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# German People`s List – the outline of the issue in historic and legal perspective. Part I

**Key words:** World War II, Poland, Germany, Germanization of Poles, Volksliste

### Introduction

The article aims at presenting the issue of German People`s List (*Deutsche Volksliste*, DVL) as the means of conditioning the process of Germanization on the territories incorporated to the Third Reich as well as the area of General Government (GG) between 1939 and 1945. The main objective of the study is to introduce the meaning of activities undertaken by the occupant authorities and present the legal grounds consistent with the Nazi national policy.

The study has been created basing on the broad references concerning the issue, and even though the topic has been analyzed frequently, the study consolidates, orders and presents the issue in one work in a synthetic way.

Within the work I am intending to present DVL as a tool serving the realization of Germanization of the Polish society by the *Deutsche Volksliste* Bureau. It is worth paying attention that despite the fact that the rules of German national policy were homogenous, it was realized differently depending on region it concerned<sup>1</sup>. The

tasks in this field were to be realized by party leaders of NSDAP, *Gauleiters*, appointed by Hitler himself, who were in charge when it came to the success of his plans. And so: Albert Forster was responsible for West Prussia (*Reichsgau Danzig Westpreussen*), Erich Koch-East Prussia (*Provinz Ostpreußen*), Kraj Warty (*Reichsgau Wartheland* or *Warthegau*) was taken by Artur Greiser, whereas the Province of Upper Silesia (*Provinz Schlesien*) was governed by Josef Wagner and later on by Fritz Bracht<sup>2</sup>. The above mentioned General Government (*Generalgouvernement*) was managed by Hans Frank<sup>3</sup>.

After the annexation of Polish lands along with his appointed *Statthalters*, Hitler`s desire was to Germanize completely the population of recently invaded territories. In his view, only the Arian race had the right to live, whereas other nations should cease to exist. During the flagitious war actions there appeared the plan to establish an institution which would divide the population into the Germans and other nations. The only ones to survive were those who would submit to the process

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<sup>2</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *The Poles in Wehrmacht*, Kraków 2010, p. 33–34.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wrzyszczyk, *The Hierarchy of Legal Acts Introduced by German Occupant in General Government between 1939 and 1945*, *Studia Iuridica Lublinensia* 2014, vol. 22, p. 696.

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<sup>1</sup> E. Serwański, *The Nazi National Policy in Upper Silesia 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1963, p. 15.

of Germanization. Others, were frequently encountering the worst option, namely death.

### The division of the Polish areas after German and Soviet annexation

On 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1939 German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) of the USSR Władysław Mołotow, signed in Moscow the pact on non-aggression, commonly known as Ribbentrop–Mołotow Pact. The agreement was accompanied with a secret protocol, according to which Poland was divided into German and Soviet zones. It was stated in the protocol that the Reich was to overtake 38%, whereas the USSR 62% of the Polish territories. The frontier line was marked by the rivers Pisa–Narew–Wisła and San. The alliance of the future occupants resulted in the simultaneous invasion of both states. On 1st September 1939 Germany attacked Poland, while several days later, i.e. on 17<sup>th</sup> September, the Red Army entered from the East. This is how the World War II began<sup>4</sup>.

The simultaneous invasion of two states breached the rules of international law, including the right of self-determination on the future of citizens. It ought to be remarked, that the occupants violated the rules concerning the competences of occupation authorities included in IV Hague Convention of 18<sup>th</sup> October 1907 on *the laws and customs of war on land*. According to this act, population and the sides at war were under the protection and law of the states of nations, which resulted from the customs agreed between states, preserving the rules of humanitarianism and conscience<sup>5</sup>. The result of the alliance between two aggressor states is also referred to as the 4<sup>th</sup> partition of Poland<sup>6</sup>.

