

# Lviv Under the Soviets (1939–1941): Students, Refugees and Deportees

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*Gesher Galicia*

The Soviet aggression against Poland at the outbreak of the Second World War resulted in the annexation of more than 50% of the pre-war Polish territory to the Soviet Union, with the rest occupied by Germany. With a focus on western Ukraine, the initial period of Soviet rule is reviewed in the context of the German-Soviet geopolitical alliance, the troubled history of inter-ethnic relations, and the changes imposed by the regime. The situation at Lviv University illustrates the shift from Polish to Soviet sovereignty. In the autumn of 1939, with the earlier antisemitic policies lifted, many Jews applied for admission to the university under Soviet control. The university files show how the political changes were perceived at the time. They also highlight the influx of refugees escaping the German occupation in the rest of Poland. On a broader level, Soviet policies introduced contradictions that had a negative impact on all ethnic groups within the annexed territory. Even though the Soviets granted the right to citizenship to Polish citizens under their control, the regime unleashed systematic repressions. Removed from key positions, Poles were targeted by Soviet propaganda and the security apparatus. Despite a façade of Ukrainization, local Ukrainians were distrusted and their pre-war leaders persecuted. Jews were generally relieved that they had escaped falling under the Nazis. While some of them gained access to higher education and positions in the civil administration, many others were arrested and deported to labour camps, because of their pre-war political affiliations, ‘undesirable’ class distinctions, and refugee status.

**Keywords:** ethno-nationalism, Germany, Lviv, Poland, Soviet Union, Ukraine, the Second World War

## Introduction

Lviv had a long history of different political masters and a complicated coexistence among its main ethnic groups, namely Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews. Its earlier names (Lwów and Lemberg) reflect the shift in control of the city from the Polish Crown (1349–1772) to the Austrian Monarchy (1772–1918), and then to the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939). Today part of western Ukraine, the larger region surrounding Lviv was previously known as Ruthenia (Red Rus'), Halychyna or Galicia (Galizien, Galicja), reflecting the dominant political powers of the time and ethnonational perspectives.<sup>2</sup> During the Second World War, first the Soviet Union (USSR), and later Germany, occupied the city and its adjoining territory.

In the early twentieth century, the major geopolitical changes affecting Lviv were invariably intertwined with the conflicting national narratives of Poles and Ukrainians, and with the presence of a sizeable Jewish minority sharing the same urban space.<sup>3</sup> A case in point of this troubled history were the collective memories of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, which had been fought on the streets of Lviv in November 1918 with the collapse of Austria-Hungary. For the Poles, this was a heroic defence of the national character of “their” city, with Polish fighters commemorated every year in solemn ceremonies. For the Ukrainians, who developed their own symbolism of the conflict and staged separate events, this was a bitter reminder of a defeat that led “their” city to remain under Polish dominance. For Jews, caught between these two narratives, the annual events brought memories of antisemitic violence perpetrated by the victorious Poles who falsely claimed that Lviv’s Jews had supported the Ukrainians. Nevertheless, this image of a divided population coexisted with an alternative urban identity of citizens less preoccupied with ethnonational rhetoric. In the words of the Jewish writer Joseph Roth, on a visit to eastern Galicia in 1924, Lviv was the ‘city of blurred borders’ — a sympathetic reference to its multiethnic character. In social interactions, on the cultural scene, in sporting events, and even in the

local dialects that were spoken, the three ethnic groups blended together in their shared urban environment during the interwar period.<sup>4</sup>

In this article, we focus on the next shift between one state power (i.e., Poland) to another (i.e., the USSR) that occurred in this complex environment and we analyse the changes imposed by the Soviets during their occupation of Lviv, 1939–1941. Specifically, we examine three questions: 1. How did pre-war conditions shape the reactions to the Soviet occupation? 2. How did Soviet policies exploit the internal divisions in the society? and 3. By what means was power established in the occupied territory? To address these questions, we highlight the complex situation at Lviv University in the transition between Polish rule in the late 1930s and the initial Soviet period in 1939/1940, which reflected profoundly altered interethnic relations in the wider society. Using newly researched university records and other documentary sources, we further examine Jewish experiences in the annexed territories before the German attack on the USSR in 1941.

## **A City at War and the Beginning of Soviet Occupation**

The war reached the city with astonishing speed. Despite Lviv's eastern location in Poland, far from Germany, Luftwaffe planes appeared over the city shortly before noon on 1 September 1939. Defying the critical situation, the Eastern Fair, a popular trade exhibit, opened next day on the grounds of one of the city parks. Among the dignitaries at the opening ceremony, a Soviet consul posted to Lviv was spotted.<sup>5</sup> On 9 September, a local newspaper proclaimed: 'Berlin's factories in ruins'; 'Raid of 600 English bombers over the Reich'; 'The German army defeated in the West', even though nothing was further from the truth. Only the back pages conveyed the seriousness of what was happening, warning of enemy reconnaissance overflights, which often signalled the imminent bombardment of Lviv. Newspapers also noted the construction of

makeshift air shelters and the throngs of arriving refugees, reflecting the collapse of Polish defences.<sup>6</sup>

By 12 September, announcements posted throughout the city called for calm, with a terse message that the Polish army was in charge of military operations. The same day, the German Wehrmacht reached the outskirts of Lviv, and fighting on the ground and artillery shelling began.<sup>7</sup> Even so, the city was not captured by the Germans in 1939.

The Red Army entered eastern Poland on 17 September 1939 following on the agreements of the less-than-one-month-old Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with Nazi Germany. The public sections of the nonaggression treaty between the two countries meant that the Soviets would not intervene against Germany in the then imminent war against Poland. In secret protocols, both sides agreed on their spheres of interest within Poland's borders and in the rest of eastern Europe.<sup>8</sup>



**Fig. 1.** The Red Army in Lviv. Left, Soviet troops examining captured Polish weapons; Right, the Soviet cavalry in a show of force, 28 September 1939 (still frame from a Soviet newsreel).

