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THE TRANSFER OF GERMAN POPULATION FROM POLAND IN 1945—1947 (ON THE EXAMPLE OF WEST POMERANIA)

This sketch is an attempt at a study of one of the post-war problems of the transfer of population — of organized migrations of Germans from territories which were transferred to Poland by the Potsdam agreement. For this purpose, I have been resorting to the method of combining larger problems with detailed analysis of material concerning West Pomerania.¹ This is due to the scarcity of monographical studies,² and to a considerable amount of poorly or even not systematized source material. This method has been and is still applied on many occasions by Polish economic and social historians — if only to mention the works by F. Bujak, J. Rutkowski or recently W. Styś. In modern history which has to cope with an “excess” of sources, the conception of a case “study”

¹ The term “West Pomerania” is not used in the historical meaning but to indicate merely the territory of the region (voivodship) of West Pomerania within the limits of its 24 districts in May—June 1945 and since July 1946. In relation to the German Pomerania, West Pomerania embraced nearly the whole Pommern province (Koszalin Regency, the Lębork district (*Landkreis*) excluded, for it belonged to the Gdańsk Voivodship) the Szczecin Regency, parts of the former districts Rędowa (Randow), Wkra (Uckermünde) and Uznam—Wolin excepted, which remained outside the Polish frontiers, as well as the Border Regency without the Piła, Strzelce Krajeńskie and Trzcianka districts which passed to the Poznań Voivodship. Besides, West Pomerania included the districts of Chojna and Myślibórz of the former Frankfurt Regency in the Brandenburg Province. At present, Pomerania is divided into two voivodships: the Szczecin Voivodship and the Koszalin Voivodship, that is the territory of the above-mentioned 24 districts.

² Collective work: *Polskie Ziemie Zachodnie* [*Polish Western Territories*], Poznań 1959; *Od-budowa Ziem Odzyskanych 1945—1955* [*Reconstruction of the Recovered Territories 1945—1955*], Poznań 1957; and three volumes of the continuous publication, *Studia nad zagadnieniami gospo-darczymi i społecznymi Ziem Zachodnich i Północnych* [*Studies on the Economic and Social Problems of the Western and Northern Territories*] which include only very general material, insufficient for detailed analyses.

used as a test is favoured, not only as concerns economic or sociological questions.³ This method may of course be discussed, it is a tempting one and at the same time arouses serious doubts. In West Pomerania the problem of the German population had a relatively “pure form” and was less complicated than elsewhere by the need of verification of the population of Polish origin.⁴

The fact that the policy of the Polish State with regard to the German national minority living on territories recovered by Poland in 1945, called for a solution as rapid as possible, was due to numerous factors. And first of all to the international situation: the turn in the policy of the Western members of the anti-Nazi coalition, which took place in the last few months of the war, the change of their attitude towards the post-war destiny of the defeated Germany, the ever increasing conflict between former allies. The importance of these questions was fully understood in Poland. This was expressed by Władysław Gomułka who said on May 1945 at a plenary sitting of the Polish Workers Party (PPR) Central Committee when discussing international problems: “[...] if we do not polonize the former German territories, we shall have no grounds for claiming what they already refuse to give us [...]”⁵ The attitude of the Soviet Government did not allow the Western Powers in Potsdam to utterly deny the decisions of the Crimean Conference, but apprehensions were ever more loudly expressed in British and American political circles as to whether the Potsdam decisions would not bring negative economic effects. The transfer of Germans from territories which were to pass under Polish State administration was mainly questioned, for this was the most essential decision determining, if not *de jure*, at least *de facto*, the final character of the frontier established by the Potsdam agreement. Even after the experience of the last war, it would be difficult to plan that groups of Polish and German population, comprising of millions of people, would be moved about like pawns on a chessboard.⁶ The doubt whether Poland would succeed in populating and administering these territories was expressed, and it had to be an argument against the removal of Germans as well as against considering the new frontiers as final ones. This reservation was a pretext, since the attitude of Western Powers towards the Odra — Nysa frontier was shaped by the whole of their

³ *Studia nad osadnictwem wiejskim na Pomorzu Zachodnim* [Studies on Rural Settlements in West Pomerania] (in print).

⁴ Cf. below.

⁵ Archives of the Party History Institute (abbrev. AZHP), Protocol of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Worker's Party, of 3—5 May 1945.

⁶ This was obvious even for opponents of the Potsdam agreement on this matter, cf. with J. C. Campbell, *The European Territorial Settlement*, “Foreign Affairs”, vol. XXVI, 1947, No. I, p. 200). This aspect was also emphasized by V. Molotov in his answer to Byrnes's well-known Stuttgart speech, cf. statement made for PAP (Polish Agency Press) correspondent in Paris, September 16th, 1946 (*Zagadnienia polityki zagranicznej* [Problems of Foreign Policy], Warszawa 1950, p. 183). Also cf. with B. Wiewióra, *Uznanie nabytków terytorialnych w prawie międzynarodowym* [Recognition of Territorial Gains in International Law], Poznań 1961, p. 210—211.

international policy,⁷ nevertheless the demographic factor constituted quite a convenient pretext. The only answer on the part of Poland, therefore, could be by creating accomplished facts of a wide range and in a short time.

These circumstances determined the course of demographic processes leading to the polonizing of the Recovered Territories and they did not allow us to be satisfied with spontaneous migrations of Germans pushed out by Polish settlers, or even less to count on assimilation, a process which generally determines the national features of a territory inhabited by a mixed population in the course of decenniums or even centuries. To restrict oneself to them, when one had at one's disposal, at best years and possibly only months, would be tantamount to losing this historical possibility which in fact determined the future of Poland. This was in general understood by the Polish community⁸ and the tendencies to retain Germans as forced labour,⁹ linked with revenge moods typical of the first after war years, were rather sporadical. They appeared mainly where there was no direct contact with bigger groups of the German population. State authorities were strongly opposed to symptoms of this phenomenon defined as "white slavery," and severely disapproved of them.¹⁰

The attitude of Poland with regard to the question of German minority was in conformity with the post-war tendency aiming, unlike the Versailles conceptions, at creating national states. Migrations in Poland constitute only an element, though an important one, of general demographic moves which took place after

⁷ Quite characteristic from this point of view is the attitude of Great Britain represented during the war by Churchill. Roosevelt postulated in principle freedom of population moves (R. Sherwood, Roosevelt, Hopkins, *An International History*, NY 1948, p. 713), Churchill, till the Yalta Conference favoured resettlement; he also represented this attitude towards Mikołajczyk and Anders. Simultaneously with the change in the British policy, the demographic arguments were reversed and the question of "resettlement" was to be a justification of the change of attitude towards the Polish frontiers.

⁸ Cf. statements at sessions of the National People's Council, 9th session — W. Gomułka's Report (*Stenogramy sejmowe*, p. CCXLVIII, CCXLIX). Statements of deputies at the same session. A great deal has been written on the subject in the Press. The demand for resettlement of Germans was put forth at numerous meetings in the Recovered Territories.