On 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 Adolf Hitler incorporated the Free City of Gdańsk to Germany on the basis of

a separate decree. According to the decree of Führer and the Chancellor of the German Reich from 8<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on the division and administration of eastern areas, the new division of Polish lands was conducted, from which the districts of the Reich were established: Gdańsk–West Prussia (divided into three administrative districts: gdański, kwidziński and bydgoski) and Poznań. The Province of East Prussia incorporated counties: augustowski and suwalski, as well as the part of warszawskie voivodship, from which ciechanowski administrative district was established. Parts of krakowskie and kieleckie voivodships were incorporated to Silesia province as katowicki administrative district. The remaining part of śląskie voivodship (with lubieniecki and rybnicki counties) as well as the part of kieleckie voivodship was incorporated with blachowski and zawierciński counties into Opole administrative district<sup>7</sup>. From the areas that had not been incorporated to the Reich, on the basis of the decree of the Führer and the Chancellor of the Reich from 12<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on the administration of the occupied Polish areas, General Government was established for the Polish occupied areas-General Government (in 1940 the second part of the name was removed)<sup>8</sup>. While incorporating the areas of the Polish Republic to Germany the occupant took historic, economic and national issues into consideration. Also, German administration had been introduced that was submitted to the Minister of Internal Affairs. Districts were managed by *Statthaltern* appointed by Führer, who at the same time held the chief functions of the national-socialist party (NSDAP). Whereas in Silesia and East Prussia there was the traditional division into provinces preserved, where *Oberpräsidenten* were in charge. Districts and provinces were divided into administrative districts governed by presidents. Urban counties were managed by mayors, while rural counties by starost(district head)<sup>9</sup>. The above mentioned GG

<sup>4</sup> G. Górski, *The Legal Aspects of Incorporation of the Areas of Polish Republic to German Reich and the Soviet Union in 1939* in: *Poland 1939–1945 The Areas Incorporated to the Reich, General Government and the Areas Incorporated to the Soviet Union Similarities and Differences*, ed: B. Chrzanowski, Toruń 2014, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> The Convention Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land from 18<sup>th</sup> October 1907. (Dz.U. 1907 nr 21 poz. 161).

<sup>6</sup> M. Kallas, *The History of Political System in Poland*, Warszawa 2005, p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> The Decree of Führer and Germany Chancellor on the division and administration of eastern territories from 8<sup>th</sup> October 1939, in: W. Kozyra, *The Occupant German Administration in the Territories of Polish Republic between 1939 and 1945*, p. 40; [http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/Content/21463/czas4058\\_60\\_1\\_2013\\_3.pdf](http://dlibra.umcs.lublin.pl/Content/21463/czas4058_60_1_2013_3.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> The Decree of Führer and German Chancellor on the administration of the occupied Polish territories from 12<sup>th</sup> October 1939, in: A. Wrzyszczyk, *The Hierarchy of Legal Acts Introduced by German Occupant in General Government between 1939 and 1945*, „Studia Iuridica Lublinensia” 2014, vol. 22, p. 695–696.

<sup>9</sup> T. Maciejewski, *The History of Administration*, Warszawa 2006<sup>2</sup>, p. 289–290.

was managed by the General Governor, who at the same time was the chief of the local NSDAP. He held almost exclusive state authority in this area. The government of GG, submitted to the secretary of state, was executive and advisory organs. Districts were ruled by chiefs, called governors. In counties starosts, rural and urban, made the administration<sup>10</sup>. Lower levels belonged to Polish authorities. In urban communes-mayors, in rural ones-voyts (village mayor) and starosts. Voyts and mayors were appointed and dismissed by the governor of a district. They were the executive organ of a commune self-government<sup>11</sup>.

### The legal grounds of the German People's List

The *Statthalter* of *Wartengau*, *Gauleiter* Arthur Greiser, was the initiator of the Germanization policy. It was him who on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1939 created the Central Office of German National List.

He decided that society ought to be divided into five categories. In the first one there were active Germans, in the second-passive German citizens, the third one included individuals who presumably could be a valuable "asset" for the Reich, in the fourth there were people of German nationality who had been Polonized and were in no way against the Germans, whereas the fifth group consisted of native-born Germans, who had been Polonized and were acting against German authorities<sup>12</sup>.

The experiment of *Wartengau Gauleiter* was the starting point for the rescript issued on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1940 by H.Himmler "On the examination and segregation of the population of areas incorporated to the Reich". This document included legal grounds for the introduction of *Deutsche Volkliste* six months later. Himmler pointed out that it is not possible to classify in an easy way people inhabiting the areas incorporated to the Reich on the national grounds, therefore he decided to segregate the population in four groups. Like Greisler, Himmler included irrefragable German citizens in the first group (*Deutsche Volkszugehörige*), the second group were citizens of German origin and nationality (*Deutschstämmige*), the racial and biological selection was the basis for being counted in the third group, and

its positive result was associated with acquiring German nationality that could be cancelled. Valuable elements of foreign nationality (*Wertvolle Fremdvölkische*) as well as German renegades were included in it. The last, fourth group, was made by individuals of foreign origins<sup>13</sup>.