Red Army tanks appeared in the streets of Lviv in the afternoon of 22 September. Soviet troops entered Lviv in an orderly fashion, while the German units outside the city complied with the latest orders received

from Berlin to pull back to the West [Fig. 1].<sup>9</sup> Eyewitnesses to the fall of Lviv recalled seeing mainly Ukrainian and Jewish onlookers on the streets, bitter about the treatment they had received in pre-war Poland and cheering the arrival of the Soviets. Most Poles felt despondent about the defeat, except for those who were communists. Some fifteen thousand Polish troops in the city and its vicinity surrendered to the Red Army (another four thousand had died in combat in the preceding days).<sup>10</sup> Despite a guarantee of safety, several thousand Polish officers captured by the Soviets during the entire eastern campaign in 1939 would be executed on Stalin's order the following year. Among those killed — in what would be known as the Katyń Forest Massacre — was the Galician-born Rabbi Baruch Steinberg, chief rabbi of the Polish army since 1936.<sup>11</sup>

Soviet forces came to control about 201,000 square kilometres, or 51.6% of the pre-war Polish territory, with more than thirteen million inhabitants. In a short time, Moscow reiterated its friendship with Germany, publicly proclaiming that 'a strong Germany is a necessary condition for lasting peace in Europe'. The USSR hailed the invasion of Poland as the 'liberation' of Ukrainians and Belorussians from the Polish yoke, while the Poles called it a 'knife in the back'.<sup>12</sup>

Under the Soviets, a massive propaganda campaign was immediately launched in the area. In the early days of October, two government-controlled dailies, *Free Ukraine* (*Vil'na Ukrayina* in Ukrainian) and *Red Flag* (*Czerwony Sztandar* in Polish), appeared in Lviv, while pre-war Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish newspapers and political organizations were banned. In their place, posters, mandatory meetings in workplaces, and crude indoctrination sessions, conducted even in coffeehouses, relentlessly expounded on the benefits of the communist paradise [Fig. 2].<sup>13</sup>

On 22 October, the regime orchestrated elections to the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine. Voting, which was mandatory, required picking names from a preselected list of candidates. Despite the

perceived Jewish support for the Soviet regime, Jews were underrepresented in the assembly.<sup>14</sup> Once the 'freely elected' body met in Lviv on 26–28 October, it voted unanimously for western Ukraine to join the USSR and then opted (with only one abstention) for the territory to merge with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR). The same exercise was carried out in western Belorussia in Białystok on 28–30 October.<sup>15</sup>



**Fig. 2.** Soviet propaganda posters. Left, 'Our army is the army of liberation of the workers. J. Stalin'; Right, 'Representatives of the working people! Vote for the union of Western Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine...', October 1939.

On 1 November a delegation from Lviv petitioned the Supreme Soviet, the rubber-stamp legislature in Moscow, for the incorporation of the occupied territory into the USSR. The next day, the same request was presented on behalf of western Belorussia. Predictably, both motions

received unanimous approval. The Communist Party's *Pravda* boasted: 'Years and decades will pass, but the liberated people of Western Ukraine will never forget the day of 1 November 1939, the day of reunification with the peoples of the country of socialism, the day of joining the great USSR, marching under the banner of the Lenin-Stalin party to the complete victory of communism'.<sup>16</sup> Under the pretence of a democratic process, the last step for the new territories was to join the Soviet republics. To that end, on 15 November in Kyiv, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet formally admitted western Ukraine to the UkrSSR (and in Minsk, western Belorussia was absorbed into the Belorussian SSR). In this way, almost the entire area of interwar eastern Poland was annexed by the USSR.<sup>17</sup>

The economic situation under the new Soviet occupation quickly deteriorated. The stores in Lviv emptied after an artificial parity between Polish and Soviet currencies was introduced soon after the takeover of the city. Following the vote at the People's Assembly in October, factories and banks were nationalised; large landholdings were also seized.<sup>18</sup> In December, the Polish currency was entirely replaced by the Soviet rouble, with the exchange rate set at an artificially low level. Economic mismanagement created shortages of basic goods. With a lack of housing and growing unemployment in Lviv, thousands of refugees signed up for what initially was voluntary work in the Donbas region, in eastern Ukraine.<sup>19</sup>

This period also witnessed the beginning of a reign of terror by the NKVD (the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), the Soviet agency overseeing political repression. Its network quickly mushroomed from regional offices to the city level, and then on to the city districts. As early as October-November 1939, pre-war political figures of all nationalities were targeted. Among Jews, members of the bicameral Polish parliament and of the Bund (the Jewish non-Zionist socialist party) were arrested. After that, bank and factory owners, manufacturers, and large landowners were singled out, with Jews overrepresented in some of these categories. Communist slogans pitted the Ukrainian population

against the ‘henchmen of the Polish lords, bourgeois nationalists of all colours and shades’, with calls to people to ‘mercilessly destroy the vile reptile!’.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the official policy of Ukrainization, often in name only, local Ukrainians (even those claiming to be communists) were also distrusted, considered disloyal to the established communist regime, and subjected to frequent arrests. In Lviv, Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews often ended up in the notorious NKVD prison no. 2.<sup>21</sup>

## **Lviv University, a Microcosm of Western Ukraine**

Lviv University had always seemed like a mirror reflecting the political and cultural forces operating outside its walls. Outbreaks of violence between Polish and Ukrainian students were common, going back to Austrian times. During the protracted Polish-Ukrainian tensions in eastern Galicia, many Ukrainians had demanded greater educational autonomy and the creation of a separate school.<sup>22</sup> However, the Ukrainian failure to win statehood after the First World War meant that the city and the university would retain their outwardly Polish character during the interwar period.

As for Jews, a rapid rise in their numbers in the university — rooted in personal aspirations and in the liberal policies of Austria-Hungary — predated revival of the Polish state in 1918. Shortly after the First World War, the All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska), a nationalist student group aligned with the right-wing political movement (National Democracy), demanded quotas be set for ethnic minorities at the universities (*numerus clausus*). Regarding Jews, first the demands were to limit them to 11% and later to block their admission entirely (*numerus nullus*). Scuffles between Polish radical students wielding canes and Jewish fraternities could suddenly erupt not only on the campus but also in other public spaces.<sup>23</sup>

The 1930s witnessed the slogans ‘The struggle against the Jews’ and ‘Don’t buy at Jewish shops’ that appeared in the radical press and other publications. The ethno-nationalist rhetoric of All-Polish Youth and the even more pernicious National Radical Camp (Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny) was becoming increasingly hostile to Jews, portrayed as a threat to Poland and its national character. Jewish students were periodically blocked from entering the campuses (on ‘days free of Jews’) or segregated in the lecture halls (‘ghetto benches’).<sup>24</sup>

In November 1938, events turned deadly in Lviv. Pharmacy student Karol Zeller Mayer (1915–1938) and engineering student Samuel Proweller (1916–1938) were stabbed in separate attacks [Fig.3]. Days later, they both died from their wounds. Then, in May 1939, chemistry student Markus Landesberg (1915–1939), was assaulted and suffered fatal head injuries.<sup>25</sup> In Warsaw, interpellations protesting governmental inaction were lodged by Emil Sommerstein (1883–1957), a Zionist deputy in the Polish parliament. A staunch defender of Jewish rights, he would soon be imprisoned by the Soviets.<sup>26</sup>



**Fig. 3.** Karol Zeller Mayer (left), Samuel Proweller (middle), and Markus Landesberg (right), Jewish university students who died in anti-Jewish violence in Lviv, 1938–1939.