⁹ R. Buławski, *Problem "Niemców pochodzenia polskiego"* [*Problem of "Germans of Polish Origin"*], in: *First Session of the Scientific Council for Problems of the Recovered Territories*, vol. III and contributions in the Press. Also cf. W. Gomułka, *Budujemy Polskę na Ziemiach Odzyskanych* [*We Build Poland in the Recovered Territories*], speech at the 2nd Industrial Congress of the Recovered Territories, 16 Oct. 1946 (*W walce o demokrację ludową* [*In Struggle for People's Democracy*], Warszawa 1947, vol. II, p. 147): "[...] I have to state that the insane symptom of keeping Germans in work establishments can be observed in the case of numerous industrial managers in the Recovered Territories [...]. For many people it is difficult to part even with German house servants [...]. Many reports from the provinces also stated that peasants are inclined to avail themselves of the work of Germans.

¹⁰ New Records Archives (abbrev. AAN), Ministry of the Recovered Territories (abbrev. MZO), Acts of viceminister Dubiel, vol. XXVI, Report of the Settlement Department of the Ministry of Recovered Territories, Oct. 1946.

1945.¹¹ When characterizing these movements which resulted in a transfer of the population from the East to the West, Albert Sauvy puts the question whether we have to do with an accidental phenomenon, or with a more essential regularity, and leaves the solution to the future.¹² I shall not develop this subject — it gives, however, rise to comparison with the several centuries' strong demographic rush towards the East, radically stopped only by the great post-war migrations.

The organized migrations of the German population, started by Polish authorities after the Potsdam Conference, were not the only movements of this type after the war and they have also historical precedents. We have to do here with the "population transfer," *transfert de population*¹³ well-known throughout history.

The conception of organized demographical moves goes back to the beginnings of the 19th Century,¹⁴ although they assumed broader dimensions after World War I only,¹⁵ and were gradually intensified¹⁶ to reach finally the 1945—

¹¹ Cf.: *International Migration 1945—1957*. International Labour Office, Geneva 1959, p. 61; J. Vernant, *The Refugee in the Post-war World*, London 1953, p. 95. 2,700,000 Germans left Czechoslovakia, 150,000 left Hungary; R. Ginesy, *La Seconde Guerre mondiale et les déplacements de population*, Paris 1948, p. 54 (exaggerated figures).

¹² A. Sauvy, *Europe et sa population*, Paris 1955, p. 39.

¹³ Cf. *Les transferts internationaux de population*, République Française, Ministère de l'Économie Nationale, Institut National de la statistique et des études économiques, Paris 1946; also *International Migration* . . . , p. 62; Ginesy, *La Seconde Guerre mondiale* . . . , p. 2; J. Isaac, *Economics of Migration*, London 1947, p. 2—3; R. Dollot, *Les grandes migrations humaines*, Paris 1949; p. 89; L. Chevalier, *Démographie générale*, Paris 1951, p. 439; D. Kirk, *European Migration, Pre-war Trends and Future Prospects*, "The Millbank Memorial Fund. Quarterly", vol. XXV, April 1947, No 2, p. 13. Organized population transfers are therefore incorrectly considered as resettlements, cf. J. Ziółkowski, *Luźność Ziem Odzyskanych [Population of the Recovered Territories]*, in: *Polskie Ziemie Zachodnie [Polish Western Territories]*, p. 137: "[...] a systematic, wide-scale action of resettlement of the entire German population from Polish territory began on 20 February 1946 [...]" The term of resettlement — *Vertreibung* — is universally adopted in West Germany. Also inadequate is the term "repatriation" used usually in Poland.

¹⁴ *Les transferts* . . . , p. 22, 294. Anglo-Turkish convention, 17 May 1817.

¹⁵ *Les transferts* . . . , p. 23 and 295—301. Bulgarian-Turkish convention, Bulgarian-Greek convention of 27 November 1919 and addendum March 6th, 1912. Plan of 8 December 1922, p. 347 ff. Greek-Turkish convention of March 10th, 1920 (not ratified) and convention of 30 January 1923. Full set of documents. As a result of the two last agreements, Greece received in the course of 18 months 1,400,000 Greeks from Bulgaria and Turkey. Further similar agreements are those concluded between Rumania and Turkey on 4 September 1936 and Italy and Yugoslavia on 1 March 1939.

¹⁶ The conception of "transferts" was realized by Germans during the war within the frame of the action of "strengthening German traditions". It concerned Germans dispersed in European countries. A number of agreements were concluded: with Italy, with the U.S.S.R., with Hungary and with Bulgaria. Texts: *Les transferts* . . . , p. 409—540. Cf.: *Historical Approach to the Problem* by R. L. Koehl, *RKFDV, German Resettlement and Population Policy 1939—1945*, Cambridge — Harvard 1957, also *Die Ostgebiete des deutschen Reiches 1956*, p. 138. The results of the action which embraced nearly 1,000,000 people; also J. B. Schechtman, *European Population Transfers 1939—1945*, Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 27 ff.; E. M. Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe*, Montreal 1943; also *German Failures in Poland*, London 1942.

—1948 total. This enabled W. S. Thompson to suppose that this type of migration would have in the future a more essential influence on the shaping of demographical relations.¹⁷ He belonged besides to avowed supporters of similar solutions, which met with a considerable number of opponents among demographers.¹⁸

The definition of “the transfer,” adopted in science, embraces the following elements: a voluntary or compulsory, but in both cases definite, organized transfer of a defined group of people from their former native milieu to the territory of another state, carried out on grounds of international agreements.¹⁹ The purpose of it is the attempt at creating organisms which would be uniform from the national point of view. This had of course to result in an exchange of people from territories inhabited by several nationalities.²⁰

The organized and obligatory²¹ departure of the German population from Poland took place first of all by virtue of the Potsdam agreement, the famous 13th chapter. This was not therefore a *sensu stricto* agreement of two interested parties, considered as a prerequisite of population exchange.²² The occupying powers²³ represented Germany — one of the two parties. Nevertheless, the majority of students is inclined to qualify this process as a “transfer of the population.”²⁴ Taking into consideration the purposes and the character of the process, analogous to the classic bilateral exchange, the notion “unilateral transfer”²⁵

¹⁷ W. S. Thompson, *Plenty of People*, p. 153; *Population Problems*, 1953, p. 291.

¹⁸ F. W. Notestein, *International Population Readjustments*, 1945, p. 102; Sauvy, *Europe et sa population*, p. 38 mentions ironically the “gentlemen from Oxford and Harvard” who did not know much about demographical problems. Idem, *Théorie générale de la population*, vol. II, Paris 1959, p. 352. The argument of “un-knowledge” is also put forth in West Germany, see *inter alia* *Die Ostgebiete* . . . , p. 141—142; F. Ganse, *Deutsch-slavische Schicksalgemeinschaft*, Kitzingen a. Main 1953, p. 287. Ginesy is opposed to transfers (*La Seconde Guerre mondiale* . . . , p. 5).

