1941) oraz (*Pro memoria* o sytuacji w kraju 1.11.–15.12.1941), Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/II-154 (Raport z Pomorza – 17.XI.43), Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/4 II, sygn. 202/II-22; Szerzej see also: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...*, pp. 107–121.

¹⁷⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, t. 2 (Raport o sytuacji na ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 12 (do 10 VI 44)), (Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 9 (do 15 XI 1943)), mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-151 (Tygodniowy przegląd najważniejszych wydarzeń w kraju 26.I.44), mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III/154 (Raport sytuacyjny za czas XII 1942 i I 1943), Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/11, sygn. 202/II-42 (Przegląd najważniejszych wydarzeń w kraju, 26.01.44).

„Gryf Pomorski” and the „Ojczyzna”, the members of which worked together in the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press¹⁷⁷.

As far as it was possible, the acts of sabotage and subversion were also placed on record. However, for security reasons, details could not be given. This rule existed in the Western Territories, the General Government as well as in the Eastern Territories.

Events widely known in Pomerania were a derailment of trains near Zblewo in June 1942 (after the war, the action was sometimes qualified as an attempt at Hitler's assassination). And the elimination of a particularly cruel German, Ludwig Finger, from Kościerzyna. These facts were publicized, because due to the strong terror in the area of Pomerania, sabotage actions on a large scale rarely took place. The main activities concerned intelligence¹⁷⁸. There was also mention of some Communist influence and propaganda campaigns by German communists, Polish communists, and even by communists from the Soviet Union. These facts are not generally known, so it is worth quoting some documents. The „Quarterly situational report. IV quarter of 1942” stated that in the occupied territories, units of the Polish Workers' Party were organized, also in Pomerania¹⁷⁹. In another „situational report for the period of July and August 1942”, the document of the Department of Internal Affairs stated: „In Grudziądz arrested and sentenced to death a Belarusian, Borys. A woman arrived from Warsaw with underground communist brochures. Together with her, 20 Polish women suspected of involvement in the action were imprisoned”¹⁸⁰. Another „Situation Report for the period between 1.VI.42–1.II.43” contains information about the distribution of the Communist press in Pomerania: „Currently only »Gwardzista« appears. The bonds of »Dar Narodowy« are in

¹⁷⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-14 (Protokół...).

¹⁷⁸ See more: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/1, sygn. 202/II-8 (Raport sytuacyjny za lipiec–sierpień 1942 r.). See also: Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/2, sygn. 202/III-145 (Kronika Agencji „Kraj” nr 18/44, Warszawa 26.05.44), mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-151 (Raport sytuacyjny za okres 1.VI.42–1.II.43). Por.: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...*, s. 107; A. Gąsiorowski, *Czy rzeczywiście na Pomorzu dokonano próby zamachu na Hitlera? Źródła, ustalenia, hipotezy, [in:] Stawiać pytania, szukać odpowiedzi. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesor Urszuli Świętochowskiej*, pod red. A. Chodubskiego i E. Polak, Sopot 2008, pp. 188–214; R. Moorhouse, *Polowanie na Hitlera. Historia zamachów na wodza Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Kraków 2006, pp. 189–196.

¹⁷⁹ These were only attempts as they did not succeed in setting up the Section of the Polish Workers' Party in Pomerania. There also plans to organize the Pomeranian Brigade of the People's Army. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/2, sygn. 202/II-8 (Kwartalne sprawozdanie sytuacyjne. Kwartał IV 1942); Akta KG AK, Oddział VI. Antyk, mf 2388/5, sygn. 203/VII-60 (Sprawozdanie Nr 8 za okres 15.I–15.II.43), Akta Armii Ludowej, Dowództwo Główne, mf 2071/III, sygn. 192/I-2 (Organizacja Armii Ludowej).

¹⁸⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/1, sygn. 202/-II-1 (Raport sytuacyjny za lipiec i sierpień 1942 r.). No details concerning this propaganda action.

circulation [...]. This movement is clearly growing in strength. It is not perceivable in the Poznań region, in Pomerania it is only revealed in Gdynia”¹⁸¹.

A short assessment of the communist movement was also given by A. Antczak during the talks with the representatives of the Delegation in August 1943: „In the Pomeranian voivodeship before the war there was no communism. Currently, the organization is increasingly gaining ground. It seems [...] that in their circles there are many people who do not realize that they belong to the communist organization. The most important centres of communism are the major cities and major centres of workers. Undoubtedly, communists of Poland cooperate with German communists, which fact greatly facilitates the organization”¹⁸².

In December 1943, the Department of Information and Internal Affairs made a general characteristic of the communist movement. It was considered that the most thriving centres of the radical left are Gdańsk and other cities focusing on industry. Susceptible to communist slogans, are, primarily, forced labourers. In another report from the end of 1943 or early 1944 it was asserted that German communists operate in ten major urban centres, where industry was located. Traces of such activities, defined as by Polish communists, were recognized in Bydgoszcz (including the Kapuściska neighbourhood) Łęgowo (now a neighbourhood of Bydgoszcz), Grudziądz, Toruń, Inowrocław, Tczew, Starogard and Gdynia¹⁸³. In turn, the „Weekly review of major events in the country” from 23 March 1944 stated: „Recently, reports have come of the PPR [The Polish Workers’ Party] activity in Pomerania, in the counties of Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Grudziądz, the Baltic area, and Gdynia, Wąbrzeźno, Brodnica, and others, and in Poznań. The PPR put up posters of appeal to Poles by announcing the creation of the »Polish Committee« in Moscow¹⁸⁴, KRN¹⁸⁵ [State National Council] and the Berling’s Army¹⁸⁶ and the imminent »liberation« of the Polish population”¹⁸⁷. They recognized the extensive propaganda, including the „Kościuszko” radio programmes, which were broadcast

¹⁸¹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-151 (Raport sytuacyjny za okres I.VI.42-I.II.43).

¹⁸² AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-14 (Protokół...).

¹⁸³ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/2, sygn. 202/I-12 (Raport sytuacyjny, 22.12.43), sygn. 202/II-14 (Protokół...); Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia (Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 8 (do 31 X 1943)), mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 2 (Kronika informacyjna za miesiące I–II 44. Zał. Nr 1. Pomorze).

¹⁸⁴ It refers to the Union of Polish Patriots set up in Moscow on 1 March 1943.

¹⁸⁵ The State National Council – set up upon the initiative of the PPR on 31 Dec 1943/1 Jan 1944 in Warsaw. It was to constitute a kind of underground parliament of the communist centre.

¹⁸⁶ It refers to the First Infantry Division set up in the USSR on 8 May 1943 (the order no. 1 of 14 April 1943) commanded by Brigadier General Zygmunt Berling.

¹⁸⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyjne, mf 2201/11, sygn. 202/I-42 (Tygodniowy przegląd najważniejszych wydarzeń w kraju z 23.03.1944 r.), mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-54 (Wiadomości z pow. wąbrzeskiego). Supposedly, the information about the activity of the PPR was taken from the report titled: „Luźne wiadomości z Bydgoszczy” sporządzonego w Sekcji Zachodniej Departamentu Informacji i Prasy. Comp.: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4,

from the USSR. One of the reports of the Department of Internal Affairs in 1943 or 1944 contained a mention of the Polish Workers' Party districts in the country, „according to the acquired information there are five districts: Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Pomerania and areas in the coal region”.¹⁸⁸ In turn, the „Chronicle of information for the months of January–February 1944” reported: „The Communists. Tenacious and systematic activities of the communists can be observed mainly in Gdynia and Grudziądz [...]”¹⁸⁹. The „Report for March 1944” contained a comprehensive characterization of the communist activities in Pomerania, mainly in Bydgoszcz, where there appeared slogans glorifying the leader of the Yugoslav Communists Josif Tito. The communist propaganda made efforts to get to the working-class, i.e. to railway workshops or the ammunition plants in Łęgowo, as well as to tram drivers' circles in Bydgoszcz and Grudziądz¹⁹⁰. The mobilisation of the communist faction grew rapidly in connection with the Eastern Front approaching.

4. The issue of the Western Territories and Pomerania in the publications of the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press

A part of the materials obtained by the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press were earmarked for publication. These fragments were specifically marked in the texts of reports. Also marked were those fragments intended never to see the light of day. Consequently, some texts entered the pages of underground publications. A number of publications were issued, for instance a series entitled: „The Western Territories in the fight”, among which was a book titled „Western Lands” (a handbook containing the data for the politics, economy, and population of the Western Territories), published in March 1943¹⁹¹. It was distributed in a circulation of 5,000 copies. Others who took part in the preparation of this publication were: Włodzimierz Wnuk, Edmund Męclewski, Stan-

sygn. 202/III-154 (Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich (styczeń–luty–15 marzec 1944)), mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 2.

¹⁸⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/2, sygn. 202/II-12 (Kwartalne sprawozdanie polityczne. Kwartał IV 1942 r.). See also: mf 2225/4 II, sygn. 202/II-25.

¹⁸⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 8 (do 31 X 1943), mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 2.

¹⁹⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-151. The Main Headquarters of the Home Army also noted down attempts of the communist propaganda action in Pomerania: Pomerania is afraid of bolsheviks, but there exists some influences of communism among workers. See: AK..., t. III, p. 467 (Meldunek sytuacyjny Nr 11 z dnia 31 maja 1944 r.).

¹⁹¹ *Z pierwszej linii frontu*, pod red. K. M. Pospieszalskiego, Warszawa, w marcu 1943 r. In one of the messages sent from London it said: „The leaflets and the book *Z pierwszej linii frontu* are widely used. The book will be published both in English and Polish [...]”. See: AAN, Akta DR, mf 2201/4 II, sygn. 202/I-18; E. Serwański, *W kręgu...*, p. 230 wrote that he was the first author and editor of this book. The publication was created as part of the works run by Studium Zachodnie set up by activists of „Ojczyzna”. See also: J. J. Nikisch, *Studium Zachodnie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 535; W. Chojnacki, *Bibliografia zwartych druków konspiracyjnych wydanych pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1970, p. 261.

isław Roskosz, Bishop Stanisław Adamski, Bishop Walenty Dymek, Fr. Czesław Heyducki, Leon Całka, Halina Sosnowska. The publication contained a poignant and exhausting description, as for the time of the occupation, of the autumn campaign of 1939. As well as the account of German terror in the Western Territories, including in Pomerania, which immediately followed. The whole of the text was typed by Irena Kędzierska („Wanda”). The value of this book’s merit is impressive, and until today it represents one of the most valuable sources of knowledge about those years. As the authors rightly noted: ‘The historical drama played out in the Western Territories requires special writing. The spontaneity of fighting, the intensity, the struggle of the Polish language – filled the atmosphere with such a huge tension that life in these conditions is incredible, totally unknown to date. It was dedicated to: A Soldier who fights, avenges and will rebuild the “Ojczyzna”¹⁹².

The book *Honor and Ojczyzna*, a volume of 154 pages, published in June 1943 also enjoyed wide popularity. It contained a description of German crimes committed on Polish soil. It was compiled by Tadeusz Kraszewski („Marek”), and refined by Zbigniew Sadkowski. These publications reached Pomerania, including the Security Department of the Regional Government Delegation¹⁹³. The martyrdom of Silesia, in turn, is presented in the book *Silesia faithful to the Ojczyzna*¹⁹⁴.

German issues and the future of the borders were contained in the so-called foreign series. It included the following publications: *The history of no comparison, Poland in the years between 1939–1942* (the struggle of the Western Territories with the German invasion), *Odra-Nissa the best Polish border* (handbook is intended mainly for the Anglo-American press)¹⁹⁵, *Polish-German relations and the issue of Central Europe*¹⁹⁶, *Historical Sketches* by Karol Szajnocha¹⁹⁷, *Decide! One million dead Polish soldiers are listening to you* (publishing house: Bookcase (Library) of the Western Territories. The position included the demand to change the western border to the River Odra)¹⁹⁸. In the same series appeared a pamphlet *What can it*

¹⁹² Z. pierwszej... See also: Z. Bednorz, op.cit., pp. 142–144; W. Wnuk, op.cit., pp. 186–188; S. Roskosz („Franek”), *Z pierwszej linii frontu*, Tygodnik Powszechny, 1966, nr 15/16; A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, pp. 289–291; E. Serwański, *W kręgu...*, pp. 101, 230; idem, *Z dziejów...*, pp. 43–33; A. Rogalski, *W kręgu przyjaźni*, Warszawa 1983.

¹⁹³ They were received by the head of the Department of Security of the District Delegation. B. Lipski. See: FAPAK, t. Pufal Klemens, sygn. M-364/976-Pom. See: [Z. Sadkowski], *Honor i Ojczyzna*, Warszawa w czerwcu 1943; W. Chojnacki, op.cit., p. 203; A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, pp. 289–290.

¹⁹⁴ [Z. Bednorz], *Śląsk...*, Warszawa 1943.

¹⁹⁵ The author was Maria Kiełczewska. See: E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, p. 56.

¹⁹⁶ [J. Moszyński, Z. Wojciechowski], *Stosunki...*, Warszawa 1942.

¹⁹⁷ It was the prewar edition of the work by Z. Wojciechowski titled *Rozwój terytorialny Prus w stosunku do ziem macierzystych Polski*, Toruń 1933. During the occupation it was published under the title *Polska–Niemcy. Dziesięć wieków zmagania*, Warsaw 1943 with the protection cover „Szkice historyczne”. The book was used in teaching the history of Poland as part of underground education under the title *Polska–Niemcy...*, Poznań 1945. Comp.: W. Chojnacki, op.cit., p. 252.

¹⁹⁸ [K. Sosnowski], *Decyduj!*..., Warszawa 1942. Supposedly, the co-authors of the brochure were also Zygmunt Wojciechowski and Antoni Wrzosek. See: Z. Mazur, op.cit., p. 253.

look like? At the threshold of a breakthrough, referring to the moment of the end of the war and occupation, as well as the resulting responsibilities of each Pole¹⁹⁹.

In turn, the three-part series „The returning Territories” presented facts and documents relating to East Prussia, Gdańsk, Silesia and Western Pomerania: „Eastern Pomerania (East Prussia-Gdańsk)” – issue 1²⁰⁰, „Western Pomerania. By the Odra. Borderland” – issue 2²⁰¹ and „Silesia” – issue 3²⁰². These were also published by Bookcase (Library) of the Western Territories. Additionally, one may include the publication of Karol Górski *Dzieje Gdańska* [*The history of Gdańsk*] and *Dzieje Prus Wschodnich w wiekach średnich* [*East Prussia of the Middle Ages*], as well as *Pamiętnik Instytutu Bałtyckiego – Polskie Pomorze* [*Diary of the Baltic Institute – Polish Pomerania*], and others²⁰³.

In addition to monographs there also appeared underground press publications, for example: *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* [„The Western Territories of the Republic”] (called *Ziemniaki* – Potatoes), *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej* [„The Western Guard of the Republic”] and its satirical supplement – *Luźna kartka* [„The Loose Page”]. A range of information from Pomerania was also published by the central authority of the Government Delegate – *Rzeczpospolita Polska* [„The Republic of Poland”]. „The Western Territories of the Republic” were, as it is known, a supplement to „The Republic of Poland”. The editor of the „The Western Territories of the Republic”, issued from November 1942 until July 1944 (13 numbers), was the aforementioned Aleksander Rogalski („Remigiusz”, „Kujawski”, „Klinika”). Whereas „The Western Guard of the Republic” and „The Loose Page” were edited by Zbyszko Bednorz. The content of these periodicals was greatly influenced by, among others: K. Sosnowski and E. Męclewski. The authors of a number of articles were not only people associated with the „Ojczyzna”, but also members of a secret Association of Journalists of the Western Territories operating in Warsaw, Western Publishing, and Western Press Agency²⁰⁴. „The Western Territories of the Republic” tried to present a picture of the future Poland – a country politically and economically stable, while integrated with Western Europe. Against the background of extermination, the policy to promote the vision of a strong state returning to the West constituted a significant element of the struggle to maintain the national

¹⁹⁹ [J. J. Nikisch], *Jak to może wyglądać?...*, Warszawa 1942.

²⁰⁰ [Opr. J. Dylík], *Pomorze Wschodnie...*, Warszawa 1942. In the bibliography by W. Chojnacki there was a slightly different title: *Pomorze Wschodnie. Gdańsk*. Comp: W. Chojnacki, op.cit., p. 42.

²⁰¹ [Opr. M. Czekalska], *Pomorze Zachodnie...*, Warszawa 1942.

²⁰² [Opr. A. Wrzosek], *Śląsk...*, Warszawa 1943. Z. Bednorz also mentions the book *Śląsk i Pomorze*. Comp.: Z. Bednorz, op.cit., p. 122; E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, pp. 55–56.

²⁰³ Comp. E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, pp. 55–56.

²⁰⁴ The reports from Pomerania were prepared by various political parties. Most pieces of information were included in the paper of the National Party (SN) – „Walka” (e.g. the article *Polska Gdynia – Gotenhafen*, nr 43 of 1941). The body of the Military Organization Lizard Union and Group „Szaniec” (the article *Z Ziemi Rzeczypospolitej. Gdynia – port śmierci*, no. 43 of 1940) along with the paper of the Workers’ Party of Polish Socialists „Robotnik” (the article *Czerwona Reduta nad morzem*, no. 115 of 1943).

identity²⁰⁵. In the first issue in November 1942, the editors set the following targets for themselves: „The task of our writing [...] is to tell Poland about life, struggles, problems of the Western Territories.” Next, on the front page it stated: „The Western Territories of Poland were three years ago »included« in the body of the Reich. They got separated with a border which was to become a chasm. However, communication, though at the cost of lives, has not been broken for a moment. Life meanwhile, went on differently on both sides of the »new frontier«. As a result, two Polish worlds were created. Often one does not know much about the other, hence the false opinions and judgements. The task of the magazine, the first issue of which we hand out to the Readers, is to talk about Poland, about the life, struggles and problems of the Western Territories. Through the heaviest battle known to our nations, Poland comes back to the West to fully retrieve her native lands. Thus the front line reports of our struggle must be systematic and the whole nation must be familiar with them”. The author of the editorial was E. Męclewski²⁰⁶.

Polish society was therefore provided with information on historical and cultural issues, as well as economic or ethnic subjects. However, most space was devoted to the occupation. The German repressions in the Western Territories appeared in a column „On the front line” (this phrase was used often), divided into sections: Pomerania, Greater Poland, Silesia, Łódź, and Ciechanów. The column reported numerous Nazi crimes, regulations of the Nazi authorities, a policy of deportation, and their business policies. Thus, an objective and honest picture of those years was created. The German press, which appeared in Pomerania, Greater Poland, and Silesia was reviewed in „The Western Territories in the German press”. The translator was, among others, Franciszek Pilarek („Żółw”, „Stanisław Dąbek”). Additionally, news about the fate of Poles in Masuria and Western Pomerania was provided in a column „From the Returning Territories”. Contact was with the Association of Masuria and Kurpie²⁰⁷.

Perhaps one comment revealing the objectives of the third Reich’s Germanisation policy is worth mentioning. It was aimed at the Western Territories, and related to the aforementioned German National List: „By isolating the Western Territories, which were annexed to the Reich, from the rest of Poland, the occupant intended to create a mental division in the Polish mass national consciousness and a distortion of perception in the residents’ [of the Western Territories]. While unable in any way to annihilate the Polish character of these territories, Germany used the whole perfidious system, aimed at digging a gap between the Poles [of the Western Territories]. They were to be Germanized first, and the rest of the Poles were to be destroyed in the second stage. It was intended that a Pole

²⁰⁵ *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej, 1942–1944*; W. Wnuk, op.cit., p. 216 i n.

²⁰⁶ *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej, 1942, nr 1*, p. 1. See also: Z. Bednorz, op.cit., pp. 127–128.

²⁰⁷ See more: A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja Zachodnia...*, p. 281. See also: B. Wilamowski, *Objęcie Mazur i Warmii oraz Pomorza Gdańskiego*, [in:] *Ziemie zachodnie w granicach macierzy. Drogi integracji*, pod red. G. Labudy, Poznań 1966, p. 147 i n.

from Greater Poland, Pomerania or Silesia – troubled by a monstrous system (terrorized) – would begin to think differently, feel differently, perceive differently and evaluate everything differently from a Pole in the so-called Government, or in the eastern territories. It was intended to break the mainstream of national life in three parts, to make Polish hearts in the West beat differently from those in Central Poland, and unlike those of the north-east. The whole Polish nation, weakened by all that, was to be more effectively hit by the battering ram of Germanization. We lost contact with each other, isolated in three cells, confined prisoners. It was easier before the war to get from Poland to America than now from Warsaw to Poznań, Toruń, and Vilnius. One crafty and cunning invader created three partitions, each using different methods of oppression.”²⁰⁸

Issues referring to the Polish population in areas of the Western Territories and the Returning Territories, as well as the Third Reich itself, that is, Nadodrze, Opole, Babimost, Kashubia, Warmia, and Masuria, were also raised in „Western Guard of the Republic”²⁰⁹. In addition, the cases of extermination of the native population in the annexed areas were discussed.

In this way, a unique record of those days, one could say a kind of chronicle of the Western Lands, was created. Most of the press titles, especially *Rzeczpospolita Polska* [the „Republic of Poland”], *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* [„The Western Territories of the Republic”], *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej* [„The Western Guard of the Republic”], and books reached the individual Pomeranian towns, for example: Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk and Gdynia, and the urban centres of Greater Poland and Silesia. As already mentioned, the newspapers were delivered by the Head of the Regional Delegation Branch Franciszek Rochowiak, and distributed, among others, by M. Bagiński. Most copies were distributed in the General Government. Their customers were mostly the intelligentsia who, thanks to these publications, got familiar with the situation of the Western Territories under occupation. Conditions there were not always properly assessed, especially in central Poland. Due to the absolute terror, underground newsletter distribution in Pomerania faced huge difficulties²¹⁰.

²⁰⁸ *Jeden rytm*, *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej*, 1943, nr 2, p. 1. See also: B. Chrzanowski, *Założenia polityki hitlerowskiej na terenach okupowanej Polski w świetle wydawnictw konspiracyjnych*, *Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica*, 1986(1989), vol. XV, pp. 232–242; idem, *Eksterminacja ludności polskiej na Pomorzu w świetle wydawnictw podziemnych*, [in:] *Wysiedlenia Polaków z Gdyni w latach 1939–1945 przez okupanta niemieckiego. Materiały z V sesji popularnonaukowej 27 listopada 2007 r.*, Nr 5, Gdynia 2009, pp. 33–48; A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorze Gdańskie w latach II wojny światowej w świetle konspiracyjnego periodyku „Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej”*, Stutthof. Zeszyty..., 1981, nr 4, pp. 73–107; idem, *Niemiecka Lista Narodowościowa na Pomorzu Gdańskim w świetle publikacji konspiracyjnych*, ZH, 1984, z. 4, pp. 69–93.

²⁰⁹ Z. Bednorz, op.cit., pp. 130, 137.

²¹⁰ This fact was underlined in many reports of the Delegation. See e.g.: *Raport z kolportażu wydawnictw. Sekcja Zachodnia: Obrazu dokładnego rozprowadzania w ZZ [Ziemiach Zachodnich – B.Ch.] nie posiadam*. It referred to the distribution of „*Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej*”. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, mf 2266/3 II, sygn. 202/III-3; Departament Informacji i Prasy.

5. Pomerania in the work of other departments of the Government Delegation (in the context of the Western Territories)

The education department of the Government Delegation played a hugely significant role. Like part of the staff in the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press, the staff in the Bureau of Education partly came from the national organization „Ojczyzna”. The Bureau of Education and Schools of the Western Territories, also known as the Department of Education and Schools of the Delegation for the Western Territories, cooperated in Warsaw with the Western Bureau, and greatly contributed to promoting education in these areas, and the General Government; for example among the displaced people²¹¹.

The department was entrusted with the following tasks: to conduct secret tuition in the Western Territories and among displaced persons in the General Government, to prepare school administration in these areas and in Przyodrże (the so-called postulated territories), as well as to provide staff for the educational institutions and prepare the curriculum. The position of head of the Department was given in May 1940, in Warsaw, to Fr. M. Rode, PhD (written: Romuald Mariańczyk, PhD). After taking the oath he immediately set to work, and informed the Government Delegate on the work's progress. After the arrest of Delegate A. Bniński (1941), the civilian structures of the Western Territories were subordinated to the Central Delegation, including the Department of Education and Schools. On 1 March 1942, a meeting took place between the Director of Education and Culture Department Cz. Wycech and Father M. Rod, PhD, as well as representatives of the Western Bureau.

Secret education at a primary level was provided in the Western Territories, mainly in Greater Poland; at a secondary level (in the Western Territories [no further details], in the General Government) and at an academic level at the Secret University of Western Territories (University of the Western Territories). It was established in Warsaw on the initiative of, among others, the members of the „Ojczyzna”, and Secret Maritime Institute.²¹² The University of the Western Territories

Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-137; IPN-W-wa Rząd na Emigracji. Delegatura Rządu na Kraj. Sekcja Zachodnia, sygn. 1571/431. See also: S. Lewandowska, *Polska konspiracyjna prasa informacyjno-polityczna 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 63, 322 i n.; Z. Bednorz, op.cit., p. 130 i n.

²¹¹ See: AAN, Akta DR, mf 2201/16, sygn. 202/I-52; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, K-1-50; G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, pp. 83–84, 87; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, s. 230–232; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 241; M. Pollak, *Działalność Biura Szkolnego Ziem Zachodnich w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza, 1958, z. 2, passim.

²¹² The Secret Maritime Institute operated as part of UZZ until 1944 and consisted of academics and students of the prewar Poznań University who had been displaced from Greater Poland to the General Government. It was headed by doc. Władysław Kowalenko, who had initiated the creation of the Institute; his deputy was Tadeusz Ociożyński. Among professors teaching in the Institute there were: Bolesław Kasprowicz and Józef Poznański – workers of the Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation. It was here that the Department of Education and Culture got in cooperation with the Maritime Division of the Government Delegation.

had a number of faculties: Theology²¹³, Humanities and Law, Medicine, Pharmacy, Economics, and Agri-Food. Professors who lectured there also prepared school administration and future educational programs for the Western Territories. They also completed preparations to take over and run libraries, museums, German archives with lists of all that was written in Polish, and concerned Poland, as well as legal regulations.²¹⁴

The Department of Education and Culture closely followed the issue of education in the Western Territories, also in Pomerania. At the end of June 1941, a 19-page document entitled: „The issues of Polish education” was developed. The paper was presented on 30 June 1941. It showed the state of Polish education in the territories incorporated by the Germans and the Soviets, as well as in occupied Poland. The text was handed over to the leadership of the Regional Government Delegation.

Reports for the Education Department informed about the disastrous state of Polish education in the annexed territories²¹⁵.

The preserved documents of the departments of Communications, Liquidation of the Effects of War, Labour and Social Welfare, Justice, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (Maritime Department) and Foreign Affairs included very vague notes about the situation of the occupation in Pomerania. To a large extent they were extracts from the reports of the Western Section Department of Information and Press, as well as the intelligence from the Headquarters of the Home Army concerning e.g. a power plant in Pomerania (Gdynia, Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Brodnica and Sierpc and others)²¹⁶. In turn, the Maritime Sector of the Trade and Industry Department received some maritime intelligence reports from Division II

tion. To provide highly qualified teachers in the future, the Secret College of the Western Territories was set up (among others Hanna Lipska finished this course [her husband's surname – Koziół; she had nothing to do with B. Lipski!]. Compr.: W. Kowalenko, *Tajny Instytut Morski*, Morze, 1946, nr 19, pp. 8–10; S. Poznański, *TIM czyli Tajny Instytut Morski*, Tygodnik Kulturalny, 1965, nr 2; *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, p. 284, 615; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki Wojennej „Alfa” Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej*, Toruń 2001, pp. 117–118; E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, p. 53; IPN-W-wa, sygn. 01355/95.

²¹³ The creation of this Department was consulted with the bishop Walenty Dymek and the archbishop Adam Sapieha. See more: E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, p. 53.

²¹⁴ There were three appendices enclosed to the text: Odpis protokołu konferencji z Pełnomocnikiem Rządu z 12.12.1942 r., pismo z 12.02.1943 r. i strukturę Departamentu. Oświaty. See: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/16, sygn. 202/I-52; IPN-W-wa, sygn. 01355/95; Z. Bednorz, op.cit., pp. 31–33; E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, pp. 47–54. See also: W. Kowalenko, *Tajny Uniwersytet Ziem Zachodnich. Uniwersytet Poznański 1940–1945*, Poznań 1961; M. Walczak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska w latach wojny i okupacji 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1978.

²¹⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Oświaty i Kultury, mf 2283/1, sygn. 202/VII-2.

²¹⁶ It was the information from reports of the offensive long-distance intelligence service „Stragan” and „Lombard” of the Main Headquarters of the Home Army (Nr 40 z kwietnia 1942 r., Nr 49 z 3.05.1942 r., z 18.06.1943 r., and Meldunki Wywiadowcze 1/44, 2/44I). Sometimes the Main headquarters of the Home Army used reports of the Government Delegation). See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Przemysłu i Handlu, mf 2282/1, sygn. 202/V-2 (Meldunki o elektrowniach Pomorza).

Headquarters of the Home Army²¹⁷ The Department of Liquidation of the Effects of War, in their documents passed messages about the state of the Polish industry in Pomerania and of its inclusion into the economy of the Third Reich. They also informed about exporting of industrial facilities to Germany (i.e. The Department of Fisheries constituting a Branch of the National Institute of Agricultural Science in Bydgoszcz) and on the movement of ships in the Gdańsk port²¹⁸.

Reports of the Department of Social Welfare, which extended to Pomerania, alerted on the very serious food situation in the Western Territories and in Pomerania. Particularly strongly felt was a lack of vegetables needed for the development of every human being. The documents also mentioned that the Polish population is deprived of adequate medical care²¹⁹.

6. „The Polish Western Association in conspiracy”

The work of a cell looking after the Poles deported to work in the Reich should also be mentioned. This cell was established in March 1942 and cooperated with IKO Headquarters of the Home Army, reaching concentrations of Poles in Germany. Before the war, most of its members belonged to the Association of Defence of the Western Borderlands – Polish Western Union and, therefore, adopted the name of the Polish Western Association in conspiracy (code named „Kopalnia,” „Studnia,” „Zachód”)²²⁰. After making contact with the Government Delegation, Delegate C. Ratajski agreed on the forms of cooperation. The Polish Western Association acted within the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government, working together with the General Headquarters of AK, and had an extensive organizational structure²²¹. Warsaw formally established branches of the Polish Western Association in the General Government and for the incorporated areas (crypts.

²¹⁷ B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, s. 202–212 i n.

²¹⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/12, sygn. 202/I-43 (Sytuacja przemysłu na ziemiach Zachodnich w oparciu o sprawozdanie Departamentu Likwidacji), sygn. 202/I-42. See also: Departament Likwidacji, mf 2283/2, sygn. 202/XII-2 (Zagadnienie strat i odszkodowań kulturalnych).

²¹⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Pracy i Opieki Społecznej, mf 2283/1, sygn. 202/VII-1 (Sytuacja społeczna. Przegląd terenowy 15.09–15.11.43), mf 22832, sygn. 202/VII-4 (Sytuacja społeczna w miesiącu listopadzie 1943); IPN-W-wa, sygn. 01355/95.

²²⁰ In one of the documents of the Department of Industry and Trade it read that “the mine is the body of the Government Delegate concerning workers’ issues.” See also: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/2 (zeznanie A. Targa).

²²¹ [Bolesław Srocki], *Polska i Niemcy...*, wyd. Polski Związek Zachodni w konspiracji, 1943. Comp.: W. Chojnacki, op.cit., s. 215; G. Mazur, op.cit., pp. 61–63; AK..., vol. II, p. 83 (Meldunek Organizacyjny Nr 220 za czas od 1.III.43 do 31.VIII.43.). During the Warsaw Uprising B. Srocki conducted very interesting discussions with the young members of the Gray Ranks trying to explain to them tough methods of the Soviet political game on the example of Stalin’s failure to Warsaw’s resurgents. Comp.: A. Kamiński, „Zośka” i „Parasol”. *Opowieść o niektórych ludziach dwóch batalionów harcerskich*, Warszawa 1957, pp. 530–537 i n.

„Karolowo”), including the Pomeranian Committee (code named „Karolowo I”), Poznań („Karolowo II”)²²².

²²² See more: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 20/III/154, (Gdańsk. „Studnia”. 1943 i Raport o sytuacji...), mf 2201/1 II/1, Departament Przemysłu i Handlu, mf 2282/1, sygn. 202/V-3 („Kopalnia”). See also: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 156–158; idem, *Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 64–69; Z. Czeczot-Gawrak, op.cit., p. 517; M. Musielak, *Polski Związek Zachodni w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Dz. Najn., 1979, nr 1, p. 71 i n.; A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, pp. 481, 559; IH PAN, S. Szwedowski, Tymczasowa relacja o działalności Polskiego Związku Zachodniego 1942–1945, sygn. A/540/72.



POMERANIAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION – ORGANIZATIONAL CONCEPTS AND THEIR REALIZATION

1. The Delegation of the Western Territories and the Western Bureau

The first Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland's Delegate was Col. Jan Skorobohaty-Jakubowski („Vogel”). In the beginning of December 1940, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander gen. Władysław Sikorski appointed as Delegate of the Polish Government for Poland (initially in the area of the General Government) Cyryl Ratajski („Wartski,” „Wrzos”). From 1942, the position of Delegate was held by Jan Piekalkiewicz („Wernic,” „Wrocławski”), and after his arrest in 1943 – Jan Stanisław Jankowski („Soból”) – until his arrest by the NKVD in March 1945.

In addition to the already-mentioned nomination of C. Ratajski in December 1940, gen. Sikorski signed the nomination for Adolf Bnińskiego („Białoń”) as the Chief Delegate of the Government of the Republic of Poland on the territories incorporated into the Reich²²³. Bniński was actually performing this function since the beginning of May 1940. These nominations, however, were related with the concept of establishing Central/Major Delegations: a) for the incorporated territories – Pomerania (Bydgoszcz or Toruń were taken into account) Greater Poland, Łódź, Silesia, northern Mazovia (Ciechanów) – b) for the General Government, and c) for areas annexed by the Soviet Union²²⁴.

²²³ Cited after Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 93–95. See also: *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 100–102. Owing to the fact that the civilian authorities did not agree with the military authorities about the functioning of the Delegation in the incorporated lands, A. Bniński in the letter to Gen. Sikorski wrote that “[...] I wholly support the appointment I was granted on 6 Dec 1940 [...]” [transl. A.C.] Comp.: AK..., vol. VI, p. 193.

²²⁴ G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 93–96 i n.; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 106–108; J. Paśnik, op.cit., pp. 38–39, 123.

Formally, Pomerania now lay in the hands of A. Bniński. He was interested in the development of the organizational work of the Polish Underground State in the Western Territories both in the civilian and military sectors, and provided London with information on this subject. He organized the communication courier line Poznań–Rome. He paid special attention to matters of administration under the occupation, the social situation of the Polish population, as well as the work done by various departments of civil-military Polish Underground State, i.e. secret teaching, propaganda, cooperatives, or gathering information about German terror. He emphasized the particularly harsh conditions under the occupation, which the Polish Underground State had to endure while working in the areas annexed to the Reich. These circumstances were initially not realized by the leadership²²⁵. He tried also to convince gen. Sikorski on the need to establish a separate Delegation for the so-called territories incorporated into the Reich. In October, 1941 the Polish government accepted the proposals sent from the country for the territorial division of areas under German occupation and demarcations of competence between Government Delegates and Commanders of the Association of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) in the areas of Poznań and Pomerania. The decision was sent to the Commander in Chief, Gen. ZWZ Stefan Rowecki („Grot”)²²⁶. However, in July 1941, A. Bniński was arrested by the Gestapo, which in the course of that year put an end to the various structures of civil apparatus in Poznań. As a result, the Delegation for „annexed territories” actually ceased to exist, although it formally acted until December 1941²²⁷.