In this already-charged atmosphere, what followed under Soviet control became a multifaceted story. Mykhailo Marchenko, a communist functionary from the Kiev Institute of History, was installed as rector of Lviv University on 18 October 1939 after being appointed to the post by the People's Commissar for Education of the UkrSSR. His mission was to assure the rapid Ukrainization of the university and its integration into the Soviet educational system. Not surprisingly, he became disliked by Poles but lauded by Ukrainians.

The school was renamed Lviv State University, and by the end of October, Ukrainian became its official language. Even so, some classes continued in Polish, as professors and many students lacked sufficient knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Marxism-Leninism was forced into the curriculum and taught on par with other university subjects, with the goal of indoctrination. In January 1940, the school was renamed again as Lviv State Ivan Franko University, honouring the late Ukrainian poet and scholar from the former Galicia.<sup>27</sup>

Apparently, Marchenko did not satisfy his superiors. Dismissed as rector in September 1940, he returned to Kiev where he was arrested the following year by the NKVD. Marchenko spent the next three years in Siberia.<sup>28</sup> Once again, Lviv University functioned as a mirror reflecting what was happening beyond its lecture halls.

## **University Applications**

On 2 October 1939, only 10 days after the Red Army entered the city, the university opened student admissions. In a single week about two thousand applications poured in from residents and refugees in the Soviet-occupied territories, as well as from Soviet citizens. Given the official Soviet policy of rejecting anti-Semitism and the lifting of university quotas, there was a rush among prospective Jewish students to submit applications. Up to the end of November 1939, 1,572 Jews

applied to study medicine or pharmacy.<sup>29</sup> Even non-medical professionals filed applications to Lviv's faculty of medicine, with several former law students and lawyers among them, who must have realized that their profession would not be useful under the Soviet regime [Fig.4]. To put this surge in perspective, the authorities planned to admit only about 300 freshmen, including 100 pharmacy students, coming from all ethnic and religious backgrounds.<sup>30</sup>

Most applications to the university were delivered in person. For those applicants residing outside Lviv, permission to travel by train was seemingly required, as illustrated by a permit left in the files for Edward Berger from Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanisławów). In other instances, applications were mailed from within the new Soviet-occupied territory after the postal service had resumed.<sup>31</sup>

An application to Lviv University had to be supplemented with various attached documents confirming a person's eligibility. When admission forms were not available, applicants copied the printed text on blank sheets of paper and added their personal details. After the admissions office gave its decision, the submitted documents were retrieved by either the applicants themselves or other authorized persons, who signed a receipt in Polish. Records of these signatures stretch from the end of 1939 through 1940.

Despite the pressure to use the Ukrainian language, almost all the applications are in Polish. Interestingly, Simon Kartaganer from Przemyśl seemed to choose a compromise by combining Latin and Cyrillic letters on his application form.<sup>32</sup> As to be expected, both local Ukrainians and relocated Soviet citizens used Ukrainian in their applications.

The applications provide a window into many personal details about the prospective students. For example, Jewish applicants are easily discernible since one's religion was a required entry on the form. Even where this is left blank (or answered as 'non-denominational'), Jews can



After he instinctively noted his nationality as Polish, Gruber crossed it out and wrote 'ZSRR' above it.<sup>33</sup>

Because of the war, many applicants were missing birth and school certificates. Nechuma Hircberg from Zamość reported that all her documents had been lost during a recent bombardment; Estera Elkart, a pharmacy student in Warsaw before the war, had only a library card and a student ID to present; Szmul Wiedelguz had sent his school certificate to New York shortly before the war, hoping to study there. Many applicants promised to deliver missing documents when the international situation normalised, which, of course, never happened for them.<sup>34</sup>

Among the university applications is also a brief note from November 1939. Dr Norbert Essigman, a Jewish ophthalmologist from Warsaw, pleaded that his son be admitted to study medicine. The Essigman family were war refugees in Grodno, which became part of Soviet Belorussia. But instead of reaching Lviv, they were sent to labour camps.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, the applications are replete with references to the restrictions Jews faced before the war. Klara Schwadron from Lviv wrote about her four previous attempts to enrol at the university, which all failed despite her appeal to the president of Poland.<sup>36</sup> Many Jews euphemistically noted on their applications that they had been denied admission because 'there was no room'. Others were more explicit. Bernard Metzger from Jarosław, Juliusz Rosenblüth from Drohobych (Drohobycz), and Leiser Mischel from Komarno specifically pointed to the *numerus clausus*. Another applicant wrote about being harassed by right-wing provocateurs.<sup>37</sup>

These files also provide a geography lesson, citing several foreign schools attended by Polish Jews out of necessity in the 1930s. We learn about common destinations in Italy (Bologna, Florence, Milan, Padua, Pisa, Siena), France (Paris, Lyon, Strasbourg, Toulouse), and Czechoslovakia (Prague, Bratislava, Brno). In Austria, Jews were expelled

from the universities after the Anschluss in March 1938. Siegfried Rozencwaig, a medical student in Vienna, was deported to the German-Polish border, as described in his application.<sup>38</sup> In Fascist Italy, the end of education for Jews came with the passage of racial laws in November 1938. As a result, Herman Silber from Nowy Sącz was removed from Padua University due to 'political and racial reasons', as he wrote in his application.<sup>39</sup>

With the Soviet takeover, applicants understood that loyalty to the regime could determine their chance to enter the university. Even so, self-reported, hard-core Jewish communists appeared to have come mainly from outside pre-war eastern Galicia. Dorota Jungerman from Warsaw professed to have been a member of the French Communist Party during her stay in France; Abram Brandel from Zamość and Włodzimierz Prussak from Łódź both claimed to have served time in prison for communist activities.<sup>40</sup> Others were militia members supporting the Red Army in Zamość.