¹⁹ *Les transferts* . . . , p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, also Z. Izdebski, *Rewizja pojęcia narodowości* [*Revision of the Notion of Nationality*], Katowice 1947; *International Migration*, loc. cit.

²¹ *Les transferts* . . . , p. 47; L. Dollot, *Les grandes migrations humaines*, Paris 1949, p. 91 — “transferts obligatoires” and not “forcés.” According to *Les transferts* . . . compulsory exchange must be complete, both as regards people and territory and without any free choice of the place of migration. They do not go into further details and determine the degree of obligation. This formulation seems to me more adequate than the term “compulsory,” although in the migration classification scheme of Sauvy, *Théorie générale de la population* (vol. II, p. 249—250), the organized migrations of Germans from Poland fulfil all conditions of compulsory migrations.

²² *Les transferts* . . . , p. 19 and chapter VI p. 57, and fol.

²³ There is no place here to examine the legal aspects of the Potsdam agreement; in Poland extensive works deal with them. For bibliography see Wiewióra, op. cit., p. 208—209.

²⁴ Cf.: Dollot, *Les grandes migrations* . . . , p. 88; *International Migration*, p. 62, which are decidedly opposed to defining expulsion by the term of resettlement. Chevalier, *Démographie générale*, p. 439.

²⁵ Chevalier, op. cit., p. 439; Dollot, op. cit., p. 91.

has been introduced which undoubtedly expresses well the essence of the process of an organized migration of the population which inhabited, previous to 1945, the territories recovered by Poland.

The problem of the extent of the migration of Germans was linked with its compulsory character. In this connection, international law makes a distinction between six types of agreements, depending on the territory and on the category of the population embraced by the transfer. The Potsdam decision covered, as is known, the well-determined territory, as well as the whole German nationality group living there. This, however, gave rise to the problem of criteria according to which the German group could be classified for transfer.

This was an extremely difficult question. Legal criteria — German citizenship — had no value, and sociological criteria — were uncertain. A number of conceptions were put forth, beginning with the most liberal of Zygmunt Izdebski²⁶ to the nationalistic one of Rajmund Buławski.²⁷ The Scientific Council for the Recovered Territories devoted much attention to this question.²⁸ The problem was all the more important as its solution had real and lasting consequences.

The attitude of State authorities towards nationality problems in the Recovered Territories was not the result of a determined territorial conception. This was expressed by respective regulations. It was envisaged at first that a personal statement expressed in a written declaration of loyalty to the Polish Nation and State²⁹ would constitute a basis for qualification. This attitude of the authorities would be tantamount to adopting the theory of subjective nationality criterion, on the only basis of free will of the individual concerned. For many reasons, this proved unrealistic in practice, mainly because of the fact that at the time such a declaration did not always express even a subjective nationality feeling. Since then, as a condition of having the Polish nationality, one had to prove one's Polish

²⁶ Izdebski *Rewizja pojęcia...* [*Revision of the Notion...*], Katowice 1947, also compare with unpublished report of the 5th session of the Scientific Council for Problems of the Recovered Territories. It is in favour of the behaviourism conception saying that behaviour determines nationality.

²⁷ Buławski, *Problem "Niemców..."* [*Problem of "Germans..."*].

²⁸ Cf. with the discussion at the 5th session of the Scientific Council for Problems of the Recovered Territories. Izdebski's report met in general with criticism. Main stress was laid on the possibility of opportunism among the candidates for verification. Representatives of state authorities represented a different viewpoint on the verification action "[...] which is a policy of free breath, long wave, a policy staking on children and grand-children [...]" (P. Dubiel). Discussion and report equally unpublished, AAN, Office of Settlement and Resettlement Studies (abbrev. BSOP).

²⁹ Instruction of the Minister of Public Administration of 23 June 1945, not published in the "Dziennik Urzędowy" ["Official Gazette"] of the Ministry of Public Administration. The instruction provided for the issuance of provisional certificates for Poles of local provenience on the ground of their written declarations of loyalty to the Polish nation and State. The action of collecting these declarations was concluded on 1 September 1945.

origin or at least one's links with the Polish nation.³⁰ This was partially tantamount to passing to objective criteria, such as: language, origin, etc., and partly to the adoption of an intermediary criterion of the behaviour of a given person. This provided a wide field of activity for authorities which finally decided on national affinity, that is for the Verification Commissions. The so-called verification procedure constitutes a separate problem. As it is known, opposition was encountered in practice both on the part of the individuals concerned,³¹ and of the persons deciding their fate.³²

Finally more than one million people,³³ that is more than 10 per cent. of the population of May 1939, were excluded from the group subject to transfer and were granted Polish citizenship. The remaining citizens of the former German State were transferred.

While concentrating here on problems of migration of Germans from Poland belonging to the "compulsory transfer of the population" type, I do not want to state that there were no other movements coming under this process. Although they reach beyond the frame of this sketch, it is necessary to mention them briefly. These will be — in chronological order — the mass flight of Germans during the hostilities (February—March 1945), the resettlement from the regions bordering on the Odra in the period preceding the Potsdam Conference, the repatriation of people who were not permanent inhabitants of territories under Polish administration but lived in these territories as the result of war, and finally the individual, voluntary departures of persons or families.

³⁰ Instruction of the Minister of Recovered Territories of April 6th, 1946 concerning the way of establishing Polish national affiliation of people living in the Recovered Territories ("Dziennik Urzędowy" ["Official Gazette"] of the Ministry of Recovered Territories, No. 4, position 26) next confirmed by the law of 28 April 1946, on the Polish citizenship of people of Polish nationality living in the Recovered Territories ("Dziennik, Ustaw R.P." ["Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic"], No. 15, position 106).

³¹ These were very complicated problems: aside from people with a well crystalized national consciousness, there was a number of undecided people, with German familial bonds. A proof of that are the applications for return to Germany submitted by those who did not apply for verification before, compare: Archives of the Council of State (ARP), National People's Council 1945—1948, W. Barcikowski's report on his inspection in the Olsztyn voivodship, 8—11 May 1948.

³² "Dziennik Rozporządzeń" ["Standing Orders Gazette"] of the Ministry of Recovered Territories 1947, No. 6, position 107; Circular of the Public Administration Department of the Ministry of Recovered Territories of 5 June 1947, concerning the improper attitude towards the problems of citizenship of permanent settlers in the Recovered Territories, signed by vice-minister Dubiel.

³³ According to the table: Distribution and division into groups of origin of the population in the Recovered Territories, May 31st, 1947, published in M. Olechnowicz's report *Drugi rok osadnictwa na Ziemiach Odzyskanych* [Second Year of Settlement in the Recovered Territories] established for the 5th session of the Scientific Council for Problems of the Recovered Territories (AAN BSOP). The global figures given by him are in general conformity with other sources.

The movements of refugees, which were partly spontaneous and voluntary in the understanding of demographers³⁴ and partly an organized evacuation, caused that a considerable percentage of the population, about 50 per cent. left (during the war) the territories later annexed by Poland. The extent of this movement is a subject for discussion³⁵ but it is not denied even by the Germans themselves. They explain that in the understanding of the escaping people it was not an abandoning of the country but a provisional change of place,³⁶ which is true, or are stating that these several millions continued living East of the Odra,³⁷ which is wrong. When the Polish administration took over these territories, it was often faced by conditions resembling a demographical vacuum.