On 8 November 1941, Stanisław Tabaczyński („Ryszard”), in charge of the Western Bureau, sent a report containing the most important comments and observations relating to the political situation in the Western Territories to London. Like Bniński, he recognized the far-reaching differentiation between the incorporated territories and the General Government. He stressed the activities of political parties, especially the National Party in Greater Poland, Pomerania and Silesia, while recognizing the similarity of influence of individual political parties from the inter-war period. He also indicated organizational difficulties caused by the

²²⁵ He maintained contacts with E. Serwański. Meetings took place in Bniński's flat in Szkolna Street in Warsaw or in Wrocławska Street. See: AK..., vol. VI, pp. 188–192 (Charakterystyka życia organizacyjnego na Ziemiach Zachodnich z 5 VI 1941 r. oraz Konieczność odrębnego traktowania terenów wcielonych do Rzeszy w pracy krajowej z 5 VI 1941 r.); A. Łuczak, *Utracone decorum. Grabież dóbr kultury z majątków ziemiaństwa polskiego w Wielkopolsce w czasie okupacji niemieckiej w latach 1939–1945*, Warszawa–Poznań 2011, p. 107 i n.; Rel. E. Serwańskiego (w zb. aut.).

²²⁶ SPP, O VI, Centralne władze wojskowe. Sztab Naczelnego Wodza. Plany powstańcze, Referat w sprawie podziału terytorialnego okupacji niemieckiej, sygn. 2.3.2.1. (kopia: AMS, sygn. K-5-3).

²²⁷ After some members of the Delegation for the ‘incorporated lands’ were arrested, the Government Delegate C. Ratajski ordered K. Sosnowski to write a report presenting the events. See: AAN, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Trzeciej Rzeszy, mf 25168, sygn. 1628, k. 1–3; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 21.06.1949 r.).

terror of the occupation authorities, but informed about the establishment of five Regional Government Delegation²²⁸.

The Western territories became subordinated to the Government Delegate C. Ratajski. As S. Tabaczyński reported in the aforementioned document, in the annexed territories five Regional Delegations were established eventually: Ciechanów (in 1943 incorporated into the Regional Delegation of Warsaw region), Katowice (Silesia), Łódź, Poznań, and Toruń (Pomerania). The Regional Delegation were also established in the General Government and on the eastern territories of the Republic (the first organisational attempts were made in the period of the Soviet annexation; they expanded during the German occupation)²²⁹.

Communication between the Warsaw Delegation and the annexed territories, and, after the liquidation of the Delegation for the „annexed territories”, with Regional Delegations, including Pomerania, was maintained through the Western Bureau (BZ, codenamed „Odra”, „Warta”, „Rugia” ‘750”). The Western Bureau was organized in 1940 by a few „Ojczyzna” activists, including Witold Grotta („Adam”). The Bureau acted as an interface between the General Government and the annexed territories. At the head of the Bureau stood the above-mentioned S. Tabaczyński and Władysław Czajkowski („Polański”). Prof. Zygmunt Wojciechowski („Piotr”) was responsible for historical and geographical matters. The Western Bureau functioned within the framework of the Delegation to the so-called annexed territories and was part of the Government Delegation Department of Internal Affairs²³⁰.

The tasks of BZ was also to research the subject of the Western Territories, or Pomerania, Greater Poland and Silesia, as well as the issue of the so-called Returning Territories. It involved national issues, including the German National List's state administration, education and business. Four teams were to be appointed for each different area, but the intended Western Pomerania Team never materialized. The Western Bureau worked closely with the Department of Education and Culture. From June 1944, under the official name of Bureau of the Western Territories,

²²⁸ See: AK..., vol. VI, pp. 210–213 (Ocena sytuacji politycznej i nastrojów społeczeństwa na Ziemiach Zachodnich, 8.11.1941 r.), p. 253.

²²⁹ See: *ibid.*, p. 211; See more: G. Górski, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 93–96, 131, 135; *idem*, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 56–57, 62–63; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 287–289 i n.; *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 100–102; AAN, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Trzeciej Rzeszy, mf 25168, sygn. 1628.

²³⁰ Other names of the Bureau: Biuro Ziem Zachodnich – the Bureau of the Western Territories (from the autumn of 1943), Biuro Ziem Nowych – the Bureau of the New Territories (June 1944). See: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 188–190; *idem*, *Dokumenty do historii Biura Ziem Nowych z lat 1943–1945*, ZH, 2007, z. 1, pp. 105–126; Z. Bednorz, *op.cit.*, pp. 29; S. Salmonowicz, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 303–304; E. Serwański, *Wielkopolska...*, pp. 472–476; *idem*, *W kręgu...*, pp. 123; *idem*, *Z dziejów...*, pp. 35–41; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, pp. 199–201, AMS, Kolekcja z Archiwum Ochrony Państwa (dalej: Kolekcja...), sygn. K-1-48; AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/8, sygn. 202/I-30, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/8, sygn. 202/III/166; Rel. L. Glucka, E. Serwańskiego (w zb. aut.). About the plans of the reconstruction of public life in the Western Territories prepared by the Western Bureau see chapter IV.

the unit operated independently, similarly to a department²³¹. As we know, two of its emissaries were Stefan Brzeziński (the Labour Party) and Edward Serwański. In the spring of 1943 Brzeziński came, among other destinations, to Bydgoszcz and Toruń, while Serwański held inspections in Poznań, Września, Pleszewo and Inowrocław²³². In April 1942 and in the spring of 1943, S. Brzeziński conducted an inspection of Silesia, Pomerania and Greater Poland. Travelling through Łódź and Poznań, he reached Toruń and then Bydgoszcz. Thus, both the Labour Party and the National Party were very useful and helpful to the Western Bureau by making it easier to maintain communication between the Western Territories and Warsaw. Contacts with the capital were also maintained through the Western Department of Information and Press²³³.

2. The origins of the Regional Government Delegation. Bureau (Office) of the Regional Delegate in Warsaw

In Pomerania, the organization of the military and civilian underground began in the autumn of 1939. In December of 1939 a member and activist of the Labour Party Antoni Antczak („Ida”, „Adamski” „Dyrektor”, and others – during the occupation) arrived in Toruń²³⁴. He was sent by Maj. Stefan Łukowicz („Szczepan”) – an officer of the underground organisation. Along with other emissaries, also directed by Maj. Łukowicz, they went to several cities and counties in Pomerania, to analyse the current situation, establish contacts and discern the possibility of

²³¹ Ibid. See also: IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 00231/157/1, sygn. 01355/153/1, sygn. 0397/134/2, Departament Oświaty, sygn. 01355/95. About the District Government Delegation for Poland in Pomerania see: G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 185–201; idem, *Podziemie cywilne...*, s. 77–87; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 73–90; idem, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu RP. Zarys struktury organizacyjnej i funkcjonowanie w latach 1941–1945*, ZH, 1994, z. 2–3, pp. 193–194 i n.; idem, *Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu RP na Pomorzu*, Pomerania, 1988/1; idem, *Administracja Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, Przegląd Powszechny, 1990, nr 9; idem, *Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne w planach KG ZWZ-AK i Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj. Dzieje Biura Zachodniego i Wojskowej Administracji Ziem Nowych w latach 1940–1945*, Sobótka, 1989, nr 3, pp. 396–405 oraz inne prace tego autora; K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja...*, pp. 131–133; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, pp. 51; idem, *Początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Pomorzu Gdańskim (1939–1941)*, ZH, 2001, z. 3–4, pp. 153, 157–158; K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu...*, pp. 210–218; W. Sulewski, *Polacy nad Odrą i Bałtykiem w walce z Trzecią Rzeszą (1939–1945)*, Warszawa 1975).

²³² E. Serwański maintained contacts with the Commander of the Western Corps (the formation set up in the General Government, whose members were displaced inhabitants of Greater Poland and Pomerania) Col. Zygmunt Łęgowski („Janusz”) and his deputy Col. Maciej Rataj („Paweł”), the Commander of the Western Territory consisting of the District of Poznań and Pomerania, Col. Tadeusz Komorowski („Korczak”, „Bór”) and the priest Dr Maksymilian who was the head of the Bureau for Education and Schools) of the Western Territories. See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1, Akta śledcze..., vol. 1 (Protokół z przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 3.04.1948 r); E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*

²³³ AAN, Akta DR, mf 2201/1II, sygn. 202/I/1. See: *Przyczynki do dziejów...*, p. 5; E. Serwański, *Wspomnienia...*

²³⁴ K. Przybyszewski, A. Zakrzewska, *Antczak Antoni (1890–1952)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 3, pp. 25–29. See also: T. Jaszowski, *Gestapo w walce z ruchem oporu nad Wisłą i Brdą*, współpraca autorska: W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1985, p. 75.

organizing an underground network. There were places of the residence of political activists from the National Party and representatives of various professions in the counties of Brodnica, Grudziądz and Toruń²³⁵. Meetings in Toruń were held in a group of three to five people, among others in the apartment of Jan Nowak and his son Tadeusz in 7/3 Kochanowskiego Street. Organizing the underground political life began at the turn of 1939/1940. At that time, attempts were made to create an inter-group cell under the name Coordinating Commission of Political Parties (Cross-party Committee), composed of representatives of the SN, the SP and the PPS and the Camp of National Unity. On the basis of the organizational potential of the National Party and the Labour Party there began the creation of a military-civilian apparatus of the Polish Underground State. Present during these discussions was a man under the pseudonym „Krzyś”²³⁶. There was a consolidation of the efforts of the National Party, one of whose leading representatives was Wacław Ciesielski („Roman”) and of the Labour Party, represented, among others, by A. Antczak. These two factions exerted the greatest influence on the organization of the Regional (Pomeranian) Government Delegation in Warsaw, as well as in Pomerania. Concerning the creation of a security system, organized from the autumn of 1942 in Pomerania, the SP had the priority, while in the capital it was the SN. Such arrangements were made among representatives of political forces within the Delegation. Initially, an attempt was made to expand the military-civilian structure, on the basis of the Administrative Department of the aforementioned „Grunwald” organization. This department was led by W. Ciesielski²³⁷. During 1940, the efforts of the military and civil-political circles in Pomerania also focused on creating ZWZ links, while still making use of the National Party and „Grunwald”. The later chief of staff of the Pomeranian branch of the Association of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) Cpt. J. Chyliński largely depended on these organizations. At the newly established Pomeranian District ZWZ Station, W. Ciesielski was appointed Head of the Organizational Department. However, due to the autumn ar-

²³⁵ According to the account of M. Pufal, which still needs to be verified, Major S. Łukowicz also contacted Bolesław Lipski – the future head of the Security Department of the Regional Delegation of the Government. See: FAPAK, vol. Pufal Klemens, sygn. M-364/976-Pom.; B. Chrzanowski, *Początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego...*, p. 149.

²³⁶ T. Nowak identifies him with Col. Emik Kumor from the Service for Poland's Victory, who at that time worked on the way Warsaw–Toruń. He met him again in Toruń probably on 10 June 1941 and transmitted the information about the prisoners kept in Grudziądz and about the youth organizations operating in Toruń. See: AMS, T. Nowak, *Mój życiorys* (mps), 4–5; idem, *Ocalić od zapomnienia* (mps), Słupsk 1984; Rel. A. Przybyły (w zb. aut.); B. Chrzanowski, *Początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego...*, p. 148. Comp. also: E. Kumor, *Wycinek z historii jednego życia*, Warszawa 1969.

²³⁷ G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, s. 80; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 83–84; AMS, *Kolekcja...*, sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie informatora „Postępowego” z 20.09.1951 r.); Dane do historii AK. Okręg Pomorze, opr. J. Chyliński, mps w zb. aut., pp. 1–15; Rel. J. Chylińskiego (w zb. aut.).

rests 1940, all of these actions failed to develop on a wider scale.²³⁸ The arrests broke up the „Grunwald” organization and a large part of the Pomeranian District Command.

Antczak left Toruń, but in the spring of 1941 came there again and with the help of SP activists, and later the SN, as well as those members of the „Grunwald” who escaped arrests, he began organizing civilian structures and communication links with Warsaw. Another period of the Pomeranian underground activity began. A major role was played by another member of the Labour Party, Franciszek Rochowiak („Franek”, „Franciszek”, „Frudl”, „Zaklicki”). The team, which was not yet formally part of the Delegation apparatus, following the appointment by the Government Delegate on 15 July 1941 of A. Antczak for the position of District Delegate, became a member of the Regional (Pomeranian) Government Delegation for Poland. In this way, the Branch Office of the Delegate Bureau was chaired by F. Rochowiak as deputy to A. Antczak. Bronisław Krzemiński had contacts with them from Bydgoszcz and Toruń.²³⁹

Conditions under the occupation once again forced Antczak to leave Toruń and move to Warsaw. There, along with several heads of various departments he directed the work of the Delegation in Pomerania. In the capital he expanded the Delegate Bureau, the head of which became Ignacy Wujek („Wolski”)²⁴⁰, who from 1942 was Antczak’s deputy. Wujek also served as emissary to Toruń and was expected to take up position of a vice-voivode (the voivode was to be A. Antczak)²⁴¹ Before I. Wujek the post of Deputy Delegate was held by Bernard Ciszewski from the National Party, and then, after Wujek – Zygmunt Milczewski²⁴². For safety rea-

²³⁸ G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, p. 82; idem, *Podziemie cywilne...*, pp. 79–81; idem, *Początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego, Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 1992, nr 2, p. 131; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 51; idem, *Początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego...*, pp. 148–148 i in.; idem, *Wrzesień 1939 i początki Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Warszawa i stolice regionalne II RP we wrześniu 1939 roku i w początkach Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego. Studia*, pod red. M. M. Drozdowskiego i H. Szwankowskiej, Warszawa 2002, p. 197; A. Gąsiorowski, *Szare Szeregi na Pomorzu 1939–1945*, Toruń 1998, pp. 56–57; T. Nowak, *Mój życiorys...*, pp. 4–5; *Dane do historii AK...*, p. 8; Rel. J. Chylińskiego, A. Przybyły (w zb. aut.).

²³⁹ Comp. G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, pp. 81–82; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury...*, p. 82; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 234; *Sojusznicy gestapo. Proces Kwasiborskiego i innych*, red. odpowiedzialny J. Guranowski, Warszawa 1951, p. 87. See also: K. Ciechanowski, *Ruch oporu...*, pp. 210–218; K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska...*, pp. 131–133. See also: IPN-By, Kryptonim „Werner II”, sygn. 044/576; Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Index”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 1 (in some documents it read „Indeks”, and sometimes: „Index”).

²⁴⁰ Born on 21.05.1892 in the country of Gostynin, son of Jan and Kunegunda née Kabał. Before the war he was the starost in Wyrzysk and Żnin.

²⁴¹ See: G. Górski, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, p. 83; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, s. 230; AMS, Akta J. Patalonga (kopia z AUOP-B, sygn. 2275–SL, t. I); Relacja S. Meyzy (córkę A. Antczaka, w zb. aut.).

²⁴² According to other sources, the vice-voivode was also to be appointed B. Ciszewski. See: G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 230; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, p. 83; K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska...*, pp. 131–132; AMS, Akta J. Patalonga (kopia z AUOP-B, sygn.

sons, they introduced a rule that when the head of the department is in Warsaw, his deputy stays in Pomerania and vice versa.

As at the central level, so at the regional level, the Delegate Office was a body of work of the incumbent Delegate. They organized the Departments roughly corresponding with Voivode Office Departments. The Pomeranian Office of the Delegation in Warsaw consisted of the following Departments: Security, Administration (General), Local Government, Social (Social Policy and Health). They were the best organized Departments, whereas the greatest importance was attached to the forming of security apparatus structures. Head of this Department was Bolesław Lipski, who resided in Bydgoszcz²⁴³, while his deputy Felix Antczak (son of the Regional Delegate) stayed in Warsaw²⁴⁴. The case of the position of Deputy Head of the Security Department, however, remains open²⁴⁵. In Warsaw, the Provincial

2275-SL); Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-58; IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Wisła”, sygn. 069/206, vol. 6 k; Rel. E. Borzyszkowskiego, S. Meyzy (córki A. Antczaka) (w zb. aut.).

²⁴³ Born on 11.06.1890 in Odry, the county of Chojnice, son of Dominik and Stefania nee Knuth. He took part in the First Silesian Uprising in 1919. In the years 1920-1927 he was the maritime starost in Puck, and from 1927 in Wejherowo. In June 1925 he received there President of Poland Stanisław Wojciechowski. In the years 1930-1935 he was the head of the Pomeranian Fire Association; from 1936 the head of the State Mutual Insurance Office in Poznań – the branch in Bydgoszcz at 71 Gdańska street. He was decorated with the War Order of Virtuti Militari (nr 7642 z 1.01.1933), the Cross of Independence (nr 24/495 z 16.07.1932 – Zarządzenie Prezydenta RP z 20.07.1932 r.), the Cross of Valor and others. His extensive biogram, see: B. Chrzanowski, *Lipski Bolesław (1890–1945)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny, cz. 2*, pp. 107–109; idem, *Bolesław Lipski (1890–1945)*, [in:] *Konspiracja i opór społeczny w Polsce 1944–1956. Słownik biograficzny, t. II*, Kraków–Wrocław–Warszawa 2004, pp. 313–315; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, K. Steyer, op.cit., pp. 604–605; Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe w Warszawie (CAW) (Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne), Wniosek odznaczeniowy z lipca 1932 r.

²⁴⁴ We do not know the backstage of F. Antczak's activity in the Pomeranian District Government Delegation - Pomeranian ODR). From the partly preserved files we may conclude (see chapter VIII) that he worked in the Command of the Civillian Struggle / the Social Resistance. (On 15 Dec 1944 he testified: "In January 1943 I joined KOS – the Command of the Social Resistance." He worked there for territory of the Voivodeship of Warsaw. Naturally, he could not admit being associated with the Security Department of ODR. Yet, he was undeniably a member of KWC/KOS, which does not change the fact that he might have run the works of the Security Department of the Pomeranian Delegation from Warsaw. It seems probable as the Command of the Civilian Struggle was organized also as part of ODR-Pomerania. Comp.:IPN-W-wa, Sprawa Wróblewskiego *vel* Antczaka Feliksa, sygn. 872/2 (akta te zostały przekazane do Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej z Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego); A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany przewodnik...*, p. 580.

²⁴⁵ In the denunciation by the informant of the Provincial Security Bureau in Bydgoszcz – code-named „Postępowy” of 28 Oct 1949 it says that S. Stempniewski “has mentioned to me that the deputy of Lipski was the last prewar commissioner at the Commissariat of the Government in Gdynia, whose name he does not know, but he met him during the occupation in Warsaw” [transl. A.C.]. It is wrong information as the last Head of the Security Department of the Commissariat of the Government in Gdynia – Czesław Karwowski (1898-1939) was killed in Piaśnica in the autumn of 1939. Comp.: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-49 (Doniesienie agenturalne z 28.X.1949 r.); B. Bojarska, *Piaśnica...*, pp. 58, 113; *Encyklopedia Gdyni*, pod red. M. Sokołowskiej, Gdynia 2006, p. 305; E. Rojowska, M. Tomkiewicz, *Gdynia 1939–1945 w świetle źródeł niemieckich i polskich. Aresztowania – egzekucje – wysiedlenia ludności cywilnej narodowości polskiej*, Gdynia 2009, p. 89.

Headquarters of the State Security Corps was also established, together with the post of Local Government Guard Inspector. Directors of the individual departments resided in Warsaw, while their deputies acted in Pomerania. The only exception was the Security Department, of which the Deputy stayed in the capital, and the head lived in Bydgoszcz.

At the Regional Delegate, a Special Court should also have been created, but this was not followed through in Pomerania²⁴⁶.

The Administration Department, headed by I. Wujek, functioned as the General Department, and coordinated the work of the Delegate Bureau. They prepared, among others, a selection of staff for the positions of mayors and starosts in Pomerania for the post-war period. Such cases, as well as legal issues of the German population in the western territories after the war, fell under Edmund Borzyszkowski („Szymon”, „Józef”, „Lipinski”), who was also an employee of the Western Department of Civil Service to the Nation, established by the „Szaniec” group, from which Lizard Union and the National Armed Forces originated. He was also active in the leadership of the Military Headquarters Offices of the ZWZ-AK. There he used the pseudonyms „Michał” and „Borowy”²⁴⁷. E. Borzyszkowski had contact with A. Antczak, and with the subordinate team they worked on the selection for positions concerning Królewiec (Königsberg), Elbląg, Gdańsk, Gdynia, Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Grudziądz and other Pomeranian towns. This work was successfully completed in its entirety. Some people intended for the positions were knowledgeable about the tasks they were expected to perform in the future, while others had no such knowledge. Suitable candidatures were also presented by Czesław Dawidzki, who went up and down between Warsaw and Pomerania. Similar work, though at lower administrative levels, was carried out by the ODR Branch in Pomerania²⁴⁸. In addition, E. Borzyszkowski also participated in the development of economic issues in Pomerania. These activities concerned issues along the line of the Delegation and the Leadership of Military Offices Headquarters of the Home Army, strictly speaking, the Military Administration of the New Territories (WAZN) and the Western Bureau of the Government Delegation²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁶ See: B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 45; G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, p. 86; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 231. Comp. also: W. Grabowski, *Sądy Kapturowe Delegatury Rządu na Kraj. Przyczynek do działalności Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego*, Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne, 2007, z. 2, p. 257–267.

²⁴⁷ See: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 00231/94, vol. 2 (Protokół przesłuchania S. Kasznicy z 23.03.1947 r.), sygn. 00231/94, vol. 1 (i E. Borzyszkowskiego z 5.01.1946 r.).

²⁴⁸ Comp.: IPN-B, Akta w sprawie Stefana Dominika i towarzyszy, sygn. 66/2304; Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 3; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. I, Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 3.01.1950 r.); AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne informatora „Postępowy” z 16.04.1949 r.).

²⁴⁹ E. Borzyszkowski himself was to be the mayor of Gdańsk. Comp.: IPN, MBP sygn. 1572/4430 (Wykaz osób przewidzianych na starostwa); Delegatura Rządu Londyńskiego..., sygn. 0135/153/1Z; Rel. E. Borzyszkowskiego (w zb. aut.). See also: B. Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy...*, pp. 80–81; G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura...*, p. 190.

The Department of Local Government led by Stefan Fredyk²⁵⁰ selected staff for the local government administration. In turn, the Department of Social Welfare (Social Policy and Health), led by Zdzisław Dandelski and Ignacy Nemir²⁵¹, provided help to Poles displaced from Pomerania to the General Government, and also sent funds to Pomerania for people in difficult circumstances. I. Nemir took part in preparatory courses organized by the Department of Social Welfare, which prepared the staff for the work in the future Ministry of Social Welfare.

In addition to these Departments in Warsaw, the following units were also operational: the Technology Department (for Communication and Construction, and Communication), whose head was Kazimierz Lewandowski; Agriculture, headed by Stanisław Ossowski; Propaganda and the Press, led by Dionizy Wesołek or Lt. Antoni Spandowski; Tax, Liquidation of the Effects of War – which was to be led by Józef Milcarek; Industry and Trade, with the director Barciszewski (name NN); Public Works and the Directorate of Civil Resistance (Social Resistance Committee). Little is known about the activities of these departments with the exception of Propaganda and Press, and the latter is known about mainly due to links with the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press²⁵².

Propaganda and education issues essentially remained the responsibility of the relevant departments of the Delegation, which lay outside the Regional Delegate Bureau. Thus, propaganda activity in the Western Territories, including Pomerania, was led by the Department of Information and Press and its Western Section. In turn, the work of providing education was led by the Education and School Bureau of the Western Territories (Department of Education and School of the Western Territories („Poczekalnia”)²⁵³ and the Department of Education and Culture (DOiK).

After the unification of the Bureau with the Department of Education at the turn of 1943/1944, in the Delegate Bureau of Pomerania a Department of Public Education was created. Its director was Zygmunt Szulczyński²⁵⁴. He was in con-

²⁵⁰ Born on 16.07.1893 in Gniezno, son of Józef and Marianna nee Rogalska. He also maintained contact with B. Lipski. AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie informatora „Postępowego” z 20.09.1951 r.).

²⁵¹ K. Komorowski, *Konspiracja pomorska...*, p. 131; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-49 (Protokół przesłuchania A. Antczaka z 10.11.1950 r.). He was interrogated by an officer of the Public Ministry in Warsaw Bogdan Kielbasa. In the publication cited above *Aparat bezpieczeństwa...*, vol. I, there is no such person. See also: IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 7.

²⁵² IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 00231/157/1; 00231/99, vol. 1–2; sygn. 01222/3051; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. k-1-48, k-1-50. See also: G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, pp. 83–87; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, pp. 230–232; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 300–305; B. Chrzanowski, *Struktura organizacyjna Związku Walki Zbrojnej-Armii Krajowej na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945 (Materiały do dyskusji)*, [in:] *Armia Krajowa na Pomorzu...*, pp. 63–64.

²⁵³ See: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 241.

²⁵⁴ Born on 6.12.1887 in Włocławek, the county of Sępólno, son of Władysław and Michalina nee Paczyńska. After the war he lived in Sopot. J. Krasuski, *Tajne szkolnictwo polskie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1977, p. 273 (here the wrong information is given that he ran underground education in Poznań).

tact with the Director of the Education and Culture Department Czesław Wycech („Sadowski”) and Leszek Franciszek Klima („Toruński”) from the General Secretariat of the department, and a member of the Secret Teaching Organization in Pomerania²⁵⁵. In the direction of Eastern Prussia, where the cells of Regional Delegation were also present, the issues of education were to be directed by Jan Bystron²⁵⁶.

The organizational structure of the Pomeranian Regional Delegation underwent a transformation, but ultimately, efforts were made to adapt it to the instructions of the Interim Government Administration.

The Pomeranian Government Delegation in Warsaw employed about 50 people. They used the code names „Piaski”, „Mewy” and „Zatoka”²⁵⁷. The Bureau of the Regional Delegate was marked by the Roman numeral I²⁵⁸. Communication between Warsaw and Pomerania was maintained by: Ignacy Wujek and Czesław Dawidzki, as well as representatives of the security section of the Branch of the District Delegate Bureau in Toruń: Stefan Stempniewski („Werner II”, „Czarny”, „Olsza”)²⁵⁹ and Marian Hegenbarth („Hubert”, „Kubiak”)²⁶⁰, as well as a railroad

²⁵⁵ The cryptonym of the Polish Teachers' Union operating in the underground.

²⁵⁶ IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01355/95, 00231/99, vol. 1. See also: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 305; Cz. Wycech, *Z dziejów tajnej oświaty w latach okupacji 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1964, p. 53; J. Krasuski, op.cit., pp. 273–279; M. Walczak, *Działalność oświatowa i martyrologia nauczycielstwa polskiego pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, Wrocław 1987, pp. 214–221; idem, *Władze oświatowe w okupowanej Polsce*, Przegląd Zachodni, 1989, nr 5–6, pp. 96–103.

²⁵⁷ In the report of the scrutiny of „Zatoka” of August 1944 there 28 people mentioned. Comp.: IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01355/153/1.

²⁵⁸ In the letter to the Head of the Security department in Pomerania B. Lipski written in August 1943, Antoni Antczak underlined that “District is the Bureau of the District Government Delegation – ODR (I)”. [transl. A.C.]. See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-20; AUOP-B, sygn. O-284, vol. I (odpis w zb. aut.).

²⁵⁹ Born on 3.07.1904 in Oberhausen (Germany), son of Antoni and Józefa nee Wojtczak, a locksmith by profession. Sworn in in 1940 in the flat of the priest Jan Kopczyński in Plac Piastowski in Bydgoszcz by the Commander of the Pomeranian District of the Union of Armed Struggle Major Józef Ratajczak. Later he was recruited to the Delegation by his brother Kazimierz, Adam Stefaniak and Antoni Marciniak. He sworn in for the second time in the presence of B. Lipski, to whom he delivered food and press (both underground press and German press – to provide him with the complete perspective of the wartime reality). He maintained contact with partisans in Bory Tucholskie. He visited Warsaw many times to meet Antoni Antczak. It must be underlined that he hid the fact of his belonging to the Union of Armed Struggle while he was being interrogated by the Public Security Bureau (UBP) after WWII. See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48. IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2304, 66/2305; Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 3 (Donesienie agenturalne z 14.05.1949 r.); FAPAK, vol. Stempniewski Stefan „Olsza”, „Werner II”, sygn. M 1286/2127-Pom.; Rel. S. Stempniewskiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁶⁰ Born on 29.08.1912 in Recklinghausen, son of Mateusz and Agnieszka nee Szostak. During the occupation the Gestapo looked for him in February 1944 because he had abandoned his work. After the war he worked in Zjednoczenie Stoczní Polskich. He lived in Gdańsk. Comp.: Geheime Staatspolizei Staatspolizeistelle Posen IV C 1. Fahndungsblatt Nr 15 z 25.02.1944 r. IPN – Oddział w Łodzi, (dalej: IPN-Ł), sygn. 1/179; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48 (Raport WUBP z 16.03.1950 r. o przebiegu rozpracowania PSC, kryptonim „Ocean”); J. Jakubowska, *Hegenbarth Marian (1911–?)*,

worker, Walczak (named NN). They would meet with A. Antczak around the Ujazdowskie Avenue and the Square of the Three Crosses²⁶¹.

3. Branch of the District Delegate Bureau (Office) in Toruń

As we know, the branch of the Regional Delegate Bureau set out to work in 1941. It was marked by the roman numeral II. Its director F. Rochowiak lived in Toruń. He was responsible before A. Antczak for the work of the Branch and kept in contact with the Office of the Regional Delegation²⁶². He recruited B. Lipski to work at the Delegation. He introduced him to the scope of activities, objectives and structure of the underground civil authorities. He also instructed him to organize the administrative apparatus of local government, education and security at the voivodeship (district) level and at lower levels down to, and including the community. The civil apparatus was meant to function in Pomerania next to the military structures (ZWZ-AK)²⁶³.

The closest collaborators of Rochowiak and Lipski, among others, were: Jan Budasz²⁶⁴, Kazimierz Kostusiak, Kazimierz Ceranowicz and Bronisław Krzeminski (both belonged to the Christian Democrats), as well as Sylwan Stankiewicz, Józef Sępolowicz²⁶⁵, Stanisław Sobocki²⁶⁶, Antoni Marciniak²⁶⁷, Stefan Stempniewski, Kazimierz Stempniewski („Werner I”)²⁶⁸, Marian Hegenbarth, Stefan Matysik („Mat”)²⁶⁹,

[in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 5, pod red. E. Skerskiej, Toruń 2001, p. 66 (here the wrong birth date: 29.11.1911 r.).

²⁶¹ Ibid., sygn. K-1-51 IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2305; G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 232; Rel. S. Stempniewskiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁶² G. Górski, *Kobiety w pomorskiej Okręgowej Delegaturze Rządu RP na Kraj*, [in:] *Służba Polek na frontach II wojny światowej. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej w Toruniu w dniach 16–17 listopada 1996 roku*, pod red. E. Zawackiej, Toruń 1999, pp. 197–198 i n.

²⁶³ Lipski remained hidden in the flat of A. Marciniak from mid-1942. IPN-By sygn. 070/2764, vol. 1.

²⁶⁴ Born on 21.06.1900 in Mieszkowo, the county of Jarocin, son of Jan and Anna nee Janicka, participant of the Uprising of Greater Poland, reserve Cpt. of the Polish Army. Arrested by the Security Bureau (UB) in 1945. He was murdered in Potulice.

²⁶⁵ Also known as Sępolowicz. Born on 19.02.1897 in the county of Żnin, son of Wojciech and Franciszka nee Romuald. See: G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 192–193; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 233; idem, *Podziemie cywilne...*, p. 87; IPN-By, sygn. 069/284 (Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Index”); AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48.

²⁶⁶ Born on 11.08.1898 in Poznań, son of Albert and Eleonora nee Wodniak.

²⁶⁷ Born on 22.07.1913 Düsseldorf, son of Stanisław.

²⁶⁸ Born on 10.10.1910 in Oberhausen.

²⁶⁹ Born on 30.08.1898 in Siedlec, the county of Wolsztyn, son of Jan and Maria nee Kulas.

Czesław Rubaszewski („Ruba”)²⁷⁰, Zygmunt Wiśniewski²⁷¹, and Tadeusz Nowak. The latter served as a connector for F. Rochowiak and received from him a cipher in which numbers replaced the alphabet²⁷².

In 1941 and in subsequent years, various Departments of the ODR Branch were created. The Security Department, which was the most advanced, was led by B. Lipski („Bartel”, „Garczyński”). He maintained direct contact with Warsaw, which included the Western Bureau, and with F. Rochowiak in Toruń. Other departments did not play such a priority role as Security did, but despite enormous difficulties, especially in terms of human resources, F. Rochowiak sought to expand the organizational network of the District Government Delegation (ODR). He managed to establish, sometimes only in their foundations, the administrative units of ODR in Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz and Gdańsk–Gdynia. The Labour Party had a strong influence there. Any complications were usually resolved during joint meetings between employees of the Department of Security and the Department of Administration („A”). The position of Head of the Administration Department was assigned to Stefan Fredyka, while Józef Meller („III/A”)²⁷³ was appointed his deputy. In the line of administration, where F. Rochowiak („II/A”)²⁷⁴ was deputy, a Toruń circuit was established. The unit was led by Sylwan Stankiewicz („Butler”), and then Józef Śliwowski („Skrzat”) and probably a Bydgoszcz unit, as well as a Gdańsk–Gdynia unit. This administrative circuit also gathered intelligence in its territory, and distributed underground press supplied by F. Rochowiak²⁷⁵.

Other Departments of the ODR Branch were: Local Government („S”), led by Jan Moeller (Meller) and Edward Dzikowski²⁷⁶, where they trained staff to work in local government, and the Department of Agriculture („R”), organized and directed in 1943 by J. Sępołowicz. He prepared a complete body of work concerning

²⁷⁰ Born on 1.07.1913 in Bydgoszcz, son of Marian and Pelagia nee Baron. He was an accountant. He joined ODR thanks to Adam Stefaniak, who was sworn in by B. Lipski. IPN-By, sygn. 66/2305 (Akta w sprawie Dominik Stefaniak...); FAPAK, t. Rubaczewski Czesław „Ruba-1”, „Creber”, sygn. M 1005/1743-Pom.; B. Chrzanowski, *Rubaczewski Czesław (1913–1973)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 4, pp. 126–128 (here the wrong surname: should be Rubaszewski).

²⁷¹ Born on 18.11.1914 in Rywałd, the county of Grudziądz, son of Andrzej and Maria nee Kempaska. From 1933 he worked in the State Mutual Insurance and Pensions, where B. Lipski was the head. He died on 11 June 1990 in Brodnica. See: H. Jagielska, *Wiśniewski Zygmunt (1914–1990)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 1, p. 219.

²⁷² AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, T. Nowak, *Mój życiorys...*, p. 8, 12; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 48; G. Górski, *Podziemie cywilne...*, p. 82; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu...*, p. 82; Rel. M. Rochowiak (w zb. aut.).

²⁷³ Born on 16.05.1902 in Mosin, the county of Śrem, son of Franciszek and Elżbieta nee Lipowska, the prewar reserve officer.

²⁷⁴ See: G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, p. 193.

²⁷⁵ Rel. J. Śliwowskiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

the future of agriculture in Pomerania. Self-regulatory economic organisations ran an extensive network in Pomerania, Greater Poland and Silesia²⁷⁷.

The creation of the Department of Social Welfare („OS”) and the Department of Labour began as well. The Welfare Department provided help to the imprisoned, among others in the camp in Potulice. Food packages were delivered to the camps, and in August 1944, the department organized a fundraiser, as well as a collection of clothing and footwear for people evacuated after the collapse of the Warsaw Uprising, especially for those in the camp near Grudziądz²⁷⁸. They also collected the addresses of families whose relatives were in concentration camps in occupied Poland and the Reich itself, and then sent food parcels there. The care was extended to the following camps: Stutthof, Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg, Ravensbrück and Mauthausen-Gusen, as well as some oflags²⁷⁹. This kind of activity, which sprang bottom-up, was carried out through particular organizational levels of the Regional Delegation all over Pomerania.