The race examination was conducted by *Deutsche Volksliste*. These were the organs appointed by an *Statthalter* or the president of an administrative district. In accordance with the rescript the outpost segregated population dividing it into four categories:

I. *Volksdeutsche* successful in the struggle for Germanhood

II. *Volksdeutsche* supporting Germanhood in expansive way

III and IV were the people of German origins from mixed German marriages, especially Masurians, Kashubians and Upper Silesia inhabitants of German ancestry, having association with Polish elements and holding opportunity of becoming a decent activist of the German community<sup>14</sup>.

Being included into the first two categories meant nationality and citizenship of the Reich, III group had just the nationality of the German state, while IV was granted the nationality that could be cancelled. Himmler decided that not all individuals could apply for the nationality of Germany. The ones who did not meet the criteria of any of the groups were treated as so called "alien race", which provided merely the status of under-the-care of the Reich, with limited rights. The above mentioned guidelines made the harbinger of the decree on the German People's List. Basing on Himmler's remarks the division was made on better and worse groups, as well as slaves. In this way ordering the population in the Polish territories incorporated to the Third Reich had been initiated<sup>15</sup>.

On 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941 the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Reich, Wilhelm Frick, Führer's deputy Rudolf Hess, and *Reichsführer* SS Heinrich Himmler signed the decree on the German People's List and German Nationality. The action of the signatories, supported with Hitler's will, was an agreement between the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of Germanhood. This document assumed dividing people into four categories of German population of eastern territories incorporated into the

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 290.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> S. Bykowska, *The Rehabilitation and National Verification of Polish Population in Gdańskie Voivodship after WWII*, Gdańsk 2012, p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, p. 108–109.

<sup>14</sup> R. Kaczmarek, op. cit., p. 50–53.

<sup>15</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 109–110.

Third Reich<sup>16</sup>. *Volksliste* was meant for the people who on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939, i.e. on the day when the incorporation decree was issued by the Chancellor of Germany got into power, had Polish citizenship, as well as the ones who on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 were the citizens of Gdańsk. The decree referred to the citizenship, and in cases of statelessness settling on the incorporated territories was the requirement. The exclusion from the act from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941 concerned the population which between September 1939 and March 1941 had a foreign nationality, as well as the citizens of Poland and Gdańsk who before 1<sup>st</sup> January 1937 inhabited the area of the Old Reich or the areas incorporated to the German state before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939. The division also excluded individuals who between September 1939 and March 1941 had other than German nationality. A separate process concerned German settlers who arrived in the incorporated areas from the former Polish eastern voivodships. *Deutsche Volksliste* did not include the former citizens of Gdańsk fulfilling the criteria of groups I and II, since according to art. 4 of the decree they acquired German citizenship on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 without being placed on DVL, as long as there were no objections on the side of the district *Volksliste* Bureau<sup>17</sup>.

In consequence of this decree the legal bases of *Deutsche Volksliste* sanctioned racial and national differentiation of the population inhabiting areas incorporated in the Reich, whereas the actual division of the area inhabitants had place on the basis of the secret rescript of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 13<sup>th</sup> March 1941. A broad questionnaire enclosed to circular included questions which were to be answered by respondents. On the grounds of a filled application Nazi authorities conducted qualification to particular groups. Apart from his personal data an applicant was obliged to supply the following information:

1. Denomination,
2. Denomination of a spouse,
3. First names and surnames as well as origins (date and place of birth) of parents and grandparents,
4. Schools one graduated from (notifying whether Polish or German),
5. Data from the Polish military service papers concerning nationality and language,

<sup>16</sup> The decree on German People's List and German Nationality on the incorporated eastern areas, in: J. Rados, source: <http://www.historiacho.jnic.pl/artykuly/materialy/II-wojna-swiatowa/122/volkslista-przeklenstwo-czy-niecznosc-> [01.06.2016].