More often, candidates for admission tried to leverage their class distinctions, whether real or embellished. Politically favourable entries on application forms identified parents as labourers and factory workers, peasants, clerks, or members of the unemployed proletariat. For the traditional Jewish occupations of merchant or shop owner, which were viewed as exploitative in the Soviet system, university hopefuls often added 'former' or 'small' to lessen the impact. Feiga Neuman from Boryslav (Borysław) stressed that her father was a 'merchant but not a profiteer', while Janina Septimus from Stryi (Stryj) crossed out the word merchant, replacing it with the innocuous term 'craftsman'.<sup>41</sup>

To replicate the Soviet system of higher education, the authorities created the Lviv State Institute of Medicine, separating medical and pharmacy studies from the university. In February 1940, among the institute's 340 first-year students of medicine and pharmacy, the majority were Ukrainians (48%), followed by Jews (32%) and then by Poles (16%) and other nationalities (4%).<sup>42</sup> The admitted students

received housing and financial support from the state. Jews welcomed this realignment from what they had experienced in Polish universities, though taken as a whole they were not exempt from Soviet persecution.

## **Refugees**

On 28 September 1939, the German–Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty was signed in Moscow. The second of two major agreements between the two countries that year, this one included a map codifying how the two sides would divide up Poland. In the south, the new border ran along the San River, with the western part of former Galicia occupied by the Germans and the eastern part by the Soviets. Further north — after some confusion in which some areas were passed by the Germans to the Soviets, only to be returned to the Germans (e.g., the town of Zamość) — Stalin accepted Hitler’s control of the Polish territory that now extended eastward to the Bug River. In return for this concession, Germany agreed to the USSR’s interference in the affairs of Lithuania.<sup>43</sup>

The joint German-Soviet commission about the multifaceted cooperation on border, trade, and population transfers started its work, moving between Moscow and Berlin. When, at the invitation of the so-called General Government (Generalgouvernement, the Nazi administration in occupied Poland), the commission arrived in Warsaw in late October, Germans announced that a new border between the countries had been established. On 13 November the population was warned that the border was closed, even though a 1,500-kilometre-long line (932 miles) separating Germany and the USSR was not demarcated until February 1940 [Fig.5].<sup>44</sup>



**Fig. 5.** Occupied Poland, January 1940. The map shows the Nazi-administered General Government (the area circumscribed by the red lines) and other Polish territories directly incorporated into the Third Reich. Polish territories annexed by the USSR are shown to the east and the northeast of the thick red line demarcating the border between Germany and the USSR. Western Ukraine (south) and western Belorussia (north) are situated between the thick dark red and grey lines.

In this transitional period, the situation along the dividing line became the humanitarian crisis. While many refugees fled eastward of their own volition, thousands of Jews were expelled by the German military, a result of the Nazis' racial policies.<sup>45</sup> What happened to some of these individuals can be gleaned from the NKVD files. Jacob Dogilewski, for example, was thrown out from his property and ordered at gunpoint to cross a bridge over the Bug River to the town of Sokal, controlled by Soviet forces. His hopes of reaching Lviv were quickly dashed when he was arrested and promptly sent to a NKVD prison located deep in Ukraine. Dogilewski was stripped of personal belongings (including family pictures) and was repeatedly interrogated. After languishing in prison for a year, he was exiled to Kazakhstan, a fate shared by many others.<sup>46</sup>

Jewish refugees who managed to reach Lviv contributed to its overcrowding, with the city population rising from 333,500 (August 1939) to about 500,000 inhabitants (October 1940).<sup>47</sup> One university applicant, Dora Wasser, who had lived in Łódź in central Poland before the war, crossed into Soviet-controlled area in October and was fortunate to find lodgings in a dormitory. Fryderyka Brecher and her parents were in Chorzów in western Poland when the war broke out, but they managed to find their way through the border in November. Brecher hurriedly submitted to the admission office the few papers she had with her the day after arriving in Lviv.<sup>48</sup>

The case of Kurt Westreich from Opava in pre-war Czechoslovakia illustrates another path to Soviet Lviv. Westreich's medical studies in Brno had been halted in 1938. That year the Nazis seized the Sudetenland where his hometown was located. In October 1939, Westreich was among Jewish men sent from Ostrava (Mährisch-Ostrau) to the Polish town of Nisko, near the Soviet border.<sup>49</sup> The Nazi plan was to build a transit camp for Jews to be relocated from the Third Reich. Other transports came from Vienna and Katowice, bringing the total number of labourers to about 4,800.<sup>50</sup> After arriving, though, many deportees were sent wandering through the area, with German troops

forcing them to Soviet-controlled territory. In these circumstances, Westreich appeared in Lviv hoping to study at the university.<sup>51</sup>

As the crisis at the border continued unabated, Soviet units began pushing large groups of refugees back to German-occupied territory. In December 1939, reports mounted of Jews being killed or wounded by German guards blocking them from reentering. With the Soviet government demanding that Germany immediately halts these actions, the General Government ordered a stop to the expulsions of Jews across the border.<sup>52</sup>

## **Establishing Soviet Power in the Occupied Territories**

On 1 October 1939, the Politburo of All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the ruling body of the USSR, ordered the demobilization of 1,500 members of the Red Army operating in Ukraine for civilian deployment in western Ukraine as communist functionaries. They were to be joined by two thousand communists, predominantly Ukrainians, from the UkrSSR. This was only the beginning of the large transfers of mostly poorly qualified personnel to solidify the Soviet takeover.<sup>53</sup> The NKVD border units operated since the first half of October along the demarcation line between western Ukraine and German-occupied territory, and along the borders with Hungary and Romania, while the senior staff of the NKVD was separately recruited in Russia, arriving in western Ukraine in November 1939.<sup>54</sup>

The Polish civil administration was dismantled and the top-level positions in state bodies, nationalised industries, and trade unions were placed under the control of the Communist Party. Lower- and middle-level positions were filled by mostly local Ukrainians and Jews. The presence of individual Jews in these roles fed into the stereotype of the anti-Polish and pro-communist Jew, a common antisemitic trope existing in pre-war Poland that would persist in popular memory after the war.<sup>55</sup>

On 29 November, pre-war residents and other Polish citizens who had arrived in the area by early November were decreed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to have the right to Soviet citizenship.<sup>56</sup> Those who applied received Soviet internal passports, which were required for residents living in and around large cities, or within one hundred kilometres of the western border (at the time with Germany). Issued by the NKVD, passports became the only valid personal identification documents in these areas. Lacking a passport, or having it stamped with the much-feared Article 11 (in the case of Lviv), resulted in restrictions with regard to the right to residence and employment in the city, thus becoming another method for controlling the population. The uptake of passports was particularly slow among Jewish refugees, who feared that becoming Soviet citizens would imperil their chances of being reunited with their families on the German side of the border.