Secret education played a significant role in Pomerania. Secret teaching in Pomerania was supervised by Józef Gutsche, acting Deputy Superintendent of schools for Pomerania. He was in direct contact with F. Rochowiak²⁸⁰. J. Gutsche received assistance organizing in Pomerania the Department of Public Enlightenment (Education – „O”) from employees of the Department of Security. Through their institutions, the Security Department tried to reach out to parents, making them aware of the need to spread education (many times under the guise of religious education only). The work was carried out not only in Bydgoszcz, but also in Świecie, Chełmno, Chojnice and Brodnica. Educational activity was carried out in conjunction with the Secret Teaching Organization in Warsaw, although the contact was restricted²⁸¹.

²⁷⁷ See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-18; IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284. vol. 10; T. Jaszowski, *Okręg Pomorski Armii Krajowej. Podokręg Południowo-Wschodni*, Toruń 1996, p. 30; Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁷⁸ S. Kamiński, Wywiad i organizacja. Grudziądz, Toruń, Brodnica. Zespół V (Okupacja). Saba. 1939–1945, t. Ia (odpisy w zb. aut., ob. zb. FAPAK). See also: *Relacja Tadeusza Zalewskiego*, [in:] *Relacje członków konspiracji pomorskiej w latach 1939–1945*, wyboru dokonała i opracowała E. Kwiatkowska-Dybaś, Toruń 2000, pp. 319–321.

²⁷⁹ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-17, K-1-18, K-1-20, K-1-21, K-1-48; K-1-51. Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.); G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura RP...*, p. 197; idem, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 233; FAPAK, t. Gutsche Józef, sygn. M 1029/1773, t. Eckert Urszula, *Wspomnienia...*, sygn. K-583/583-Pom., Pufal Anastazja, „Anana”, sygn. K-466/466-Pom.; Rel. L. Stankiewicz, J. Śliwowskiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁸⁰ G. Górski, *Kobiety w pomorskiej...*, p. 198; S. Rafiński, E. Skerska, *Gutsche Józef (1901–1984)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 5, pp. 64–65; B. Chrzanowski, *Służby kobiece w organizacjach pracowniczych i niektórych strukturach Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Służba Polek...*, p. 237.

²⁸¹ AMS, Kolekcja... sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne „Postępowego” z 23.05.1949 r. i Doniesienie agenturalne informatora „Błyskawicy” z 26.03.1951 r.); FAPAK, t. Brzeski Zdzisław, sygn. M-300/909-Pom.; Rel. B. Zalewskiej (w zb. aut.). See also: S. Grochowina, *Nauczanie dzieci polskich*

Secret teaching centres were scattered all over the Pomerania, among others, in Gdańsk, Gdynia, Wejherowo in Kartusy County, Kościerzyna, Starogard, Tczew, as well as in the county and the city of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. The secret teaching conducted at the primary level involved 150 teachers and about 1,400 children. At the secondary level, education was received by 270 pupils and involved 30 teachers. In the Chojnice County alone there were 20 secret groups at both the primary level and at secondary level.²⁸²

In Pomerania, attention was paid to the youth, especially to their attitude, in an effort to protect them from the depravity of war. At the command of F. Rochowiak, T. Nowak conducted a survey among adolescents, observing commitment to clandestine activities²⁸³.

The Department of Education used ciphers to denote positions of office and territory. The Head of the Department (Superintendent for schools) bore the code name „I/O”, his deputy – „II/O”, the Regional Inspector of region No. 2 – „III/2-O”, Clerk of county Education in the county No. 14 – „IV/14-O”, Clerk of city Education in the city No. 1 county No. 14 – „V/14/7-O”, and the municipal Clerk of Education in the municipality No. 12 county No. 14 – „VI/O-14-12”²⁸⁴. All of the departments implemented the tasks set by the management of the Regional Delegation and achieved success in the fields of their activity.

w jawnym niemieckim i tajnym polskim systemie szkolnym w Toruniu w latach 1939–1945, Toruń 2007.

²⁸² See more: S. Grochowina, *Tajne nauczanie na Pomorzu Gdańskim w latach 1939–1945*, Biuletyn Fundacji Archiwum i Muzeum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej oraz Wojskowej Służby Kobiet, 2003, nr 1, pp. 8–16; K. i K. Ciechanowscy, *Tajna działalność kulturalno-oświatowa na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945*, Gdańsk 1975, pp. 35–44; B. Ziółkowski, *Tajne nauczanie...*, pp. 45–140 i n.; W. Sulewski, *Z frontu tajnego nauczania*, Warszawa 1966, p. 199.

²⁸³ Rel. T. Nowaka (w zb. aut.).

²⁸⁴ In the chapter *Podziemie cywilne...*, p. 86, G. Górski indicates Feliks Kotewicz as the Deputy Head of the Department of Public Enlightenment (Z. Szulczyński), and in the work *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, p. 233, he writes that J. Gutsche was the head of the underground education in Pomerania. Comp. also: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, K-1-49; IPN-By, sygn. 069/282, vol. 3 (Doniesienie agenturalne „Postępowego” z 16.04.1949); Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Index”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 2.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN POMERANIA SECURITY DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OVERVIEW

1. Organization of security institutions. Legal aspects

The Security Department headed by B. Lipski constituted the basis for the development of the civilian structures in Pomerania. During the occupation B. Lipski worked at Danziger Feuersozietät in Bydgoszcz at 71 Gdańska St. (formerly the premises of the State Mutual Insurances). The underground office of the Security Department was located there. Some of the staff, e.g. J. Budasz and S. Sobocki, worked there too; it was also the place where the department archive was hidden. The secretary of B. Lipski was Cecylia Olejniczak („Ewa”).

The Security Department began their operations as early as October 1942²⁸⁵, but its structure was slightly modified, and ultimately it consisted of four sections:

- a) „B” – the security section directly under B. Lipski,
- b) National Security Corps – Security Corps (KB),
- c) Local Guards (Local Guards, SS),
- d) Political Intelligence²⁸⁶.

The head of the National Security Corps (PKB-KB) was Stefan Karbowski, of the Local Guards (SS) – Zdzisław Brzeski who cooperated with Karbowski²⁸⁷;

²⁸⁵ Comp. e.g. G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 193–194; idem, *Powstanie Okręgowej Delegatury...*, pp. 87–88; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 46; idem, *Cywilne struktury Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945*, [in:] *Terenowe struktury...*, pp. 135–136 (przyp. 27); AMS, Relacja S. Nowickiego, J. Lipskiego (syna B. Lipskiego).

²⁸⁶ Comp. IPN-By, Odpisy dokumentów z Archiwum Pomorskiej Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu RP – PSC, sygn. 069/284, t. 17; IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 0122/3051.

²⁸⁷ That is why S. Karbowski was sometimes identified with the head of the Security Corps and the Local Guards.

of Political Intelligence (WP) – Kazimierz Kolańczyk („Szczęsny”)²⁸⁸ who cooperated with the opera singer Adam Adolf Dachtera („Casco”)²⁸⁹, and subsequently C. Rubaszewski, who remained „the officer for special assignments” at the disposal of the Department director B. Lipski. The Secretary’s Office of the Department and the Political Intelligence section was managed by Albin (Albert) Wypijewski („Otto”)²⁹⁰. K. Kolańczyk and C. Rubaszewski were at the same time the deputies of B. Lipski, who promoted close cooperation of all the four sections²⁹¹. Kolańczyk’s aide and – as mentioned – the liaison with Antczak was S. Stempniewski while the contacts between K. Kolańczyk and District Inspectors were maintained through A. A. Dachtera.

This entire structure was to maintain order and security during the so-called breakthrough. Therefore the focus was on organizing not a skeleton crew but an entire administration, which was intended to fulfil its duties as defined by law, starting right after regaining independence.²⁹² This was the organizational structure introduced during the occupation, and it was supposed to be in operation during the so-called transition period, i.e. during an uprising, until new regulations were issued which would change the previous ones partially or in their entirety²⁹³. The Security Department, where the staff included people with connections to the National Democracy, was created in compliance with, among others, the guidelines sent from Warsaw to individual Regional Delegations, including Pomerania. The rules used in Warsaw served as a model. However, in Pomerania they had to be adapted to the current occupation conditions. The internal organization of the department was as follows: the supervisor of the organizational office, the supervisor of the social-political office, the secretary dealing with connections and archive, inspectors and three senior clerks properly qualified in the matters of civil service. This structure was transformed depending on the needs and the tasks given to the department.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁸ Born on 24.02.1915 in Byszewo, pow. the country of Bydgoszcz, son of Klemens and Konstancja nee Grus.

²⁸⁹ Born on 12.04.1915 in Salno, the country of Bydgoszcz, son of Leon and Hilaria nee Karnowska (or Karnkowska). The surname appeared in many versions: A. A. Dachtera, A. A. Dachter, and W. Grabowski writes: Adolf Dacht. Comp.: IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, t. 3; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 301.

²⁹⁰ Born on 7.11.1916 in Bydgoszcz, son of Władysław and Helena nee Ostrowska.

²⁹¹ In the above mentioned testimony B. Lipski said: “We followed the principle that the groups »B«, »KB« and »SS« constituted one whole with »WP«”. See AMS, Protokół..., sygn. K-1-51. See also: K-1-17, K-1-48; IPN-W-wa, Schemat organizacyjny Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa, sygn. 192/730.

²⁹² IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2306; G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, s. 232; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 46; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-38; Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

²⁹³ AUOP-B, sygn. 0-284, vol. I (ob. zb. IPN-By, pismo A. Antczaka do Kierowników Wydziału B z 23.08.1943 r., odpis w zb. aut.).

²⁹⁴ See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie informatora „Postępowego” z 20.09.1951 r.).

The most important directive was the 21-page *Security Instruction*²⁹⁵ from April 1943, concerning the matters of security and public during the so-called transition period as well as the issue of people included in the German People's List. The introductory part defined the legal character of the instruction: "This instruction regulates the activities of authorities and security institutions, which are to ensure that security and order will be maintained in the country from the beginning of the action of throwing off the occupant's power to the time when legal and actual relations have been stabilized."²⁹⁶ The *Security Instruction* defined the concept of security authorities and security institutions. The security authorities comprised, in compliance with the existing hierarchy, the Head of the Department of Internal Affairs (his subordinates, the heads of the Security Department), regional Government Delegates (his subordinates, the heads of the Security Department) and County Government Delegates. When the state authorities functioned in the open, they would be the Minister of Home Affairs, voivodes and starosts, respectively. This was the source of general decrees regarding public security. In turn, the security institutions included the Security Corps, Local Guards, Auxiliary Guards [Straż Pomocnicza] and other special teams. The document also determined the principles of cooperation with the military branch, i.e. the Home Army, although the name itself was not mentioned. The whole text consisted of two parts. The first, titled "Actions towards persons" was devoted to national matters, including the establishment by the Security Corps of internment camps for the German population. The second part regarded protection of public utility items, which was mainly the responsibility of the Local Guards and the Auxiliary Guards. The latter was never established in Pomerania.

The contents of the instruction were sent to the Western Bureau and to the Regional Departments for evaluation. It also reached Pomerania. With regard to the incorporated territories both the Western Bureau and the Regional Delegate A. Antczak, known to have been staying in Warsaw, as well as the Regional Delegates from Poznań and Silesia formulated a number of critical comments on particular clauses, which were given the title *Comments on the „Security Instruction”* and signed. This text criticized e.g. the lack of determination of the character of the instruction, which was not a legal act. The critics pointed out among others that the security institutions would need to confiscate privately owned means of transport (cars, motorcycles, bikes) in case of emergency. They suggested that the „standpoint as regards the organizations aiming at social upheaval, particularly communist organizations [...]”²⁹⁷ should be formulated. They also demanded that the regulations on crossing the old border of 1939 should be worded clearly and

²⁹⁵ Its full name was the following: the Instruction for the voivodeship and country authorities of the general administration concerning the guarantee of internal security in the state during the transition period (Security Instruction). See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17.

²⁹⁶ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17.

²⁹⁷ See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-13.

precisely, particularly regarding the Western Territories. This issue involved also implementing foreign currency regulations and the question whether this was the responsibility of the security institutions. The concept of closing the artificial border between the former annexed territories and the – non-existent by then – General Government, which was supposed to happen after liberation. With predicted massive wave of people returning in both directions, the authorities would not be able to control the whole situation. The critics put forward a proposal that pre-war civil servants would form the state and local authorities, and that employees of state-owned businesses and people holding public offices should be directed to move to Pomerania without hindrance. The owners of businesses and workshops exiled from Pomerania should be similarly treated. This would expedite speedy re-start of abandoned industrial objects. An additional issue was search at the border of people suspected of carrying weapons or illegal communist publications. Another proposal postulated securing state institutions – financial, local government, political (party headquarters) etc. – as well as conducting the census of movable and immovable property.²⁹⁸

Various comments and reservations notwithstanding, the above instruction was the basis for the directive to establish security institutions, i.e. the Security Service, the National Security Corps (called both in Pomerania and in other parts of the country the Security Corps) and the Local Guard down to the county (powiat) level.

The regulations in the *Instruction* were based on the following acts:

- a) the Law from 22 February 1937 on the state of emergency,
- b) the Law from 23 June 1939 on martial law,
- c) directives of the ministry of Home Affairs issued on the basis of Clause 8 of the Law on martial law,
- d) other regulations quoted in the *Instruction*.

The matters of organization were regulated among others by the project of the „Decree on the temporary organization of the security service”, consisting of seven parts and regarding the creation of the institutions of PKB (KB) and SS. The first part formulated general principles, defining the concepts of the “Security Corps” and “Local Guards”: „the Security Corps is the executive arm of the state general administration for maintaining public security, and Local Guards are organizations at the level of gmina, designed to maintain peace and public order in gmina, and the security of people and property.”²⁹⁹ Part two dealt with the organization of the Security Corps; part three – with Local Guards; part four – with common tasks of both these structures; part five concerned court matters; part six – with penal regulations and part seven – with transitional and final provisions as well as secondary regulations.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-18 (Instrukcja...).

²⁹⁹ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17 (Dekret o tymczasowej organizacji służby bezpieczeństwa).

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

According to the “Decree on the creation of the underground security service institutions”, issued by the Department of Internal Affairs, the order was given to create the Security Corps (top staff), Local Guards (full units in rural gminas, and in urban gminas – at least top staff) and Citizens’ Guards (also at full complement and ready to close their activities). The Security Corps was to employ career officers and constitute the executive institution of the general administration, while the Local Guard, also employing professionals, was an institution of the local government. In both cases, they “are the executive institutions of the general administration with regard to security and public order.”³⁰¹ In turn, the activities of the Citizens’ Guard were focused on maintaining order during the so-called transition period, after which they were supposed to cease.

Organizing the Security Corps was supposed to be carried out in such a way that the commanding cadre could quickly expand to create and launch the units at the level of voivodeships and counties, police stations and posts, and reserve.³⁰²

The structure of the Local Guards included a small section dealing with organization and training. The above mentioned security institutions started to work after liberation from the foreign occupation. The “Directive” quoted above formulates the premises of functioning of the individual components of the security system: “When the Government of the Republic of Poland starts working in the open, the decrees on the functioning of the Security Service will be published. The security service institutions planned in the projects are a) the Security Corps, b) the Local Guard, c) Citizens’ Guard [...]”³⁰³

The local structures of both security institutions were subordinated to the Chief Inspectorate of the National Security Corps and the Local Guard.

Individual regions, including Pomerania, were sent on 28 August 1943 supplements to the organization guidelines, e.g. „Decree on creating the underground security service”. Further decrees were sent to Pomerania by A. Antczak in October 1943 and in January of 1944.³⁰⁴

The supplementing „Directive” determined the structure and the scope of the Security Corps duties at the level of voivodeship and county. The County Chief of PKB (KB) was a deputy of the senior clerk in the security section and acquired the police and investigative staff, i.e. the political, criminal and investigation officers. His tasks included preparing the plan of securing public utility buildings; he

³⁰¹ W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 211; AUOP-B, sygn. O-284, t. I, (odpis w zb. aut. ob. zb. IPN-By), See also: IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 060/284/12; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17.

³⁰² AMS, Kolekcja... sygn. K-1-17 (Zarządzenie...).

³⁰³ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/1, sygn. 202/I-1. See also: Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/6 II, sygn. 202/II-33; IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 0397/13/6 (Schemat organizacyjny Kom.[endy] Gł.[ównej] PKB) oraz sygn. 0397/134/3; P. Majer, *Milicja Obywatelska w systemie organu władzy PRL (zarys problematyki i źródła)*, Toruń 2003, pp. 18–27.

³⁰⁴ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17, K-1-18 (Do Pana Kierownika Wydziału I/B [B. Lipskiego – przyp. B.Ch.], (Spis pracowników działu „B” grupy „KB”), K-1-19, K-1-50.

was also responsible for upholding public order, including counteracting criminal activity of any kind and detaining offenders if necessary. It is known that the mentioned *Security Instruction* obliged the Security Corps to organize transition camps for Germans and people threatening security of the state. Such camps were to be created in every region and district of the Security Corps. There were plans to create within the KB a special teams of camp service, properly trained to perform the entrusted tasks.³⁰⁵

The County Chief of Local Guard was the second deputy of the senior clerk in the security section and he was to gather the staff of the future Local Guard. He was also supposed to educate people on legal regulations.³⁰⁶

Each District Inspector had help from the Senior Officer [Referent] of the Security Corps and the Senior Officer of the Local Guard. In a county (powiat), the Senior Officer of the Security Corps and the Senior Officer of the Local Guard were subordinates of the Security Senior Clerk.³⁰⁷

The document „Problems of the Administrative System” stresses that PKB (KB) is to be an institution that employs few people, but is well armed, with excellent training and with motorized transport to intervene effectively if needed.³⁰⁸

The work instruction of the Security Department also detailed the tasks assigned to the Organization and Inspection Section and the Political and Social Section of the Security Department.³⁰⁹ They included e.g. the questions of general security, police, gun ownership, population movement, camps taken over from the occupant, population of local and German origin, communist organizations etc. This instruction was given to the Office Branch of the Pomeranian Delegation, although these two sections were not established there.³¹⁰

The *Instruction for Regional Chiefs of Political Intelligence* issued by the Central Directorate of Political Intelligence was also sent to Pomerania; the document formulated the work rules for Delegation regions in the occupied country. It was in force also in Pomerania.³¹¹ The head of a District Intelligence was a Chief, directly

³⁰⁵ Comp: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17 (Instrukcja... i Zarządzenie...), sygn. K-1-18 (Instrukcja...); AAN, Akta KG AK, mf 2368/1, sygn. 203/I-2.

³⁰⁶ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16, K-1-17, K-1-18 (Spis pracowników działu „B” grupy „KB”), K-1-19, K-1-50, K-1-52.

³⁰⁷ IPN-By, Rozprawowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 2.

³⁰⁸ Describing the PKB it was assumed that it was to react “quickly, decisively and unscrupulously”. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169.

³⁰⁹ Comp.: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 203–208; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16 (Wewnętrzny podział pracy Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa Urzędu Wojewódzkiego D.R. w okresie przejściowym w zakresie czynności wynikających z jawnego sprawowania władzy państwowej).

³¹⁰ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16, K-1-50, K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne. Zadania organizacyjne kierowników powiatowych Wydziału „B” napisane przez informatora „Postępowego” z 12.10.1949 r.); IPN-D-B, Odpisy..., sygn. 069/284, vol. 17. See also: G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 193–194; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, pp. 47–48.

³¹¹ See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16.

reporting to the Central Directorate of Political Intelligence, and in the matters connected with area security – to the Head of the Security Department. The text accentuated the responsibility placed on the political intelligence staff, particularly during underground work, stressing that the main aim of political intelligence is to collect the maximum amount of credible information on political life in a given territory. Thanks to the information packets they were receiving, the authorities of the Polish Secret State would have proper insight into the political situation.

The *Instruction* listed five ground rules of political intelligence work. Maintaining full cover was stressed as a guarantee of success of the whole action. Another important element was credibility and lack of bias as well as providing the source of information gathered. The given territory should be subjected to full reconnaissance (the co-called total exhaustion information-wise).³¹² To achieve satisfactory effects, intelligence work should be done under strict secrecy so that bystanders would not be able to notice any signs of underground activities. The collected information was to undergo selection and turned into a report passed to the higher level in a timely manner. To this aim, a special network of connections was to be organized. The tasks were determined in the *Questionnaire for the District chief of Political Intelligence*, which named six main spheres of Political Intelligence work on gathering information. In terms of content, they matched the duties of the mentioned sections: 1. German matters and occupant activity, 2. Communist propaganda and infiltration, 3. Arrests, deportations for forced labour, expulsions and expropriations, 4. General state of Polish society, 5. Polish political organizations and newspapers, 6. National minorities, foreign nationals and religious denominations.³¹³

Obviously in Pomeranian conditions full implementation of the guidelines included in the instructions was impossible and, as is known, certain content was not applicable to Pomerania, e.g. infiltration of communists, the issue of social care (Polish Red Cross, Central Welfare Council) or certain minorities (such as Greeks or Bulgarians) and denominations.

Attempts also were made to influence the Polish population through spreading news or through the very scarce underground newspapers as well as to watch the underground organizations operating in Pomerania, both military and political.

Steps were taken to reach suitable people who would be up to the tasks in the Security Department. They had to be people with unblemished past, respected in the area where they would work, and not on the German People's List. Before joining the ranks, the candidate was thoroughly investigated as to his suitability for the Security Service, Security Corps, Local Guard or Political Intelligence.

The members of the Security Department were thus very valuable patriots, well prepared to perform also very difficult tasks. They were educated people from different professions: lawyers (e.g. judges, recruited particularly for the National

³¹² AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16 (Instrukcja...).

³¹³ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-7 (Kwestionariusz...).

Security Corps), economists, pre-war civil servants, pre-war policemen, officers and NCOs of the Polish Army reserve, employees of the Second Department etc. What mattered was quality, not quantity. New members were trained at all levels. This was not an easy task, as lack of manpower was visible. One could say that this was the elite of the Polish Secret State in Pomerania. The intelligence structures basically covered the whole Eastern Pomerania and Kuyavia region. Unfortunately, against the basic rules of conspiracy, personal records were kept, which included pre-war military service records, criminal records etc. On the one hand, these data were needed to find candidates for future official posts, prepared by the regional Delegation. On the other hand, this violated the security rules not only during the German occupation, but also later, when this archive was captured by the state security.³¹⁴

The candidates for the Security Department took the oath following the wording for the pre-war civil servants. They were sworn in by the Department Head, then his deputy and the District Inspectors, and in 1944 even senior clerks in counties (powiats). The oath was „I swear to God Almighty that at the post entrusted to me I shall always mind the benefit of the Polish State and of the public, remain faithful to the government of Poland, fulfill my duties conscientiously and with dedication, follow the orders and directions of my superiors to the letter, guard the official secrets, observe the law strictly and treat all citizens equally. So help me God.”³¹⁵ Of course the text was adapted to the conditions of the occupation: „Wanting to serve the Polish State and Nation, obedient to the orders of the legal Government of the Republic of Poland residing abroad, which are delivered through the Government Delegate for the Country, accepting willingly the duty to fight the occupant, fully conscious of the danger from the enemy if my part in the underground work is discovered – I join the ranks of the Civil Service. I swear before God Almighty that at my post I shall obediently, faithfully and relentlessly fulfill the duties entrusted to me to free Poland from the aggressor. My superiors’ orders I shall always obey, the secrets I will always keep. So help me God.”³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Comp.: AUOP-B, sygn. 2/4 (ob. zb. IPN-By, odpisy w zb. aut.).

³¹⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/1, sygn. 202/I-1.

³¹⁶ On the basis of the postwar testimonies it may be concluded that the text of the oath was slightly changed in Pomerania. For example, in Szubin the following words were uttered: “We swear in the name of the Republic of Poland that we shall execute diligently any orders of our superior organizational authorities. We shall not reveal any secrets, and for the witness to this oath we take God” [transl. A.C.]. The text of the oath was read from a sheet of paper. In another testimony it says that there was the following passage in the text of the oath: “I shall serve the organizational authorities and follow the directives of the Polish government in exile in London”. See: IPN-By, sygn. 66/2304 (Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka...); IPN-W-wa MBP, sygn. 0397/134/3 oraz Delegatura Rządu Londyńskiego, sygn. 01222/3051; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-49 (Protokół przesłuchania Franciszka Szcześniaka z dnia 11.12.1950 r. sporządzony przez oficera śledczego PUBP w Szubinie), K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne informatora „Postępowy” z 16.04.1949 r.). Por. także: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-19; AUOP-B, sygn. 2123, t. I (ob. zb. IPN-By, Protokół przesłuchania T. Zalewskiego z 7.11.1946 r., odpis w zb. aut.).

Completion of the ordered tasks was the responsibility of District Inspectors. They were also liaisons and established new branches of the Regional Delegation. Persons who joined ODR usually remained outside the military, so they remained solely at the disposal of the civilian section.³¹⁷

Due to the harsh conditions under occupation, certain organizational activities were moved to Warsaw, e.g. the establishing of some parts of the National Security Corps.

2. Inner and territorial structure

As mentioned above, the structures of the District Government Delegation were marked with Roman numerals: the Delegate's Office in Warsaw – I; the Office Branch in Pomerania – II; and the District Branches – III. Each department was described by the abbreviation of the first letter of its name.

Inside the Security Department letters with Roman numerals were used. Thus the Department had the code name "B", the National Security Corps (Security Corps) – "KB", Local guard – "SS" and Political Intelligence – "WP". The functions were described with Roman numerals: Head of the Security Department: „I/B”, deputies: „II/B”, „II/KB”, „II/SS”, „II/WP”, District inspectors (simultaneously the district codename): „III/B”, „III/KB”, „III/SS”, „III/WP”. County Senior Clerks, County Chiefs of the Security Corps, Local Guard, Political Intelligence and self-contained cities were described by a Roman four: „IV”/B”, „IV/KB”, „IV/SS” and „IV/WP” (while „IV” also signified county). The senior clerks in towns that were not county seats were in turn assigned a Roman five: „V/B”, „V/KB”, „V/SS” and „V/WP”, although a 'five' basically denoted the Local Guard which fulfilled the role of the pre-war police. Expanding the Security Corps to the level of gmina was not intended (a "five" also denoted smaller towns). Further codes were VI – Gmina Senior Clerks (also a gmina itself) and VII – Gromada Senior Clerks (also a gromada). Some examples of codenames can be quoted: „I/B” – the Head of the Security Department (B. Lipski); „II/WP” – the deputy Head of the Security Department, also heading the Political Intelligence (K. Kolańczyk), „III/3/B” – Security Department Inspector of the 3rd District (Bydgoszcz) S. Nowicki; thus: function, district and section. The members of the Regional Delegation also used codenames. All the sections cooperated closely with each other, striving to achieve maximum efficiency of the whole security institution.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Some of the recruited members of the District Government Delegation had it explained that „this organization is not an offensive body, but a general authority which is subdivided into »W.P.«, »K.B.« and Straż Samorządowa – Local Guards, the aim of which was to trigger the work of the local authority apparatus in the transition period”. AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-19; IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2305; G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, p. 194; Rel. Z. Wiśniewskiego (w zb. aut.).

³¹⁸ Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

Thus the institutional structure of the Regional Delegation was built to some extent on the basis of the pre-war administration: the department heads at the voivodeship level selected their chiefs, who in turn recruited the senior clerks for counties and gromadas. Individual chiefs and senior clerks organized their own offices down to the level of gmina branch.

The best organized internal and territorial structures were obviously those of the Security Department the Department Districts, created mostly in the area of the former Pomeranian voivodeship, were finally marked with Arabic numerals from 1 to 4: District 1 (Southern) – Toruń; District 2 (Eastern) – Grudziądz; District 3 (Western) – Bydgoszcz; District 4 – (Northern) – Gdańsk–Gdynia. Also, District 5 was created for East Prussia, but it did not go beyond the initial organizational phase.³¹⁹

This division was prepared by a team under B. Lipski, which besides the persons mentioned included: Jan Budasz, Marian Hegenbarth, Stefan Matysik, Antoni Marciniak, Stanisław Nowicki,³²⁰ Czesław Rubaszewski, Stanisław Sobocki, Adam Stefaniak,³²¹ Kazimierz Stempniewski, Stefan Stempniewski and Zygmunt Wiśniewski. These people were the top members of the District Government Delegation in Pomerania.³²²

The four districts included 33 towns and counties. To mark them, each district was assigned appropriate Roman numbers.³²³

District 1 of Toruń – (III/1) comprised:

1. Toruń-miasto [Toruń-town] (m),
2. Toruń-county (p),
3. Inowrocław (m),
4. Inowrocław (p),
5. Włocławek (m),
6. Włocławek (p),
7. Nieszawa (Aleksandrów Kujawski) (p),
8. Lipno (p),
9. Rypin (p).

³¹⁹ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-20 (Podział terytorialny Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa).

³²⁰ Born on 8.05.1915 in Poznań, son of Stefan and Helena nee Strzelczyk. From 1938 he worked in the State Mutual Insurances in Bydgoszcz, where he met B. Lipski. It was there that he worked during the occupation period (Danziger Feuersozietät). He also worked in the pillar of education, agriculture and local authority of ODR Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.). Zob.: B. Chrzanowski, *Nowicki Stanisław (1915–1988)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 2, s. 133–135; idem, *Konspiracja i opór...*, vol. II, pp. 359–361.

³²¹ Born on 1.09.1911 in Styrum (Germany), son of Stanisław and Marianna nee Śliwińska. He also originally worked in Danziger Feuersozietät in Bydgoszcz.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-19 (Spis pracowników działu B, grupy B, Spis pracowników działu B, grupy SS, Spis pracowników działu B, grupy KB, Spis pracowników działu B, grupy WP). See also: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-50 (Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”); E. Forycki ps. „Mars”, *Łudzie z ODR „Zatoka”. O Okręgowej Delegaturze Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Pomorzu – ODR „Zatoka”, Bydgoszcz 1990 (mps)*, pp. 10–11.

District 2 of Grudziądz (III/2) included:

10. Grudziądz (m),
11. Grudziądz (p),
12. Brodnica (p),
13. Chełmno (p),
14. Lubawa (Nowe Miasto Lubawskie) (p),
15. Wąbrzeźno (p).

District 3 of Bydgoszcz (III/3) included:

16. Bydgoszcz (m),
17. Bydgoszcz (p),
18. Chojnice (p),
19. Sępólno (p),
20. Tuchola (p),
21. Świecie (p),
22. Szubin (p),
23. Wyrzysk (p).

District 4 of Gdańsk–Gdynia (III/4) was organized to include:

24. Gdynia (m),
25. Wejherowo (d. p. Morski),
26. Kartuzy (p),
27. Kościerzyna (p),
28. Starogard Gdański (p),
29. Tczew (p),
30. Gdańsk (m),
31. Gdańsk (p),
32. Sopot (p),
33. Wielkie Żuławy (p)³²⁴.

Individual Districts were organized and headed by: District 1 of Toruń – M. Hegenbarth (also in Political Intelligence and Local Guard – „Kubiak”, „III/1/SS”),³²⁵ S. Sobocki („Warta”, „III/1/B”) and J. Sępołowicz;³²⁶ District 2 of Grudziądz – Z. Wiśniewski („Parwus”, „Wdowiec”, „III/2/B”) and Stefan Karbowski (besides his function as the Head of the KB, „III/2/B”).³²⁷ District 3 of Bydgoszcz – Stanisław Nowicki („Strzelczyk”, „III/3/B”) and Adam Stefaniak.³²⁸

³²⁴ The intention was to embrace the furthest corners of the northern part of Pomerania up to Hel Peninsula. Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

³²⁵ He also to run the Inowrocław District (Inowrocław–Włocławek) and to use the cryptonym „III/4”. The district was very well organized and had a lot of members. See: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-19; Rel. Z. Wiśniewskiego (w zb. aut.); B. Ziółkowski, *Polska Podziemna na Kujawach wschodnich i ziemi dobrzyńskiej w latach 1939–1945*, Toruń 2008, pp. 450–475.

³²⁶ Comp.: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, K-1-52.

³²⁷ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne. Obwód 2-B informatora „Postępowy” z 7.05.1949 r.); Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

³²⁸ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, K-1-50; IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2304; B. Chrzanowski, *Nowicki Stanisław (1915–1986)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 2, pp. 133–135.

District 4 of Gdańsk–Gdynia was organized by K. Stempniewski („III/4/B”). He maintained contact with B. Lipski e.g. through his brother Stefan. Both brothers were also involved in illegal crossing the border via the sea route from Gdynia to Szwecja. There probably was a connection between Kazimierz and Stefan Stępniewski and the attempts of the Government Delegation institutions to organize a transport route from the Gdańsk Coast to Sweden, where at the office of the Polish Envoy was the unofficial outpost named „Adam”, led by Mieczysław Thugutt („Adam”, „Erik Larsen”). Besides this, at the Polish envoy office there was also the liaison base „Anna”, which made it possible to maintain communication between the occupied country and the Polish government in London.³²⁹ The „Adam” outpost, a part of the so-called Continental Action based on the centres of Polish diaspora, began thus to organize contact points in Northern Pomerania. There were plans to utilize the premises of certain persons living in Gdynia, who were simultaneously on the radar of the „Anna” Base: Helena Guluk, Pelagia Kramp, Teofil Reszczyński, Ms Trawczyńska and Ms Bereźnicka (first names unknown). Also the contacts of Petty Officer Third Class Kajetan Łowczynowski („Szlemik”),³³⁰ currently staying in Sweden, were to be used; he was tasked with organizing the maritime intelligence post in Gdynia and Gdańsk. The people responsible for organization of „Adam” branches in Gdynia were the delegation emissaries Roman Litwin („Sowa”), Tadeusz Chciuk („Celt”, „Sulima”) and Franciszek Klima („Dysk”, „Oszczep”).³³¹ Besides, the Continental Action in Gdynia was led by the head of the courier communication service of the Maritime Sub-district of the Home Army, Scoutmaster Lucjan Cyłkowski.³³²

³²⁹ The communication base „Anna” constituted the destination for emissaries and couriers arriving from Warsaw through Gdynia, transported illegally on Swedish ships (the so called „blindziarze”) to Sweden. It was run by the Department of Communication with Abroad („Zagroda”) of the Underground Communication of Division V of the Main Headquarters of the Home Army. The base cooperated both with the base „Adam” and the Branch of the Polish intelligence service „Północ”. All the bases worked at the Diplomatic Post of the Republic of Poland in Stockholm without the permission of neutral Sweden. After the war the Ministry of Security tried to decipher both bases. See: IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01355/176/1. Por. także: B. Chrzanowski, *Organizacja i funkcjonowanie...*, pp. 81–105.

³³⁰ He escaped from Gdynia on the Swedish ship in February 1943.

³³¹ The Silent Unseen (Cichociemni), air-dropped on the territory of Poland on 16/17.03.1943, 3/4.04.1944 and 19/20.05.1944. R. Litwin was helped by a member of „Ojczyzna” and a worker of the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press – W. Jaroszewski. The other silent unseen – T. Chciuk – brought the addresses to Sweden, Bydgoszcz and Gdynia, which he transmitted to the authorities in Warsaw. See: SPP/O/VI, Pismo szefa wywiadu morskiego kmr. B. Jabłońskiego do szefa Oddziału VI z 11.09.1943), sygn. 2.6. sygn. 2.3.4.3.1.2. (depesze). See also W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 90–96; T. Panecki, *Polonia zachodnioeuropejska w planach Rządu RP na emigracji (1940–1944)*. *Akcja kontynentalna*, Warszawa 1986; E. S. Kruszewski, „Felicja” – skandynawski fragment Akcji Kontynentalnej, [in:] *Nowoczesna historia Polski*, pod red. J. Jasnowskiego, Londyn 1987, pp. 195–224; idem, *Akcja Kontynentalna w Skandynawii 1940–1945*, Kopenhaga 1993.