The transport of Germans from the region bordering on the Odra was organized by military authorities in June and July 1945.³⁸ They were soon stopped because the civil administration was unable to protect the post-German property and to prevent economic devastation of regions depopulated on the eve of the harvest.³⁹ It can be stated that more than one million people left the Recovered Territories in this way.⁴⁰

The migrations described below, which preceded organized transfers, were much smaller. According to German data, the total number of people evacuated from West Germany to Eastern provinces which were not so strongly menaced by air raids, amounted to 1,5—2 millions.⁴¹ The majority was carried away by the wave of flights from the front, the rest was subject to a special registration ordered by Polish authorities at the end of June 1945. The registration was to

³⁴ E. Rosset, *Prawa demograficzne wojny* [*Demographical Laws of War*], Łódź 1933, p. 50 distinguishes between free emigration and compulsory emigration (evacuation). Also Ginesy, *La Seconde Guerre...*, p. 7, gives a separate place to free emigrations. I am discussing this question at greater length in my article *Migracje powojenne w Polsce. Próby klasyfikacji i ogólna charakterystyka zewnętrznych ruchów ludności* [*Post-war Migrations in Poland. Attempt at Classification and General Characteristic of International Movements of the Population*], prepared for the 2nd annual of „Polska Ludowa”.

³⁵ Estimates vary from one million (*Die deutschen Vertreibungsverluste, Bevölkerungsbilanzen für die Deutschenvertreibungsgebiete 1939—1950*, Wiesbaden 1958, p. 33) to five millions (*Die Ostgebiete*, p. 141; Chevalier, *Démographie générale...*, p. 141; G. Reichling, *Die Heimatvertriebenen im Spiegel der Statistik*, Berlin 1958, p. 15; *Polskie Ziemie Zachodnie* [*Polish Western Territories*], p. 135; *Dokumentation der Vertreibung*, p. 23—24e) or even more (*La situation démographique de l'Allemagne 1945—48*, “La Documentation française”, 10 November 1959).

³⁶ *Dokumentation der Vertreibung*, p. 23e; *Die deutschen Vertreibungsverluste...*, p. 33.

³⁷ *Die Ostgebiete...*, p. 144.

³⁸ AZHP, IV-A-III/64, No. 19.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ National People's Council, Secretariat of the Chairman, Western Territories, Report on the meeting of voivodes and Government plenipotentiaries for Western districts, May 27th, 1945, Central Military Archives (abbrev. CAW) III/2—200, file 201. Report by the chief of the staff of the 2nd Army, 4 XI 1945.

⁴¹ *Die Ostgebiete...*, p. 159.

be finished by July 15th, 1945. Next, it was planned to carry out repatriation.⁴² Polish administration was, however, still too deficient at that time to be able fully to control this action, and the registration was incomplete. In West Pomerania this must have concerned a small number of people, as the head of the Polish administration, voivode L. Borkowicz, writes in July 1946 that in 1945 the authorities restricted themselves as a rule to voluntary repatriation.⁴³

The individual, voluntary departures of individual people or families to the Soviet occupation zone, already mentioned before as the last process preceding organized transfers, took place partly on ground of passes issued by Polish authorities and partly through mediation of military authorities.⁴⁴ In this case also there is lack of complete documentation of the movement; it results from fragmentary data that in the second half of 1945, the importance of this movement grew and the tendencies of departure were not at all sporadic. The reason for it was the constantly progressing stabilization of the Polish element on the one hand, and difficult living conditions on the other. The Germans thought at first that the Polish administration in the Western Territories was only a provisional one as a *sui generis* compensation for the damage done in Poland. They were sometimes confirmed in this opinion by the settlers themselves, the latter did not feel as yet managers of these territories. Gradually the Germans were coming to the conclusion that it would be better to leave these lands as soon as possible. A certain role was undoubtedly also played by the Polish administration. As a result, after the stopping of voluntary departures at the end of 1945, a determined tendency for leaving was observed among a large number of Germans in West Pomerania.⁴⁵ From the viewpoint of classification, this migration does not come under the notion of transfer, due to a complete absence of the organizational element.

The organized transfer of German population was started in February 1946⁴⁶ according to the plan ratified on November 20th, 1945 by the Allied Control Commission in Berlin.⁴⁷ This plan envisaged that the German population leaving

⁴² AAN, Acts of General Plenipotentiary for the Recovered Territories, vol. II, text of the instruction. Voivodship People's Council at Szczecin, General Section, Report of the Settlement Department, April 15th to June 30th, 1945.

⁴³ AAN, Acts of MZO, Inspection Department, Report on the situation by government plenipotentiary for the district of Western Pomerania, July 1946.

⁴⁴ In West Pomerania the action of voluntary evacuation of Germans was stopped on 17 December 1945 in virtue of a Circular of the Office of the District Plenipotentiary, cf. with numerous reports of district authorities.

⁴⁵ Local reports from West Pomerania at the Szczecin Voivodship People's Council.

⁴⁶ Voivodship State Archives at Szczecin (abbrev. WAP Szcz.), State Repatriation Office (abbrev. PUR) at Stargard No. 82. Action of repatriation of Germans, technical plan, 19 February 1946; cf. also with Voivodship State Archives at Łódź (abbrev. WAPŁ), State Repatriation Office (PUR), Evidence and Statistics III, 19. Comparison of the number of Germans repatriated, *ibidem* IV, 30. Materials concerning the evacuation of Germans: telephonogram from Szczecin, 27 February, 1946; also notes in the Press.

⁴⁷ Europa Archiv, Frankfurt a/Main 1947, p. 823.

Poland would go to the Soviet zone (2,000,000 people) and British zone (1,500,000 people). These estimates proved to be too high; according to the most accurate data of the global census of the population on February 14th, 1946, there were in Poland 2,070,000 Germans⁴⁸ at that time. It is necessary to add to this figure a certain number of people employed by the Soviet Army and not embraced by the Polish census. Finally, within the limits of the action organized on the basis of the Potsdam agreement, less than 3,000,000 Germans left Poland.⁴⁹

Table 1. Course of organized migrations of Germans from Poland

Source	1946		1947		1948**
	I—VI	VII—XII	I—VI	VII—XII	
State Repatriation Office (PUR) *	763,615	841,619	220,269	335,440	42,740
Ministry of Recovered Territories (MZO)***	758,921**** 768,929	873,641	210,264	328,060	

* Data according to WAPŁ, PUR, Ewidencja i Statystyka, III, 19, list of Germans resettled.