On 4 December, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decided that western Ukraine would be divided into six new regions (*oblasti*), four of which (the Drohobych, Lviv, Stanislav, and Tarnopol regions) had been situated in the former eastern Galicia. The other two new Ukrainian regions, Volyn (created from the eastern part of the Polish Wołyń voivodeship) and Rovno, had been part of interwar Poland but not of Galicia.<sup>57</sup>

From the beginning of 1940, local state-run civil offices were to maintain all birth, death, marriage, divorce, and adoption records, for the whole community, and only these offices had the right to issue valid certificates. The old laws that required these events to be registered within the individual confessional communities were revoked.<sup>58</sup> The new civil records were not to indicate a person's religion, which was considered an antiquated concept. Nonetheless, the records showed a person's 'nationality', which was close to being a proxy for the former religious affiliation. The main nationalities that appear in the civil registration records of 1940–1941 are Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish, and Russian, and occasionally another nationality, such as Belorussian, German, Kazakh or Romanian.

In practice, the setting up of civil registration offices had a variable start. In some places, the registration process began immediately — on 2 January 1940, for instance, in Lviv and Berezhany (Brzeżany).<sup>59</sup> In Kolomyia (Kołomyja), registrations started on 24 January, in Brody on 4 February, and in Vynnyky (Winniki) only on 24 April.

With the registration of vital or civil events by confessional communities being abolished, people's lives became freer in certain areas. Divorce, for instance, previously difficult to obtain in interwar Poland, was now easily available.<sup>60</sup> Marriages were also simpler to arrange, with fewer religious impediments. On the other hand, the existence of state-controlled registration allowed the security apparatus to maintain a tight grip on information about the population.

## **Repatriations and Deportations**

The arrival of German repatriation commissions raised many false hopes. Set up in accordance with the earlier agreement between the Third Reich and the USSR, they initially offered voluntary repatriations to ethnic Germans from the Soviet-occupied area.<sup>61</sup> In December 1939, more than three hundred German personnel were sent to Lviv and other towns in western Ukraine, as well as to western Belorussia, while, in reciprocation, Soviet staff arrived in the General Government to review requests from Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities wishing to resettle in the USSR.<sup>62</sup>

After additional talks between Berlin and Moscow had concluded in March 1940, the scope of repatriations was broadened to cover former Polish citizens. The applicants had to document their pre-war residence on the other side of the border, usually presenting their old Polish passport, with the German commissions issuing permissions for their return.<sup>63</sup> In Lviv, thousands of refugees attempted to sign up for an interview. Under these circumstances, Otto Wächter, the Nazi official in

charge of the repatriation, was deployed to the city, while the German ambassador in Moscow secured a brief extension for the German commissions' operations on Soviet territory. Even though the true intent was to exploit the crisis to repatriate additional ethnic Germans, more than sixty thousand former Polish citizens were accepted to return to German-occupied territory throughout the process.<sup>64</sup>

These departures were not sufficient to avert mass deportations of the remaining refugees — an action that the Soviet government had already approved on 2 March 1940. In the intervening months, NKVD-run 'refugee rehabilitation committees' presented those displaced with two choices: one to accept Soviet citizenship and the other to request a return to German-occupied territory. Of 26,049 Jewish refugees registered in Lviv, 76% requested permission to return and 1% wished to emigrate elsewhere. They became an easy target of the coordinated action in June 1940, when nearly 78,000 people (85% among them Jews) were removed from western Ukraine to labour camps deep in the USSR. During the entire period of 1939–1941, at least 140,000 people were deported from western Ukraine, including pre-war residents and refugees.<sup>65</sup>

The reports of arrests and large-scale deportations to the northern parts of European and Asian Russia (especially Siberia), and to Kazakhstan began to filter to the West during the war, but the estimates at the time of the numbers involved turned out to be unreliable. Only after the opening of Soviet archives were more accurate assessments possible, though these too continue to be revised.<sup>66</sup> In total, the number of deportees from the former Polish territories under Soviet occupation (1939–1941) is now estimated to have been about 330,000. The newer reports place the death toll to have been between forty to sixty thousand as a result of executions and other causes during imprisonment.<sup>67</sup>

## Conclusion

The Soviet occupation of eastern Poland lasted twenty-two months and ended with the German invasion of the USSR that had begun on 22 June 1941. The ‘revolution from abroad’, the term aptly describing Soviet rule, worsened tensions among the main national groups.<sup>68</sup> Poles felt betrayed and disadvantaged by the new order. Lifting pre-war discriminatory policies towards two other ethnic groups initially encouraged many individual Ukrainians and Jews to accept the new regime. Even so, their disillusionment with the Soviet reality quickly became evident. ‘I’d rather pass on such a “liberation”, and I beg of them not to try it on me anymore’, noted one Jewish inhabitant of western Ukraine. The label of ‘anti-Soviet and socially alien element’ was applied not only to Poles, but also to several categories of Ukrainians and Jews, who were singled out by the all-present security forces. In most cases, the regime penalized entire families.<sup>69</sup>

Despite the existing body of scholarly work about Soviet rule in Lviv, and more generally in western Ukraine, there are further questions to be explored in future research. One area relates to a quantitative analysis of the socio-economic and educational status, as well as gender and age analysis, across the ethnic groups subjected to the Soviet repressions. Such comprehensive examination is possible with the NKVD files of criminal cases now accessible through the Ukrainian archives. As these records often contain the confiscated German and Soviet documents, they offer an opportunity for additional documentary research related to the Second World War. There is also a shared responsibility between the academic researchers and genealogical organizations to make data of personal nature (e.g., photographs, personal notes, letters, and other private documents) easily accessible to the descendants of the prosecuted individuals, who remain unaware of their existence. We have initiated one of such projects, concentrating on the NKVD files from the Lviv region, and aim to add the information to an open-access database (the All Galicia Database) in 2024–2025.<sup>70</sup>