³³² L. Cyłkowski’s contacts concerned the transfer from Gdynia to Denmark. He cooperated with Lucjan Masłocha („Mały”, „Mały Człowiek, krypt. „502”), the agent of Division II. See: SPP, O/VI, sygn. 5.2.4.3 (depesze, pismo Komendanta Bazy kpt. W. Szubińskiego do szefa Oddziału VI z 12.01.1945 r.). See more: : B. Chrzanowski, *Organizacja i funkcjonowanie...*, pp. 98–102.

The „Adam” outpost also collected data about the occupant’s atrocities in Poland; e.g. the news concerning the extermination of the Jewish population was passed from Warsaw through Gdynia.³³³

The Stempniewski brothers were also involved in the work of the Pomeranian District intelligence of the Home Army. They maintained contact with an officer of district intelligence and offensive long-distance intelligence of the Home Army HQ Second Lt. of the reserve Jan Belau („Mewa”, „Morski”) and with Wojciech Porożyński („Szwarc”) and Maria Porożyńska („Martula”). With the help of Belau and an unknown engineer, sketches were made of submarines build in Gdynia shipyard. It was not the only case when ODR members were involved in military intelligence work. Such cooperation also took place e.g. in Bydgoszcz. The situation in occupied Pomerania often required going beyond the scope of military intelligence field. It should also be noticed, that in one of the documents of „Stożek” – Information Division III in the Security Section of the Security Division of the Department of Internal Affairs – an undecrypted numeric code was found, referring to the “drop point in Gdynia”. Maybe it referred to the contact point in the flat of Barbara Posłuszna, codename “Ewa” (married name Słoczyńska), Appt. 13 at 79 Świętojańska Street. This drop point was in the care of a man using the name or codename „Wiśniewski”. This could confirm that there were direct contacts of the Pomeranian Security Department of the ODR not only with the Home Army, but also with the Department of Internal Affairs, maintained by S. Stempniewski who travelled to Warsaw. The liaison on the Bydgoszcz–Gdynia route was U. Eckert³³⁴.

District 5 of East Prussia was headed by S. Sobocki („III/5/B”). It was created at the end of 1943 on the special order of the Western Bureau. It covered the area of Kwidzyn, Elbląg, Malbork, Sztum and Iława. there was a suggestion that the latter county structures should be organized based on the local manpower, as it would be more beneficial than organizing them in Warsaw, where the people employed would have to come from the outside of that territory. This solution was accepted by the Head of the Security Division of the Department of Internal Affairs Tadeusz Miklaszewski. Thus with the help of S. Sobocki and K. Stempniewski, information points of the Security Department were organized in Malbork, Kwidzyn, Elbląg and Królewiec. They used the Poles working here as forced labourers. The *Situational report for December 1942–January 1943* pointed out that „ In East Prussia and Pomerania³³⁵ there are large centres of people transported as forced labourers

³³³ „Przegląd prasy zagranicznej” III–IV 1988, nr 3. Informacja wewnętrzna. Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, p. 23 i n.

³³⁴ She became involved in the work in the District Delegation by K. Stempniewski. According to her account, she was to guide the “Delegate from London” once from Bydgoszcz to Gdynia. It is possible that she meant the District Delegate Antoni Antczak, but there is no evidence for his presence in the Gdańsk region. See: FAPAK, Urszula Eckert, Wspomnienia z pracy w Okręgowej Delegaturze Rządu na Pomorzu, sygn. K-583/583-Pom.; B. Chrzanowski, *Organizacja i funkcjonowanie...*, p. 101; G. Górski, *Kobiety...*, p. 198; Rel. S. Stempniewskiego (w zb. aut.).

³³⁵ Western Pomerania.

[...].³³⁶ The *Report for Jan 43 from the Western Division of the Information and Press Department* provided information about the possibilities of contacting and utilizing people already involved in underground activities, mostly intelligence: „The cells of five are dependent on their control centres in Poland, and there is no common organization here. Such seeds of organization can be found e.g. in Królewiec, Elbląg, Malbork, Kwidzyn, Olsztyn, Kołobrzeg, Szczecin and other places.”³³⁷

The territories of Western Pomerania were considered to be the so-called postulated lands, and – as it has been said – the Pomeranian Delegation basically did not organize their outposts there.³³⁸

Besides the territorial structure presented above, lower administration levels were also organized, denoted by digits and numbers from 1 to over 200. A full personnel in a county would include approximately 200–250 people, but this was not achieved everywhere. The preserved incomplete remnants of lists reveal that the institutions of the Delegation in the area of the city of Bydgoszcz employed at least 72 people, and the county – 54. In the city of Włocławek the Delegation had 46 people, in the Włocławek County – 103, and in the Nieszawa County – 100. 122 employees joined the civil institutions in the Tuchola County, while in the town of Inowrocław – 50 and in the county – 118. In the Wyrzysk county 61 people were recruited, in the Rypin County – 131, in the Lipno County – 139, in the Szubin County 64 and in the Gdynia County 185. The majority of them were reserve officers or NCOs, but there were also, as they were called, „non-military” persons (however, often with some knowledge acquired in Military Training). It is not clear whether this list refers to 1943 or 1944.³³⁹ It must be pointed out here that a significant part of the Regional Delegation staff, after being sworn in and designated for the post which they were to take after the end of the war, did not actively participate in underground activities, remaining – as it was described – “inactive members”.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154. See also: Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-14; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48; sygn. Z-II-5-3 (H. Jagielska, Powojenna działalność Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu Rzplitej na Pomorzu, kryptonim „Zatoka”, mps, pp. 2–3); FAPAK, vol. Nowicki Stanisław „Mestwin” – Wspomnienia z pracy w Wydziale Bezpieczeństwa Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu na Pomorzu („Zatoka”) (Szkic), sygn. M-114/723-Pom., Stanisław Nowicki, Uwagi do szkicu nt. działania AK Okręgu Pomorskiego-Podokręgu Północno-Zachodniego, sygn. M-114/723-Pom.; G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, pp. 193–195.

³³⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154.

³³⁸ Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

³³⁹ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-20 (Luźne zapiski dotyczące obsady).

³⁴⁰ An example of such an ‘inactive’ member was Wiktor Markiewicz („Rak II”), who worked in Łęgowo and was recruited to ODR by A. Marciniak. Comp.: IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 6.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN POMERANIA, SECURITY DEPARTMENT MAIN FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

1. Communication on the Warsaw – Pomerania route

Maintaining communication between the leaderships of the Delegation and of the Regional Delegation in Warsaw and the Toruń Branch Office constituted a significant problem. Upholding the fighting spirit in the Pomeranian society, separated by artificial border from the General Government, was also important. The same problem was faced by the regional Delegations in Poznań, Silesia and in the Eastern Territories (beginning from the second half of 1941).

In September 1943 A. Antczak had a meeting in Warsaw with the leadership of the Delegation, during which decisions regarding organization and personnel were made. Antczak expressed his satisfaction with the communications system functioning in Pomerania. He knew that when the information institutions are finally organized, news would reach Warsaw without obstacles. The issue of the German People's List was also covered at that meeting.³⁴¹

Antoni Antczak visited Pomerania from August to September and in October of 1943, coming e.g. to Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Wąbrzeźno, Rypin and Włocławek. His stay was quite a long one – probably 7–8 weeks. In Toruń he met among other people the Head of the Branch Office F. Rochowiak. He also talked with the Inspectors of individual Districts: S. Nowicki, D. Stefaniak, Z. Wiśniewski, S. Sobocki, A. Marciniak, M. Hegenbarth, K. Stempniewski and of course the Head of the Department B. Lipski. Each of these inspectors gave him a detailed report on the course of the organization work in his own territory.

Antczak informed the gathered group about the political situation in the country and the activity of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) as foreign agents of the Soviets, threatening the independence of the Republic of Poland. The tenor of the

³⁴¹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-15.

propaganda coming from the Polish Workers' Party, which negated the legality of the Government of the RP despite the temporary necessity to accept them as representatives of Poland, together with the fiasco of the talks between the Government Delegation and the PPR at the end of April 1943 – this all resulted in the fact that the authorities of the Polish Secret State could not consider the Communist left wing to be another kernel of fight for liberation on the military-political map of the Poland. Therefore the Regional Delegate ordered following the traces of Communist activity, although in Pomerania it was almost invisible except minimal attempts at propaganda. However, if the communists with the support of an external power should strive to impose by force a foreign political and economic system, the Security Department of the ODR intended to intern them. In this case Antczak focused on ensuring security during an uprising and building the structures of the future state, not on fighting political opinions. The issue of the communist movement was to be included in the reports of the Security Corps, Local Guards and Political Intelligence in the section "Communist infiltration and its influences in the society". After the war, the guidelines on this topic sent from Warsaw to Pomerania were used as a pretext to accuse the Polish Secret State, including the members of the Regional Delegation, of active fight against the left-wing movement.³⁴²

In Warsaw, A. Antczak reported his visit to Pomerania to the head of the Security Department of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Government Delegation for Poland, Tadeusz Miklaszewski („Małynicz”, „Nilski”, „Stencel”) on 8 and 14 August 1943.³⁴³ During the talks, Antczak presented the current state of the organization in the Pomeranian region, stressing that the greatest progress was made by the Security Department. He also described the Pomeranian underground movement and the situation in occupied Pomerania.

The dispatches from Pomerania started coming to Warsaw from the end of 1942 or the beginning of 1943. Information came from the work of the Security Corps and the Local Guard. The length of monthly reports equalled 30–40 type-written pages. For security reasons it was recommended that the dispatches should be prepared on the smallest sheet of paper possible, in tiny handwriting.³⁴⁴

It is worth noticing that the regional Delegate Antczak was also sent *stricte* military information, such as the data regarding production of parts for the „V” weapon in Osowa Góra and torpedoes in Gdynia, although obviously these mat-

³⁴² AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-16 (Wewnętrzny podział pracy Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa Urzędu Wojewódzkiego D.R. w okresie przejściowym w zakresie czynności wynikających z jawnego sprawowania władzy państwowej). Por. także: sygn. K-1-48 (Pismo Wydziału III WUBP w Bydgoszczy do Departamentu III MBP w Warszawie z 30.01.1951 r.), sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie informatora „Postępowego” z 25.08.1950 r.). IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 0192/730/2, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01222/3051; Rel. A. Schulza (w zb. aut.).

³⁴³ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-15 (Protokół...). See: Aneks Nr 3.

³⁴⁴ IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Indeks”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 17 (Pismo Kierownika Ekspozytury Urzędu Okręgowego Delegata z 2.04.1944 r.).

ters were not within the purview of the Regional Delegation (as in the case of other Delegation sections). On the order of A. Wypijewski who managed the secretarial office of the Political Intelligence, military-type information was collected in Osowa Góra by Stanisław Maciejewski („Łabiszyński”), in Łęgnów by e.g. Edmund Oślicki („Rolf”), and in Gdynia by K. Stempniewski. E. Oślicki gathered also economic data and information on the movements of the German troops. He signed his dispatches with the sign „IV/SS”. All information was passed to A. Wypijewski. This situation lasted until July 1944.³⁴⁵

Independently from the Political Intelligence, also the Security Department sent comprehensive reports. Very few of the dispatches from the Regional Delegation have been preserved, apart from the reports of the Security Department concerning organizational work. They are signed by the Political Intelligence and the Security Corps and refer mainly to 1944. They contain information on the policy of the aggressor and the terror used against the Polish population, including the places of execution and burial of the murdered Poles, such as Bydgoszcz, the prison in Fordon and Jewish women kept there, Stuthof camp, the Gestapo actions against the underground movement, particularly in Bydgoszcz-Łęgnowo, guerilla in the Tuchola forest, the Polish Army of Uprising, the “Sword and Plough” organization, the activity of such political parties as the National Democracy and the Labour Party– thus providing a picture of the annexed Pomerania. There was also a warning that a group of Gestapo officers speaking perfect Polish came from Warsaw to Toruń, with the order to infiltrate underground organizations in Pomerania.³⁴⁶

Through K. Kolańczyk or his secretary Albin Wypijewski and later C. Rubaszewski, the reports were passed to B. Lipski, who sent them to the capital, making first a copy for himself. They were transported by the mentioned S. Stempniewski in his travels to Warsaw through Łódź. A. Antczak acknowledged their reception. In 1943 and 1944 Stempniewski visited Warsaw approximately ten times. Lipski’s wife Halina, who lived in Warsaw, facilitated his contacts with A. Antczak.³⁴⁷ On

³⁴⁵ IPN-By, Akta E. Oślickiego, sygn. 070/2764, t. 2; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-51 (Akta E. Oślickiego).

³⁴⁶ See more: AMS, Kol. z AUOP-B, sygn. K-1-18; AUOP-B, sygn. 0-284, vol. IV (ob. zb. IPN-By, odpisy w zb. aut.); M. Orski, *Transporty ludności cywilnej Warszawy i powstańców do obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof (w okresie od 26 sierpnia do 29 września 1944 r.)* (maszynopis w Bibliotece Muzeum Stutthof, p. 3); idem, *Poligon SS na Pomorzu Gdańskim, filia obozu koncentracyjnego Stutthof i obozy dla ludności cywilnej ewakuowanej z Warszawy*, Gdańsk 1992, p. 27 i n; B. Chrzanowski, *Echa Powstania Warszawskiego na Pomorzu*, [in:] *Śląsk, Pomorze i Wielkopolska wobec Powstania Warszawskiego. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum w Gliwicach w 60 rocznicę wybuchu Powstania Warszawskiego*, Gliwice 2006, pp. 51–54. See also: *Biuletyn Fundacji Archiwum i Muzeum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej oraz Wojskowej Służby Polek w Toruniu*, 2004, nr 2, pp. 18–28.

³⁴⁷ The family of B. Lipski left Toruń for Warsaw in June and July 1942 (the son Janusz was the first to leave, then his mother – Halina with her daughter Izabela, who after the war bore her husband’s name – Nowak). According to the declaration of Zgmunt Wisniewski of 4 Dec 1984 she played

the basis of the materials sent from Pomerania, the Security Division of the Department of Internal Affairs prepared general reports on the activities in the territory of occupied Poland.

The first reports concerned June–July and August–September of 1943. On the grounds of the delivered reports Warsaw very positively evaluated the work of the Regional RP Government Delegation for Poland in Pomerania with regard to creating intelligence institutions. A part of the information collected by the District Government Delegation was passed to the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press. In Warsaw these reports were later used to make consolidated reports that were subsequently sent to London.³⁴⁸

In the middle of 1944 the Security Department employed circa 500 people. There were plans in the Department to create posts for almost 2800 people. The post-war testimony of B. Lipski reveals that in the second half of 1944 all the security institutions in Pomerania employed almost 3000 persons.³⁴⁹ By analyzing ODR payrolls, one may uncover some code names, functions they had and the territorial reach of the security institutions. For example the Local Guards in 1944 employed 299 persons.

The Warsaw leadership of the Government Delegation for Poland approved of the organizational successes of the Security Department in that territory.

After the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising the contacts with Warsaw were cut, but information about Pomeranian territories was still collected there.

2. The issue of the German People's List (the Deutsche Volksliste)

Similarly to the Headquarters of the Pomeranian District of the Home Army, the Intelligence Department of the ODR and the Regional Government Delegate A. Antczak as well as the employees of the Western Division of the Department

the role of a courier (alias "Hanka"). It seems to be highly improbable that B. Lipski should agree to risk the life of his minor daughter who at that time was merely 13 years old (born 18 Dec 1931). Still, she might have transmitted some mail or oral messages. However, it is hard to define it as a courier's job. Supposedly, the declaration was made to make it easier for her to be admitted to the Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBoWiD) to improve her tragic financial situation. If that was really the case, it is not the only case in the Society. It was the manner in which help was given to acquire financial resources to live or to get one's own flat. It happened often that the membership in the Military Organization Lizard Union or "Sword and Plough" was concealed for fear of repressions. Instead a less controversial form of resistance activity was given. Now, it is really hard to establish the truth as the majority of veterans are dead and it is impossible to verify the information provided by them. See: IPN-By, Akta w sprawie Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/2305; FAPAK, t. Lipski Bolesław, sygn. M-243; Rel. J. Lipskiego (w zb. aut.).

³⁴⁸ Comp.: Ibid., sygn. K-1-8, K-1-51; AUOP-B, sygn. O-284 (meldunki Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj – odpisy w zb. aut., ob. zb. IPN-By); AAN, Akta DR, Departament spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3, sygn. 202/II-14; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...* pp. 107–121; Rel. S. Stempniewskiego (w zb. aut.).

³⁴⁹ See: Department AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-50, K-1-19; AUOP-B, sygn. 2123, vol. III (Protokół przesłuchania J. Pałubickiego z 31.08.1947 r. – odpis w zb. aut., ob. zb. IPN-By).

of Information and Press frequently criticized the unjust and damaging opinions about the attitude of the Pomeranians towards occupant's authorities, which often spread in the General Government. In numerous discussions they pointed out the different situation under the yoke in GG and in Pomerania. Attempts were made to formulate a viewpoint about the pressure used to make people join the German People's List (DVL). A. Antczak explained this issue in the *Comments on the „Security Instruction”* quoted above. Besides security matters, the regulations included in the *Instruction* delineated the way in which Polish population registered on the German People's List should be treated, yet without considering the fact that the German authorities used pressure; according to the regulations, the German population was to be interned. It was only mentioned that „the above regulation [about internment – B.Ch.] does not apply to those people of Polish nationality who outside of the territory of the General Government were baselessly recognized by the occupant's authorities as belonging to the German nation.”³⁵⁰ Movable and immovable property of such people was to be seized by security institutions. To facilitate the work of the security institutions, the lists of German people or people of German origin who were destined for internment should be compiled ahead of time during the occupation. What was also to be secured included weapons, ammunition, military technical equipment, motor vehicles, fuels, bicycles and radios. All citizens' freedoms were also to be limited. The security authorities would be entitled to read letters, and conduct personal and house searches. There would be a ban on founding new societies, professional associations, and spreading propaganda through radio or megaphones. The currently existing German organizations were to be suspended, while Polish organizations active during the occupation could continue as long as they respected the legal status of the underground government of the Republic of Poland. The Currently existing German concentration camps would be taken over by military and civil security authorities. After releasing Polish people, the camps would house the persons intended for internment. As mentioned, such camps were to be created in every district of the Security Corps. Regulations concerning border crossing and people's movements inside the country also were issued.³⁵¹

Antczak criticized certain provisos of the *Instruction* also in this case. The primary thing to consider was Pomerania and its national characteristics at the moment when the German population would be interned – the matter of the Volksdeutsche and Eingedeutsche, i.e. the German subjects of Polish and non-Polish nationality. Also the legal basis for securing the property of the interned people should be determined. Making the list and securing the property would be done by gmina authorities, thus unburdening the security institutions maintaining order in a given territory. At the moment of the so-called breakthrough the non-Polish population should be deprived of the right to use and own phone sets. Furthermore,

³⁵⁰ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17 (Instrukcja...).

³⁵¹ Ibid.

the question whether Polish citizens of foreign origin could return to Pomerania, especially those who had been living there for five years should be answer in detail. Another issue were identity documents and the permission to cross the border. A. Antczak represented the opinion that migration movements cannot be stopped, and therefore special repatriation passports should be introduced and the post of the Commissioner of Repatriation should be created.³⁵²

Despite criticism, the Delegation tried to follow the instruction. The head of the Security Department B. Lipski sent to all 33 counties a command to compile full population census (of both Poles and Germans) for Pomerania. After these territories were freed from German occupation, the PKB (KB) chiefs were to organize transitional internment camps for Germans, together with future camp personnel. Another order concerned securing the public buildings left after pushing out the Germans. Individual chiefs were to deliver reports on this matters by 30 September 1943.³⁵³

Warsaw also sent to Pomerania a form with 22 questions as well as the „Questionnaire for the District Head of the Political Department”, which referred to the above issue.³⁵⁴ They were discussed both in the capital during the talks of A. Antczak with the Delegation members and in Pomerania where Delegation envoys came especially to discuss this. Later they compiled reports from these meetings. The assessments contained there were often simplified or even controversial although they noticed the different legal status of Pomerania after the creation of the Reich's Province of Gdańsk-West Prussia.

The above mentioned Albert Forster's „Aufruf” from 22 February 1942 ordered to register with the DVL by 31 March 1942. The refusal was threatened with harsh reprisals, and the Pomeranians still vividly remembered the events of the autumn 1939 when tens of thousands of people were murdered – which was a fact often forgotten in the General Government. Mass executions and expulsions shocked and frightened people, and the Piaśnica forest near Wejherowo, the Szpęgawa forest near Starogard, the Barbarka forest near Toruń and other execution places became the symbols of the martyrdom of the Pomeranian people. The author of a book on Kashubian history cannot be more right in his opinion that „The outbreak of the war brought here [...] persecution the scale of which had been unimaginable to anybody before the 1 September 1939.”³⁵⁵ As early as in 1942 the underground paper *Ziemia Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej*, which was a supplement of the main newspaper of the Delegation *Rzeczpospolita Polska*, wrote in their article „Three Years of Terror and Strife”: „None of the lands, none of the conquered countries has not experi-

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ AMS. Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17 (Do Panów IV/1-33 B.). The title suggests that the letter was written to the Head of the Districts from 1 to 33 of the Security Department.

³⁵⁴ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17, K-1-18; AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148, 149.

³⁵⁵ C. Obracht-Prondzyński, *Kaszubi. Między dyskryminacją i regionalną podmiotowością*, Gdańsk 2002, pp. 145 i n. See also: G. Labuda, *Kaszubi i ich dzieje*, Gdańsk 1996.

enced such intensity of terror and gestapo actions as the Western Lands during the first year of the war.”³⁵⁶ These words were directed not only at the readers from the annexed territories, but above all to the inhabitants of the General Government who read the underground press.

The question of the German People's List a.k.a. Deutsche Volksliste (DVL) was of utmost importance for the authorities of the Polish Secret State.

First news about the Germanization policy of A. Forster and the announcements of specific Germanizing actions were noticed already in the first half of 1941.³⁵⁷ One of the first attempts at evaluation was the report “The action of Germanization in the territory of the Pomeranian voivodeship (according to personal observations in Bydgoszcz)” from 1942. It contains an insightful – in war conditions – analysis of the DVL issue, noticing deep differentiation of the problem between April 1941 and March 1942, i.e. the moment when registering on the list became compulsory.³⁵⁸

The action of Germanization and the pressure applied in connection with registering with the German People's List involved serving in Wehrmacht. Here the attitude of the local people was polarized: some resisted the pressure while others, afraid of repercussions (such as being sent to Stutthof camp or the camps in Potulice, Smukała or other places of isolation or expulsion) applied to join the DVL. The quoted report “The Action of Germanization” notices that “also in Potulice, Toruń, and Szmukała the inmates were informed that whoever signs the application will be released from the camp. They were also offered nebulous hopes of being settled back on farms. If one considers the dreary situation of the inmates, it is understandable that the applications got signed.” This situation was not always understood by the Delegation envoys coming to Pomerania. Neither was it understood by the central authorities of the Polish Secret State. The Pomeranians, frequently considered “Germanized” by the inhabitants of central Poland, felt themselves to be second-class citizens, although even when registered with the German People's List, they still considered themselves Polish and were actively involved in the organizations of the Secret State.³⁵⁹ Obviously with the defeats at the front,

³⁵⁶ *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej*, 1942, nr 1, pp. 4–5.

³⁵⁷ Zob.: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyjne, *Pro memoria* w sprawie sytuacji na ziemiach polskich okupowanych przez Niemców w okresie 1 maja–15 czerwca 1941 r. z 15.05.1941 r., mf 2201/6, sygn. 202/I-29.

³⁵⁸ See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148. Szerzej: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 27–35 i n.

³⁵⁹ See more: B. Chrzanowski, *Kształtowanie się nastrojów ludności polskiej i niemieckiej na Pomorzu w świetle źródeł konspiracyjnych 1939–1944*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo pomorskie w latach okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945. Materiały XIII sesji popularnonaukowej w Toruniu w dniu 15 listopada 2003 roku*, pod red. K. Minczykowskiej i J. Szilinga, Toruń 2004, pp. 40–45; idem, *Niemiecki aparat administracyjno-policyjny na Pomorzu w świetle zachowanych dokumentów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego i wydawnictw podziemnych z lat 1940–1944*, [in:] *Władze i społeczeństwo niemieckie na Pomorzu Wschodnim i Kujawach w latach okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1945). Materiały XIV sesji po-*

there was evolution in the attitude of a part of the German population of Pomerania, who were afraid of retaliation of the Red Army. Yet neither the defeat near Moscow in 1942 nor the Stalingrad disaster in 1943 nor the lost Battle of Kursk in July and August 1943 brought any significant improvement in the situation of the local population. The attitude of the Pomeranian society, however, was changing. There was the enormous shock and fear caused by the year 1939, then the hopes for the attack in the West during the spring and summer of 1940, followed by a long period of waiting, interspersed by joyful news of military defeats of the aggressor, but also by the tragic news about the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. The dragging war and occupation caused tiredness and willingness to adopt a waiting attitude combined with disengagement from the work for independence, which was known to the Secret State authorities in Pomerania.³⁶⁰

A very detailed report from his stay in Pomerania was made by Wiesław Jaroszewski. He prepared a document titled „A Report from IV prepared by „Wiesław” till 1 May 1943” – i.e. a report from the counties of the Pomeranian voivodeship (in its pre-war borders). Jaroszewski represented the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press as well as “Ojczyzna” (he was an acquaintance of K. Sosnowski). The report had 14 points, presenting almost all spheres of life in Pomerania under occupation, and a part devoted to the attitudes of the German society. A large fragment titled “The Matter of Volksdeutsche. The Case of DVL” referred to the dramatic situation of Pomeranians facing the dilemma of making the right choice. There were even certain anti-Semitic elements: “The news about the extermination of Jews in the lands of the so-called G[eneral] G[overnment] did not resonate strongly in Pomerania as the local society are first and foremost overwhelmed by the horrific sacrifices they themselves – equally to the rest of the nation – are making during the war. Nobody wants to hear about the return of Jews to Pomerania; the attitude towards Jews (some of them are working at the construction of factories near Bydgoszcz) is like the attitude towards Germans = hostile.” Obviously, despite the influence of the National Democracy in the Western Territories and in Pomerania, this generalizing evaluation of the Pomeranian population’s attitude is not entirely true.³⁶¹

pularnonaukowej w Toruniu w dniu 13 listopada 2004 roku, pod red. K. Minczykowskiej i J. Szilinga, Toruń 2005, pp. 77–90; L. Jażdżewski, *Kaszubi w Wehrmachcie 1942–1945 w świetle źródeł*, Przegląd Zachodni, 2001, nr 1, p. 253 i n.; J. Sziling, *Przymusowa służba Polaków z III grupy Niemieckiej Listy Narodowościowej w Wehrmachcie na przykładzie Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, 1991, vol. XXXIII, pp. 92–113; *Encyklopedia „białych plam”*, pod red. A. Winiarczyka, vol. XVIII, Radom 2006, pp. 315–316; I. Ihnatowicz, A. Mączak, B. Zientara, J. Żarnowski, *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku*, wyd. V, Warszawa 2005, pp. 665–670; S. Bykowska, op.cit., pp. 79–160.

³⁶⁰ See: Meldunek Komendanta Podokręgu Południowo-Wschodniego AK, kpt. Bronisława Pietkiewicza z 16.12.1944 r. FAPAK, Akta Pomorskiego Okręgu AK, sygn. 5, 6.

³⁶¹ It must be added that the anti-Semite utterances appeared sometimes in reports prepared by envoys of the Delegation. Comp.: AAN, Akta Delegatury..., mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154. This report has been published in: *Materiały do dziejów Pomorskiego Okręgu ZWZ-AK*, wybór i opr. K. Min-

The “Note on the VD Problem” from 28 May 1943 with the attached code “200” (The Department of Information Service of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press) raises the question of national antagonisms springing from this source as there were cases when the people who refused to register or were unregistered considered themselves to be of higher national category than those who registered – or were registered – while the so-called Germanized people also wanted to work in underground institutions, e.g. in the Provisional Administration; however, despite lack of candidates they faced rejection.³⁶²

To obtain a more complete overview of the problem that the action of Germanization posed, in the summer of 1943, in the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press a questionnaire was prepared, consisting of 26 questions concerning the Western Territories, including Pomerania. It touched upon the course of this action, particularly after the Aufruf of Albert Forster, the motives of people applying to join the list, conscription to Wehrmacht, property seizures, resistance of people objecting to being forced to submit the application to be assigned a category, and the terror and intimidating atmosphere accompanying the whole action as well as mutual relations between people who were assigned a Volksdeutsche category and those who did not apply for registration with the national list.³⁶³

Antczak drew attention to the discrepancy between the viewpoints on the nationality problem presented by certain departments, e.g. the Department of Liquidation, of Information and Press or the Western Bureau. He knew these reports and did not share the views of their authors regarding the problem of the German People's List in Pomerania. He demanded that the ways and forms of solving these matters should be standardized, considering that the Security Department must receive uniform guidelines on this topic. During the mentioned talks with the representatives of the Delegation in Warsaw in 16 August 1943, the Regional Delegate said that “Considering the coercion used by the Germans, the general law

czykowska and J. Sziling, Toruń 2000, pp. 173–196. Fragmenty powyższego raportu zob.: G. Górski, *Ludność Pomorza wobec Niemieckiej Listy Narodowościowej w latach 1941–1943 w świetle raportu emisariusza Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, ZH, 1999, z. 2, pp. 131–145; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorski ruch oporu...*, pp. 109–111. Comp. also: Z. Jaroszewski, *Jaroszewski Wiesław Ignacy Faustyn (1907–1943)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 2, pp. 80–81. Por.: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Protokół przesłuchania K. Sosnowskiego z 13.07.1949 r.); AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, Raport o sytuacji na Ziemiach Zachodnich Nr 5 (do 15 V 1943), mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 1; Rel. J. Kolipińskiego (w zb. aut.). About the multifaceted Polish-Jewish relations during the occupation period and after WWII see: M. J. Chodakiewicz, *NSZ i Żydzi – teoria i praktyka*, Ład (dodatek historyczny), 1993, nr 10, pp. I–IV; idem, *Po zagładzie. Stosunki polsko-żydowskie 1944–1947*, transl. by A. Madej, Warszawa 2008; R. Kobylarz, *Walka o pamięć. Polityczne aspekty powstania w getcie warszawskim 1944–1989*, Warszawa 2009 i in.

³⁶² AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169.

³⁶³ See also: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, Ankieta w sprawie tzw. akcji zniemczającej, oraz sześćostronicową Odpowiedź na ankietę VD, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169.

[issued by the Department of Internal Affairs – B.Ch.] that the Volksdeutsche are a dangerous element cannot be applied to those who became Volksdeutsche after 31 March 1942.”³⁶⁴

He uttered a similar opinion in his official letter to B. Lipski from 23 August 1943. He devoted a significant part of the letter to this matter as he considered this problem a priority. He explained the reasons why the majority of Poles signed the Volkslist. He explained the history of Polish-German relations. He stressed that the state of Poland was the main obstacle in expansion to the East, so now it was time to finally deal with the Polish. Already in 1939 there was the first mass extermination (A. Antczak used this word here), which resulted in thousands of Poles, mainly the leaders of society, were killed. After completing the physical elimination of the so-called enemies of the Reich, new means were put to use – denationalization and Germanization of the remaining Polish population. A tool in this strife was the German People's List. He further mentioned that “the Polish society, deprived by the enemy of their leaders, unable to find help and support anywhere, also witnessing continuously numerous German crimes, broke down under the pressure of the enemy, and registered *en masse* with the German nationality list. This decision was undoubtedly dictated by the instinct of self-preservation and the will to survive. Your task, gentlemen, is to reach these societies and uplift their spirit – providing moral support, and financial support if needed. II/OS³⁶⁵ have a great deal to offer here, but unfortunately they have not taken this chance, entirely neglecting underground education. As for involving the »*ausweiss*-holders«³⁶⁶ in the underground work, I see no obstacles here as long as the candidate raises no objections by his behaviour. [...] Let us reach to them with a helping hand and give them a chance for redemption through intense and devoted work for Polish Nation and State.” The Regional Delegate evidently saw that the Department of Social Affairs and Education could play here an important role, but in his opinion, there was no action aiming at spreading awareness.³⁶⁷

On 8 September 1943 in Warsaw a meeting took place, which involved the employees of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press: Edmund Męclewski („Andrzej”), Alojzy Targ („Marcin”), „Marek” (unknown) and „Teofil” (the head of the Mobilization and Legal Department of the Western Division Jan Zaborowski). The topic of the meeting was formulated as follows:

³⁶⁴ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/3. See more: B. Chrzanowski, *Cywilne struktury...*, pp. 147–149; idem, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, pp. 58–59.

³⁶⁵ The Department of Social Care and Education

³⁶⁶ Enlisted in the German People's List.

³⁶⁷ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-20. (List A. Antczaka: Do P[ana] Kierownika Wydziału „B”) See also: sygn. K-1-18. In the Situational Report (15.09.1941–1.06.1942) of the Department of Internal Affairs it was underlined that: „the situation of Pomerania and Silesia was particularly tough as they had to face violence and denial of Polishness. The society deprived of leaders and orders had to decide on their own, and choose between martyrdom and opportunism [...]”. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Wewnętrznych, mf 2225/2, sygn. 202/II-8.

“How to solve the VD issue”. The gathered group reached the consensus that the process of registering with the German People’s List had a different character and course in Greater Poland in comparison with Silesia and Pomerania. They ascertained that in the latter regions people registered in Category I and II freely, while in Category II and IV – under duress. It was necessary to undertake legal steps here. A law had to be prepared which would reconstitute Polish citizenship. After the war the President of Poland would have to create a Central Committee for Citizenship Restitution. It would include eminent representatives of the legal professions coming from the Western Territories. Those registered as the Category III and IV would regain Polish citizenship. There was also the question not only of the people coerced to register, but also how to differentiate the treatment of those who resisted the pressure and terror. Such people were to maintain Polish citizenship although they were stripped of it. The “Draft of a letter on the VD matter”, signed by the unknown “Marek”, contained a proposal that the problem should be analyzed in the context of the whole Western Territories, to show the differences among individual provinces of the Reich: Danzig-West Prussia, Warthegau and Silesia. The topic of DVL was also discussed by other members of the Western Division, e.g. Jan Leśniewski and Edward Serwański, who expressed the opinion that they should not issue a proclamation ordering to boycott the German People’s List in all the annexed territories. K. Sosnowski described such attitude as minimalistic.³⁶⁸

The project of “The Law on the Volksdeutsche” proposed that people who were forced to sign the Volksliste after 1 march 1942, those with Category III or IV of the German People’s List, and those who were assigned German nationality by the directive of Hitler, such as some members of the Todt Organization. Each District Court was to have a Citizenship Section, and each Municipal Court – Branches of the Citizenship Section. The District Attorney had two years to put forward a motion to strip of citizenship the people who did not meet the above criteria.³⁶⁹

Similar opinions were expressed in “Considerations on the planned law on restoring the citizenship of people placed on the German People’s List in Polish territories”. The seven-page project assumed diversified perception of the issue of Germanization – before the issuing of the *Aufruf* on 22 February 1942, and after its publication, i.e. after March 1942. The attitudes of people put on the list was also taken into consideration.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ In his memoirs E. Serwański described the problem in the following way: „The Department of [Information and Press – B. Ch.] appealed to the society of Greater Poland that they should refuse to join the German People’s List. I concluded that both the content and the form of the appeal were doubtful. I did not undermine the intention of the appeal, of course. In Greater Poland there operated a far-reaching propaganda against the German People’s List, but the propaganda action from Warsaw simplified the problem.” See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148; E. Serwański, *W kręgu...*, pp. 131–134; idem, *Wspomnienia...*; Rel. E. Serwańskiego, E. Męclewskiego (w zb. aut.).