** Data according to "Rocznik Statystyczny", 1949.

*** Data according to "Rocznik Statystyczny", 1948, 1949.

**** Data according to "Wiadomości Statystyczne GUS", 1946, No. 10/11, p. 140.

Although the figures from the two sources in principle converge, I have considered it correct to put them together as the lists of the State Repatriation Office done on the spot and for home use confirm in general the data published in the "Rocznik Statystyczny"; also: cf. AAN MZO Acts of vice-minister Dubiel, 314/26, Report of the Settlement Department: July-December 1946 — II—VI = 744, 155; VII—XII = 864, 054.

This problem constitutes one of the difficult and most controversial aspects of the matter discussed here. There exist, as it is known, serious divergencies in the evaluation of the extent of the process of transfers of German population. They result from a lack of direct data⁵⁰ both Polish and German, as well as from the adoption of rather free criteria in direct estimates.

⁴⁸ *Tymczasowy spis ludności [Provisional Census of the Population]*, Warszawa 1946; also AAN BSOP, *Census of the Population 14 February 1946*; also cf. AAN Social Council. Note of the Settlement Department of MZO, *Ludność na Ziemiach Odzyskanych [Population in the Recovered Territories]*.

⁴⁹ At the end of 1947, according to data of the Ministry of the Recovered Territories, organized resettlements embraced 2.170,000 people ("Rocznik Statystyczny" [Statistical Yearbook], 1948, also AAN, MZO, *Acts of Vice-minister Dubiel*, Report of the Ministry for the 3rd quarter of 1947). 150,000 people were then to be resettled according to the plan. In fact twice as much left Poland in the years 1948—1949. The action of organized transfers was completed in principle in 1947. Also compare with *Die Ostgebiete...*, p. 159: in February 1946—1947 2,500,000 people left Poland; also H. Zieliński, *Population Changes in Poland*.

⁵⁰ The census of the population of Poland in February 1946 was carried out rather late and was, as I have already stressed, incomplete. The same concerns the census carried out in Germany in October 1946, cf. *Statistische Berichte in Bundesgebiet Wiesbaden* and *Statistik der Bundesrepublik Deutschlands*, Bd CXIV; *Die Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Jh. 1946—1953. Statistisches Taschenbuch über die Heimatvertriebenen*, Wiesbaden 1953. The census of 13 August 1950 is still less useful from the viewpoint of our analyses.

German estimates⁵¹ take as a starting point the state of the German population in 1939 (A), plus natural increase (B), minus war losses (C). The result obtained (E) gives the state of the population in May 1945. The next figure gives the number of the “resettled” — *Vertriebenen*, according to the earliest complete census of September 1950 (F), less the natural increase in the years 1945—1950 (G), which gives the extent of migration — more than 6 millions people (H). The next factor to be taken into consideration are Germans who continued to live “outside the motherland” (J), as well as prisoners, etc. (K), less important from the point of view of this study.

Such a balance-sheet, convenient from the point of view of the interests of the authors, is, in reality, so much ahistorical that it is consequently erroneous. Doubts arise above all in connection with the starting point (item A). The state of the German population according to the May 17th, 1939 census was taken as a basis for further analysis. This census could not, as a matter of fact, bring a reliable nationality statistics, completely disregarding post-war data.⁵²

Further reservations can be made as concerns a joint investigation of various types of migrations (item F). This is an already too far-going simplification of complex demographical processes, reduced to one common denominator of deportations — *Vertreibungen*.⁵³ The final result of all forms of migration, with a full understanding of their diversity, is undoubtedly important for a general

⁵¹ The most detailed is the *Die deutschen Vertreibungsverluste* also G. Reichling, *Die Heimatsvertriebenen*.

⁵² How false this is, is shown by comparison of these data with the results of verification. *Vertreibungsverluste* includes this entire population (according to them 1,010,000) into the category of “Germans who stayed”, also Reichling *Die Heimatsvertriebenen* . . . , p. 26. In fact, according to data of the Parliament (*Sejm*), Committee of Internal Affairs, there was in total in Poland 65,000 people of German nationality; cf. Ziółkowski, op. cit., p. 137.

⁵³ Same censuses: on 29 October 1946 there were to be 5,645,000 *Vertriebenen*, while 1,289,133 people left Poland between February and September 1946 within the frame of organized transfers, “Statistical News” 1946, No 14, p. 182. Also AAN, Social Council, Note “Repatriation of Germans from Poland”. In 1945 according to maximum German data (*Vertreibungsverluste*) p. 33, 2,5 million people left these territories. According to Polish data several hundred thousand less. In 1950 there were 6,817,000 *Vertriebenen* (without natural increase in the years 1945—1950). The opinion expressed by Ginesy (*La Seconde Guerre* . . . , p. 53) that 9 millions Germans have been “resettled” from Poland was completely arbitrary and absolutely untrue. J. Vernant’s statement in: *The refugee*, p. 95, was not true either. He stated that 5—6 millions instead of the 3,5 envisaged according to the decision of the Allied Control Commission were expelled from Poland. The decision concerned only organized transfers which embraced some 2,500,000 people. Generally speaking, migrations from Poland after May 1945 embraced according to maximum estimates slightly more than 4 million people. M. J. Proudfoot (*European Refugees 1939—1952*, London 1956, p. 371) also erroneously writes that till 1 January 1946, 4,183,000 Germans were transferred from the other side of the Odra and Nysa, which is too little, taking migrations with the refugees together, and much to much even in the light of German data, in the case of real resettlements. Cf. also G. Frumkin, *Population Changes in Europe Since 1939*, p. 129. The author estimates the “exodus” of Germans from Poland till 1 February 1946 at 4,7 million.

evaluation of demographical moves which took place after the war, but historical research calls for a consistent observance of strict classification. This is also linked with the fundamental principle of the Potsdam decision. When making this agreement, the argument of the mass flight of Germans was put forth. This flight was to be supplemented by organized transfers.⁵⁴

The reconstruction of the state of the German population in the first months of Polish rule is of course very difficult. Detailed computations are impossible, and even indirect estimates, if they are not to be as arbitrary as all the earlier ones, necessitate the conducting on all the Recovered Territories of detailed archival studies. The figures with which we are operating are full of contradictions both as regards Polish and West German sources.⁵⁵ It can be assumed approximately that in May 1945 in the Recovered Territories there were still more than 4,000,000 people. A part of them left Poland before the end of 1945.⁵⁶

At the moment of starting organized transfers of the German population some 550 thousand Germans lived in West Pomerania. It was frankly admitted that there were no grounds for verification. In January—February 1946, Polish authorities calculated that the Szczecin district at that time and the remaining 6 districts were inhabited, according to minimum estimates, by 458,329 people of German nationality, and according to maximum estimates — by 473,835 people.⁵⁷ It was fully realized, however, that these calculations were very unsatisfactory and incomplete, for they did not embrace the part of the German population employed by the Soviet Army.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ The thesis is being formed in West Germany that the attitude of Western States concerning Polish Western Territories was due to the "false supposition that the population fled" (cf. e.g., *Die Ostgebiete* . . . , p. 141). Opinion often met with in propaganda leaflets.

⁵⁵ The contradictions in Polish data are due first of all to the fact that not all Germans were in fact embraced by Polish evidence. For this reason, figures concerning repatriation are generally higher than those which would result from the censuses of German population.