Another area for academic research relates to a comparative examination of the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine and the current Russian occupation of parts of eastern Ukraine. In particular, the use of state power to establish control over ethnically non-homogenous territories through state-sponsored propaganda, coercive repression, and the misuse of the electoral process to legitimize military conquest, all call for further scientific research.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> We thank Dr Maria Vovchko, Lviv, Ukraine, for her archival research at Lviv University and Gesher Galicia for supporting this work. Gesher Galicia is an international genealogical organisation based in Los Angeles, USA. We are indebted to Prof. Adam Sudoł, Bydgoszcz, Poland, for sharing the original text of the Soviet-era decree. We also thank Dr Agnieszka Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław, Poland, for providing us with other material related to the Soviet occupation. The preliminary report on the university applications was featured in the internal publication of Gesher Galicia (*Galitzianer* December 2021).

<sup>2</sup> In this article, we use interchangeably the terms of eastern Galicia and western Ukraine.

<sup>3</sup> For the urban history of Lviv in the context of ethnic relations and geopolitical changes, see Anna V. Wendland, 'Post-Austrian Lemberg: War Commemoration, Interethnic Relations, and Urban Identity in L'viv, 1918–1939', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 34 (2003), 83–102; Anna V. Wendland, 'Neighbors as Betrayers: Nationalization, Remembrance Policy, and the Urban Public Sphere in L'viv', in *Galicia: A Multicultural Land*, ed. by Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 139–159. Wendland refers to Lviv as 'a city at war' when describing the competing national identities before, during, and after the First World War, the phrase which is also used in this paper to point to military events and interethnic relations in the city at the outbreak of the Second World War. For transnational experiences in Lviv during the Soviet and German occupations and in the aftermath of the Second World War, see Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947: Violence in a Contested*

City (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2016); Tarik C. Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Wendland, 'Neighbors as Betrayers', 146–147, for the citation from Roth and about the forms of urban identification in Lviv.

<sup>5</sup> 'Jutro uroczyste otwarcie Targów Wschodnich we Lwowie' [The ceremonial opening tomorrow of the Eastern Fair in Lwów], *Chwila*, 1/9/1939, 6; 'Przechadzka po Targach Wschodnich' [A stroll through the Eastern Fair], *Chwila*, 3/9/1939, 7. Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, and Romania were among international exhibitors, with the notable absence of a German pavilion.

<sup>6</sup> 'Gdzie udziela się porad w sprawie budowy schronów' [Where to get advice on building shelters], 'Zgłaszajcie mieszkania dla uchodźców' [Notify us of housing availability for refugees], *Wiek Nowy*, 9/9/1939, 5.

<sup>7</sup> 'Obywatele!' [Citizens!], *Chwila*, 12/9/1939, 1. In the same issue one can read that local movie houses and theatres continued to stage the performances.

<sup>8</sup> 'Treaty of Nonaggression Between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' and 'Secret Additional Protocol', in *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office* (Washington DC: Department of State, 1948), 76–78. The secret supplementary protocol of 23/8/1939.

<sup>9</sup> Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 260.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *Lwów, L'viv*, 261–262, on the reactions to the Red Army; Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939–1944: Życie codzienne* [Poles in Lwów 1939–1944: Everyday life] (Warsaw: Księga i Wiedza, 2000), 15–18, on the casualties. On pre-war policies, see Tony Kahane, Andrew Zalewski, 'Between Institutional Antisemitism and Authoritarianism in the Territory of the Former Galicia, 1935–1939', *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensa*, 20 (2020), 97–104.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Urban, *The Katyn Massacre 1940: History of a Crime* (Yorkshire, UK and Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Military, 2020), 15–19, 27.

<sup>12</sup> *Concise Statistical Year-Book of Poland: September 1939–June 1941* (London: Polish Ministry of Information, 1941), 5. 'O vneshney politike Sovetskogo Soyuzu' [On the foreign policy of the Soviet Union] *Pravda*, 1/11/1939, 1–2, and 'Europa potrzebuje silnych Niemiec' [Europe needs a strong Germany], *Goniec Krakowski*, 2/11/1939, 1. The German regime in Poland gleefully relayed the speech of People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov.

<sup>13</sup> Adam Redzik, 'Uniwersytet w latach 1939–1946' [The university in 1939–1946], in *Academia Militans: Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierz we Lwowie*, ed. by Adam Redzik (Kraków: Wysoki Zamek, 2015), 915–988 (920–921).

<sup>14</sup> 'Sprawozdanie komisji mandatowej' [Report of the electoral committee], *Czerwony Sztandar*, 2/11/1939, 2.

<sup>15</sup> 'Slavnyye i pouchitel'nyye itogi' [Glorious and instructive results], *Pravda*, 26/10/1939, 1, the assemblies voted on four issues: the nature of state power, joining the UkrSSR (and the Belorussian SSR), the confiscation of large landholdings and the transfer of land to the peasants, and the nationalisation of banks and large industry. Aleksander Wat, *My Century* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2003), 105. Halina Górska, a Polish socialist, reportedly abstained from voting on the issue of incorporation into the UkrSSR.

<sup>16</sup> The announcements in Moscow, Lviv and in German-occupied Poland, 'Vneocherednaya Pyataya Sessiya Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR' [The extraordinary fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR], *Pravda*, 2/11/1939; 'Zachodnia Ukraina to nierozdzielna część Związku Radzieckiego' [Western Ukraine is an inseparable part of the Soviet Union], *Czerwony Sztandar*, 2/11/1939; 'Przyłączenie zachodniej Ukrainy do Związku Sowieckiego' [Western Ukraine joins the Soviet Union], *Goniec Krakowski*, 3/11/1939.

<sup>17</sup> For the announcement of transfer of the Vilnius district to Lithuania, see *Czerwony Sztandar*, 28/10/1939, 6.

<sup>18</sup> See above, *Pravda*, 26/10/1939, 1.