³⁶⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

A very close point of view was presented in a nine-page study "The VD problem in the Western Territories", which called for thorough analysis and understanding of the situation of the local population, so painfully experienced by the terror of the occupation.³⁷¹

Discussion on the post-war approach to the people registered with the German People's List was still continued in 1944. Among the participants were also members of the "Ojczyzna" organization. Certain projects were criticized, such as "Comments on the »Theses on VD«, from 28 June 1944 signed by "Jakub" (unknown), "The basic theses regarding the issue of VD from 3 July 1944" signed with the code "300" (the code name of the Propaganda Department of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press), "The moral aspect of the VD issue" and others.³⁷²

During one of the meetings of the Warsaw Delegation members a decision was made that the Volksdeutsche would be stripped of Polish citizenship together with their immovable property. Simultaneously a proposal was put forward to establish special courts to deal with cases regarding restitution of citizenship. Those persons who could prove that joining the list was the effect of duress or terror would receive full citizenship if their behaviour raised no objection. In turn, those who signed their applications at the end of March 1942, who behaved correctly towards Poles, did not succumb to Germanization, did not belong to the party, cooperating with or working in underground organizations – would receive Polish citizenship after a certain period and could use their property. Appropriate institutions would decide on restoring their full rights. Conversely, the people who signed the Volksliste under duress, yet later renounced Polishness and spread hostile propaganda, would receive Nansen passports³⁷³ and could not demand property restitution. A separate issue to be decided later was the problem of the persons who had applied to join the list, yet whose applications were rejected by German authorities. The above proposals reflected the opinions of the leadership of the Pomeranian Regional Delegation and of the part of the Pomeranian society. The Delegation members participating in the discussion decided that for Pomerania this problem is a priority with regard to both state security and social reasons. They noticed what was mentioned earlier – that the local population was divided into those who signed and those who resisted pressure and thus suffered harassment and retribution. The latter do not accept general amnesty. The participants in the meeting drew the conclusion that each case should be analyzed individually. To elaborate on this complex topic, a well-respected legal practitioner from Pomerania (unknown) was engaged. The participants underlined the fact that numerous

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169; Rel. J. J. Nikischa (w zb. aut.).

³⁷³ The term Nansen passport refers to the identity document issued to the so called stateless people by the authorities of the state where a given person stays.

people taking part in underground activities were assigned one of the categories of the German People's List. In Bydgoszcz the topic of the DVL was also analyzed with the intention to send the prepared document to London.³⁷⁴

A large number of documents containing analyses of this complex problem have been preserved. It is known that there were reports which presented lack of understanding of the problem of Pomerania and the approach characteristic of some of the members of the Delegation in central Poland.³⁷⁵ However, generally the envoys of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press of the Government Delegation prepared their documentation with diligence and objectiveness. It was prepared independently of the reports sent by the Regional Delegation. To exemplify, let us look at several of them.

For example the "Report on the situation in the Western Territories No. 1/30 IX 42" stressed the patriotism of the Kashubian population, resisting Germanization despite pressure and certain German clergymen invoking religious feelings ("You are Christians, and the greatest enemy of Christianity are the Bolsheviks. The Führer fights against them, so whoever fights against him, fights against Christianity.") Almost all reports and accounts of the Government Delegation positively evaluate the attitude of the Kashubians.³⁷⁶ The "Local overview for 15 July – 15 Sept 1943" informs that the so-called "resistant persons", i.e. those who refused to register with the Volksliste, were taken to Potulice camp. There was also information about a camp for people subjected to Germanization in Jabłonowo-Zamek (Brod-nica county), repressions against people speaking Polish in public (e.g. in Toruń) and the resistance among the men conscripted to Wehrmacht by force, who often manifested their Polishness and were singing patriotic and religious songs on their way to the assembly point.³⁷⁷ The tragedy of Polish children aged 6–10 years who were taken from the Zamość region to such places as Garczyn near Kościerzyna echoed widely in Pomerania. The Polish inhabitants simply bought out those children. The reports of the Government Delegation underlined the behaviour of people registered with the DVL who also helped and bought out the children thus protecting them from Germanization.³⁷⁸

Other analyses by the Western Division of the Department of Information can also be brought up here: "Propaganda theses regarding VD" (September 1943);

³⁷⁴ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III-154. Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

³⁷⁵ See e.g.: Raport Akcja germanizacyjna... 1942 r. czy Raport z „IV” oprac. przez „Wiesława” do dn. 1 V 43.

³⁷⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-139, vol. 1 i in.

³⁷⁷ AAN, Akta DR, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III/151. See also: Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, Opór społeczny Nr 1/44 z 27.03.44, mf 2266/3, sygn. 202/III-17. Comp.: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Pomorze w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu...*, pp. 60–61.

³⁷⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Depesze, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III/148. See also: B. Chrzanowski, *Wysiedlanie ludności polskiej z Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego w latach 1939–1944*, [in:] *Procesy migracyjne w kontekście przemian kulturowo-cywilizacyjnych*, pod red. E. Polak i J. Leskiej-Ślęzak, Pelplin 2007, p. 89.

“German People’s List – legal analysis and effects”; “The so-called action of Germanization in Pomerania”; “Reports in the situation in Pomerania”; “The report of the envoy of Pomeranian D[epartment of] I[nformation] on the case of the »Germanizing« action” or the 34-page work “The action of Germanization in the territory of the Pomeranian voivodeship (according to personal observations in Bydgoszcz)” with enclosed German and other documents.³⁷⁹ These issues were also reflected in the documents of the Department of Foreign Affairs. This department noted the voices of foreign press mentioning the problem of the DVL, such as Swedish press writing about people who were put on the list preserving their Polishness.³⁸⁰

The underground press, including the publications of the Government Delegation, tried to explain this complex problem to the Polish society. The already mentioned newspaper *Ziemia Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* wrote in 1943: “How did it happen that the people who at the Gdańsk post office defended the honor of Poland in a fight they could not win, who with an audacious handful of people resisted German might at Westerplatte, who defended Hel peninsula until the bullets ran out, whose divisions generously shed their blood into the soil of Łowicz, Kutno and the Kampinos forest – now has become a part of the German nation [...] who has not lived through these years in Pomerania, cannot imagine that hell. For Pomerania found itself at the very bottom of the occupation hell [...]”³⁸¹

Understanding the extreme complexity of the situation in Pomerania, B. Lipski issued a directive which forbade registering with the German People’s List only to the employees of his Department.³⁸² This concerned also people employed in all the security institutions of the ODR. This directive did not refer to other Departments of the Regional Delegation. In the Regional Delegation, discrepancies of opinion appeared with regard to this matter, connected not only with the question of the German People’s List but also with internal matters of the organization. Unfortunately this problem, despite the endeavours of A. Antczak and other members of the Regional Delegation, was not always properly understood by the central leadership. Both A. Antczak and F. Rochowiak realized that the Government of the RP could not take responsibility for the possible effects of resisting.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/3, sygn. 202/III-148; AMS, Kolekcja... sygn. K-1-17.

³⁸⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Spraw Zagranicznych, mf 2284/1, sygn. 202/XIV-2.

³⁸¹ *Prawda o Pomorzu*, *Ziemia Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* 1943, nr 3, pp. 6–8. About the publications of the Delegation see the subsequent part of the work.

³⁸² He had the principle: “To engage yes, to marry no”. Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

³⁸³ About the German People’s List and postwar repercussions connected with signing it see: S. Bykowska, op.cit.; eadem, *Polityczne i społeczne aspekty procesów rehabilitacji weryfikacji narodowościowej na przykładzie województwa gdańskiego*, [in:] *Jednostka – społeczeństwo...*, pp. 343–354. See also: L. Olejnik, *Zdraycy narodu? Losy volksdeutschów w Polsce po II wojnie światowej*, Warszawa 2006. Comp. also controversial remarks concerning signing the VD in the Western Territories without taking into account the conditions of the annexation: J. Connelly, *Mity i kontrmity, przyczynek do dyskusji o polskiej tożsamości historycznej*, Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość, 2005, nr 2, p. 383 (with other remarks of the author I can agree).

3. The Arrests

The dynamic activities of the District Government Delegation were stopped by arrests in Toruń, Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław, which took place in November and December of 1944 and in January of 1945. The people arrested in Toruń were F. Rochowiak (21 or 21/22 November 1944) as well as B. Krzemiński, K. Ceranowicz and J. Nowak (17 January 1945). In Bydgoszcz the Gestapo arrested K. Stempniewski (13 December 1944), Adam Stefaniak (4 December 1944), Antoni Marciniak and Albin Wypijewski. The Gestapo set up an ambush in Stefaniak's flat. However, thanks to Stefaniak's cousin Zofia (post-war married name Rubaszewska), who alerted her neighbour Chojnacka (first name unknown), the other resistance members got a warning about the threat. Zofia Stefaniak also hid the archive of the organization. F. Rochowiak and A. Stefaniak withstood the tortures during interrogation, and during the night of 21/22 or 22/23 November 1944 Rochowiak committed suicide in prison.³⁸⁴

Lipski felt threatened and had to change his address. He was hiding under the name Franciszek Gajewski. In January 1945 Julia Bartosiewicz (married name Zajac), F. Rochowiak's cipher clerk, was arrested.³⁸⁵

The exact reason for these repressions is unknown. So far the historians studying the matters of the Polish underground movement and the Secret State have not really studied this issue. Certainly it was connected with relatively low-level activity of German police with regard to this problem. As the character of the underground work of the civilian division frequently came down to passive membership in the institutions of the Regional Delegation during the occupation because active involvement e.g. in the designated role would start only after the end of the war, it resulted in quite limited interest of the Pomeranian Gestapo in their employees. Also the institutions were well hidden, especially the Security Department of the ODR. Suspicion fell on M. Hegenbarth although, as already mentioned, the Poznań Gestapo were looking for him.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Comp.: FAPAK, t. Rochowiak Franciszek, sygn. M 268/865-Pom., t. Rochowiak Maria, sygn. K 451/451-Pom.; S. Grochowina, *Rochowiak Franciszek (1901–1944)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 6, p. 130–134; E. Forycki, *Ludzie z ODR...*, p. 22.

³⁸⁵ E. Forycki, *Ludzie z ODR...*, pp. 22, 28.

³⁸⁶ He was sentenced to death by the Military Special Court of the Pomeranian District of the Home Army. However, B. Lipski had doubts whether he was really guilty and decided that the execution be made by people from the Security Department of ODR. As a result, the execution did not take place. Został on skazany przez Wojskowy Sąd Specjalny Okręgu Pomorskiego AK na karę śmierci. Jednakże B. Lipski, mając duże wątpliwości co do jego winy, zdecydował, że wyrok zostanie wykonany przez osoby z Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa ODR. Do wykonania egzekucji więc nie doszło. Hegenbarth was to be informed about the death sentence by a courier of the Home Army Sierańska (the first name NN), who maintained contacts with B. Lipski and S. Stempniewski. As G. Górski rightly pointed out, we still fail to have the obvious evidence for his betrayal. M. Hegenbarth died in Gdańsk on 25.03.1987 and was buried in the cemetery of Łostowice. See: IPN-By, Kryptonim „Werner II”, sygn. 044/576; IPN-Ł, Geheime... sygn. 1/179; AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-49 (Protokół przesłuchania J. Olejniczaka...); G. Górski, *Pomorska Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu...*, p. 197. J. Ja-

Partial accounts also point to Edward Słowikowski („Biały Grot”) a former Commander of the Polish Army of Uprising, who worked for the Gestapo. Independently of the autumn and winter repressions of 1944/45, in unknown circumstances he established contact with Edmund Wachulski, a forest ranger living in a forester lodge Leszyce (Bydgoszcz voivodeship), who was an employee of the Security Department of the ODR. Słowikowski introduced himself as one of the Cichociemni [Silent Unseen], parachuted from Great Britain. During their conversations E. Wachulski told Słowikowski about the Government Delegation. This resulted in arrests made by the Bydgoszcz Gestapo, and E. Wachulski on 27 September 1944 was imprisoned in Stutthof concentration camp, where he received the number 92486³⁸⁷.

However, it is not known how much the Gestapo knew about the District Government Delegation for Pomerania. The very scarce documentation reveals that in Toruń they had photographs of some members of this department, including B. Lipski. When Antoni Wierzbicki („Balcer”) was interrogated in Toruń, where he was taken after his arrest in Bydgoszcz, he was shown a photo of B. Lipski and probably F. Rochowiak. Wierzbicki managed to get this information to the outside.³⁸⁸

Besides F. Rochowiak, who committed suicide, and Adam Stefaniak, who died at the Gestapo hands on 21 January 1945, the other arrested persons were taken together with other prisoners from Toruń and Bydgoszcz in an unknown direction. The traces of this transport (7 women and 32 men), probably taken over by the Russians, lead to Talica camp, 400 km east of Moscow. The fate of those people remains unknown.³⁸⁹

After the arrests, B. Lipski ordered to reestablish the broken contacts, not only within the Security Department, but also in the whole Regional Delegation. There-

kubowska, *Hegenbarth Marian (1911– ?)*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny...*, cz. 5, pod red. E. Skerskiej, p. 66.

³⁸⁷ See: AMS, Księga ewidencyjna, sygn. I-II-E15; Teczka personalna, sygn. I-III-56843; E. Forzycki, *Ludzie z ODR...*, pp. 28–29.

³⁸⁸ Comp.: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-19 (luźne odręczne zapiski).

³⁸⁹ On 9.10.1946 reserve sub-Lt. of the Polish Army Roman Barski arrived at the flat of the Nowak family at 97 Mickiewicza Street. He said that he had stayed with J. Nowak in the camp Talica. He was released and Nowak was to leave the camp soon after him. R. Barski never appeared again, and his family maintained that he had been killed in the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 in the Kierbedź Bridge. Still, in 1946 he was in Toruń. Barski disappeared and Nowak never returned home. According to S. Nowicki, some workers of ODR were to be detained in the Kamchatka Peninsula. Yet, this version needs to be verified. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (the NKVD) captured also J. Bartosiewicz; she was supposedly transported to Georgia where she died. See: AMS, T. Nowak, *Ocalić...*, pp. 62–77; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 48; M. Golon, *Aneksy do artykułu pt. „Represje NKWD wobec uczestników konspiracji pomorskiej”*, [in:] *Powojenne losy konspiracji na Pomorzu. Materiały sesji naukowej w Toruniu w dniu 19 listopada 1994 roku*, pod red. E. Zawackiej i R. Kozłowskiego, Toruń 1995, p. 215; E. Forzycki, *Ludzie z ODR...*, pp. 22, 28; Rel. S. Nowickiego (w zb. aut.).

fore the number of the ODR members increased thanks to the integration of the Department “B” with its other divisions.

The work of the whole staff of the District Government Delegation was evaluated very positively during the inspection carried out after the end of the war, 4–8 August 1945 in Warsaw. The inspection took place in the presence of the Regional Delegate A. Antczak and the Head of the Administration Department I. Wujek, covering the period of work from 1 July 1944 to 1 August 1945. The evaluation mentioned about the “special conditions” in which the Pomeranian Delegation worked, as the number of their permanent employees in the capital was 28 and in Pomerania – several hundred.³⁹⁰ It stated that individual departments of the Regional Delegation, following the guidelines, prepared and trained personnel for the administration, organized and ran social support actions, propaganda actions and underground schooling as well as gathered data on German crimes committed in Pomerania. Their finances were exemplary – focused on a specific target, thrifty and properly accounting for the assigned sums of money. This evaluation reflects the actual situation, as despite very harsh conditions during the occupation, the Regional Delegation for Pomerania was a great organizational success, becoming an important element of the civilian institutions in the Western Territories.³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ The publication by W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 300, mentions 18 workers.

³⁹¹ See: IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01355/153/1. Comp. also: sygn. 00231/157/1 i W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 300.

LONG-TERM CONCEPTS PREPARED FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD

1. Plans for rebuilding of the economy and public life

The Departments of Information and Press (the Western Division), Internal Affairs (e.g. the Bureau of the Western Territories), Liquidation of the Effects of the War, Education and Culture, Justice, Labour and Social Affairs, Agriculture, Industry and Trade (Maritime Division), Public Works and Reconstruction and other representing the economic side were doing conceptual work in connection with rebuilding the public life in the country. The source materials on this topic are much more abundant than those concerning the time of occupation.

All the work done mostly in the years 1943–44 by individual department gravitated mostly around two fundamental aims. The first was liquidation, as much as possible, of the direct repercussions of the war, annexation and occupation. Therefore the actions of the German authorities started to be recorded with a view to future motions for restitution as well as for future work related to restoration of the state administration, judiciary, education and culture – taking into account new borders of the state. The second was preparation of an entire package of reforms concerning rebuilding of the public life, economy and legal system as well as rebuilding the form of government, regardless of the political programs of the parties which constituted the main representation of the nation.³⁹²

This work included also the Western Territories, together with Pomerania. The analysis prepared for the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press and titled “The political and economic role of Pomerania” stated that “The fight for Pomerania is the fight for the sea. The object of this fight is thus not only an area of land, the wish to move the border with one of the neighbours to

³⁹² See more: S. Salmonowicz, *Wizje Polski w pracach Delegatury Rządu na Kraj i „Teczki” – Administracji Wojskowej ZWZ-AK*, [in:] *Testament Polski Walczącej...*, p. 68 i n.

an advantageous location but also the reinforcement of having a regular strategic border that is a coastline, as well as our return to being neighbours with the whole world.”³⁹³

The analyses of the Department of Information and Press the particular features of the Western Territories and their profound, diametrical contrast to the General Government were strongly underlined. As we know, besides the Department of Internal Affairs, the Department of Information had the greatest knowledge of these matters. The tasks aiming at the future undertaken there were to be coordinated by the Western Council established in 1944 at the office of the Government Delegate for Poland as a body to advise and give opinions “on the matters of the Western Territories of the Republic of Poland currently annexed by the Reich”. The persons invited to the council included the representatives of the Bureau of Education, Bureau of the Newly Acquired Lands, the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press and the Regional Delegates for Łódź, Pomerania, Poznań, Silesia and Warsaw (or their deputies who were acting in this capacity after the Regional Delegation for Ciechanów was subordinated to the Regional Delegation for the Warsaw voivodeship).³⁹⁴ Thus the Council was to include also the Regional Delegate A. Antczak. Although he fully approved of the creation of the Council, he refused to participate. Particular significance was attached there to the Polonization of these lands and cultural transformations. The “Letter on the organization of theatrical life in the W.[estern] T.[erritories] and the P.[ostulated] T.[erritories]” urged to restore the theatres, appreciating their positive role in spreading culture and bringing up the young generation. The Polish state should control and partially direct the theatres not only in the Western Territories but also in the whole country.³⁹⁵ There were plans to create a theatre unit in the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press.

The planning in the Department of Information also focused on the restoration of the movie industry. This issue was analyzed in the “Letter on the restoration and reform of the film life in the RP”. Within the Film Chamber, created in the Ministry of Information, the Western Section was to be established as the highest power in the film world in the Western Territories, directing the film policies and industry in these lands. Poznań was chosen as the seat of the section. It was to include people with excellent knowledge of film-related issues. The first (preparation) period was to be used for registering cinemas, movie theatres and individual films. The second (breakthrough) period involved seizing and taking over post-

³⁹³ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/4, sygn. 202/III/154.

³⁹⁴ W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 289. See also: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-171. There was also a project to set up the Western Committee at the Government Delegate.

³⁹⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/6, sygn. 202/III-164. See also: B. Drewniak, *Organizacja niemieckiego życia teatralnego na obszarach Polski wcielonych do Rzeszy w latach II wojny światowej*, Przegląd Zachodni, 1978, nr 4, pp. 55–65.

German property. Later the film industry was to be rebuilt.³⁹⁶ The return of Poland to the territories was intended to be advertised through documentary and feature films, which were supposed to enrich the sense of nationality with pride stemming from the return of these lands to the motherland and from Polish contribution to the victory over the Third Reich. In some cases even titles were suggested, segregated into several categories. The first was the show of decisiveness and strength: *Poland, The White Eagle, A Day of a Polish Pilot, Picturesque Poland, The Price of Freedom*. The second category were films popularizing the vision of the future Poland: *We Are Building a Common House* (co-operation with the Czechs, putting an end to the Polish-Czech conflicts); *Within the New Borders* (strong nation, powerful Poland); *The Land Is Calling Us* (the return to the Western Territories); *On Burned Ground* (activity in rebuilding of the country). The third category included films depicting the war and German crimes: *The Defence of the Polish Post Office in Gdańsk; Westetplatte; Auschwitz, Dachau, Oranienburg*. The films designed for Germans and Volksdeutsche were intended to show the righteousness of Polish policy, and in the future – promote reconciliation. Even presentation of the German point of view was deemed acceptable, which was an unusual occurrence in the situation of war and occupation (annexation).³⁹⁷

The progress that the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press made in their work on the restoration of political and cultural life in these territories resulted in another idea: in the Ministry of Information, the Western Department should be created, whose core would be the Western Division of the Department of Information. The duties of the Western Department would include implementation of information, propaganda and cultural policies for the Polish and German population in the Western Territories, including the so-called Postulated Territories. A detailed organization structure and scheme were prepared.³⁹⁸

In September 1943 plans were made to create in the Western Division the Western Institute of Sociology and Propaganda, which would be the first element of the Institute of Polish Propaganda, and which would conduct research on the nature and means of propaganda and would train the employees of the Institute. The project was envisioned as “a research and practical study of theory and techniques of propaganda”.³⁹⁹ The work conducted there would also include the analysis of the occupation system in the Western Territories, history of these lands and

³⁹⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/6, sygn. 202/III-164.

³⁹⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/1 II, sygn. 202/III-137, 139, 169 (Zagadnienie filmu i kina), mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-171 (Przedsiębiorstwo Filmowe Sp. z o.o.).

³⁹⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-170, 171 (Memoriał w sprawie organizacji Departamentu Zachodniego). The promotion of the Bureau of the New Territories to the rank of the department caused that the Bureau was referred to as the Bureau of the Western Territories. See: IPN-W-wa, sygn. 0135/95.

³⁹⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169 (Zachodni Instytut Propagandowy).

German propaganda. The planned structure of the future institute would consist of two research units: theoretical and technological. The preferred head of the Institute was to be an eminent sociology scholar and a social activist coming from the Western territories. However, no name was given. The results of that research would be made available to the public through a periodical publication consisting of 20–30 pages, titled *The Western Review. A fortnightly Magazine on the Return of Poland to the West and the Issues of Germanology*; the magazine would also include the history of Polish-German relations until 1939 and after this date, so it would cover such matters as the issues of the German population policy, economic policy, the policy of expulsions etc. The whole topic of the area of the Western Territories and the Recovered Territories was to be presented in the periodical *Wydawnictwo Zachodnie*⁴⁰⁰ This project was commented upon by the leader of the Western Division, E. Męclewski („Andrzej”), Aleksander Rogalski („Remigiusz”) – the editor of *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* and the representative of the Propaganda Section of the Western Division on the Department of Information and Press (“300”) – and T. (name unknown) [from the General Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs? – B. Ch.].⁴⁰¹

This work was preceded by the studies on the questions of the return of Poland to the Western Territories. It started as early as 1941. On 22 June in Warsaw, the first meeting of the Western Study Group took place, initiated by Z. Wojciechowski and the group connected with the “Ojczyzna” organization (such as Maria Kielczewska, Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Kirił Sosnowski, Leon Całka, Karol Marian Pospieszalski and Edward Piszcz). During the meeting the representatives of different science centres, e.g. Poznań, Warsaw and Cracow, undertook the task of preparing analyses of individual issues concerning the western lands. Approximately 50 various works were thus created, most of which unfortunately was burned during the Warsaw Uprising. Z. Wojciechowski proposed creating after the war the Western Institute in Poznań, which was to conduct scientific activities similarly to the Silesian Institute or the Baltic Institute. This idea was implemented after the war.⁴⁰²

The Department of Information also prepared the rules for the reconstruction of the network of publishing houses and booksellers both for East Prussia and the Pomerelia and Western Pomerania. There was a plan to create a Press Section inside the Western Department to regulate the publishing policies in the Western

⁴⁰⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169, 202/III-171.

⁴⁰¹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10, sygn. 202/III-169 (Uwagi do projektu „Zachodni Instytut Propagandowy” z 16.10.43 oraz „Założenia propagandy polskiej”); Por. W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 280, 555 i n.

⁴⁰² See more: J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie...*, p. 110, 112; idem, *Studium Zachodnie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 535–536; Z. Bednorz, op.cit., p. 29; W. Wnuk, op.cit., p. 220; M. Wojciechowska, *Prehistoria Instytutu Zachodniego*, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1970, z. 3, pp. 226–229. See also: M. Pollak, *Instytut Zachodni. Powstanie i rozwój organizacyjny w ciągu dziesięciolecia*, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1955, nr 3–4; E. Męclewski, *Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa*, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1960, nr 4; Z. Mazur, *Antenaci. O politycznym rodowodzie Instytutu Zachodniego*, Poznań 2002. See: r. V, podrozdział 2.

and Postulated Territories. The “Premises and proposals regarding the organization of publishers in the Western Territories” reveals that for example in Królewiec [Königsberg] there was to appear a newspaper *Pocztą Królewiecką* in 10,000 copies and in German – *Baltischer Tageblatt* in 40,000 copies. The editorial office of both papers was supposed to employ ten people, seven of whom would be fluent in German. In Olsztyn, *Gazeta Olsztyńska* (a paper focusing on agriculture) was to appear two or three times a week, employing two journalists and one agriculturist; the paper would be distributed in East Prussia. In Sztum, a magazine *The Masurian* would be published by two journalists, its target readers being the members of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.⁴⁰³ Furthermore, in Gdańsk six journalists, including two fluent in German, would publish a political paper titled *Gazeta Gdańska* in 5000 copies; the *Orędownik Gdański* would in turn be a popular daily paper for Pomerelia and East Prussia, whose circulation was to reach 20,000 copies. The German population would get *Baltischer Boot*, a paper focusing on politics, employing six journalists. A paper suggested for the northern and western part of Pomerania was *Światowid*, published by three journalists (one knowing German) in 20,000 copies, and for Szczecin – *Polska Zachodnia* in 3000 copies, with four journalists (one fluent in German) in the editorial office.⁴⁰⁴

Creation of the future propaganda institutions involved training and gathering of highly qualified journalists. Therefore the employees of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press established in Warsaw the Association of Western Journalists and started tertiary Underground Courses in Journalism.⁴⁰⁵

The planning also included the Postulated Territories (Newly Acquired Lands), i.e. those that were not a part of Poland before the war. The Bureau of the Western Territories (Bureau of the Newly Acquired Lands) of the Department of Interior began to work on the matters regarding the system and administrative division of the Newly Acquired Lands, which included East Prussia, Gdańsk, West Pomerania, the lands along the lower Oder river, Posen-West Prussia as well as Upper and Lower Silesia. The project of the state administration had three levels – from the General Commissioner to the Regional Commissioner to the County Commissioner. The current division into regions was supposed to prevent future excessive

⁴⁰³ The study *Zagadnienie wyznaniowe na Warmii i Mazurach* was devoted to the coexistence of the Protestant and Catholic religion, and their mutual and difficult relations. See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169.

⁴⁰⁴ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/6, sygn. 202/III-164, mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-171 (opracowania dotyczące przemysłu poligraficznego).

⁴⁰⁵ Sometimes the name: Tajne Wyższe Kursy Dziennikarskie (Secret Higher Journalism Courses) was used. See more: Z. Bednorz, op.cit., pp. 30–31; E. Serwański, *Z dziejów...*, p. 46; E. Męclewski, *Kierunek Odra i Nysa*, Kronika Wielkopolski, 1975, nr 2/3, p. 51; T. Kraszewski, *Szkolenie dziennikarzy w konspiracji*, [in:] *Wspomnienia dziennikarzy z okresu okupacji hitlerowskiej*, opr. E. Rudziński przy udziale zespołu, Warszawa 1970, s. 91–98; W. Giełżyński, *Dziennikarski ruch oporu*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 79–90; E. Męclewski, *Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa*, Przegląd Zachodni, 1960, nr 4.

organizational fragmentation.⁴⁰⁶ Fearing lack of support from the Western powers in the matter the acquisition of the New Lands by Poland, the Bureau intended to use the politics of *fait accompli*. The moral right thought to supersede the international regulations in this case, as those lands were rightfully Polish. Thus Polish administration should be established there as soon as possible, as a sign that these territories are now fully unified with the motherland. Organization cells were created, which would be the future staff of individual voivodeship offices.⁴⁰⁷

The organization of public life in the Western Territories was to be the duty of the future Ministry of the Recovered Lands, to which the employees of the Bureau of the Western Lands would be transferred. This ministry was to cover the newly created voivodeships (regions), whose exact area was still not fully specified: East Prussia, West Pomerania and Lower Silesia. In October 1943 in the Bureau of the Western Lands a plan was proposed to create four, and later six administrative districts: District I – Gdańsk, with the Commissioner's Office in Gdańsk; District II – encompassing East Prussia with the Office in Królewiec [Konigsberg]; District III – Masuria, with the Office in Olsztyn; District IV – West Pomerania with the Office in Szczecin; District V – the Middle Oder lands with the Office in Zielona Góra; and District VI – Lower Silesia with the Office in Wrocław. The General Commissariat of the New Territories would consist of ten departments.⁴⁰⁸

Already during the occupations studies were carried out on the ethnographic and economic issues of the so-called Postulated Territories. Different analyses were written, such as "E.[ast] Pr[ussia] and the Oder lands for Poland";⁴⁰⁹ "An ethnographic and historical overview of the population of the eastern Reich territories";⁴¹⁰ "The economic life of the eastern territories of the German Reich";⁴¹¹ "East Prussia: its history, population and economy"; "The Polishness of the Prussian Mazovia"; "The question of nationality in East Prussia" or "The issue of the population of the postulated territories".⁴¹² An idea appeared to prepare and publish an encyclopedia of the New Lands. The focus was on the former Free City of Gdańsk,

⁴⁰⁶ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/8, sygn. 202/III/166 (Sprawa ustroju i podziału administracyjnego Ziem Nowych). See also: mf 2270/6, sygn. 202/III-164 (Likwidacja i Powiernictwo na Ziemiach Zachodnich).

⁴⁰⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, B.Z. [Biuro Zachodnie – B.Ch.], Wytyczne programu politycznego w odniesieniu do Ziem Nowych, mf 2270/1, sygn. 202/III-135; IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 00231/157/1; W. Grabowski, *Dokumenty do historii...*, pp. 114–119.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. See also: G. Górski, *Komisariat Generalny Ziem Nowych w planach Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, Czaszy Nowożytny, 2000, t. 9, pp. 216–217, 232; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, p. 207.

⁴⁰⁹ AAN, Akta DR, sygn. 202/XVIII-2, vol. 4.

⁴¹⁰ See: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/III, sygn. 202/I-1.

⁴¹¹ Comp.: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-170 (Życie gospodarcze Wschodnich terenów Rzeszy).

⁴¹² See: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/7, sygn. 202/III-165, vol. I. See also: 202/III-165, vol. II, mf 2270/10, sygn. 202/III-169. See also the list of works: W. Grabowski, *Dokumenty do historii...*, p. 106.

East Prussia (without Klaipėda), West Pomerania (the regions of Szczecin and Koszalin) and Silesia; the matters presented included not only the agrarian structure but also the industrial one, as well as future colonization; the analyses were accompanied by 13 enclosed maps. Altogether the Western Bureau prepared at least 160 various works on the issues of future Polish borders, economy, nationality (e.g. the German People's List), education on various levels (e.g. the question of establishing a university in Królewiec), relationships between religious denominations (e.g. in Warmia and Masuria) as well as the matters regarding libraries, archives, demography etc.⁴¹³

The demographics and economy of the Western Territories, including Pomerania, were also within the competence of the Department of Liquidation of the Effects of the War. They prepared at least 10 papers that formed a set on the theme "The demographic and economic portrait of the Eastern territories of the German Reich and the F.[ree] C.[ity] of Gdańsk" and prepared a wide range of analyses for the Polish government as auxiliary materials to be used during a future peace conference. These texts covered a wide variety of socio-economic problems concerning the Western Territories, including Pomerania. The attention was also focused on the matters of organizing future administration, agriculture, food and provisioning, development of industry, trade and crafts, including craft development against the background of settlement in the New Lands and general trusteeship. The Department prepared the projects of laws on provisional self-government and on industry, crafts, trade, banking, loans etc. The Bureau of the Newly Acquired Lands prepared "The problem of economic policy and the project of separate monetary and credit organization of the New Lands", where they noted the danger posed by direct, immediate inclusion of these territories into the Polish state, as these lands had different economic structure and different administration systems, which should be integrated.⁴¹⁴

Attention was also given to the question of financial policy, noticing the difference in the ratio of the occupation currency and the Polish zloty.⁴¹⁵

The occurring problems thus demanded ironing out the details of the questions connected with the post-war administrative division of the Western Territo-

⁴¹³ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/1 II, sygn. 202/I-1, mf 2201/15, sygn. 202/I-46; IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 002312/157/1, 01355/153/1. See also the list of works: W. Grabowski, *Dokumenty do historii...*, pp. 114–119.

⁴¹⁴ See W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 181–182. Comp. also: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/15, sygn. 202/I-46, 202/I-47, 202/I-48, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/5, sygn. 202/III-163, mf 2270/8, sygn. 202/III-169 (Założenia programu gospodarczego na Ziemiach Nowych, Zaopatrzenia Przedsiębiorstw Ziemi Zachodnich w środki płatnicze w momencie przełomu). See also: Dekret o gospodarce finansowej związków samorządowych, Dekret o powołaniu tymczasowych organów w samorządzie terytorialnym, Dekret o podjęciu działalności przez związki samorządowe i inne. Projekty tych dekretów trafiły do pomorskiej Delegatury Rządu. Comp.: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-17, K-1-18.

⁴¹⁵ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169 (Zagadnienie walutowe w okresie przejściowym).

ries. It was underlined that the areas of the Western Poland annexed during the war experienced particularly vicious German terror, visible e.g. in the actions of extermination and expulsion. An additional factor were the demographic and social transformations. For the post-war period Also projects of local self-government and security institutions which would maintain public order – mainly the National Security Corps (Security Corps) and the Local Guards – were prepared.⁴¹⁶

The documents of the Department of Internal Affairs and of Education and Culture prepared also laws repealing the occupation regulations and eliminating German influence in the Western Territories, including Pomerania. Furthermore, the Department of Education and Culture prepared a number of guidelines which would be in force in the Western Territories during the so-called transitional period, i.e. after the cessation of fighting and removing German occupation. Like the Department of Information and Press, the Department of Education and Culture planned to hand these documents to the Ministry of Religions and Public Education. The process of taking over the cultural property was to be carried out by the Plenipotentiary of the Minister of Religion. The Department of Information was not the only one to plan opening of new institutions of learning. Also the Department of Education intended to create such institutions in Królewiec, Olsztyn, Kwidzyn, Elbląg, Frombork, Malbork, Gdańsk, Lębork, Słupsk, Koszalin, Choszczno, Gryfice, Piła, Stargard, Szczecin and Świnoujście.⁴¹⁷

It was clear that the premises of the German Nazi doctrine involved physical elimination of the so-called leadership classes of the society, that is, those most active and posing a threat to the implementation of the political plans of the Third Reich. Thus the mass arrests of intelligentsia, transports to concentration camps and executions of academic teachers (particularly professors), school teachers, clergy, lawyers, political, social and self-government activists etc. Particularly harsh terror was used in the Western Territories, especially in Pomerania, where there were attempts to eradicate all expressions of Polishness. Therefore the main worry of the Department of Culture and Education in the post-war Ministry of Religions and Public Education was preparation of highly qualified teachers in the western areas. There were projects to create training courses for state school teachers during the so-called transition period, i.e. right after the end of the German occupation; courses for vocational teachers (i.e. preparing for work in the industry); courses teaching about Poland and the development of culture in the western areas.⁴¹⁸

The Department of Justice in turn prepared the decrees concerning e.g. war crimes, and the Department of Labour and Social Affairs – the change in labour policy. The latter department also prepared a whole series of regulations invalidat-

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/5, sygn. 202/III-163 (Departament Oświaty na Ziemiach Zachodnich w okresie przejściowym i in.).