<sup>17</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 109–110.

6. Declaration concerning the applicant's membership in military organizations before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939,
  7. What was the punishment for supporting Germanhood before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 (imprisonment, fines, economic ones),
  8. Personal data of offspring as well as their number,
  9. Declaration concerning offspring education before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 (German or Polish schools).
- At the end the following declaration was enclosed:

*“At all times, also before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 I openly presented my German nationality. I am aware that in case of fake data I exclude myself from German community”*<sup>18</sup>.

As a result of executive acts in power, Germans began the segregation of the population inhabiting the incorporated territories, at the same time applying proper terms towards individuals included on the list as follows:

**Group I – Reichdeutsche**<sup>19</sup> it included native-born, conscious and professionally active Germans, as well as activists of minority German organizations involved politically, economically, culturally or religiously. This group identified with Germanhood by using the German language in public as well as educating their children in German schools.

**Group II – Volksdeutsche**<sup>20</sup> – were individuals of German nationality who had to be members of Polish organizations, e.g. due to their profession. These individuals did not participate actively in political life. To belong to this group one was obliged to preserve his national identity, use the German language, and cultivate customs.

The above mentioned decree ordered not to distinguish between I and II groups. People classified in them were granted IDs in blue colour that confirmed their nationality.<sup>21</sup>

**Group III – Eingedeutsche**<sup>22</sup> – comprised three categories of individuals, i.e.: one of parents or grandparents were Germans, people of German origins married to

<sup>18</sup> The circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Reich from 13<sup>th</sup> March 1941 on the mode of procedure at the qualification to particular groups DVL, in: R. Kaczmarek, *Górny Śląsk during WWI*, Katowice 2006, p. 178–179.

<sup>19</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>20</sup> R. Kaczmarek, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> K. Strykowski, *The Position of people Registered in Wielkopolsce on DVL between 1945 and 1950*, Poznań 2004, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 112.

Germans, as well as individuals without particular nationality, who were inclined to Germany due to their blood bonds or culture, yet did not identify with Germany before September 1939. Polish population was also included in this group<sup>23</sup>. Representatives of this group got IDs in green colour<sup>24</sup>.

**Group IV** – did not acquire any name due to low usefulness of these individuals – it consisted of people of German origins who had been Polinized and openly presented their nationality to the Polish nation<sup>25</sup>. In this category there were people of German origins, mixed marriages, people who resigned from being Germans so that they could hold high level social position in Poland, as well as those who got under the influence of the church (Evangelical church of the Augsburg Confession or Catholic) or rejected their German origins for various reasons, e.g. landowners, clergymen. People included in this category had IDs in red colour<sup>26</sup>.

The last two groups acquired German nationality that could be cancelled within 10 years. In cases when German authorities resigned from this the individuals acquired German nationality immediately. People inhabiting areas incorporated to the Third Reich who were removed from or not included on *Volksliste* acquired the status of the ones taken care of by the Reich. Their rights were limited and not established completely when it comes to legal regulations<sup>27</sup>.

For citizens of Poland or Gdańsk not included in DVL the Commissar for Strengthening Germanhood separated the category of belonging to the Reich for racial reasons. Due to their remarkable value these individuals were considered as “individuals of German origins” and according to German law acquired the name: “*The Poles that were suitable for Germanization*”. These people got passports with the annotation: “*nationality unclear*”<sup>28</sup>.

The issues concerning nationality on the areas incorporated to the Third Reich were regulated by the decree on the German national list. People classified in III and IV groups DVL who had limited rights resulting from the Reich nationality experienced suitable limitations:

- a) “they were not allowed to stay in the incorporated areas, but had to be expelled to so called Old Reich, where the process of re-Germanization was due to begin;
- b) they were not allowed to join NSDAP but merely be candidates for members; however, were permitted to join organizations affiliated to the Nazi party;
- c) they were not allowed to hold managerial or official posts, or hold honorary public offices or chose particular professions, were permitted, however, to become white-collar workers;
- d) it was impossible for them to attend secondary school, and undertaking university studies depended on a special permission from NSDAP;
- e) they were not allowed to get married to individuals included in group IV, people of foreign nationality, with people of German nationality included in group III (individuals suitable for Germanization for racial reasons), whereas marrying political leaders of party, leaders of party members, Wehrmacht officers, middle and high rank officials as well as office officials holding independent position required permission from NSDAP;
- f) they were not allowed to adopt the ones belonging to group IV, or the Poles;
- g) it was possible for them to regain sequestered or confiscated possessions only partly:
  - the public management of agricultural property and receivership enterprises needed to be revoked, however in practice the possessions were not given back, neither was any cash paid, preserving to great extent former legal state;
  - real properties and enterprises were still being sequestered as the hedge means until the cancellation ceased
  - additionally, in case the possession was regained (real property and enterprise), they could lose it again by expropriation or with compensation,
  - they were also obliged to sell their possessions while resettled to the Reich, and only commissar for strengthening of Germanhood or the Main Trust agency (*Treuhandanstalt*) could be the purchaser<sup>29</sup>.

The significant assumption of the Nazi authorities was to create such legal acts on the areas incorporated to the Reich which would prevent disposing of or donating for the advantage of other nation “*not even one drop of German blood*”. Therefore, individuals applying

<sup>23</sup> B. Wrzesińska, *DVL in bydgoski county (1941–1945)*, „Kronika Bydgoska” 2007, vol. XXIX, p. 78.

<sup>24</sup> K. Strykowski, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>26</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 111–113.

<sup>27</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>28</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>29</sup> quoting: S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 114–115.

for the registry on DVL were arrested or transported to concentration camps<sup>30</sup>.

In order to get included on *Deutsche Volksliste* it was not enough to merely make a declaration. One also had to confirm his origins and racial qualifications, as well as have a proper number of offspring. Also behaviour of a candidate himself, as well as his attitude in the mid-war period were of significance. According to Himmler's decree: "in case of difficulties in proving German origins of one's ancestor, candidates to group III of VL will be required to undergo racial examination"<sup>31</sup>. Experts from SS Race and Settlement Main Office were appointed to conduct the examination. In Himmler's opinion:

*"It would be highly irresponsible to let Wasserpolen, Kashubians and Polish-German mischlungs to German genetic resources (Volkskörper) without racial examination. In order to prevent the worst deterioration, the most troublesome elements ought to be disposed of (Ausmerzen), before they could be included in the German Volksliste by mistake"*<sup>32</sup>.

To work on the German National List central offices DVL were established at *Statthalter* office, district offices at administrative district presidents, and branch offices at *landrats* (rural counties) or *Oberbürgermeister* (urban counties). According to the decree from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941 on the German National List the following people were appointed to fulfill the tasks:

1. Higher Commander of SS and police forces;
2. A person appointed by *Gauleiter*;
3. *Gauleiter*'s deputy for nationality issues;
4. The Inspector of Security and Police Services in the district as well as people appointed by the services;
5. Several members of German minority, *Volksdeutsche*, appointed by *Gauleiter*<sup>33</sup>.

In the above mentioned organs of administration commissions were established, which consisted of the head, this position was held by the highest representative of administration authorities, i.e. administrative district president, *landrat* or *Oberbürgermeister*, or people delegated by him who were working in nationality division, i.e. representatives of party authorities, security police as well as the members of local German minority. branch offices in county outposts of administration dealt directly with input on DVL. They were responsible for the gathered documents, issued appropriate documents, and were responsible for servicing inputs,

especially their quantity and quality. The staff of branch offices consisted of the head of a village, so called block-leader, whose duty was to persuade the population to input on DVL. There were commissions at offices, which dealt with complaints and mistakes appearing in course of qualification to groups of nationality. Applications for input were forwarded in three copies at the place of inhabitation. If a candidate had never inhabited the areas incorporated to the Reich, he ought to forward his application in Poznań<sup>34</sup>.

The ideological axiom on the coherence of all Germans propagated by the Nazi authorities was not so clear after the incorporation of Polish areas into the Reich. Despite the demonstration of their nationality the indigenous population was becoming inferior category towards Germans from group I on *Deutsche Volksliste*, or *Aussiedler*. Practical aspects such as: reliable work force, knowledge of the language and relationships amongst the society, as well as the need for soldiers resulted in situations when frequently people who were not intending to were becoming Germans. Sometimes declarations were signed merely for financial benefits. Quite often the declaration on signing DVL was preceded with hesitation and fear, and decision forced by difficult situation in which citizens had to exist. People did it for the fear of ousting, hoping for their nearest and dearest to be released, or to take care of their family wellbeing<sup>35</sup>.