<sup>19</sup> 'Nakanune' [The day before], *Pravda*, 26/10/1939, 3, Soviet propaganda on volunteers from Lviv; Hryciuk, *Polacy*, 62–63; Amar, *The Paradox*, 49–51, on economic conditions in Lviv.

<sup>20</sup> Dov Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*, trans. by Naftali Greenwood (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 260. 'Novi oblasti URSR' [New regions of the UkrSSR], *Vil'na Ukrayina*, 8/12/1939, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Moscow, Archive of the President of the Russian Federation (Arkhiv Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii) [APRF], Resheniya Politbyuro TsK VKP(b) ot 4 sentyabrya po 3 oktyabrya 1939 g [Decisions of the Politburo of the CC of the VKP(b) from 4/9 to 3/10/1939], II, 57–61 (59), decree of 1/10/1939, para. 10, on communists from western Ukraine; Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 270–271, on the arrests of Ukrainian political leaders; Wat, *My Century*, 125–130, 133–134, on the arrests and the NKVD prison no. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Zalewski, *Galician Trails: The Forgotten Story of One Family* (Jenkintown: Thelzo Press, 2012), 212–227, on Polish-Ukrainian conflict before the First World War, including violence at Lviv University.

<sup>23</sup> Lviv, State Archive of Lviv Oblast (Derzhavnyi Arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti) [DALO], Distsiplinarnoye delo v otnoshenii studentov [Disciplinary action against students], Fond 26, series 14, file 1135, 8/5/1929. Zygmunt Hübner (1906–1943), a law student, was assaulted in a restaurant. He was a member of Fraternitas, which advocated Jewish assimilation. Even so, its members were attacked by Polish students belonging to the fraternity Lutyko-Venedia.

<sup>24</sup> Joanna B. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2006), 111–117, 126–128.

<sup>25</sup> Potężna manifestacja żałobna we Lwowie' [Massive demonstration of mourning in Lwów], *Chwila*, 28/11/1938, 3–4 (Zellermayer); 'Tragiczny zgon studenta Politechniki Prowellera' [Tragic death of Polytechnic student Proweller], *Chwila*, 5/12/1938, 3; 'Trzecia mogiła: Wielka manifestacja żałobna we Lwowie' [Third grave: a big demonstration of mourning in Lwów], *Chwila*, 30/5/1939, 8–9 (Landesberg).

<sup>26</sup> *Chwila*, 30/11/1938, 1; 21/12/1938, 1; 31/5/1939, 1, for parliamentary inquiries. Emil Sommerstein was arrested in Lviv in November 1939.

<sup>27</sup> Redzik, 'Uniwersytet w latach 1939–1946', 929–932, 940–948.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1187 (n. 167).

<sup>29</sup> Lviv, University Archive [LUA], Fond 119, series 1, files 4888–4908, 2/10/1939–30/11/1939. The records are searchable in the All Galicia Database, <<https://search.geshergalicia.org/>> [accessed 26/9/2023].

<sup>30</sup> DALO, Fond R-119, series 3, file 414, fol. 5, 4/10/1939.

<sup>31</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4889, fol. 486, 10/10/1939.

<sup>32</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4894, fol. 474, 9/11/1939.

<sup>33</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4891, fol. 310, 3/10/1939.

<sup>34</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4891, fol. 77, 10/11/1939; file 4892, fol. 100, undated; file 4890, fol. 166, 4/11/1939.

<sup>35</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4890, fol. 244, 5/11/1939. After their release in 1942, father and son served in the Anders Army. In 1946, the younger Essigman began his medical studies in Italy. 'Wladyslaw Essigman', in *Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians* <<https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/wladyslaw-essigman>> [accessed 26/9/2023].

<sup>36</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4906, fol. 9, 4/10/1939.

<sup>37</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4895, fol. 66, 9/11/1939; file 4899, fol. 110, 4/10/1939; file 4895, fol. 91, 3/10/1939; file 4906, fol. 286, 28/10/1939.

<sup>38</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4899, fol. 221, 10/11/1939.

<sup>39</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4906, fol. 332, 3/10/1939.

<sup>40</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4907, fol. 7, 29/10/1939; file 4889, fol. 177, 25/10/1939; file 4898, fol. 47, 25/10/1939.

<sup>41</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4898, fol. 60, 31/10/1939; file 4900, fol. 37, 3/10/1939.

<sup>42</sup> Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 267.

<sup>43</sup> 'German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty' and 'Secret Supplementary Protocol', in *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, 105–107.

<sup>44</sup> 'Niemiecko-rosyjskie rozmowy w Warszawie' [German-Russian talks in Warsaw], *Goniec Krakowski*, 30/10/1939, 1. The commission was greeted by Hans Frank in charge of the General Government. On the border, see *Goniec Krakowski*, 23/11/1939, 3, and 8/3/1940, 1.

<sup>45</sup> For eyewitness accounts, see *Relacje z Kresów* [Accounts from Borderlands], ed. by Andrzej Żbikowski, 36 vols Archiwum Ringelbluma (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2000), III, 13–17, 590–592, 667–668; Olga Radchenko, 'Jüdische Nisko-Depotierte in der Sowjetunion', in *Jahrbuch 2020: Nisko 1939*, ed. by Christine Schindler (Vienna: DOW, 2020), 232–237.

<sup>46</sup> DALO, Fond R-3258, series 1, file P-19298. Dogilewski crossed the border on 27/12/1939. On 25/12/1940, he was sentenced to a five-year exile under a decree of the special council of the NKVD of UkrSSR.

<sup>47</sup> Hryciuk, *Polacy*, 50.

<sup>48</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4890, fols 343–345, 3/11/1939; file 4889, fols 427–428, 9/11/1939.

<sup>49</sup> Washington DC, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, ID: 27273, List of persons transported to Nisko, 17/10/1939 and 26/10/1939.

<sup>50</sup> Winfried R. Garscha, 'Achtzig Jahre Ungewissheit: Die Nisko-Aktion 1939 und ihre verschollenen Opfer', and Radchenko, 'Jüdische Nisko-Depotierte in der Sowjetunion', 26, 33, 235–238.

<sup>51</sup> LUA, Fond 119, series 1, file 4890, fols 325–326 (undated). Westreich resurfaced in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from where he was deported to Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, and Dachau where he was murdered,

16/3/1945, see Bad Arolsen, Arolsen Archives, Dachau, 805460019, 01010607-354.