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

ing the regulations of the occupation authorities. Important issues included also the functioning of health service, insurances and social security and care.⁴¹⁹

The Department of Agriculture planned to take measures counteracting the ruthless exploitation of Polish countryside. This department had the State Forest Directorate, within which the Section of Western Territory Forests was created, covering the forests in the regions of Mazury, Szczecin and Wrocław.⁴²⁰

The Department of Agriculture initially dealt with the matters related to regulation, dredging and maintenance of rivers and mountain streams as well as building water reservoirs. This work did not include inland navigation and rafting of goods. After these tasks were passed to the Department of Public Works and Reconstruction in 1942, the latter Department created within its structure the Water Division, whose duties included preparing the program and plans for regulation and maintenance of navigable and non-navigable rivers, harnessing the potential of the waters as well as drainage and irrigation of specific areas.⁴²¹

The Department of Industry and Trade (DPiH), specifically its Maritime Division (Sea Section) dealt among others with sea matters, working on the restitution of Polish ownership in sea industry.⁴²² The department coordinated their actions with the Sea Department of the Military Office of Industry and Trade of the Leadership of the Military Offices (of the Militarized Administration, a.k.a. "Teczka") of the Home Army Headquarters, as well as with the Department of the Navy („Alfa”). The institutions reporting to the Leadership of the Military Offices, i.e. the Militarized Administration ("Teczka") were 1) Military Offices (including the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade with the Maritime Division – WBPiH) together with the Military Departments in the Area Headquarters and the Military Sections at District Headquarters; 2) the Military Administration of the Newly Acquired Lands (until 1942 the Research Office of for the New Lands – an administration and police institution, whose purpose was to provide military administration e.g. for East Prussia ("Piaski", "Jeziora"), former Free City of Gdańsk ("Żuławy") and Western Pomerania ("Wydmy"); 3) Military Security Corps (WKSB) destined to work in the area of the so-called New Lands. They began to form five divisions which were to operate in the western areas, including Pomerania and East Prussia. Part of the WKSB staff came from KB (the Organization of Military Security Personnel, later Security Corps). The documents of the Home Army Headquarters and the Government Delegation for Poland reveal that teams were trained to take

⁴¹⁹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169 (Założenia i wytyczne dla B[iura] Z[achodniego] w zakresie Wydziału Spraw Społecznych), mf 2270/5, sygn. 202/III-163 (np. Administracja gospodarcza, Dekret (projekt) o tymczasowym samorządzie przemysłu, rzemiosła i handlu).

⁴²⁰ IPN-W-wa, sygn. 01355/95; AAN, Akta DR, Departament Rolnictwa, mf 2282/2, sygn. 202/VI-1 (Projekt zorganizowania walki z okupantem w rolnictwie); W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 254.

⁴²¹ See more: W. Grabowski, *Plany gospodarki wodnej w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu na Kraj w latach II wojny światowej*, *Gospodarka Wodna*, 1990, nr 10, pp. 222–224.

⁴²² AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/1 II, sygn. 202/I-1.

over factories in East Prussia. The question of the Chief of the Section VI (Polish) in London, Lt. Col. Michał Protasewicz ("Rawa"), from 15 July 1942 whether in Poland someone carries out research on the future occupation of East Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania (which meant the territories outside Polish borders before the war) was answered by the First Commander of the Home Army General S. Rowecki, who explained that such work is done by the Bureau of Information and Propaganda, the Leadership of the Military Offices of the Home Army Headquarters and the Government Delegation. Comments from the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army HQ, which cooperated with the civilian branch, can be found on one of the documents of the Government Delegation. Such matters were also the responsibility of the Girl Scout Organization (the Gray Ranks) and certain sections of the Home Army HQ. This task was important not only for the organization of the future administration system but also for the plans for an uprising. Also Reverend Jan Zieja („Rybak”, „Ossowski”, „Kmieć”), linked with the Government Delegation and WAZN, was involved in research work related to East Prussia. He was a member of the Operational Group "East Prussia" led by General Kazimierz Sawicki („Pruć”, „Opór”), which was tasked with occupying the territory of East Prussia. Revd. Zieja swore people in and collected information on people who after the war were to hold posts in the state administration system. He had a dossier of priests designated for particular parishes. He also prepared groups of young females for tasks after the war to which they had been designated (the church matters of the postulated territories were also discussed within the Government Delegation). Also, the reconstruction of industry was planned. Teams of future main trustees started to be formed and received the tasks of restarting the industrial objects. The following sectors of industry were envisioned, each with their branch leader: construction, metallurgical, electronic, paper, textile, food, chemical, timber and crafts. It must be noted that the Military Administration of the New Territories cooperated with the Government Delegation on e.g. sea matters. Also the Leadership of the Technical Service („Ciągnik”, „Traktor”) headed by Prof. Stefan Bryła must be mentioned. They organized their branches all over the country. The head of the Gdańsk District of "Ciągnik" (a name used in the documents of the Ministry of Public Security) was engineer Józef Czysz, working under an excellent cover, who was involved in the actions of illegal border crossing from Gdynia to Sweden.⁴²³

⁴²³ See more: AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48, K-1-49; SPP, O VI. Centralne władze wojskowe. Sztab Naczelnego Wodza. Plany powstańcze, sygn. 2.3.2.1, sygn. 2.3.2 (kopia: AMS, sygn. K-5-3); AAN, Akta KG AK, mf 2376/1 (tu w dokumentach dotyczących Grupy Operacyjnej „Prusy Wschodnie” obszar ten oznaczono kryptonimem „Piaski”); IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 00231/99/3 (Wykaz byłych członków „Ciągnika” i Departamentu Odbudowy z terenu województwa gdańskiego); sygn. 00231/157/1 (Przygotowania do administracyjnego objęcia Prus Wschodnich oraz Schemat organizacyjny fragmentu komórki delegatury do spraw Prus Wschodnich), sygn. 01355/95; sygn. 0135/153/1; IH PAN, Rel. J. Michalewskiego..., sygn. A 338/66; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 120–129 (the author provided here various opinions concerning the cryptonyms of the Military De-

The plans created in Poland were the net outcome of the political and economic views of the Polish Government in London. They assumed transformation of the whole infrastructure of maritime economy (and others) in order to create a state with sea power. Future Polish ports were to become places of transit, reloading and supply for Middle and Eastern Europe. Thus the concept of transformation and expansion of individual branches of maritime economy as well as expansion of the merchant navy and the fishing fleet, expansion of borders and creation of strong navy to defend them. In Poland the Parliament of the Underground State, i.e. the Council of National Unity, published on 15 March 1944 the declaration "What the Polish Nation are fighting for" The text pointed out the necessity of wide access to the sea, moving the Western border further West, the end of East Prussia and starting the operations of wide-scale sea industry.⁴²⁴ The Declaration of the Council of National Unity was sent to the Office (Bureau) of the Regional Delegate in Warsaw, and then to the Pomeranian branch of the Regional Delegate's Office.⁴²⁵

The Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade partially was created on the basis of a group of specialists in sea-related matters who were staying in Warsaw and in other locations in the occupied country. They constituted two independent groups which, however, kept in touch. The members of the first group

partments, underlining that according to the report of the Bureau of the New Territories the cryptonym 'Wydmę' was to refer to eastern Prussia); idem, *Dokumenty do historii...*, pp. 109–110; idem, *Biuro Wojskowe Przemysłu i Handlu Komendy Głównej ZWZ-AK*, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, 2006/1, pp. 214–215; G. Górski, *Administracja Polski Podziemnej...*, s. 77–86 (tu mowa o 10 000 zatrudnionych w „Teczce”); idem, *Powstanie Administracji Zmilitaryzowanej ZWZ-AK pod nazwą „Teczka”*, *Studia Historyczne*, 1988, nr 3; idem, *Ziemie zachodnie i północne w planach KG ZWZ-AK i Delegatury Rządu na Kraj. Dzieje Biura Zachodniego i Wojskowej Administracji Ziem Nowych w latach 1940–1944*, *Sobótka*, 1989, nr 3, pp. 383–393; S. Salmonowicz, *Polskie Państwo Podziemne...*, pp. 108–110, 300–307 i n.; idem, *Wizje Polski w pracach Delegatury Rządu na Kraj i „Teczki” – Administracji Wojskowej ZWZ-AK*, [in:] *Testament Polski Walczącej...*, pp. 59–81; W. Borodziej, A. Chmielarz, A. Friszke, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 347–358; M. Ney-Krwawicz, *Komenda Główna...*, pp. 230–231, 414, 420, 424 (tu mowa o „zawiązkach administracji dla Prus Wschodnich w szefostwie Biur Wojskowych: Bursztyn, Piaski, Wydmę”); B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, pp. 199–202 i n.; L. Gluck, op.cit., pp. 50–59; *Harcerki 1939–1945*, oprac. zesp., wyd. II popr. i uzup., Warszawa 1983, pp. 272–278; J. Marszałec, *Oddziały Wojskowe Korpusu Bezpieczeństwa*, [in:] *Wielka Ilustrowana Encyklopedia Powstania Warszawskiego*, vol. 1: *(Działania zbrojne)*, pod red. P. Rozwadowskiego Warszawa 2005, pp. 413–417; idem, *Ochrona porządku i bezpieczeństwa publicznego w Powstaniu Warszawskim*, Warszawa 1999; H. Brzozowska, *Nasza dziwna grupa ZWZ-AK*, Kraków 1993, pp. 61–70 (it refers to the Sanitary Group 'Prusy Wschodnie', whose place in the hierarchy has not been established yet); J. Zieja, *Wobec wojny*, cz. 3, rozmowę przepr. J. Moskwa, Znak, 1988, nr 5, pp. 160–173; A. Sanojca, AK za słupkami (mps w zb. aut.); Rel. ks. J. Zieji, A. Sanojcy, J. Czyż (w zb. aut.); List H. Brzozowskiej z 1.05.1987 r. (w zb. aut.).

⁴²⁴ See more: B. Chrzanowski, *Miejsce Polski w Europie – koncepcje Rządu RP podczas II wojny światowej i ich realizacja w kraju*, [in:] *Centra i peryferie globalne oraz regionalne w systemie stosunków międzynarodowych*, referat wygłoszony na sesji w listopadzie 2008 r. w Gdyni, *Zeszyty Naukowe „Cywilizacja i Polityka”* 2010, z. 8, pp. 140–159.

⁴²⁵ IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 0193/730/2, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 01222/3051. See also: *Protokoły z posiedzeń Rady Jedności Narodowej (7 XI 1944–1 VII 1945)*, [in:] *Dokumenty i Materiały Archiwum Polski Podziemnej 1939–1956*, opr. A. K. Kunert, Warszawa 1995, nr 3.

included Paweł Bomas, Franciszek Lubecki, Tadeusz Ocioszyński and Tadeusz Tępper. The second group had such people as Piotr Blitek („Morski”, „Dąb”), Stanisław Ludwigo („Mariusz”), Bolesław Kasprówic („Turoń”), Józef Kulikowski and Tadeusz Weychert.⁴²⁶ Witold Grott („Andrzejewski”, „Gardański”) from the „Ojczyzna” organization, Władysław Kowalenko, Cmdr. Józef Poznański and others cooperated with both groups. Those people formed an unofficial team analyzing the development of maritime economy and the organization of the Coast, i.e. shipyards, ports, fishing industry, transport, customs officers and supply base. As mentioned, some of them were teaching in the Underground Sea Institute. The whole team was contacted by Stanisław Ołtarzewski („Stanisław Stanisławski”),⁴²⁷ the head of the Maritime Division, with the offer of cooperation. After agreeing, the team provided their professional knowledge both for the Government Delegation and the Leadership of the Military Offices of the Home Army HQ, although they became a part of the Delegation’s structure only later. The liaison with the Maritime Division of the Government Delegation was W. Grott.⁴²⁸

Also the knowledge of people dwelling before the war in Pomerania was utilized. For example the future professor of mathematics Eustachy Tarnowski, former citizen of Gdańsk, was asked to provide his opinion on matters related to the personnel of the Gdańsk port and shipyard.⁴²⁹

The head of the Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and trade in the Government Delegation was, as it is known, Stanisław Ołtarzewski, and later Tadeusz Ocioszyński. This section prepared the concepts regarding maritime administration and economy, which came down to reclaiming the ports, and starting the sea transport and fishing industry – in other words, coming into the possession of the sea coast. The Maritime Division was a surrogate of the Maritime Department of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Sea Transport of the Polish Government. The Division cooperated with the Department of Internal Affairs

⁴²⁶ T. Weychert also operated in the National Armed Forces. He also contacted the Secret Military Organization ‘Gryf Pomorski’ and the centre for intelligence and communication of the Świątokrzyska Brigade of the National Armed Forces, e.g. with the officer of the merchant navy Cpt. Mieczysław Dukalski. Comp.: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, p. 211; B. Chrzanowski, *Związek Jaszczurczy...*, pp. 100–101, 153.

⁴²⁷ After leaving the occupied homeland he gave the Government of the republic of Poland the information about the condition of the works of the Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade (including the Free City of Gdańsk). See: Rel. S. Ołtarzewskiego (S. Stanisławskiego – zb. A. Ropelewskiego; po wojnie S. Ołtarzewski pozostał w Anglii i posługiwał się nazwiskiem Stanisław Stanisławski). Comp. also: AAN, Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości Rządu Emigracyjnego, sygn. 73.

⁴²⁸ See: A. Ropelewski, *Sprawy gospodarki morskiej w latach 1939–1945*, Przegląd Zachodnio-Pomorski, 1967, z. 3, passim; B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, *Wydział Marynarki...*, pp. 208–209; B. Chrzanowski, *Odbudowa administracji i gospodarki morskiej w planach Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego (1940–1945)*, [in:] *Testament Polski Walczącej...*, pp. 83–97; idem, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 84; A. Zelenay, *Armia Krajowa. Organizacja Marynarki Wojennej Alfa*, rkps (zb. M. Ney-Maritime Department of the Ministry (w zb. aut.).

⁴²⁹ Rel. S. Ołtarzewskiego (S. Stanisławskiego – zb. A. Ropelewskiego); Rel. E. Beisert, E. Tarnowskiego (w zb. aut.).

of the Delegation, preparing the projects of securing industrial objects, including those located at the Coast. The assumption was that after the war the territory of Poland will include not only Gdańsk, Kołobrzeg and Szczecin, but also Królewiec, i.e. the whole Pomerania and East Prussia, as well as Silesia. In the future Gdańsk was to be the seat of the Maritime Office, reporting to the Maritime Department of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Sea Transport. The group working on the integration of these territories with future Poland was led by the future Head of the Maritime Division T. Ocioszyński, who coordinated a number of actions with military institutions, i.e. the Leadership of the Military Offices of the Home Army HQ. The main priorities regarding the future administration of e.g. East Prussia and Gdańsk were sent at the end of 1942 to the Western Division, which cooperated with the Military Administration of the Newly Acquired Lands.⁴³⁰

As for Królewiec, the planning was focused on preparing the personnel list for the future municipal authorities of the port. Initially the post of the Director of the Sea Office in that city was to go to B. Kasprowicz, yet the concept changed and he was to take the post of the Director of the Gdynia Chamber of Industry and Trade. His former post in Królewiec was to be taken by Józef Krawczyński.⁴³¹

These questions were the subject of letters exchanged between the Government of Poland and the Delegation. Asked by the government circles, the representatives of the Delegation answered that the scope of the Maritime Division's attention includes not only the pre-1939 borders but also the area of the former Free City of Gdańsk, East Prussia, Opole Silesia (up to the Silesian Neisse river) – and Pomerania up to Kołobrzeg, although Szczecin was also considered. Attempts were made to gather full staff, yet in the underground it was not easy. The Department of Industry and Trade of the Government Delegation sent to London reports containing information on the work on the reconstruction of maritime economy.⁴³²

The Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade also carried out research and library work. Władysław Antoni Drapella („Adek”), who worked simultaneously for this division and for the Department of the Navy („Alfa”) of the Home Army HQ, prepared bibliography, gathered and secured books on maritime topics and the maps of the Bay of Gdańsk. He also prepared the teaching and personality-shaping program for sea-related professions. This concept was named “The Open Maritime University. The birth of the ideal”. The implementation was to include the founding of the Sea Academy located approximately in the area of Gdańsk-Oliwa, Jelitkowo and Przymorze.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, sygn. 202/-31 (Odpowiedź w związku z pytaniami przybyłych do kraju kurierów odnośnie do D[epartamentu] P[rzemysłu] H[andlu] i Ż[eglugi] i A[dministracji] Z[astępczej]).

⁴³¹ Comp.: IPN-W-wa, Delegatura Rządu..., sygn. 00231/157/1; Rel. B. Kasprowicza (w zb. aut.).

⁴³² Comp.: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, sygn. 202/I-35 (Charakterystyka życia gospodarczego (m.in. sprawy żeglugi i portów w Szczecinie, Gdyni, Gdańsku i Królewcu).

⁴³³ Rel. W. A. Drapelli, W. Bublewskiego, S. Ludwiga (w zb. aut.).

All these works were created in the occupied country, despite terror and lack of personnel. Therefore the Polish Government, recognizing these difficulties, strived to obtain any information on people who could help in the work on rebuilding of the maritime administration and industry. On 8 March of 1943 the Chief of the Maritime Investigation Division sent to the Section VI (Polish) of the Commander in Chief a list of persons who were staying in the country and who were well prepared specialists on sea matters. The list was supposed to be passed to the government of the Secret State, and it included such names as T. Ocioszyński, P. Blitek, T. Weychert, T. Tepper and others. London did not know that most of the people from that list had already been active in the underground.⁴³⁴

The subject of many conversations and discussions, and later of studies and analyses, were the scope and division of powers in the matter of rebuilding the maritime industry objects. The interested parties were Department of the Navy („Alfa”) and the Leadership of the Military Offices of the Home Army HQ as well as the structures of the Government Delegation for Poland. The military and civilian institutions reached an agreement and decides that the priority in this case will be assigned to the „Alfa”, responsible for the organization of the coastal region. Help would come also from the Maritime Division of the Military Maritime Department of the Military Office of Industry and Trade of the Leadership of the Military Offices. The matters of the merchant navy and future international contracts belonged currently to the Ministry of Industry and Navigation of the Polish Government, yet this ministry was constantly in touch with the Government Delegation.

When in August 1943 the already mentioned order to integrate the Militarized Administration („Teczki”) with the Provisional Administration organized by the Government Delegation was issued, the process involved also the Maritime Division of the Military Bureau of Industry and Trade and the Maritime Division of the Delegation's Department of Industry and Trade, which was supposed to take over the matters that were not the responsibility of the military institutions, as were e.g. the military industry working for the fighting army. The process of the integration of the Militarized Administration and the Provisional Administration started in 1943 and at the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising it had not been completed. The integration of both Divisions was to occur in October 1943. The representatives of the Leadership of the Military Offices responsible for transferring the work of the Maritime Division of WBPIH to the Maritime Division of DPiH were Jerzy Michalewski and Ludwik Hermel („Kazimierz Boruń”), who did not fully accept that decision of the superior authorities. However, according to the

⁴³⁴ Specialists in the maritime field of the authorities of the Polish Government in Exile in London were searched for in May 1945, but the reason for which those people were needed remains unknown. See: Studium Polski Podziemnej w Londynie (dalej: SPP), Oddział VI (further: O/VI), sygn. 2.6. (kopia AMS, sygn. K-5-7); AAN, Ministerstwo Przemysłu Handlu i Żeglugi (further: MPHŻ), sygn. 841.

documents concerning the matters of the sea, the cooperation between the Division of the Navy and the Maritime Division was smooth, although Michalewski thought that these tasks are too scattered and postulated gathering them in one decision centre.⁴³⁵

The Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade was well prepared to take over all the matters related to maritime economy. Both in its military branch and in the civilian one, which was the Delegation, prepared the organization plans for ports and the whole supply base as well as projects of regulations for port administration. The future businesses were to be grouped in a trade association offering maritime services including navigation, brokering, transport etc. There were attempts to formulate the ultimate version of all the related ideas in order to present them for the approval of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Navigation. Individual government projects were sent to Poland to the Government Delegation and Home Army Headquarters. As mentioned, the planning in London was connected to the work carried out by the designated structures of the Polish Secret State (the Leadership of the Military Offices, the Department of the Navy „Alfa” and the Government Delegation).⁴³⁶

The future Polish ports were thus divided into two groups: 1) those that were business enterprises (Gdańsk, Gdynia, Królewiec) and 2) smaller ports which in the so-called transition period would be subordinated to the Sea Office. Gdynia and Gdańsk were classified as a single unit. The Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade prepared the commissioner management for the ports. However, they feared problems both in water and in land transport as well as chaos that could take over the Western territories when the fighting was over. Therefore they applied to the Polish authorities in London for permission to permanently occupy these areas all down to the Oder river, with Szczecin included, no matter what the victorious powers would decide with regard to the western border of Poland. Szczecin would constitute a *sui generis* security measure if the work in Gdynia, Gdańsk or Królewiec was somehow disrupted.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ See more about the whole merging process of Maritime Military Bureau of the Department of Industry and Trade with Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade, see: M. Ney-Krwawicz, *Komenda Główna...*, p. 231 i n.; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 125–125. See also: AMS, Dokumenty „Alfy” sygn. Z-II-1-52 (kserokopie z Centralnego Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji, ob. zbiory IPN-W-wa); Rel. J. Michalewskiego i P. Blitka (zb. A. Ropelewskiego).

⁴³⁶ See more: B. Chrzanowski, *Odbudowa gospodarki...*, p. 87 i n. See also: Sprawozdanie Departamentu Przemysłu i Handlu Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj, mps, without the date, without the signature, *Archiwum Polski Podziemnej 1939–1945, Kolekcja 5 Zuzanny Zawadzkiej*, [in:] *Dokumenty i Materiały Archiwum Polski Podziemnej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1993, nr 1, pp. 59, 64.

⁴³⁷ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, sygn. 202/I-31 (Odpowiedź...); According to the Ministries of Industry, Trade and Shipping, the manning in Gdynia and Gdańsk was finished: “The maritime section of the Dep[artment] of Ind[ustry], Trade and Shipping along with the people chosen to man the positions in the sector in Gdynia and Gdańsk prepared a project about the organization of the authorities of the maritime administration. The project of manning the Maritime Institute

The Department of Industry and Trade together with the military Offices also prepared the personnel to secure the navigation. Sea-related companies needed the approval of the Maritime Division of the Department of Industry to begin their operations.

The military and civilian institutions were also interested in the question of sea fishing. The Maritime Division of the Department of Industry and Trade prepared a study "Special settlement. Fishery settlement", which pointed out that it was necessary to utilize the wide strip of the coast, which would be within Polish borders. The Polish fishermen settled there would be the keystone of the forming fishing enterprises. Here young people would be the priority.⁴³⁸

All these ideas were sent to London, where they were subjected to analysis.

2. The question of the Western border

The development of the maritime economy was strictly connected with the need to expand the Western and Northern borders. However, Polish authorities realized that in November 1942 they should not put too much pressure on Great Britain and the USA with regard to moving the border westwards, and incorporating East Prussia, Gdańsk and Silesia into Poland. The National Democracy were very involved in this matter. In November 1942 and February 1943 the ND and the Western Office of the Department of Internal Affairs were informed that the Polish Government strives continuously to convince the British and American governments that the change of the western and northern borders is necessary.⁴³⁹ During a secret meeting of the National Council on 1 December 1942 it was decided that after the war Poland should receive the left bank of the Neisse and the Oder. The territories east and north of the Oder should be under Polish occupation. The aim was also to secure Polish interests in the Baltic sea, and opening Navy bases, e.g. on Rugen and Bornholm islands (while observing the sovereignty of Denmark).⁴⁴⁰

has been prepared for the whole coast and for harbor offices in Gdynia and Gdańsk". AAN, MPHİŻ, sygn. 831a. See also: AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169 (Zagadnienia transportu morskiego). See also: Sprawozdanie Departamentu Przemysłu i Handlu..., p. 64.

⁴³⁸ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/10 II, sygn. 202/III-169 (Osadnictwo specjalne); AAN, MPHİŻ, sygn. 839.

⁴³⁹ Comp.: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/III, sygn. 202/I-1, mf 2201/3, sygn. 202/I-16, t. 1, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/11, sygn. 202/III-170 (opracowanie Ziemię gniazdowe). See also: B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, p. 78 i n.; A. Friszke, *Myśl polityczna...*, s. 26 i n.

⁴⁴⁰ AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydialne, mf 2201/3, sygn. 202/I-15 (Tajne. Prace ministerstwa Prac Kongresowych). Por. także: AAN, Ministerstwo Prac Kongresowych, sygn. 61 (Tezy w sprawie inkorporacji terenów Niemiec, uchwalone przez Radę Ministrów 7.12.1943 r.). See more about the western border.: G. Labuda, *Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych*, Poznań 1974; K. Skubiszewski, *Zachodnia granica Polski*, Gdańsk 1969; E. Męclewski, *Powrót Polski nad Odrę, Nysę Łużycką, Bałtyk. Szkice*, Warszawa 1971; M. Orzechowski, *Odra-Nysa Łużycka-Bałtyk w polskiej myśli politycznej okresu II wojny światowej*, Wrocław 1969; B. Piotrowski, *Zachodnia granica Polski*

Meanwhile in the country, during the preparation of the plans of reconstruction of the economic infrastructure in the Western Territories, one of the documents from the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press stated that: "Even if we reject our historical rights, the matter of the western border from the international point of view remains an important issue that demands a solution, as it is the question of peace and war. How this problem will be solved will decide our position in Europe, our attitude to Germany and Russia and – as a result, as the recent history shows – peace in Europe and in the world [...]"⁴⁴¹

According to the documents of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the option that a part of Germany west of the Oder would be taken over by the Lusatians was also considered: "The area between the Oder and the Elbe we must reserve for the Lusatian nation and state. Simultaneously we must create conditions for the Lusatian nation and state to grow. [...]. Therefore our western border must – as a result of the present war – reach beyond the Oder before it settles on the Neisse–Oder line. It must encompass the entirety of the Lusatian settlements. It must offer the Lusatians the possibility to expand northward and westward, until they reach the historical *Limes Sorabicus*. Finally, our Western border must give us the possibility to pauperize the German element on the territories destined for the Lusatians. We must have in our possession the electrical grid on the left bank of the Oder and the critical points of the lands over the Oder: the canals between the Oder and the Elbe. We must have in our possession the strategic strip of the Baltic coast west of the mouth of the Oder. We will withdraw to the Oder-Neisse line when the left bank of the Oder from the Neisse to the Oder mouth will be taken over by the Lusatians."⁴⁴² Within the Delegation, the issue of the Lusatian Serbs occupied e.g. the Institute for Middle Europe, active from the end of 1943. One of its sections – the Western Slavic one – started cooperating with the Action N (propaganda anti-German sabotage) of the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army HQ together with the Lusatian National Committee created in Poland in September 1942 and the Association of the Germans of Polish Origin. Between 1942 and 1944 they published

w polskiej myśli politycznej XIX i XX wieku. *Sesja naukowa Instytutu Zachodniego w Poznaniu 11–12 X 1986*, Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica, 1985 (wyd. w 1987), t. XIV; *Ziemie Odzyskane/Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne 1945–2005. 60 lat w granicach państwa polskiego*, pod red. A. Saksona, Poznań 2006; A. Siemianowski, *Lata 1944–1945. Sprawa granic Polski na zachodzie i północy*, Więź, 1984, nr 7, pp. 31–37; M. Dymarski, *Ziemie postulowane w prognozach politycznych obozu narodowego w kraju*, Wrocław 1991, idem, *Ziemie postulowane (ziemie nowe) w prognozach i działaniach polskiego ruchu oporu 1939–1945*, Wrocław 1997; G. Górski, *O ziemiach zachodnich i północnych w pracach polskiego podziemia 1939–1945. Artykuł recenzyjny*, Czesy Nowożytny, 1998, t. IV, pp. 201–212; A. Friszke, *Myśl polityczna...*, pp. 23–29; W. Borodziej, A. Chmielarz, A. Friszke, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 143–229; B. Chrzanowski, *Miejsce Polski w Europie...*

⁴⁴¹ AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy. Sekcja Zachodnia, mf 2270/5, sygn. 202/II-163 (Zagadnienie osadnictwa rzemieślniczego na Ziemiach Nowych, fragm.: Nasze prawo do Ziem Nowych).

⁴⁴² AAN, Akta DR, Departament spraw Zagranicznych, mf 2284/3, sygn. 202/XIV-3 (U podstaw zagadnienia granicy zachodniej, 11.06.1942).

a newssheet *Sprawy Łużyckie*. The Institute for Middle Europe created a number of analyses, including the "Open letter on the matter of the Western borders and Western Territories. The work of the Western Slavic section was also called the "No-Name Action".⁴⁴³

Until the end of 1944 the question of the Western Borders was not treated by the Polish authorities in the country and in exile as a sort of compensation for the loss of the Eastern Territories. Only after the Yalta conference, in February 1945, the Parliament of the Polish Secret State, the Council of National Unity, drew attention to the necessity of expanding the Western border in the light of the decisions of the Big Three (USA, Great Britain, USSR).⁴⁴⁴

The border along the Oder and Neisse was preferred by the National Democracy camp, which included – as mentioned earlier – the "Ojczyzna" organization.⁴⁴⁵ In April 1944 the magazine of the underground Polish Western Association – *Głos Ojczyzny* – appealed to the forced labourers: "The workers in the lands of Opole, Western Pomerania, East Prussia – you are on the lands returning to Poland!!!"⁴⁴⁶ The August 1944 issue of *Głos Ojczyzny* showed the way which the reborn Polish state should follow in the future: "Poland is returning to the banks of the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse. We must compensate for the past mistakes. Poland must return to the Oder and the Neisse. A dam should be placed there to

⁴⁴³ W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 164–165; B. Gębarski, *Akcja bez Nazwy*, [in:] *Wspomnienia dziennikarzy...*, pp. 53–78; *Wojna i konspiracja. Wspomnienia dziennikarzy polskich*, pod red. E. Rudzińskiego, wyd. II uzup., Warszawa 1987, s. 181–198; *Centralny katalog polskiej prasy konspiracyjnej 1939–1945*, opr. L. Dobroszycki przy współudziale W. Kiedrzyńskiej pod kier. S. Płoskiego, Warszawa 1962, p. 210.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Friszke, *Mysł polityczna...*, p. 26.

⁴⁴⁵ Cyt. za J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie...*, p. 111. Representatives of the organization „Ojczyzna” many times took a stand on the issue of borders. For example on 15 Nov 1944 J.J. Nikisch handed in to the Head of the Council of National Unity Kazimierz Pużak a memorial with demands to specify the future western border. He also protested on 26 Dec 1944 against the words spoken by the Prime Minister Tomasz Arciszewski, who was very skeptical of the possibilities to extend the western border of Poland and finished his speech with the famous words: "We want neither Szczecin nor Wrocław" [trans. A.C.]. Ibid., p. 112. About the political concepts concerning postwar Germany see: M. Orłowski, op.cit., pp. 201–203, 219–221. T. Chinciński, *Forpocztą Hitlera. Niemiecka dywersja w Polsce w 1939 roku*, Gdańsk–Warszawa 2010, pp. 67–105, 217–270; E. Dimitrow, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków. Poglądy i opinie z lata 1945–1948*, Warszawa 1987; B. Pasierb, *Polska myśl polityczna okresu II wojny światowej wobec Niemiec*, Poznań 1990; E. C. Król, *Polska i Polacy w propagandzie narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919–1945*, Warszawa b.d. wyd.; W. Stankowski, *Niemcy na Pomorzu Gdańskim i Kujawach w latach 1844/45–1950. Ucieczka – życie codzienne – wysiedlenie*, Bydgoszcz 2000; K. Wóycicki, *Niemiecki rachunek sumienia. Niemcy wobec przeszłości 1933–1945*, Wrocław 2004. The problem was also noticed before 1989, although it was not always possible to address it in accordance with historical truth. However, it was important that the issue was addressed at all. See e.g.: S. Turlej, *Koncepcje ustrojowe obozu londyńskiego*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 173–195; H. Winnicka, *Tradycja a wizja Polski w publicystyce konspiracyjnej*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 224–232; J. J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka. Ze studiów nad dziejami Narodowej Demokracji*, Warszawa 1971.

⁴⁴⁶ „Głos Ojczyzny”, April 1944.

stop the German flood. Yet we have only two options: either we use the historical moment and stand on the Oder-Neisse line, or we withdraw further, we further bear the calamities of German persecution – we further undercut the very basics of our life attitudes.”⁴⁴⁷ *Ziemie Zachodnie Rzeczypospolitej* printed similar content.

⁴⁴⁷ „Głos Ojczyzny”, August 1944.



THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION IN THE NEW POLITICAL SITUATION

1. The Polish Secret State: between the legal government and the government without the mandate of the people

On the night of the New Year's Eve 1943/44 the centre of the revolutionary left wing (the Polish Workers' Party) established the State National Council (KRN) which was to function as a legislative power. On 21 July 1944 in Moscow the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) was created – a provisional institution of executive power ruling over the territories taken by the Red Army, located west of the Bug River; its seat was Chełm and then Lublin. Subsequently, also in Lublin, on 31 December 1944 the Provisional Government of the Republic of Poland was created on the initiative of the KRN. Thus PKWN ended its activity. The new government announced that they are based on the Constitution from 17 March 1921, invalidating simultaneously the April Constitution from 23 April 1935.⁴⁴⁸

After the Red Army entered Poland, its lands – and from 1945 also Pomerania – were within the area of operation of the Soviet military authorities and security authorities. The so-called liberation took place very often among plunder, rapes, arrests, deportations to the East and even murders. The agreement concluded on 26 July 1944 between the Polish Committee of National Liberation and the government of the Soviet Union, represented by the leader of the PKWN Edward Osóbka-Morawski and the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Vyacheslav Molotov, regulated the matters of the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union in the area

⁴⁴⁸ *Sprawa polska w czasie drugiej wojny światowej na arenie międzynarodowej. Zbiór dokumentów. Na prawach rękopisu*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 436–442, 538–544, 665–669. Even in the period of the Polish People's Republic some historians tried not to undermine the legality of the Polish government in Londo; not being able to write the truth about Stalin's role in the creation of the new political authorities they wrote "the factual authority at home was opposed by the legalistic government in London". See: S. Zabiełło, op.cit., pp. 9–10.

near the front line; as a result, Polish citizens found themselves under the law of a foreign power. In this way a sanction was given for all the acts of repression in the next years 1945–46 and later. Mass arrests, also in Pomerania, were carried out by the units of the NKVD and the military counterintelligence “Smersh”.⁴⁴⁹

The Polish Committee of National Liberation issued a number of decrees. Already on 24 August 1944 the underground military organizations were dissolved and ordered to surrender their arms. Another decree from 31 August 1944 (the so-called “August law”) concerned the punishment for German criminals and all kinds of traitors.⁴⁵⁰ On 23 September 1944 a decree was issued which introduced a new Penal Code of the Polish Army, where the use of the death penalty was significantly expanded (out of 19 articles, 10 involved capital punishment). Then on 30 October 1944 a Draconian law, previously unknown in Poland, came into force – the decree “On the Protection of the State”, which had death penalty in as many as 11 out of 18 articles, e.g. for the intent to overturn the system, membership in an armed organization, sabotage and actions against the Soviet armed forces, the PKWN or the National State Council. The decree had been in force since 15 August 1944, which constituted a breach of the principle *lex retro non agit*.⁴⁵¹ On this

⁴⁴⁹ In Pomerania the Soviet military units stationed until 1947. See more e.g.: M. Turlejska, *Te pokolenia żałobami czarne... Skazani na śmierć i ich sędziowie*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 32–34 i n.; R. Kozłowski, *Sytuacja polityczna na Pomorzu po zakończeniu okupacji hitlerowskiej*, [in:] *Powojenne losy konspiracji na Pomorzu. Materiały sesji naukowej w Toruniu w dniu 19 listopada 1994 roku*, pod red. E. Zawackiej i R. Kozłowskiego, Toruń 1995, pp. 17–34; M. Golon, *Polityka radzieckich władz wojskowych wobec ludności Torunia po zakończeniu okupacji niemieckiej (1945–1949). Aspekty polityczne i ekonomiczne*, [in:] *Problemy narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim i Kujawach w XX wieku. Zbiór studiów*, pod red. R. Sudzińskiego, vol. 5, Toruń 1997, pp. 93–189; idem, *Polityka radzieckich władz wojskowych i policyjnych na Pomorzu Nadwiślańskim w latach 1945–1947*, Toruń 2001; G. Baziur, *Armia Czerwona na Pomorzu Gdańskim 1945–1947*, Warszawa 2003; NKWD i podziemie polskie 1944–1945. Z „teczek specjalnych” Józefa Stalina, red. nauk. ros. A. W. Noskova, red. nauk. pol. A. Fitowa, Kraków 1998; P. Kołakowski, *NKWD i GRU na ziemiach polskich 1949–1945*, Warszawa 2002; J. Wilamowski, *Honor, zdrada, kaźń. Afery Polski Podziemnej 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1999; Informator o nielegalnych antypaństwowych organizacjach i bandach zbrojnych działających w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1956. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych. Biuro „C”. Tajne, Warszawa 1964; Informator o nielegalnych antypaństwowych organizacjach i bandach zbrojnych działających w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1944–1956. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych. Biuro „C”. Tajne, Warszawa 1964, przedruk, Lublin 1993; A. Gąsiorowski, *Jan Kaszubowski...* See also: *Atlas polskiego podziemia niepodległościowego. The Atlas of the independence underground in Poland 1944–1956*, Warszawa–Lublin 2007; *Opór społeczny i konspiracja w województwie pomorskim (bydgoskim) w latach 1945–1956. Zbiór studiów*, pod red. T. Chincińskiego i Z. Karpusa, Bydgoszcz–Toruń 2007; *Rok pierwszy...*

⁴⁵⁰ These were: „Dekret Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z dnia 24 sierpnia 1944 r. o rozwiązaniu tajnych organizacji wojskowych na terenach wyzwolonych” and „Dekret Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z dnia 31 sierpnia 1944 r. o wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy winnych zabójstw i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego. See: D. Baliszewski, A. K. Kunert, *Ilustrowany Przewodnik po Polsce Stalinowskiej 1944–1956*, t. 1: 1944–1945, Warszawa 1999, pp. 59–61, 64–65.