⁵⁶ The establishment of the extent of migrations in the period between June and December is very difficult and would necessitate further studies. Germans adopt the figures from 650,000 (*Die Ostgebiete* . . . , p. 159) to 2,500,000 (*Vertreibungsverluste* . . . , p. 33). We are lacking Polish complete statistical data because we have to do with many different processes. Later statistics often embrace jointly organized transfers in the years 1946—1948 with the migrations which preceded them.

⁵⁷ Minimum data — according to the statistics of the Office of the District Government Plenipotentiary, completed with data of the State Repatriation Office for 6 districts; maximum data — summary census 14 February 1946 for 18 districts of the voivodship of that time. The contradictions of the different sources are quite obvious: District Government Plenipotentiary Office — 281,368; census 14 February — 303,000; State Repatriation Office — 276,000; Voivodship Committee of Polish Workers' Party — 251,892.

⁵⁸ Highest estimates given by the census — 473,833 while 469,466 people left Poland till 1 September 1947 and some 75,000 Germans still remained; compare WAP Szcz., PUR No. 10, vol. 1. State of Germans in Szczecin Voivodship, 1 September 1947. According to other sources: 84,686 with the note that the difference of 10,000 consisted of Germans released by the Soviet authorities and so far not embraced by evidence; compare Voivodship People's Council, Settlement Department, Report of this Department of August 1946.

Table 2. German population in West Pomerania 1946—1947
Established on the basis of voivodship statistical data. Incomplete figures

Ter- ritory	1946					1947			
	1 I	1 VII	de- crease: 1 I — — 1 VII	31 XII	de- crease: 1 VII— —31 XII	1 VII	de- crease: 1 I— 1 VII—	1 XII	de- crease: 1 VII— —1 XII
Total	458,329	299,047	159,282	216,235	82,812	164,563	51,672	94,227	130,336
Coun- tryside	240,979	208,797	32,182	169,524	33,273	129,834	39,690	26,938	102,896

When adopting the German computations of natural increase and war losses,⁵⁹ it can be assumed that the process of transfers of population embraced in West Pomerania some 32 per cent. of the people who lived there in 1944 (transitional population excepted);⁶⁰ the corresponding figures for the Recovered Territories are 26 per cent. and 29 per cent. without Poles of local provenience. Their number in West Pomerania amounted to some 15,000 people, that is 0.8 per cent. of the population in 1944, which was too little to have any important influence on the general estimates.

A large majority of the Germans who remained in 1946 in Pomerania was constituted by women and children under 14 (75 per cent.) and old people over 60 (a further 7 per cent.).⁶¹ The ratio between the Polish and German population was 4 : 6 at that time, still in favour of the Germans.⁶²

It does not appear necessary to discuss in a more detailed way the technical aspects of migration. L. Sowiński has written a detailed study on West Pomerania.⁶³ Like in the whole country, the plan was to concentrate this action

⁵⁹ *Die Deutschen Vertreibungverluste...*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Calculations are difficult due to the difference between Polish and German administrative divisions. West Pomerania does not include the 4 districts of the former Ostpommern province with a population of 197,075 people in May 1939, while it includes the 2 districts of the former Ostbrandenburg province with a population of 135,205; the difference amounts to minus 61,868 people; natural increase and war losses are calculated for the Ostpommern province which causes an insignificant error in the final computation.

⁶¹ Voivodship People's Council, Co-ordination and Planning Department, Questionnaire No. 1. State of the population for December 1st, 1945, incomplete data from 18 districts.

⁶² During that period West Pomerania was inhabited by 350,000 Polish settlers. Voivodship People's Council, Co-ordination and Planning Department. Reports on the situation, population, January 1946.

⁶³ L. Sowiński *Repatriacja ludności niemieckiej z terenu województwa szczecińskiego, Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny na Pomorzu Zachodnim 1 IV 1945 — 30 XI 1947*. [*Repatriation of the German Population from the Szczecin Voivodship. State Repatriation Office (PUR) in West Pomerania, 1 April 1945 — 30 November 1947*], Szczecin 1947, p. 83—94.

as far as possible and to complete it in the same half of the year.⁶⁴ It was expected that some 75,000 people would leave in the period between February 20th and March 31st. These were mainly to be unemployed people, as well as those who were defined as “troublesome element.” At first 1,500 people left Szczecin Resettlement Depot every day, and later in March, when sea transport was used, 2,500 people left. They were received by the British occupation zone. It is worth adding that the maximum of care possible at that time was to be ensured to the departing people.⁶⁵ In practice it was not so good, it is true, for many reasons, but in no case did the Polish authorities bear responsibility for it.

Organizational and technical difficulties in Poland, as well as the difficulties made by the British authorities, caused that not only the action could not be completed as planned, but that not even one half of the German⁶⁶ population left Poland. The situation was no better in other districts — in total some 50 per cent. of Germans included in the February 14th census⁶⁷ left Poland to August 1st, 1946. The process of transferring the German population from recovered territories proved to be longer than planned and lasted on principle till 1948. Two stages can be distinguished in the Szczecin district: from February 27th to December 30th, 1946 — when transports were directed to the British occupation zone, and from October 29th, 1946 till 1948 — transfers to the Soviet zone.⁶⁸

A detailed presentation of the course of departure of German population from West Pomerania needs a more detailed analysis of available figures. It is, however, necessary to point out once more that even in comparison with other statistics of that time respective data concerning the whole time are exceptionally incomplete. The main difficulty consists in determining the number of people who really left Pomerania in various periods of time; we have at our disposal either lists of people who emigrated and passed through Szczecin — these lists are completely useless — or monthly statistical reports on the state of the population from which it is possible at best to read how the number of Germans living in Pomerania decreased in a given period. In spite of the fact that organized transfers decidedly dominated at that time over other migration processes, the latter

⁶⁴ The quoted “plan of repatriation of Germans” also Voivodship People’s Council, General Section, Protocol of a conference of district plenipotentiaries and chiefs of the 2nd instance authorities and offices at Koszalin, 26 January 1946.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*. This was a stand rather consistently taken since 1945. Cf. AAN Acts of General Plenipotentiary for the Recovered Territories, circular to district plenipotentiaries 25 June 1945; also cf. detailed description in report of Koszalin section of the State Repatriation Office, July 1946, WAP Szcz., PUR of Koszalin No. 17/1.

⁶⁶ Compare below.

⁶⁷ The already mentioned note of the Settlement Dept. of the Ministry of Recovered Territories, Population in the Recovered Territories; also cf. AAN, MZO, Acts of vice-minister Dubiel, vol. XXVI, Report of the Settlement Department, July 1946.

⁶⁸ Sowiński, op. cit.

must not be forgotten. And thus we can observe the migration of Germans from towns to the countryside, from one district to another, the verification of Poles living here — previously incorrectly classified as Germans, the registration of persons employed by the Soviet Army — all of them impossible to be evaluated statistically. Under these circumstances one cannot attempt at anything more than an outline of general tendencies.