<sup>52</sup> For German reports, see 'Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office', in *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, 128, 5/12/1939. On Soviet protests and the German response, see *Dokumenty vneshney politiki, 1939* [Documents of foreign policy, 1939], (Moscow: International relations, 1992), XXII: Book 2, September-December, 421, 17/12/1939, and *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, VIII: The War Years (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954), 560-561. Hans Frank ordered Jewish deportations halted, 20/12/1939.

<sup>53</sup> APRF, Decisions of the Politburo, 59, para. 11 and 12. Tetyana I. Humeniuk, *Western Ukrainian Lands in 1939-1941: A historiographical analysis*, PhD thesis (Lviv University, 2007), 11-12, cited 3,074 cadres from eastern Ukraine appointed to leadership positions in 1939 and on the NKVD personnel. Tarik C. Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 64. The transfer of loyal supporters of the regime from eastern Ukraine continued in 1940, with their total number reaching more than 40,000 by November 1940.

<sup>54</sup> DALO, Fond R-3258, series 1, files: P-9069 [G], P-100126 [G], P-9136 [H], and P-8838 [R], for the first NKVD arrests at the border with Germany [G], Hungary [H], and Romania [R] on 10-11 October 1939.

<sup>55</sup> Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 264-265; Joanna Michlic, 'The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939-41, and the Stereotype of the Anti-Polish and Pro-Soviet Jew', *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 13 (2007), 135-176 (138-141).

<sup>56</sup> Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils*, 8.

<sup>57</sup> *Vil'na Ukrayina*, 8/12/1939, 1. The southern part of the Polish Wołyń voivodeship was attached to the new Tarnopol oblast.

<sup>58</sup> 'Die Tauf-, Ehe- und Sterb-Register betreffend' [Concerning the baptism, marriage and death registers], in *Continuatio Edictorum, Mandatorum et Universalium* (Lviv: Piller, 1784), 29-30. The confessional registration of vital

events was decreed mandatory by Emperor Joseph II in 1784. The law remained in effect during the interwar period in part of Poland (in the former Galicia).

<sup>59</sup> DALO, Register of births, Fond R-3321, series 2, file 1, Lviv, 2/1/1940-29/1/1940. Register of marriages, Fond R-3321, series 4, file 1, Lviv, 2/1/1940-9/1/1940.

<sup>60</sup> DALO, Register of divorces, Fond R-3321, series 3, files 1–3, Lviv, 2/1/1940-31/12/1940.

<sup>61</sup> 'Confidential Protocol', in *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, 106, the supplementary protocol to the border treaty, 28/9/1939. For further agreement, 16/11/1939, see *Dokumenty vneshney politiki, 1939* [Documents of foreign policy, 1939], 300–309.

<sup>62</sup> 'Niemiecka komisja dla spraw przesiedlenia w Rosji Sowieckiej' [German commission for resettlement in Soviet Russia], *Goniec Krakowski*, 9/12/1939, 1, for details about the German commission. For the repatriation of Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities to the Soviet zone, see 'Odezwa' [Proclamation], *Goniec Krakowski*, 8/12/1939, 1. For Soviet personnel in Kraków, see *Goniec Krakowski*, 1/13/1940, 1. Heinrich Himmler, head of SS, greeted arriving ethnic Germans at the border town of Przemyśl, *Goniec Krakowski*, 1/27/1940, 5.

<sup>63</sup> 'Wymiana uchodźców-Polaków między Gen. Gubernatorstwem a strefą sowiecką' [Exchange of Polish refugees between the General Government and the Soviet zone], *Goniec Krakowski*, 18/3/1940, 2, and 'Uгода w sprawie wymiany uchodźców' [Agreement concerning the exchange of refugees], *Goniec Krakowski*, 1/4/1940, 1. Repatriations from the German area were estimated at 14,000.

<sup>64</sup> 'Niemiecko-rosyjska wymiana uchodźców przedłużona' [German-Russian exchange of refugees extended], *Goniec Krakowski*, 19/5/1940, 3. For negotiations in Moscow, see *Dokumenty vneshney politiki, yanvar-oktyabr 1940* [Documents of foreign policy, January-October 1940], (Moscow: International relations, 1995), XXIII: Book 1: January-October 1940, 274, 298, Molotov grudgingly agreed to the extension (8/5/1940), though shortly thereafter he informed the German ambassador that the repatriation of refugees had been completed (31/5/1940); German commissions left Soviet territory on

5/6/1940. *Relacje z Kresów* [Accounts from Borderlands], 525. Wächter claimed that among 66,000 repatriates, there were 1,600 Jews and 3,200 ethnic Germans.

<sup>65</sup> Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils*, 9–10, 192–194; Radchenko, 'Jüdische Nisko-Deportierte in der Sowjetunion', 240; Piotr Eberhardt, *Political Migrations on Polish Territories (1939–1950)* (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Science, 2011), 55–56, on a directive of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR (the Soviet government) to deport refugees from the annexed territories and its implementation in 1940; Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv*, 273, for statistics about western Ukraine (1939–1941).

<sup>66</sup> The first wave of deportations (February 1940) affected Polish officials, settlers, and intellectuals, along with better-off Ukrainians and Belorussian farmers. The second mass deportations (April 1940) included all main ethnic groups. The third wave (June 1940) affected mainly refugees. The last wave of deportations began before the German invasion; it also included deportations from Lithuania (May–June 1941).

<sup>67</sup> Eberhardt, *Political Migrations*, 54–58, for updated statistics.

<sup>68</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Andrzej Żbikowski, 'Jewish Reaction to the Soviet Arrival in the Kresy in September 1939', in *Polin*, ed. by Antony Polonsky (Liverpool University Press, 2000), XIII: *Focusing on the Holocaust and its Aftermath*, 62–72 (68), on worsening of interethnic relations.

<sup>69</sup> Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*, 206, for the quote from Mendel Srul. 'Strictly Secret Order of People's Commissar Serov for the Interior of the Lithuanian SSR in 1940', *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* 34 (Winter 1988) <[http://www.old.lituanus.org/1988/88\\_4\\_05.htm](http://www.old.lituanus.org/1988/88_4_05.htm)> [accessed 26/9/2023]. The order no. 0054 defined several categories of 'anti-Soviet and socially alien elements' for arrests and deportations.

<sup>70</sup> See endnote 29, for information about the All Galicia Database.