⁴⁵¹ Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Nr 6, Lublin, 30.09.1944 r. i Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Nr 10, Lublin, 3.11.1944 r. Comp: D. Baliszewski, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 88, 127–130; M. Turlejska, op.cit., pp. 36–45.

basis, as well as according to Article 50 of the Penal Code of the Russian Federation of the Socialist Soviet Republics, death sentences were passed and carried out (often under the supervision of the NKVD) against the soldiers of the Polish Underground. On 16 November 1945 three decrees on the state of emergency (martial law), thus repealing the decree of the President of the Republic of Poland from 1 September 1939.⁴⁵²

The Polish Committee of National Liberation very energetically approached the organization of security institutions, modeled on the NKVD. Almost immediately after the German occupation (annexation) was removed, there entered the Soviet and Polish security forces (the latter under the name of the Ministry of Public Security, the notorious UB). Their offices were created in all towns, voivodeships and poviats, and were supervised by the NKVD. Slogans were coined: "Fight with the reactionary forces, with Nazi criminals and their helpers, with the Home Army – the spit-choked reactionary midget" etc.⁴⁵³ The echoes of this policy also resonated in Pomerania.

The Provisional Government, created at the end of December 1944, on 12 February 1945 concluded an agreement with the State Defense Committee of the USSR, according to which all the objects located between the Vistula and the Oder rivers which had been built by the German occupation forces belonged to the Polish state. The removal of any equipment by Russians was to be agreed upon by Polish authorities. However, on 20 February 1945 the SDC made a decision determining the necessity of removing devices and machines necessary for the war effort, in agreement with the Polish government. In practice, the situation was entirely different. On 26 March 1945 the Provisional Government made an agreement with the Soviet Government which allowed them to transport various industrial devices and installations to the East. Besides the repressions from the Soviet security forces, these decisions further initiated the exploitation of Polish lands, particularly in the Western territories, including Pomerania.⁴⁵⁴

The area of Pomerania basically was taken over by the Soviet forces between January and March 1945, although in its Northern regions German troops did not surrender until April or even May 1945 (e.g. the Hel Peninsula and Stutthof – presently the village of Sztutowo). To the territories freed from German occupation and annexation, the new authorities sent the so-called task forces consisting mainly of the Polish Workers' Party members or persons showing positive attitude

⁴⁵² D. Baliszewski, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 652–663; M. Turlejska, op.cit., pp. 45–48.

⁴⁵³ See more about the security apparatus: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce. Kadra kierownicza...*, vol. I, pp. 19–75. Comp. also: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1944–1956. Taktyka, strategia...*; *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1950–1952. Taktyka, strategia...*; *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce w latach 1953–1954. Taktyka, strategia...*; *Dokumenty do dziejów PRL. Aparat bezpieczeństwa...*; H. Dominczak, op.cit.; *Straceni w polskich więzieniach 1944–1956*, pod red. H. Pająka, Lublin 1999; *Rok pierwszy...* i in.

⁴⁵⁴ See more: M. Golon, *Polityka radzieckich władz wojskowych i policyjnych...*, pp. 38–39 i n.; G. Baziur, op.cit., pp. 155–156 i n.; D. Baliszewski, A. K. Kunert, op.cit., pp. 202, 233–234.

towards the emerging political reality or – at least – people loyal to the Provisionary Government. During the first period two task forces of the PPR reached Pomerania. In February 1945 the organization of the Pomeranian Voivodeship Office seated in Toruń began, but in March of the same year the location of the Office was moved to Bydgoszcz. This was related among other factors to the tendency of dissociating from the social and state order of the Second Polish Republic, as before the war Toruń was the power centre of the Pomeranian voivodeship.

Initially the Pomeranian voivodeship encompassed the area of both the Gdańsk and the Bydgoszcz voivodeship. On the basis of the Provisionary Government decree from 30 March 1945, the Gdańsk voivodeship was created, including the counties of Gdynia-City, Kartuszy, Kościerzyna, Morski, Starogard and Tczew. Therefore the northern counties were removed from the area of the Pomeranian (Bydgoszcz) voivodeship.⁴⁵⁵

These areas, as well as all the Western Territories, were now under the Soviet occupation, where the authorities were the Soviet commandants, the NKVD and the representatives of the Provisionary government, together with the security institutions and the Citizens' Militia. They neither knew nor understood the specific character and complex problems of the Western Territories and Pomerania, and approached them as conquered lands. At the end of January and the beginning of February 1945 the organization of the security institutions began in Włocławek, Toruń and Bydgoszcz. The core personnel was a 20-people task force led by Henryk Wątroba. The newly created structures of the Voivodeship Security Office (WUBP) first in Toruń and then in Bydgoszcz were supplemented by 120 members of the PPR and affiliated organizations from Włocławek. This work was directed by the then head of the Personnel Department of WUBP in Toruń, and later in Bydgoszcz, Waclaw Czapski. The first head of the Toruń-Bydgoszcz Voivodeship Security Office was Hipolit Duljasz. He acted in this capacity until 7 December 1945. His successor was Józef Jurkowski.⁴⁵⁶

On 28 July 1945 the Provisional Government of National Unity was established, in which the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and Agricultural Reform was Stanisław Mikołajczyk, a former Prime Minister in the Government of the Republic of Poland in London. This raised some hopes that the Polish matters would be solved in accordance with the expectations of the majority of the Polish society, and it was a sort of a guarantee that democracy and the rule of law would be preserved. However, this was not to be. Several days later, on 5

⁴⁵⁵ See more: J. Siekierzyński, *Tworzenie administracji państwowej w województwie gdańskim (1945–1950)*, Gdańsk 1978, pp. 11–18; A. Sobociński, *Z dziejów PPR i PPS w województwie gdańskim*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 9; S. Bykowska, *Rehabilitacja i weryfikacja...*, pp. 178–195 i n.; R. Sudziński, *Kształtowanie się granic i podziału administracyjnego województwa pomorskiego (bydgoskiego) w latach 1945–1950*, ZH, 1973, z. 2, pp. 51–80; R. Kozłowski, *Z przemian ludnościowych w woj. bydgoskim (pomorskim) w latach 1945–1948*, ZH, 1976, cz. 1, z. 2, pp. 51–62, cz. 2, z. 4, pp. 93–110; *Rok pierwszy...*, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁵⁶ See more: *Rok pierwszy...*, pp. 23–27 i n.

July 1945, the Western states recognized the Provisional Government of National Unity and withdrew their recognition of the Government of the Republic of Poland in London. The Polish government, who had been fighting since 1 September 1939, a loyal ally of the anti-Nazi coalition, now became a private institution in the British territory. By September 1945 this government was recognized by 12 states in Europe and in the world.⁴⁵⁷

Naturally the leading role in the political life was played by the Polish Workers' Party, creating the appearances of democracy and political pluralism. The parties which were allowed to participate basically accepted the imposed legal, political and economic order, although they did not always submit to the new authorities. Already in the initial period the activity of the opposition Polish People's Party (PSL) was sanctioned. Attempts to reactivate political groups independent of the PPR starting from the socialist ones (PPS-WRN), the Labour Party and ending with the National Democracy were unsuccessful. After the referendum of 30 June 1946 and the parliamentary election of 19 January 1947, the policy was tightened and the opposition forces were slowly eliminated. The escape of S. Mikołajczyk through Gdynia in October 1947 resulted in the split within the PSL, after which a part of its members joined the government camp, i.e. the Polish Workers' Party.⁴⁵⁸

The soldiers and officers of the Home Army as well as the members of the Government Delegation and "Ojczyzna" were active also after the creation of the PKWN, opposing the new government imposed from the East. The Polish Secret State continued working for independence also after the dissolution of the Home Army on 19 January 1945 until July 1945. The newly created organization "Niepodległość" ("Nie") did not manage to expand its activity. The attempts to establish its branches were also unsuccessful. On 7 May 1945 the Delegation of

⁴⁵⁷ For some time the Polish Government in Exile was recognized by some states and maintained their diplomatic posts: in Ireland (until April 1958), in Spain (until mid-1968), in Lebanon, in Haiti (1946), in Dominicana (1946), in Cuba (until December 1949); despite the fact that the problem of the work of the Mission of the Republic of Poland was discussed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until the beginning of the 1950s (for the longest period of time in the Vatican – on 19 Oct 1972 the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Jean Villot informed the ambassador of Polans in the Holy See Kazimierz Papée that his mission had finished; still, the problem remained unsolved until Papée died on 19 Jan 1979. See more: K. Tarka, *Likwidacja Ambasady RP przy Stolicy Apostolskiej*, Tydzień Polski (Londyn), 17.07.2004, p. 7. See also: idem, *Zielona Wyspa i rząd RP na uchodźstwie po II wojnie światowej*, ibid., 14.02.2004, p. 9; idem, *Kuba popierała „polski” Londyn*, ibid., 6.03.2004, p. 9; idem, *Współnota losu: rząd RP na uchodźstwie i Hiszpania*, ibid., 13.03.2004, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁸ See more: W. Roszkowski, *Historia Polski 1914–2001*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 139–144, 158–181 i n.; A. Friszke, *Polska. Losy państwa i narodu 1939–1989*, Warszawa 2003, s. 105–114, 152–162; A. Czubiński, *Polska i Polacy po II wojnie światowej (1945–1989)*, Poznań 1998, pp. 56–255; A. Paczkowski, *Pół wieku dziejów Polski 1939–1989*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 145–223; P. Wiczorkiewicz, *Historia polityczna Polski 1935–1945*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 453–512; W. Pronobis, *Polska i świat w XX wieku*, wyd. II, Warszawa 1991, pp. 381–389; Z. Kachnicz, *Konspiracja antykomunistyczna na Pomorzu Środkowym (1945–1956)*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 13–37. See also: T. Żenczykowski, *Polska lubelska 1944*, Warszawa 1990; K. Kersten, *Narodziny systemu władzy. Polska 1943–1948*, Poznań 1990; G. Górski, *Wokół genezy PRL*, Toruń 2001.

Armed Forces (DSZ) was created; it was disbanded on 6 August 1945, yet before that date its Pomeranian units operated on quite a large scale. In the place of the Delegation of Armed Forces, on 2 September 1945 the "Freedom and Independence" organization (WiN) was established, which operated in Pomerania until 1947.⁴⁵⁹

The reorganization of the institutions of the Government Delegation took place after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. Part of the departments were dissolved. The ones left were necessary for the further operation of the Polish Secret State: the Department of Internal Affairs, information and Press, Social Affairs, the President's office, the Bureau of the Newly Acquired Lands, the Financial and Budgetary Division and the Control Division.⁴⁶⁰ This was in accordance with the secret "Instruction on the duties of the authorities of the Provisional Government Administration, Polish underground organizations and the general Polish population in the case of occupation of the Polish territories by the USSR". Already on 27 November 1944 the Government Delegate S. Jankowski informed the Polish government in London that in the face of the lack of agreement with the Russians, underground activity should be continued. The delegate at the head of the Western territories would maintain contact with him as long as possible. He would also be subjected to the Government of the Republic of Poland, yet his actions would be autonomous. S. Jankowski realized that this branch would be eliminated when the Red Army took over the area. Such situation could be advantageous if an agreement with the Russians could be reached. Therefore he petitioned the government to take a stand on this complex issue.⁴⁶¹ The regional Delegations also prepared a proclamation for the civil population and political parties, pointing out the preservation of the integrity of all the Polish lands. If necessary, the work for independence was to be started in the territories of the Second Polish Republic within its borders from before 1 September 1939.⁴⁶²

2. The civilian institutions working for independence in Poznań and Pomerania

A. The „Ojczyzna”, the National Democracy and the Labour Party

The authorities of the Polish Secret State tried to prevent an open conflict with the USSR, maintaining their right to defend the independence of Poland. In the proclamation of the Council of National Unity from 17 May 1945, signed by Stefan

⁴⁵⁹ Z. Woźniczka, *Zrzeszenie „Wolność i Niezawisłość” 1945–1954*, Warszawa 1992; B. Chrzanowski, *Zrzeszenie „Wolność i Niezawisłość” na Pomorzu w latach 1945–1947*, *Zeszyty Historyczne WiN-u*: 1996, nr 8, pp. 5–18; *Armia Krajowa. Dramatyczny epilog*, pod red. K. Komorowskiego, Warszawa 1994: *Atlas polskiego podziemia...*, i in.

⁴⁶⁰ IPN-W-wa, Delegatura na Kraj Rządu Polskiego w Londynie przed i w czasie Powstania Warszawskiego. Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, sygn. 01305/180; W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, p. 515.

⁴⁶¹ SPP, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, Teka Nr 53.

⁴⁶² See: AAN, Akta DR, Biuro Prezydyjne, mf 2201/1II, sygn. 202/I-1; B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja Rządu RP...*, pp. 57–59.

Korboński, Acting Plenipotentiary of the Polish Government, an appeal was made to get involved in the process of rebuilding the country, which by no means signified approval of the alien political system enforced from the outside.⁴⁶³

The proclamation of the Armed Forces Delegate for Poland Col. Jan Rzepecki from 24 July 1945 carried a similar message.⁴⁶⁴ These appeals also reached Pomerania and had some influence on the attitudes of the soldiers and the members of the post-war underground movement.

On 27 June 1945 S. Korboński tendered his resignation from the post of the Acting Government Delegate, passing his office to Jerzy Braun („Rogowski”). With regard to the withdrawal of recognition of the Polish government by the Western states, the Council of National Unity decided to end its activity and to dissolve the Government Delegation from 6 July 1945.⁴⁶⁵

The “Ojczyzna” members and affiliates were mostly of the opinion that starting active resistance would expose the society, already exhausted by the war, to further repressions. Therefore they tried to do everything possible to solidify the Polish presence in the Western territory with minimal loss of their members. Some people tried to obtain work in the administrative institutions of public utility, also in the Western Territories, and infiltrate various social organizations, e.g. the Polish Union of the West, and political, cultural, economic and other organizations. They considered the possibility of the outbreak of a conflict between the USA and the USSR. Their meetings rather resembled society gatherings (J. J. Nikisch, K. Sosnowski, E. Serwański, J. Kolipiński, L. Gluck, E. Męclewski, C. Pilichowski, A. Targ and others). Naturally the conversations included the current situation in the country and the future awaiting the Polish nation in the new political situation. They touched upon the issues bothering the Poles (the situation in the Western territories, including the position of the church and clergy; the awaited military conflict between the West and the USSR etc.) These conversations were called “little propaganda”. They also got in touch with certain members of the church hierarchy, including the Primate Stefan Wyszyński.⁴⁶⁶

On 15 July 1945 during a secret meeting a decision was made to dissolve the “Ojczyzna”. The recapitulation of their whole activity concluded that during the occupation about 500 people participated in “Ojczyzna’s” operations. Z. Wojcie-

⁴⁶³ AK..., vol. VI, pp. 464–465.

⁴⁶⁴ K. Kersten, *Polska 1944–czerwiec 1956. Zarys wydarzeń politycznych*, cz. I, Zeszyty Historyczne, 1981, nr 3 (Wydawnictwo Ogólnopolskiego Zespołu Historycznego NSZZ „Solidarność”), p. 11.

⁴⁶⁵ W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 515–519.

⁴⁶⁶ The details concerning contacts of the Polish Underground State with the church hierarchy are not known yet. In the Western territories the contacts were maintained by members of the national camp. On the one hand, the Church tried to protect the youth against the repressions of the Soviet and Polish security apparatus; on the hand, the Church supported various pro-independence actions. The Church also did its best to prevent the bloodshed in the Warsaw Uprising. Comp.: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1, (Akta śledcze..., t. I, Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 3.04.1948 r., Alojzego Targa z 1.10.1948 r. i K. Sosnowskiego z 23.03.1949 r.). A. Targ został aresztowany 8.09.1947 r. Ibid., MBP, sygn. 00231/173/27.

chowski and J. Kolipiński also read papers on politics, containing the evaluation of the current situation and guidelines for the future. The organization leadership recognized the Provisional Government of National Unity and were critical towards the idea of continuing the underground work. They expressed the intent to join the reconstruction of the Polish state, yet without supporting the government policy. In the new political conditions they tried to implement the ideas for rebuilding of the Western Territories. J. J. Nikisch, previously the head of „Ojczyzna”, refrained from taking part in the meeting of the Council of National Unity already on 30 June 1945, as he recognized the Provisional Government of National Unity.⁴⁶⁷

An important task at that moment was the preservation of the documentation of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press. It was hidden by Section employees.

In 1945 the Western Institute in Poznań was created, and many former members of the „Ojczyzna” worked there. In 1946 at a conference on the issues of international politics, E. Męclewski spoke that the members of the „Ojczyzna” must join the work on strengthening the Polishness of these territories. In 1946 and 1947, two publications written by E. Serwański appeared on the initiative of the Polish Union of the West, in which the author analyzed the history, and political and economic life of the Western Territories. He also touched upon the events that even today give rise to numerous discussions, e.g. the issues of nationality and related resettlement of the German population of these areas as well as verification and rehabilitation of people with the assigned group of the German People’s List, and the settlement of the Polish population coming there from the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic and from central Poland.

The periodical publications of the Polish Union of the West also began to appear, such as *Polska Zachodnia* – a weekly magazine devoted to political, economic and social issues of the Western territories – or *Strażnica Zachodnia* – a monthly publication on ideas and education regarding the Western territories. The political situation notwithstanding, also the Polish Union of the West preferred active participation in restoring Polishness in these lands. The activists of the „Ojczyzna” also started working in the Western Press Agency, in the Silesia Institute, and in the Baltic Institute. Some of them, however, remained in the underground.⁴⁶⁸

In 1946 a professor at the Łódź University Jan Dylik rightly concluded in one of his books on the Western Territories that whole process of the organization of

⁴⁶⁷ See: J. J. Nikisch, „Ojczyzna”, [in:] *Encyklopedia konspiracji...*, pp. 401–403.

⁴⁶⁸ See More: A. Pietrowicz, *Organizacja „Ojczyzna”...*, pp. 60–61; J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie...*, pp. 112–114. See also: E. Serwański, *O społeczeństwo polskie na Ziemiach Odzyskanych*, Poznań 1946, idem, *Spółeczeństwo polskie Ziemi Odzyskanych (Rozwój organizmu społecznego i przejawy jego życia)*, Poznań 1947; *Pozytywista z duszą romantyka. O życiu i twórczości Edwarda Serwańskiego*, pod red. H. Olszewskiego, Poznań 2008. See chapter IV, subchapter 5.

social, political and economic life there was the outcome of the ideas already formulated in the Western lands during the occupation.⁴⁶⁹

Other members of the Delegation, such as L. Gluck and the former head of the Western Bureau W. Czajkowski, began working in the Ministry of Recovered Lands, where they tried to implement the concepts for the restoration of the Western Territories.⁴⁷⁰

Work for independence was carried out by the groups gathered in the National Camp, from the radical fraction the National Armed Forces and their affiliates to more moderate ones, including the National Party.⁴⁷¹

In July 1945 in Bydgoszcz a congress of the Labour Party took place which represented the left wing, leaning towards a compromise with the new government, represented by Zygmunt Felczak. One of the participants was S. Brzeziński. Due to his authority the Poznań centre of the SP was widely respected in the whole country. At approximately the same time another congress took place in Warsaw, this time of the centre-right orientation, under the leadership of Karol Popiel. This bipolar arrangement resulted in a split within the Labour Party. A. Antczak and a group of activists affiliated with him left the Regional Labour Party leadership for Pomerania. This group expressed dissatisfaction with the direction the SP was taking, which was leaning towards the Polish Workers' Party. Antczak began cooperating with *Tygodnik Warszawski* and worked for reactivation of legalized activity of the Christian Workers' Party.⁴⁷²

B. The Security Department of the Regional Government Delegation

After the Red Army entered the territory of Pomerania, also a part of the employees of the Regional Delegation, including the Security Department, continued underground activity because they considered the Polish Government in London to be the only representative of legal power. They anxiously observed the repression against the soldiers and employees of the Polish Secret State.

The main area of their activity was Bydgoszcz and its neighbourhood. The meetings took place in the building of the State Mutual Insurances and Pensions in Bydgoszcz where B. Lipski worked. Thanks to him, part of the Regional Delegation staff also got jobs there. It was an intentional action on Lipski's part, as this facilitated everyday contacts. The participants of one of the first meetings, which took

⁴⁶⁹ See: J. Dylík, *Geografia ziem odzyskanych w zarysie*, Warszawa 1946, pp. 9–10; J. J. Nikisch, *Korzenie...*, pp. 109–110.

⁴⁷⁰ J. Paśnik, op.cit., p. 154.

⁴⁷¹ See: AAN, Akta Stronnictwa Narodowego, sygn. 206/1; AWIH, Akta SN, sygn. III/68/3; AMS, Korespondencja w sprawach organizacyjnych między Zarządem Głównym SN a Zarządem Okręgu Gdańskiego 1946 r., (kopia z CAMSWiA, ob. zb. IPN-W-wa); Archiwum Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Bydgoszczy, Akta J. Patalonga i towarzyszy, sygn. SR 427/50.

⁴⁷² See more: R. Kozłowski, *Przeobrażenia społeczno-polityczne w województwie pomorskim (1945–1948)*, Toruń 1976, pp. 147–156 i n.; idem, *Sytuacja polityczna...*, pp. 21; A. Andrusiewicz, op.cit., pp. 244–337 i n.; W. Bujak, op.cit., pp. 117–191 i n.; E. Forycki, *Ludzie z ODR...*, pp. 14–15.

place there in February 1945 included B. Lipski, I. Wujek, C. Rubaszewski, S. Nowicki, S. Stempniewski, Z. Wiśniewski, J. Olejniczak, J. Budasz, Lt.-Col. J. Pałubicki coordinating the work for independence among the „Niepodległość” („Nie”) organization, the currently disbanded Pomeranian District of the Home Army and the newly created Armed Forces Delegation as well as the Commander of the North-Western sub-district of the Home Army Aleksander Schulz („Michał”) and the head of the intelligence of the Pomeranian District Józef Gruss („Stanisław”).

Lipski considered it necessary to establish contact with Lt. Alojzy Bruski („Grab”), who during the occupation was the commander of the Guerrilla Detachment of the Home Army „Cisy-100”, „Bory” and now held the post of a commander of the labour camp for German military prisoners and civilian population in Zimne Wody, now under the Department of Prisons and Camps of WUBP in Bydgoszcz. The contacts were maintained through Stempniewski i C. Rubaszewski⁴⁷³.

In Bydgoszcz B. Lipski also met with A. Antczak. The meetings took place also in March and May of 1945. They were joined by other employees of the Regional Delegation, such as B. Bukczyński (a deputy commander of the Regional Replenishment Command of the Polish Army), J. Brukwicki, Edmund Oślicki and A. Jagodziński. The cooperation between B. Lipski and Lt.-Col. J. Pałubicki was very close, as the latter practically put the intelligence section at the ODR disposal. It was an excellent complement of the Delegation's Security Department.⁴⁷⁴

Initially the prevailing opinion preferred boycotting the state institutions and the political scene created by the new government. However, later this attitude changed. People were told to get jobs in the administration, in the Citizens' Militia, and even in the Bureau of Public Security, where several people managed to obtain employment (Aleksy Jagodziński, Józef Brukwicki, Jan Olejniczak, Wojciech Felcyn,⁴⁷⁵ Leon Aldag, Józef Nowak and Konstanty Kielich).

All these issues were discussed during meetings where the participants debated on the common plan of action. It was no easy task and opinions differed on some issues. Ultimately, they did reach a compromise.

⁴⁷³ B. Chrzanowski, *Alojzy Bruski (1914–1946)*, [in:] *Konspiracja i opór społeczny...*, vol. I, pp. 67–68; Z. Biegański, *Sądownictwo i skazani na śmierć z przyczyn politycznych w województwie pomorskim (bydgoskim) w latach 1945–1956*, Bydgoszcz 2003, pp. 263–264.

⁴⁷⁴ AMS, Kolekcja..., sygn. K-1-48 (Plan przedsięwzięć operacyjnych do rozpracowania obiektowego pod krypt. „Dewajtis” dot.[yczącego] środowiska byłych członków org.[anizacji] A.K. należących do K.B. (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa z 15.02.1952 r.)) opracowany przez ppor. St. [? – B.Ch.] Zawadzkiego z Wydziału III WUBP w Bydgoszczy. See the subsequent part of the chapter. Comp. also: *ibid.*, sygn. K-1-52 (Doniesienie agenturalne „Postępowego” z 23.05.1949 r.). In the publication *Aparat bezpieczeństwa...*, vol. I he does hold the position in Bydgoszcz. The head of the County Bureau of Public Security in Tarnowskie Góry is Stanisław Zawadzki. Comp.: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa...*, vol. I, pp. 192–193.

⁴⁷⁵ Born on 17.04.1910 in the county of Żnin, son of Antoni and Anastazja nee Gnat.

Lipski's plan involved infiltrating the structures of the communist authorities, particularly the Citizens' Militia (MO) – e.g. by Edward Forycki⁴⁷⁶ – and of the Bureau of Public Security (WUBP) in Bydgoszcz. Thus they continued the work of the Political Intelligence of the ODR, observing the attitude of the new authorities towards the soldiers of the Polish Secret State, the Polish Underground and the Catholic Church. They also paid attention to the economic issues and to education in terms of both content and upbringing. Thanks to the gathered information on the main directions of the activity of the security institutions it was possible to prevent, at least partially, the repressions towards the independence activists, particularly the soldiers of the Home Army and the employees of the Delegation as well as the members of other organizations striving for independence. The collected data included the names not only of informers but also of people in leadership positions together with their addresses, the organizational scheme of the Bureau of Public Security, their armament, number of guards, location of particular rooms, corridors, entrance and exit doors and prison cells. The names of the officers of WUBP were to be put on a special list of people held responsible for torturing prisoners; the information on this matter came from the reports of the recruited informers and the people released.⁴⁷⁷

This work was supervised among others by C. Rubaszewski. He stayed in touch with such people as Edmund Oślicki, who worked in the Citizens' Militia, and Edward Forycki, who provided him with the organizational schedule of the Bydgoszcz Militia. Rubaszewski then gave these materials to B. Lipski, who in turn shared the collected data with Lt.-Col. J. Pałubicki. The materials were also shared with the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press.⁴⁷⁸

Furthermore, by involving his people in public life Lipski wanted to have the possibility to influence the decisions of the so-called people's government in Pomerania and neutralize all the negative forms of their activity. The employees of the State Mutual Insurances were able to travel in the area as inspectors, fire specialists evaluating the damage. During those trips they observed the work [of the authorities]. Other members of the Regional Delegation – such as I. Wujek⁴⁷⁹ who lived in Łowicz, S. Nowicki, S. Stempniewski, M. Hegenbarth and others – also maintained contacts with each other. The ODR archive from the time of the occupation, which was kept in the flat of J. Olejniczak, as well as the financial resources were also secured. The archive contained e.g. the list of the employees of the Regional Government Delegation. This activity lasted approximately two months.

⁴⁷⁶ See: FAPAK, t. Forycki Edward, Powojenna działalność Okręgowej Delegatury Rządu Rzplitej na Pomorzu, krypt. „Zatoka”, sygn. M-340/941-Pom. The text printed in the post-conference materials: *Armia Krajowa na Pomorzu i jej powojenne losy. W 50 rocznicę powołania AK. Materiały z konferencji w Bydgoszczy 26 lutego 1992 r.*, pod red. W. Jastrzębskiego, Bydgoszcz 1993, pp. 111–122.

⁴⁷⁷ IPN-By, Krypt. „Toczek”, sygn. 044/566.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ See: IPN-By, Rozpracowanie Obiektowe „Index”, sygn. 069/284, vol. 2.

There were attempts to intensify the contacts with the members of the Regional Delegation working in the Public Security, Militia and army. However, this operation was interrupted by the arrests made by the Voivodeship Bureau of Public Security in Bydgoszcz in May 1945. For example, C. Rubaszewski did not manage to meet Lt.-Col. J. Pałubicki in order to report on the realization of the tasks from the above mentioned instruction.⁴⁸⁰

3. Dramatic image of Pomerania in 1945 in the documents of the Government Delegation

The Polish Government Delegation sent to London a lot of information regarding Pomerania after the coming of the Soviet troops. Observations included the attitude of the Soviet authorities and Polish security institutions towards the soldiers of the Home Army and the Catholic Church, removal of industrial equipment to the USSR as well as the political changes introduced by the provisional Government. The Department of Information and the Department of Internal Affairs continued to document this matter with particular intensity. The envoys of the Delegation travelled to Pomerania and registered specific acts of terror and pillage done by Russians and Polish public security institutions.

For example, a number of reports were prepared by the head of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press E. Męclewski, who signed them as „Maciejewski”. Already in March 1945 he suggested to E. Serwański that he should gather information from the Greater Poland area.⁴⁸¹

The partially preserved reports of the government delegation cover the period from January to June 1945. The most abundant ones, coming from the Department of Information and Press of the Western Division, concern the situation in Pomerania and Kuyavia.⁴⁸²

As it is known, the materials were also collected by the employees of the Regional Government Delegation, mostly from the Security Department, who then passed them to the Department of Information and Press.

The presented reports constitute a very interesting source, revealing the dramatic situation in the so-called freed territories. They clearly show the great foresight of the Regional Government Delegate A. Antczak and other employees of the

⁴⁸⁰ IPN-By, Akta sprawy Dominika Stefaniaka..., sygn. 66/ 2304; Krypt. „Toczek”, sygn. 044/566.

⁴⁸¹ Comp.: IPN-W-wa, MBP, sygn. 1007/659/1 (Akta śledcze..., vol. 1, Protokół przesłuchania E. Serwańskiego z 3.04.1948 r.).

⁴⁸² B. Chrzanowski, *Konspiracja powojenna na Pomorzu – problemy badawcze*, [in:] *Powojenne losy...*, pp. 117–118; idem, *Pomorze po zajęciu przez wojska radzieckie w świetle dokumentów Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj*, [in:] *Polacy z Pomorza Gdańskiego w ZSRR. Internowani, jeńcy wojenni i więźniowie obozów pracy przymusowej oraz ich losy w latach 1939–1956. Stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, Gdańsk 1991, pp. 31–38. See also AAN, Akta DR, Departament Informacji i Prasy, mf 2266/8, sygn. 202/III-36 (Raporty z 1945 r.). About the relations between Soviet soldiers and the local inhabitants see: M. Turlejska, op.cit., p. 81 i n; W. Jastrzębski, *W dalekim kraju. Deportacje Polaków z Pomorza do ZSRR w 1945 r.*, Bydgoszcz 1990, p. 50.

Regional Delegation, who feared the future treatment of the Pomeranian population forced to register with the German People's List. The post-war events mentioned here unfortunately confirmed that there was no proper solution prepared to deal with this issue.⁴⁸³

All the reports of the Department of Information and Press of the Western Division showed deep concern with the fate of the Western Territories under the Soviet occupation, which was natural as in large part they were prepared by the members of the "Ojczyzna", who – as is well known – subscribed to the program of their full integration with the rest of the country.

Apart from the Government Delegation reports, several pieces of information from Pomerania were also sent by the Armed Forces Delegation. In June 1945 they reported the repressions against the Pomeranian population from the Soviet Army and the removal of factory equipment to the USSR. They also informed about the recruitment of the members of the Polish Workers' Party to the Citizens' Militia, while the members of the Polish Socialist Party were fired. Also an anonymous leaflet of the Armed Forces Delegation from May–June 1945 sharply criticized Marshall Michał Rola-Żymierski, responsible for the losses of the 1st Polish Army during the fights for Kołobrzeg.

The Pomeranian District of the DSZ-WiN also sent their reports.⁴⁸⁴

The activity of the civilian section of the Polish Secret State finally ended in July 1945 when the Government Delegation for Poland was dissolved. The work for independence was continued by the Armed Forces Delegation, and later by the "Freedom and Independence" together with a number of underground organizations which did not accept the new occupation and then enslavement. However, after the legal opposition in the form of the Polish People's Party was eliminated, the entire country was ruled by the externally imposed communist dictatorship.

⁴⁸³ See more: S. Bykowska, *Rehabilitacja i weryfikacja...*

⁴⁸⁴ See e.g. Sprawozdanie Delegata Okręgu z 20.10.1945 (za okres sierpień–październik 1945, L.dz.120/45) opracowane przez Komendanta Podokręgu Południowo-Wschodniego AK podczas okupacji por. rez. Bronisława Pietkiewicza („Żbik”, „Z-25”), AUOP-B, sygn. 2123-SL, t. I (ob. zb. IPN-By, kopia w zb. aut.); SPP. Krajowe władze wojskowe. Delegatura Sił Zbrojnych, sygn. 3.1.1.11.2.; AK..., vol. V, pp. 423–424 vol. VI, pp. 470–471.