It is necessary first to draw attention to the varying intensity of migration. The migration movement was very intense twice: in February — June 1946 which witnessed the departure of some 160,000 people,⁶⁹ and the second half of 1947 — when 130,000 people left Pomerania.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, in the second half of 1946 and the first half of 1947, the migration movement was not so intense: only 60,000 and 50,000 people respectively left Pomerania.⁷¹

Table 3. Course of migration of Germans from Poland (except West Pomerania) and West Pomerania (%)

Territory	Transferred in total		1946		1947		1948
	number	%	II—VI	VII—XII	I—VI	VII—XII	
Poland *	2,223,682	100	34	38	9	15	4
West Pomerania **	424,102	100	38	19	12	31	—

* Data according to PUR (cf. table No. 1).

** Data according to table No. 2.

The question is whether the process of transfers of the German population was identical all over the Recovered Territories. It would appear from an analysis of the respective figures that, quite on the contrary, the changes in intensity observed in West Pomerania did not occur as a rule on a national scale. Regard-

⁶⁹ Calculation of the number of emigrated people on the basis of the difference between the State of the German population on 1 January and 1 July 1946, is not fully accurate for reasons given above. According to other data some 160,000 people were repatriated only from that region (WAP Szcz., PUR, General Section No. 110/6, State of repatriation of Germans on 1 July 1947—157,734).

⁷⁰ Here, too, sources are contradictory, cf. AAN, *Social Council*, vol. VII, Note "Repatriation of Germans, 20 October 1946 Szczecin voivodship — 172,434". The plans of the repatriation of Germans provided for instance for the repatriation of 45,000 people in August 1947, 17,700 in September, 4,300 in October from the Miastko, Białogard and Szczecinek districts, and of all Germans from other districts still remaining. Cf. WAP Szcz., PUR, No. 82 and Secretariat of director No. 3, Secret correspondence 1947.

⁷¹ "Repatriation plans" provided for repatriation in July 1946 of 22,000 people, in December — 15,750 people, in January 1947— 33,500 people, in February and March — no action was carried out in principle, in April — 22,500, in May — 22,500, in June — 36,000; cf. WAP Szcz., PUR, Secretariat of director No. 3, Secret correspondence 1947; Sławno N° 19, General Section No. 10/5; Stargard No. 82, AAN, MZO, Inspection Department, vol. XX.

less of monthly differences, the intensity of migration in both halves of 1946 was equally high, and in both halves of 1947 equally low. This difference between other Recovered Territories and Pomerania is shown best when we compare the number of people (a drop in the case of Pomerania) departing in various periods, expressed in relative figures, with the total number of Germans in a given area. We shall see then that the intensity of migration in Pomerania and other Western districts was rather similar only in the first half of 1946 and 1947. As regards 1947, this was probably linked with the fact that in the Winter and early Spring 1947, the action of transfer was stopped because of weather conditions.⁷²

The interpretation of reasons which caused differences between migrations from the Szczecin district and the same process in the whole Recovered Territories, is very complicated. It is, first of all, necessary to draw attention to the fact that the outflow of Germans from the towns to the countryside had quite a different form in West Pomerania. In the first stage of intensification of the migration movement (February — June 1946) the number of German inhabitants who left towns amounted to 54 per cent. and the corresponding figure for the countryside was 13 per cent. only.⁷³ In the following months the difference between the outflow of Germans from the towns and from the countryside began gradually to decrease. However, in the second half of 1946 still 68 per cent. of the total decrease of German population concerned towns. This relation was basically changed only in 1947 when both in the first and second half of the year more than 70 per cent. of Germans leaving Pomerania were inhabitants of the countryside. As before, when discussing the specific features of migration in West Pomerania, it will be best to carry out a comparison in percentage of the outflow of the German population from towns and the countryside in various periods, compared to the total outflow in the two groups of the population. Such a comparison will show clearly that while the inhabitants of the towns left at the beginning of the organized action, the majority of rural population only left the countryside in 1947. It seems impossible to give an unambiguous explanation of this phenomenon. Two main reasons should be distinguished: the stopping of a considerable number of Germans by the military authorities and the retardation of repatriation of agricultural workers employed by State farms.

The analysis of the migration process of Germans would have been incomplete, had the territorial aspect been omitted. In February 1946, the voivode of Szczecin declared to press-men that the evacuation of Germans would take place simultaneously in all districts.⁷⁴ In fact, however, this proved somewhat more complicated.

⁷² WAPŁ PUR, Evidence and Statistics III 19, List of Germans repatriated.

⁷³ This does not fully correspond with international migrations because a part of the urban population was transferred to the countryside.

⁷⁴ The clearing of West Pomerania of Germans, "Gazeta Ludowa," 8 February 1946; also compare with Repatriation Plan mentioned above.

Table 4. Course of the transfer of Germans from towns and from the countryside in West Pomerania 1946—1947 (%)

Territory	General decrease		1946		1947	
	number	%	II—VI	XII—XII	I—VI	VII—XII
Countryside	214,041	100	15,4	18,2	19	47,4
Towns	210,061	100	60,5	20,7	5,2	13,6

It appears from monthly statistical reports that in the initial period, that is from February to June 1946, the biggest number of people left the districts of Gryfice, Kołobrzeg (more than 10,000 people), next Szczecinek, Człuchów, Koszalin, Szczecin (5,000 to 10,000), as well as Białogard, Wałcz, Wolin and Myślibórz (4,000 to 5,000). Next come the districts of Łobez, Sławno and Kamień (1,000 to 2,000). In the remaining districts the migrations concerned rather only individual people and it was often compensated or even surpassed by the influx of population from other regions or military centres.

Looking for an explanation, we meet with two reasons: an organizational and a material reason. The organizational reason consisted in a retardation of the action in districts belonging at that time to the Gdańsk voivodship — Bytów, Miastko, Sławno and Słupsk districts which were left by the transports of Germans only in June 1946.⁷⁵

As a material reason I would mention the interdependence between the intensity of migration and the number of German population living at present in the district, the districts discussed above naturally excepted. This interdependence is easy to understand, I would say logical. The action was either not conducted at all in the areas from where Germans were already resettled in 1945, or conducted only to a minimum extent. Everywhere else, the percentage of the drop in the number of German population oscillated between 17 and 83 per cent. of the population from January 1st, 1946, most often about 40 per cent.

The principle of interdependence was realized to a slightly smaller extent in the second half of 1946. Despite the fact that only several thousand more people than in the initial period left rural settlements, no outflow of the German population, but on the contrary its increase, was recorded in many districts (Choszczno, Gryfice, Kamień, Kołobrzeg, Miastko, Pyrzyce, Szczecinek and Złotów). It was certainly due partly to the adding to the census lists of people

⁷⁵ Voivodship People's Council, General Report on the situation by Government Plenipotentiary for the Miastko district, July 1946; *ibidem*, report of Government Plenipotentiary for the Sławno district, May 1946; Voivodship People's Council, General Report of Government Plenipotentiary for the Słupsk district, July 1946.

employed in farmsteads administrated by the Polish army, but nevertheless the above-mentioned phenomenon proved a small intensity of migration or even the stopping of migration at that time.⁷⁶ These were districts where the number of Germans was either very small (Choszczno, Kamień, Pyrzyce) or where a considerable percentage had left in the initial period of the state for January 1st, 1946, (Gryfice — 83 per cent. Kołobrzeg — 56 per cent., Szczecinek — 53 per cent.). Only the situation in the Miastko district continued to be confused.