CONCLUSION

The Pomeranian branch offices of the Government Delegation for Poland constituted a part of the civilian state administration of the Polish Secret State and functioned as the representatives of the legal Government of the Republic of Poland, which in turn acted in accordance with the April Constitution from 1935, currently in force. The underground activity in this area was carried out in extremely difficult conditions of the occupation. The terror that spread in Pomerania from the first moments after the Wehrmacht took these areas, followed by special task forces of the security police; then annexation, extermination of the local population through mass executions which occurred until the beginnings of January 1940 (also known as the bloody autumn of 1939), expulsions and simultaneous influx of German people; Germanization, which meant fight against Polishness in almost all spheres of social, political, economic and cultural life, elimination of the Polish language, introduction of coercion to register with the German People's List – all this essentially influenced the form and scope of the underground institutions, among them the Government Delegation. Yet despite enormous obstacles, the civil structures got expanded significantly, considering the conditions in Pomerania. The underground activity started already in 1939, using the influences of the National Democracy and the Labour Party, with the latter having the greatest share in the organizing of the institutions of the Regional Delegation in Pomerania. The exception was the Security Department, where the main role during its creation was played by the National Democracy. In turn, in Warsaw the activity of the Regional Delegation was almost entirely based on the National Democracy. The ODR network covered almost the whole territory of Pomerania. However, due to the occupation conditions the Regional Delegation had to be managed from Warsaw, where the Regional Delegate A. Antczak stayed. The Bureau (Office) of the Regional Delegate was created there while in Pomerania a branch of the Regional Delegation was formed, led by F. Rochowiak. This was a normal way of operation for the Polish Secret State, where for example some commanders of the Pomeranian District of the Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army (Maj. Józef Ratajczak, Lt.-Col. Rudolf Ostrihansky) stayed outside Pomerania for the same reasons, and the district was commanded by the Chief of Staff Maj./Lt.-Col. J. Chyliński.

The departments of the Regional Delegation were organized both in Warsaw and in Pomerania. In Pomerania the most expanded department was Security,

which reached an impressive size. Employees were found for each of its sections: Security, Local Guards, National Security Corps (PKB), also known as Security Corps (KB), and Political Intelligence, down to the lowest administrative level, for all of the Pomeranian territory, from Hel Peninsula to the southern borderlands and Kujawy. The Department cooperated here with the Pomeranian Region of the Union of Armed Struggle – Home Army – mostly in personnel matters – and with the Military Organization Lizard Union e.g. in creating the Pomeranian Militia.

The Security Department created its subordinate structures according to the regulations that were in force in the Polish Secret State and prepared a team necessary to uphold law and order during the so-called breakthrough, i.e. an uprising, and to prevent anarchy and crime spree after the liberation, during the time when the government institutions would be taking the power. Problems with finding suitable candidates frequently made it necessary to abandon the strict adherence to the competence principle. For example, as every soldier member of the Pomeranian Region of the Home Army observed important actions of the occupant, so the civilian employees of the Regional Delegation, particularly those employed in Political Intelligence, collected information of military kind. All the sections of the Security Department registered also German crimes against the Polish nation, documenting them and collecting photographs whenever possible. They also dealt with the extremely difficult problem created by the German People's List. The Regional Delegate A. Antczak was deeply involved in this issue. It was the representatives of the Regional Delegations from Pomerania and Silesia as well as from the Greater Poland and Ciechanów who together with the members of the Western Division of the Department of Information and Press of the Government Delegation and the organization "Ojczyzna" made efforts to explain to the central underground authorities the problem of the List and all the aspects of the situation in the annexed territories, which was entirely different from the conditions in the General Government or in the Eastern territories. A number of projects was prepared to appropriately regulate this issue after the war. It was a very difficult task, as people in Warsaw frequently did not understand the particular character of the Western Territories. Clearly, working on concepts was easier in the capital than in Pomerania. Thus ideas were produced mainly in Warsaw in the Delegate's Office, and predominantly in the Department of Information and Press and other departments. It is known that the Department of Information and its Western Division together with 'Ojczyzna' employed many highly qualified specialists, well versed in the problems of the Western Territories. They left a rich legacy of ready-to-use concepts solving the economic problems, e.g. rebuilding of the ports, shipyards and the whole maritime industry, as well as the issues of nationality, ethnicity and religion. They did not neglect political matters, social issues, agriculture, education (also the tertiary level), culture and other spheres of public life, including personal choices for particular posts in the administration. The main imperative was to get control of the Western Territories to the Oder River, which used to be a part of Poland, and to perma-

nently solidify the Polish presence there. The future Republic of Poland was to have a strong position in the Baltic and its due position in Europe with safe borders. The program of the reconstruction of the country was correlated with the plans of the Polish Government in London.

Compared with the Regional Delegations for Ciechanów, Łódź, Poznań and Silesia⁴⁸⁵ which also worked in the annexed areas, Pomerania had the best developed structures of the Security Department. The weakest in this comparison were the Regional Delegations for Ciechanów and Poznań. The local structures created by all the listed delegations were based on the Security Departments only to a small extent, using other departments. Pomerania was an exception where, as it is known, the Security Department played a dominant role and formed the local institutions of the future government. The situation in the General Government was much more advantageous, as the conditions for underground operations were more favourable, and the German occupation authorities consented to the activity of certain Polish organizations (e.g. Social Insurances, Polish Red Cross, General Welfare Council, Patronage of Care for Prisoners, town administrations or economic institutions); this did not occur in the Western territories – including Pomerania. In the GG one could observe a significant expansion of the delegation structures, including security institutions, in the territories of the Regional Delegations for Kielce, Cracow, Lublin, the city of Warsaw and the Warsaw voivodeship.

The Regional Delegations in the Eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic also faced great problems. After those territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union, civilian underground work on a larger scale was impossible. Such activity escalated in the mid- 1941, i.e. after the start of the German-Soviet war. Within the Regional Delegations for Białystok, Lviv, Vilnius and Volhynia, individual departments functioned well, including Security Departments (in Volhynia, due to the Ukrainian threat – the National Security and Self-Defence Corps). The structures (including security) were slightly weaker in the Regional Delegations for Polesia and Nowogródek. The Pomeranian delegation and the delegations for Western and Northern territories had to solve the problems of nationality in the Polish-German relations; in turn, the delegations in the Eastern lands faced the dilemmas in the Polish-Lithuanian, Polish-Byelorussian and Polish-Ukrainian relationships. However, the relations in the Western territories such as Pomerania had a slightly different character.

It seems therefore that if we compare the achievements of individual Regional Delegations in the annexed or occupied Polish territories, taking into account all the difficulties stemming from the occupation system, one should conclude that

⁴⁸⁵ In the report of the Security Department of Silesia (1.10.1942–1.11.1943 i z 15.02.1944) there appear the following numbers: 13 000 and 12 000 people constituting the core of the division and PKB. The data need to be verified. Moreover, it did not affect the organization of the security apparatus of ODR nor the field bodies of the secret Civilian Administration, set up in Silesia in a small extent. See: W. Grabowski, *Polska tajna...*, pp. 322–326.

the Delegation for Pomerania can be proud of great organizational achievements. This was possible due to immense involvement of hundreds of people, some known by name, some anonymous. Without the support of the local population, it would have been impossible to create such efficient structures of the District Government Delegation in Pomerania. There were no large political or personal conflicts, which does not mean that clashes were entirely absent (e.g. the dispute between the head of the Branch Office of the ODR F. Rochowiak and the head of the Security Department B. Lipski, or – in the Command of the Pomeranian Region of the Home Army – between the Regional Commander Maj. F. Trojanowski and the Chief of Staff Maj./Lt.-Col. J. Chyliński).⁴⁸⁶

The whole organizational side of the Polish Secret State, i.e. the military, the civilian representation and the parliament was an unusual phenomenon in Europe under occupation.

When the war ended, the majority of people employed in the Delegation institutions suffered repressions from the new Communist authorities. Those who managed to avoid being arrested by the Gestapo were now captured by the NKVD or the UBP. Some people – such as A. Antczak, his son Feliks and B. Lipski – died. Many were arrested and sentenced to long years of imprisonment. The Security Office took the possession of the Regional Delegation's archive and started to investigate the employees. This also included the members of the "Ojczyzna" and the employees of the central institutions of the Delegation. The captured documents, the interrogations of the arrested people and the recruited informers provided the security institutions with extensive knowledge and the picture of the activities of the ODR. Some UB collaborators showed overzealousness, giving their case officers additional information on the background of the work of the Pomeranian Delegation. Repressions and harassment lasted until the mid-1970s, and no wonder that research was problematic, as people often refused to give accounts of their work for the Regional Delegation and the military institutions of the Polish Secret State (AK) and in Polish Underground in general – especially those who had been the members of right-wing organizations, such as the Military Organization *Lizard Union*, *National Armed Forces*, "Sword and Plough" etc.

This is why all the soldiers of the Polish Underground fighting for the free country should be commemorated, no matter what their political views were. The differences in opinions with regard to political matters should not constitute an obstacle, as everybody has the right to their own opinion. There is one thing everybody can agree on: the fight was for Free and Independent Poland, although the road to this goal varied and was not free from tragedy. Now in the free Republic of Poland all the controversial issues can be explained through calm argumentation, particularly as the young generation frequently sees differently the dramatic years of war, and occupation and the post-war period. Yet what matters is saving the heroes of those years from oblivion and passing the message which made them

⁴⁸⁶ See more: B. Chrzanowski, A. Gąsiorowski, K. Steyer, *Polska Podziemna...*, pp. 130–133.

sacrifice the most valuable thing – their lives. They sometimes died very young, often were killed in cruel ways by the occupants or after the war – by their own state security.



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UNDERGROUND PERIODICALS

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- „Miecz i Pług” 1943
- „Robotnik” 1943
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LIST OF IMPORTANT POLISH ABBREVIATIONS

- AAN – Archiwum Akt Nowych (the Archive of New Files)
AK – Armia Krajowa (Home Army)
AMS – Archiwum Muzeum w Stutthof (Archive Museum in Stutthof)
AN – Armia Narodowa (National Army)
ASW-B – Archiwum Sądu Wojewódzkiego w Bydgoszczy (the Archive of the Voivodeship Court in Bydgoszcz)
AUOP-B – Archiwum Urzędu Ochrony Państwa w Bydgoszczy (the Archive of the Office for State Protection)
AWIH – Archiwum Wojskowego Instytutu Historycznego Obrony Narodowej (the Military Archive of the Historical Institute of National Defence)
AZ – Administracja Zastępcza (Replacement Administration)
BBWR – Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem (Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government)
BCh – Bataliony Chłopskie (Peasants' Battalions)
CAW – Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (Central Military Archive)
Ch.D. – Chrześcijańska Demokracja (Christian Democrats)
CKW – Centralny Komitet Wykonawczy (Central Executive Committee)
DI – Departament Informacji (Department of Information)
DPiH – Departament Przemysłu i Handlu (Department of Industry and Trade)
DR – Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj (Government Delegation for Poland)
DSZ – Delegatura Sił Zbrojnych (Armed Forces Delegation for Poland)
DVL – Deutsche Volksliste (Niemiecka Lista Narodowa) (German People's List)
FAPAK – Fundacja „Archiwum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej” (od 2009 r.: Fundacja General Elżbiety Zawackiej. Archiwum i Muzeum Pomorskie Armii Krajowej oraz Wojskowej Służby Polek w Toruniu) Foundation „Pomeranian Archive of the Home Army” (from 2009 the Foundation of General Elżbieta Zawacka. Pomeranian Museum and Archive of the Home Army and the Military Service of Women in Toruń)
GG – Generalne Gubernatorstwo (General Government)
GPO – Generalplan Ost (Generalny Plan Wschodni) (General East Plan)
IH PAN – Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Institute of Polish History of the Polish Academy of Sciences)
IPN BU – Biuro Udostępniania i Archiwizacji Dokumentów Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie (Bureau of Access and Archivization of Documents of the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw)
IPN-By – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Bydgoszczy (Institute of National Remembrance in Bydgoszcz)
IPN-W-wa – Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Warszawie (Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw)
IZ-Poznań – Instytut Zachodni w Poznaniu (Western Institute in Poznań)
KB – Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (Security Corps)
KC – Komitet Centralny (Central Committee)
KG – Komenda Główna (Main Headquarters)

KOS – Kierownictwo Oporu Społecznego (Headquarters of Social Resistance)
KPP – Komunistyczna Partia Polski (Communist Party of Poland)
KRM – Krajowa Rada Ministrów (Home Council of Ministers)
KRN – Krajowa Rada Narodowa (Home National Council)
KRP – Krajowa Reprezentacja Polityczna (Home Political Representation)
KWC – Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej (Headquarters of Civilian Struggle)
KZ – Korpus Zachodni (Wetsern Corps)
MBP – Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (Ministry of Public Security)
MDR – Miejska Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj (City Government Delegation for Poland)
„MiP” – „Miecz i Plug” (‘Sword and Plough’)
MPHiŻ – Ministerstwo Przemysłu, Handlu i Żeglugi (Ministry of Industry, Trade and Shipping)
NLN – Niemiecka Lista Narodowa (German People’s List)
NOB – Narodowa Organizacja Bojowa (National Offensive Organization)
NOW – Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa (National Military Organization)
NSDAP – Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Narodowosocjalistyczna Niemiecka Partia Robotników) (National-Socialist German Party of Workers)
NSZ – Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces)
ODR – Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj (District Government Delegation for Poland)
OW ZJ – Organizacja Wojskowa Związek Jaszczurczy (Military Organization Lizard Union)
OZN – Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego (Camp of National Unity)
PAT – Polska Agencja Telegraficzna (Polish Telegraphic Agency)
PKB – Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (State Security Corps)
PKO ZSRR – Państwowy Komitet Obrony ZSRR (State Committee for the Protection of the USSR)
PKP – Polityczny Komitet Porozumiewawczy (Political Consultative Committee)
PKWN – Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego (Polish Committee of National Liberation)
PP – Polska Podziemna (Underground Poland)
PPP – Polskie Państwo Podziemne (Polish Underground State)
PPR – Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers’ Party)
PPS – Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
PSC – Państwowa Służba Cywilna (State Civilian Service)
PSL – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish People’s Party)
PZPR – Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers’ Party)
PZW – Polski Związek Wolności (Polish Union of Freedom)
RJN – Rada Jedności Narodowej (Council of National Unity)
RON – Rada Obrony Narodowej (Council of National Defence)
RPPS – Robotnicza Partia Polskich Socjalistów (Workers’ Party of Polish Socialists)
SB – Służba Bezpieczeństwa (Security Service)
SL – Stronnictwo Ludowe (People’s Party)
SN – Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party)
SP – Stronnictwo Pracy (Labour Party)
SPP – Studium Polski Podziemnej w Londynie (Study of Underground Poland)

SS – Straż Samorządowa (Local Guards)

SZP – Służba Zwycięstwu Polski (Service for the Victory of Poland)

TOW – Tajna Organizacja Wojskowa (Secret Military Organization)

UB – Urząd Bezpieczeństwa (Security Bureau)

WBPIH – Wojewódzkie Biuro Przemysłu i Handlu (Voivodeship Bureau of Industry and Trade)

„WiN” – „Wolność i Niezawisłość” (‘Liberty and Independence’)

WP – Wywiad Polityczny (Political Intelligence)

WPH – Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny (Military Historical Review)

„WRN” – „Wolność – Równość – Niepodległość” (‘Liberty- Equality- Independence’)

WSK – Wojskowa Służba Kobiet (Military Service of Women)

WUBP – Wojewódzki Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (Voivodeship Bureau of Public Security)

ZBoWiD – Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy)

ZJ – Związek Jaszczurczy (Lizard Union)

ZWZ – Związek Walki Zbrojnej (Union of Armed Struggle)

ZZ – Ziemie Zachodnie (Western territories)

DELEGATURA RZĄDU RP NA KRAJ NA POMORZU
Nieznane karty z frontu walki cywilnej podczas okupacji niemieckiej
i po jej zakończeniu

Słowa kluczowe: II wojna światowa, Polskie Państwo Podziemne, Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu, Urząd Okręgowego Delegata, Ekspozytura Okręgowego Urzędu Delegata, Wydział Bezpieczeństwa, Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa), Straż Samorządowa (Straże Samorządowe), Wywiad Polityczny, Sekcja Zachodnia Departamentu Informacji i Prasy, Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego

Przedstawiona praca dotyczy struktur cywilnych Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Pomorzu. Polskie Państwo Podziemne podlegało Rządowi RP na uchodźstwie. W jego skład wchodził pion wojskowy czyli Związek Walki Zbrojnej–Armia Krajowa i cywilno-polityczny – Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj wraz ze stronnictwami politycznymi. Struktury wojskowo-cywilne objęły swoim zasięgiem obszar okupowanego kraju. Na Pomorzu działała Okręgowa Delegatura Rządu oraz poszczególne ogniwa organizacyjne centralnej Delegatury Rządu RP na Kraj zasadniczo działające poza Okręgową Delegaturą Rządu. Jednakże oba piony współpracowały ze sobą.

Nie sposób omówić problematykę podziemia cywilnego bez uwzględnienia specyfiki Ziem Zachodnich, głównie Wielkopolski i Pomorza, ponieważ właśnie w Wielkopolsce rozwinęła się tzw. myśli zachodnia propagująca odzyskanie i umocnienie wpływów polskich na tych terenach.

Podczas wojny i okupacji na Pomorzu Niemcy przeprowadzili masową akcję eksterminacyjną. To właśnie te tereny zostały poddane najostrzejszemu terrorowi okupacyjnemu w 1939/1940 r. Później zostały dokonano ich aneksji do Rzeszy. W takich właśnie bardzo trudnych warunkach tworzono tu zręby Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego w tym Delegatury Rządu. Szczebel centralny powstawał jednak w Warszawie. Tam również tworzono pierwsze struktury Okręgowej Delegatury kierowane potem na Pomorze. W tak zwanej Delegaturze Centralnej największe zainteresowanie obszarem pomorskim wykazywały Departamenty: Informacji i Prasy a zwłaszcza jego Sekcja Zachodnia oraz Spraw Wewnętrznych. Sekcję Zachodnią w głównej mierze organizowali członkowie organizacji „Ojczyzna” nawiązującej do tradycji obozu narodowego Romana Dmowskiego. To oni gromadzili materiały nadsyłane z Ziem Zachodnich w tym i z Pomorza. A na obszarze zaanektowanym zebranie tego typu materiału stanowiło ogromną trudność i połączone było z niebezpieczeństwem aresztowania a nawet utratą życia. To samo odnosi się do Departamentu Spraw Wewnętrznych.

Jak już wspomniano w Warszawie powstały również piony organizacyjne Okręgowej Delegatury a na Pomorzu jej Ekspozytury. Zarówno w stolicy jak i na

terenie pomorskim zorganizowano poszczególne Wydziały: Administracyjny (Ogólny), Bezpieczeństwa, Oświaty, Samorządowy, Opieki Społecznej (Polityki Społecznej i Zdrowia), Techniczny (Komunikacyjno-Budowlany, Komunikacji), Rolnictwa, Propagandy i Prasy oraz Przemysłu i Handlu. Natomiast siedzibą Ekspozytury Okręgowej Delegatury na Pomorzu był Toruń. Tutaj także powstawały kolejne Wydziały: Administracyjny, Samorządowy, Rolnictwa, Opieki Społecznej i Oświaty. Najbardziej jednak rozbudowany był Wydział Bezpieczeństwa, osiągając imponujące wręcz, jak na warunki okupacyjne rozmiary organizacyjne. Na Pomorzu zorganizowano cztery obwody: Toruń, Grudziądz, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk-Gdynia. W skład obwodów wchodziły 33 miasta. W Wydziale Bezpieczeństwa pracowało ponad 2800 osób. Struktura organizacyjna Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa kształtowała się następująco: Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa), Straż Samorządowa (Straże Samorządowe) i Wywiad Polityczny. Struktury Wydziału Bezpieczeństwa rozbudowano aż do gmin włącznie. Utrzymywano też kontakty z Pomorskim Okręgiem Armii Krajowej oraz z licznymi organizacjami konspiracyjnymi działającymi na Pomorzu.

Funkcję Okręgowego Delegata Rządu pełnił Antoni Antczak, szefem Ekspozytury był Franciszek Rochowiak a Wydziałem Bezpieczeństwa kierował Bolesław Lipski.

Zarówno aparat Delegatury centralnej jak i Okręgowej przygotowywały koncepcje odbudowy gospodarki i życia publicznego po zakończeniu wojny. Prace te były bardzo zaawansowane np. w kwestii odbudowy portów morskich czy obsady personalnej stanowisk państwowych.

W 1944/1945 r. Polskie Państwo Podziemne stanęło wobec nowej rzeczywistości politycznej. Wkroczenie Armii Czerwonej na ziemie polskie i na Pomorze postawiło aparat Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego w sytuacji, z której – właściwie – nie było wyjścia. Narzucony z zewnątrz obcy system polityczno-gospodarczy spowodował konieczność obrony niepodległości i suwerenności polskiego państwa. Powstała więc konspiracja antykomunistyczna. Niezależnie od tego działacze Okręgowej Delegatury zostali poddani represjom i szykanom. Niektórzy jak np. A. Antczak czy B. Lipski ponieśli śmierć i to zadaną w okrutny sposób, innych skazywano na wieloletnie więzienie (F. Rochowiak zginął w więzieniu niemieckim aresztowany przez gestapo i dlatego uniknął represji powojennych). Rozpracowywanie członków Okręgowej Delegatury stało się możliwe wskutek przejścia na współpracę niektórych jej członków, którzy potrafili oddawać Urzędowi Bezpieczeństwa ogromne usługi denuncjując i donosząc na własnych kolegów. Represyjna a potem inwigilacyjna działalność Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa/Służby Bezpieczeństwa trwała do pierwszych lat siedemdziesiątych.

Bogdan Chrzanowski

THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FOR POLAND IN POMERANIA
Unknown information about the civilian front
during the German occupation and later

Key words: *World War II, the Polish Underground State, the Government Delegation for Poland, the District Government Delegation, the Office of the District Delegate, the Branch of the District Delegate Office, the Security Department, the State Security Corps (the Security Corps), the Municipal Guard (the Municipal Guards), the Political Secret Service, the Western Section of the Department of Information and Press, the Office of Public Security.*

The work presented here concerns the civilian structure of the Polish Underground State in Pomerania. The Polish Underground State was subordinated to the Government of the Republic of Poland in Exile. It consisted of two pillars: the military one – the Union of Armed Struggle-the Home Army, and the civilian-political – the Government Delegation for Poland with political parties. The military and civilian structures spread all over the occupied country. In Pomerania there acted the District Government Delegation and individual organizational links of the central Government Delegation for Poland, which acted beyond the District Government Delegation. However, both pillars cooperated with each other.

The problem of the civilian underground cannot be discussed without taking into account the specificity of the Western Lands, mainly the Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) and Pomerania (Pomorze), as it was in the Greater Poland that the so-called western thought promoting the idea of regaining and strengthening the Polish influence developed.

During the war and occupation in Pomerania the Germans conducted mass extermination. Those regions were subject to the most severe occupation terror in the years 1939–1940. Later they were annexed to the Reich. The Polish Underground State and the Government Delegation were created in such difficult circumstances. However, the headquarters were established in Warsaw, where the first structures of the District Delegation were set up and were later sent to Pomerania. In the so-called Central Delegation the departments which showed most interest in Pomerania were the Department of Information and Press, particularly its Western Section and the Department of Internal Affairs. The Western Section was organized by the members of the organization “Ojczyzna”, which referred to the tradition of the national camp led by Roman Dmowski. They collected materials sent from the Western Lands, including Pomerania. In the annexed territory collecting such materials was very difficult and entailed the risk of being arrested and killed. The same applied to the Department of Internal Affairs.

As was mentioned before, the organizational sectors of the District Delegation were established in Warsaw, and its branches were set up in Pomerania. The following sectors were created both in the capital and in Pomerania: the Administrative Sector (General), the Security Sector, the Sector of Education, the Municipal Sector, the Welfare Sector (of Social Policy and Health), the Technical Sector (Transport-Construction, Communication), the Sectors of Agriculture, Propaganda and Press, and the Sector of Industry and Trade. The seat of the Branch of the District Delegation in Pomerania was in Toruń. It was there that the following departments were created: Administrative, Municipal, Agricultural, Welfare and Education. The Security Department was the biggest and its size was impressive taking into account the occupation conditions. Four districts were created in Pomerania: Toruń, Grudziądz, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk–Gdynia. The districts included 33 towns. Over 2800 people worked in the Security Department. The organizational structure of the Security Department was as follows: the State Security Corps (the Security Corps), the Municipal Guard (the Municipal Guards) and the Political Secret Service. The structures of the Security Department were extended down to the gmina [the principal unit of administrative division]. Contacts were maintained with the Pomeranian District of the Home Army and various underground organizations acting in Pomerania.

Antoni Antczak held the position of the District Government Delegate; Franciszek Rochowiak was the head of the Branch and Bolesław Lipski ran the Security Department.

Both the central Delegation and the District Delegation prepared their concepts for the reconstruction of economy and public life after the war, which were quite advanced, particularly on the question of the reconstruction of sea harbours and the staffing of state offices.

In 1944–45 the Polish Underground State faced a new political reality. The fact of the Red Army entering Poland and Pomerania made the Polish Underground State come to a standstill. The imposed political and economic system involved the necessity to defend the independence of the Polish state. The anti-communist underground was created. Irrespective of this, the activists of the District Delegation were subject to repressive measures and insults. Some of them such as A. Antczak or B. Lipski were killed in a cruel way; others were sentenced to many years in prison (F. Rochowiak died in a German prison arrested by the Gestapo, and thus avoiding the after-war repressions). Uncovering the members of the District Delegation became possible owing to the fact that some members started cooperating with the Service of Public Security denouncing their colleagues. The repression and surveillance conducted by the Service of Public Security lasted until the beginning of the 1970s.

Bogdan Chrzanowski

Translation: Agnieszka Chabros

HEIMATVERTRETUNG DER EXILREGIERUNG DER REPUBLIK POLEN IN POMMERN

Unbekannte Blätter aus dem Kampf an der Zivilfront während der deutschen Besatzung und nach ihrem Ende

Schlüsselbegriffe: der II. Weltkrieg, Polnischer Untergrundstaat, Heimatvertretung der Exilregierung, Bezirksregierungsvertretung, das Amt des Bezirksvertreters, Zweigstelle des Amtes des Bezirksvertreters, Sicherheitsabteilung, Staatssicherheitskorps (Sicherheitskorps), Selbstverwaltungswache (Selbstverwaltungswachen), Politischer Nachrichtendienst, Sektion West des Informations- und Arbeitsdepartements, das Amt für Innere Sicherheit

Die vorgestellte Arbeit betrifft Zivilstrukturen des Polnischen Untergrundstaates in Pommern. Der Polnische Untergrundstaat war der Regierung der Polnischen Republik im Exil unterstellt. Zu seinen Bestandteilen gehörte das Militärressort, also Bund für Wehrkämpfe- Heimatarmee und das zivil-politische Ressort – die Heimatvertretung der Regierung der Republik Polen samt politischen Parteien. Die Militär- und Zivilstrukturen haben mit ihrer Verbreitung das ganze Gebiet des besetzten Landes umfasst. In Pommern hat die Bezirksvertretung der Regierung funktioniert, so wie die einzelnen Organisationszellen der zentralen Heimatvertretung der Exilregierung der Republik Polen, die im Prinzip außerhalb von der Bezirksvertretung funktioniert haben. Doch beide Ressorts haben mit einander zusammengearbeitet.

Es kann einfach unmöglich die Problematik des zivilen Untergrunds besprochen werden, ohne die Spezifik der Westgebiete, hauptsächlich Großpolens und Pommerns, zu berücksichtigen, denn in Großpolen hat sich eben der s.g. westliche Gedanke entwickelt, der das Wiedererringen und Festigen polnischer Einflüsse auf den Gebieten propagierte.

Während des Krieges und der Besatzung in Pommern haben die Deutschen Massenvernichtungsaktionen durchgeführt. Die Gebiete wurden eben 1939/1940 dem größten Terror der Besatzungsmacht unterzogen. Dann wurden sie ins Reich einverleibt. Gerade unter solchen, sehr schwierigen Bedingungen wurden hier die Ansätze des polnischen Untergrundstaates geschaffen. Die Zentralstufe ist jedoch in Warschau entstanden. Dort sind auch die ersten Strukturen der Bezirksvertretung geschaffen worden, die dann nach Pommern überwiesen wurden. In der so genannten Zentralvertretung hat die Abteilung für Information und Presse, und insbesondere ihre Sektion West, so wie die Abteilung des Inneren das größte Interesse für das pommersche Gebiet gezeigt. Die Sektion West ist hauptsächlich von den Mittgliedern der Organisation „Vaterland“, die an die Traditionen der nationalen Gruppierung Roman Dmowskis anknüpfte, organisiert worden. Sie ha-

ben Materialien gesammelt, die aus Westgebieten, darunter auch aus Pommern geschickt wurden. Und das Sammeln derartigen Materials auf dem einverleibten Reichsgebiet war sehr schwierig und mit Gefahr einer Verhaftung, ja sogar mit einer Lebensgefahr verbunden. Dasselbe traf für die Abteilung des Inneren zu.

Wie bereits erwähnt, in Warschau sind auch Organisationsressorts der Bezirksvertretung und in Pommern Ihre Zweigstellen entstanden. Sowohl in der Hauptstadt als auch auf dem pommerschen Gebiet sind einzelne Abteilungen organisiert worden: für Verwaltung (Allgemeine Angelegenheiten), für Sicherheit, Bildung, Selbstverwaltung, Sozialfürsorge (Sozialpolitik und Gesundheit), Technik (Verkehr und Bauwesen, Verkehr), Landwirtschaft, Propaganda und Presse und für Industrie und Handel. Der Sitz der Bezirkszweigstelle in Pommern war in Toruń. Hier sind auch weitere Abteilungen entstanden: für Verwaltung, Selbstverwaltung, Landwirtschaft, Sozialfürsorge und Bildung. Doch am weitesten war die Abteilung für Sicherheit ausgebaut und hat einen gerade für die Bedingungen der Besatzungszeit imposanten Organisationsausmaß erreicht. In Pommern sind vier Kreise organisiert worden: Toruń (Thorn), Grudziądz (Graudenz), Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), Gdańsk-Gdynia (Danzig-Gdingen). Im Rahmen der Kreise hat es 33 Städte gegeben. In der Sicherheitsabteilung haben 2800 Personen gearbeitet. Die Organisationsstruktur der Sicherheitsabteilung hat wie folgt ausgesehen: Staatssicherheitskorps (Sicherheitskorps), Selbstverwaltungswache (Selbstverwaltungswachen) und Politischer Nachrichtendienst. Die Strukturen der Sicherheitsabteilung sind bis in die Gemeinden ausgebaut worden. Es wurden auch Kontakte mit dem pommerschen Bezirk der Heimatarmee und mit zahlreichen konspirativen Organisationen unterhalten, die in Pommern tätig waren. Die Funktion des Bezirksvertreters hat Antoni Antczak ausgeübt, Franciszek Rochowiak ist Chef der Zweigstelle gewesen, Bolesław Lipski hat die Sicherheitsabteilung geleitet.

Sowohl die Mitarbeiter der zentralen Vertretung als auch die der Bezirksvertretung haben Entwürfe des Aufbaus der Wirtschaft und des öffentlichen Lebens nach dem Kriegsende vorbereitet. Die Arbeiten waren weit fortgeschritten, z.B. in der Frage des Wiederaufbaus der Seehäfen oder einer Personalbesetzung der Staatsstellen.

1944/1945 hat der Polnische Untergrundstaat einer neuen politischen Realität gegenüber gestanden.

Der Einmarsch der Roten Armee auf die polnischen Gebiete und in Pommern hat den Apparat des Polnischen Untergrundstaates in eine Lage gebracht, aus der es eigentlich keinen Ausweg gegeben hat. Ein vom außen aufgezwungenes politisch-wirtschaftliches System hat eine Notwendigkeit der Verteidigung der Unabhängigkeit und Souveränität des polnischen Staates verursacht. Es ist also eine antikommunistische Konspiration entstanden. Unabhängig davon sind die Aktivisten der Bezirksvertretung Repressionen und Schikanen ausgeliefert worden. Manche von ihnen, wie z.B. A. Antczak oder B. Lipski sind ums Leben gekommen, und zwar auf eine grausame Art und Weise. Andere sind für langjährige

Haftstrafen verurteilt worden (vom Gestapo verhaftet, kam F. Rochowiak im deutschen Gefängnis ums Leben und ist so den Nachkriegsrepressalien ausgewichen). Da manche Mitglieder der Vertretung zum Sicherheitsamt übergelaufen sind und in der Zusammenarbeit mit demselben enorme Dienste geleistet haben, indem sie eigene Kollegen angezeigt haben, sind die Strukturen der Bezirksvertretung aufgefliegen. Repressalien und dann die Bespitzelung vom Sicherheitsamt / Sicherheitsdienst hat bis in die frühen siebziger Jahren gedauert.

Bogdan Chrzanowski

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- "II/A" see: Rochowiak Franciszek
 "III/1/B" see: Sobocki Stanisław
 "III/1/SS" see: Hegenbarth Marian
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His interests focus on the historical and political history of the 20th century, including World War II and the post-war period. He has investigated the occupation history of the western territories, mainly Pomerania: issues connected with direct extermination, the Germanization policy, displacements, the Stutthof concentration camp, Polish Underground, the Gestapo's activity and the political situation after the war including repressions of the NKVD and the Public Security Bureau against the soldiers of the Polish Underground. During many years of research, he has conducted queries in national and foreign archives, among others in the Archives of New Files, the Military Archives of the Historical Institute, the Central Military Archives, the Central Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, the Archives of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation – the National Remembrance Institute, the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, the West Institute in Poznań, the State Archives and the Archives of the Office for State Protection in Bydgoszcz, the State Archives and Archives of the Office for State Protection in Gdańsk, the Archives of the District Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish Nation – the Institute of National Remembrance in Poznań, Łódź, Bydgoszcz and Gdańsk, the Foundation „Pomeranian Archives and Museum of the Home Army and Military Service of Polish Women” in Toruń (now the General Elżbieta Zawacka Foundation), the Archives of the Stutthof Museum in Sztutowo, the Ravensbrück Museum in the former German Democratic Republic, the Polish Underground Studies and the Polish Institute and Museum under the name of General Sikorski in London and others.

He is the author of over 350 various types of works: books, source publications, articles, papers, biographies, encyclopedias and reviews (including publishing, doctoral and postdoctoral reviews) as well as review articles and opinions, the most important of which are: *Konspiracja Rządu RP na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945, Gdańsk 1992*, *Związek Jaszczurczy i Narodowe Siły Zbrojne na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1947. Nieznane karty pomorskiej konspiracji, Toruń 1997*, *„Miecz i Pług” (Zjednoczone Organizacje Ruchu „Miecz i Pług”) na Pomorzu w latach okupacji niemieckiej, Toruń 1997*, co-author of the publications: *Wydział Marynarki Wojennej „Alfa” Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej, Toruń 2001. Okręgi Pomorze i Wielkopolska [in:] Operacja „Burza” i Powstanie Warszawskie, red. K. Komorowski, Warszawa 2004*, *Polska Podziemna na Pomorzu w latach 1939–1945, Gdańsk 2005*, *Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj na Pomorzu. Nieznane karty z Frontu Walki cywilnej podczas okupacji niemieckiej i po jej zakończeniu, Toruń 2011*.

He has also participated in over 60 scientific and popular science conferences on historical and political issues in Poland. Apart from his scientific activities, he also conducts didactic activities, such as seminars, lectures, bachelor and master seminars at regular and extramural studies as well as lectures and seminars for PhD students.

As an independent research and teaching worker, in the years 2002–2006 he lectured at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism of the Gdańsk Higher School of Humanities in Gdańsk. From 2004 to 2012 he gave lectures and bachelor seminars at the Department of Political Sciences of the Pomeranian College of Social and Economic Policy (currently the Pomeranian Higher School) in Starogard Gdański – both to regular and extramural students. Since 2005, he has been employed as a lecturer at the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Gdańsk. Here he also gives lectures, BA and MA seminars and tutorials. He also gives lectures and seminars to both full-time and extramural PhD studies. He is a reviewer of doctoral dissertations (7) and postdoctoral theses (2). He has the following decorations: the Commemorative Medal of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland (1982), the Silver Medal of the Protector of Sites of National Remembrance (1982), the Badge of the Distinguished Cultural Activist (1982), the Gold Badge for the Protection of Monuments (1987), the Medal *Pro Memoria* (2005), the Silver Cross of Merit (2009) the Medal of the National Institute minted on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Institute of National Remembrance (2010), the Bronze Medal „Merited to Culture Gloria Artis” (2012), the Medal of the Commission of National Education (2013), the Gold Medal „200 years of the Battle of Nations” (2014) and others.



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