Contrary also to the initial period, in districts where the action was conducted, its intensification was somewhat more differentiated. It was most intense in places from where the Germans did not migrate at all: in the Słupsk and Sławno districts. As regards the remaining districts, the same rules were in principle applied as previously — that is of transferring first of all Germans from bigger population centres.

More important changes took place in the period between January and July 1947. It is true that the greatest number of Germans continued to depart from the Słupsk and Sławno districts; to those should be added also the Miastko district where migration on a wider scale was about to begin. Next came, like previously, those districts from which in the second half of 1946 Germans did not migrate or migrated in small numbers (Gryfice, Szczecinek). In the remaining 16 districts the principle, realized so far, of migration depending on the number of Germans living in a given area, could hardly be observed.

Despite the fact that they were inhabited by large groups of the German population, several districts were left by a quite small number of people. This happened in the Białogard, Koszalin and Kołobrzeg districts. An opposite phenomenon took place simultaneously — the departure of relatively large groups from districts where the number of Germans was already small — Gryfice, Złotów, Wolin and Kamień districts. When looking for an explanation of this fact, it is necessary to recall the already mentioned employment difficulties in state farms, particularly intense precisely in the Koszalin management of state Farms which embraced the Białogard and Kołobrzeg districts.⁷⁷

The fourth period of organized migrations of Germans from July to October-November 1947 was in principle to bring the completion of this action. Already in June, the Ministry of Recovered Territories recommended more severe meas-

⁷⁶ This is confirmed by "repatriation" plans of the Szczecin district, of which — as regards 1946 — I succeeded unfortunately to find only two — from July and December (WAP Szcz., PUR, General Section 10/6, Sławno No. 19). In July the action embraced the following districts: Chojna, Myślibórz, Białogard, Koszalin, Wolin, Wałcz, Łobez, Gryfice, Drawsko, Szczecinek. In December only: Słupsk, Bytów, Miastko and Sławno. The fact that Miastko and Gryfice were included in the plan does not give the lie to the previous statements, because the plan concerned departures in general and not only from rural areas.

⁷⁷ AZHP IV A—III No. 13, report of ZC ZPNZ, July 1947. In connection with the lack of Polish manpower, the departures of German workers were temporarily stopped.

ures towards Germans who evaded leaving.⁷⁸ The plans for West Pomerania envisaged that the last Germans would leave the majority of districts by the middle of October at the latest.⁷⁹ Thus, in that period, the migrations in districts were directly proportional to the amount of Germans who still remained there.

As a result of the process of organized transfers, the percentage of German population in West Pomerania which amounted to nearly 60 per cent. on January 1st, 1946, dropped in less than 2 years to 3,7 per cent. only, and in villages from 51 per cent. to 5,3 per cent. respectively. This somewhat larger percentage of Germans in the countryside was due to the fact that after the interruption of departures in October 1947, 70 per cent. (29,449 people) of all remaining Germans were people employed by the Army and some 20 per cent. by workers of state farms, as well as: ill, disabled people, old people and children.⁸⁰ There were also another 541 people exempted by the Ministry of Recovered Territories and also some ill, old people and children who were under the Social Care at Szczecin.

Table 5. Percentage of people of German nationality in West Pomerania 1946—1947

Territory	1946		1947		
	1 I	1 VII	1 I	1 VII	31 XII
Total	60,0	32,0	23,5	17,1	3,7
Countryside	51,2	44,8	32,3	23,5	5,3

When comparing the course of Polish settlement with the progress of migration of Germans we may see that though sometimes the extent of repatriation of Germans surpassed the influx of Polish settlers (e. g., in the second half of 1946 and 1947) all over Pomerania, in total this process not only compensated the outflow of the German population but even surpassed it considerably. The situation was somewhat worse in the countryside where also in the first half of 1947 the number of migrating Germans surpassed the number of settlers, but there too Polish settlement dominated over the whole period. At the end of 1947, Poles living in West Pomerania exceeded by 150,000 the number of Germans

⁷⁸ AAN MZO, Inspection Department, vol. XX, Circular of the Department of Public Administration of the Ministry of Recovered Territories, 20 July 1947.

⁷⁹ WAP Szcz., PUR, Stargard No. 82, Plan of the repatriation of Germans, October 1946. The remaining Germans were to leave: till 30 September from the Łobez district, till 3 October from the Białogard district, till 5 October from the Szczecinek, Chojna, Choszczno, Człuchów, Drawsko and Gryfice districts, till October 8 from the Gryfin, Kamień, Kołobrzeg, Koszalin, and Myślibórz districts, till 11 October from the Nowogard, Pyrzyce, Wałcz, Stargard, Wolin and Złotów districts.

⁸⁰ Voivodships People's Council, Settlement Department, October — November 1947.

Table 6. Movement of Polish and German population in West Pomerania in the years 1945—1947

Territory	Period		Decrease in the number of Germans	Increase in the number of Poles	Decrease of the number of Germans exceeds increase in the number of Poles	Increase in the number of Poles exceeds decrease in the number of Germans
	year	month				
Total	1945		<i>c.</i> 200,000	348,029	—	<i>c.</i> 150,000
	1946	1 I — 30 VI	159,282	283,512	—	124,230
		1 VII — 31 XII	82,812	68,761	14,051	—
		1 I — 31 XII	242,094	352,273	—	110,179
	1947	1 I — 30 VI	51,672	91,095	—	39,423
		1 VII — 31 XII	130,336	93,803	36,533	—
		1 I — 31 XII	182,008	184,898	—	2,890
	Total	624,102 *	885,200	—	261,098**	
In villages	1945			<i>c.</i> 210,000	—	—
	1946	1 I — 30 VI	32,182	123,054	—	90,872
		1 VII — 31 XII	39,273	19,520	19,753	—
		1 I — 31 XII	71,455	142,574	—	71,119
	1947	1 I — 30 VI	39,690	60,291	—	20,601
		1 VII — 31 XII	102,896	57,344	45,552	—
		1 I — 31 XII	142,586	127,635	24,951	—
	Total 1946—1947	214,041	270,209	—	56,168	

* Incomplete data, some 750,000 in fact.

** In fact, since it is necessary to consider the statistical data relating to the decrease of number as incomplete, less by some 75,000.

living there at the time of taking over of this region by the Polish administration. It seems to be quite significant, especially as compared with all the Recovered Territories, that the situation in the Szczecin voivodship was worse than in other voivodships. All districts taken together were inhabited at that time by some 6,500,000 Poles (Poles living here in pre-war times included) that is over 1,5 times more than Germans found there by Polish authorities.

(Translated by Ewa Karska)