However, a numerous group of Polish citizens with German origins, often simple people, did not have any dilemma to accept *Volksliste*. It was an automatic decision (Mazury, Upper Silesia). These people spoke only German, and had German neighbours. Educated individuals behaved in a similar way. The problem appeared in case of mixed marriages and Germans who were partly or entirely Polonized. Although national policy on the areas incorporated to the Reich was determined by the March decree in each administration division the process of Germanization went on differently<sup>36</sup>. Warthegau was to be the model of national policy for the other areas incorporated to the Reich. The process of Germanization was conducted differently in East Prussia, Pomerania or the area of Upper Silesia.

<sup>34</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p 118–119.

<sup>35</sup> J. Kochanowski, *The fate of Germans in Central Poland between 1945 and 1950. Taking łódzkie, warszawskie and krakowskie voivodships (Biała county) as Examples*, in: *Germans in Poland 1945–1950. The Selection of Documents, Vol II. Central Poland, śląskie voivodship*, ed. Wł. Borodziej, H. Lamberg, Warszawa 2000, p. 20–21.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, p 21.

<sup>30</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *Upper...*, p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>33</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 79.

## The characteristics of German People's List in particular districts

### Warthegau as the model of national policy

The area of the District of Warthegau was 43 943 square km, i.e. 47.8% of the areas incorporated to the Third Reich, and was divided into three administrative districts: poznańska, inowrocławska, and kaliska as well as 38 rural and 6 urban counties, i.e. Poznań, Łódź, Gniezno, Włocławek, Inowrocław, and Kalisz. In the majority of counties the Nazi authorities preserved their pre-war size, only the area of the following counties was enlarged: łaski (with the part of piotrkowski), łódzki (with the part of brzeziński), wieluński (with the part of radomszczański), mogileński (with the part of inowrocławski), koniński and kolski (with the part of turecki)<sup>37</sup>. It was the largest administrative creation on the areas incorporated to the Third Reich. This area was governed by *Gauleiter* Arthur Greiser, who had ambitious plans to introduce a policy tightly connected with the doctrine of national socialism<sup>38</sup>. It was his idea to create a model district, which would at the same time be a Nazi ideal when it came to national policy for other districts incorporated to the Third Reich<sup>39</sup>. On 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1939 while being nominated to the position of the *Statthalter* of Warthegau, Arthur Greiser said:

“...I have been appointed by Führer as the confidant of the German case in this country with an explicit order to make it German”<sup>40</sup>.

Basing on experienced staff, Greiser created the state administration which he was the head of by holding the position of the *Reichsstatthalter*. An administrative district was managed by president (*Regierungspräsident*), county by starost (*Landrat*), while a city by mayor (*Bürgermeister*) or *Oberbürgermeister* depending on its size, and rural commune by a commissar (*Amtskommissar*) Additionally, a *Statthalter* had introduced the rule of appointing NSDAP members by party authorities nomination, and not like other districts by recruitment. In this way the fondest fanatics of Hitler, who would

execute any orders without hesitation, would become members of Nazi party<sup>41</sup>. Such an administrative apparatus made it possible for the *Gauleiter* to conduct numerous actions against the Poles, such as: roundups, ousting, or searching flats. It should also be mentioned that the ruler of *Warthegau* could count on the assistance of the Germans inhabiting these areas before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939. They were a splendid source of information and in many cases caused misfortune for the Poles, which at the same time made Greiser content. He stated that, “*everything that serves the Reich is justified*”. Basing on the opinion of Czesław Łuczak the above statement referred to the destruction of the Poles<sup>42</sup>.

Greiser based on the national guidelines of Hitler and NSDAP's program assuming racial superiority of the Germans, and therefore stated that there was no need to Germanize the Poles<sup>43</sup>. It is worth noticing that the national policy of the *Statthalter* of *Warthegau* was different from the one on Nazi dignitaries. According to him Germanization of a subdued area could take place only by being settled by German *Aussiedler* with systematic disposal of the Poles inhabiting these territories<sup>44</sup>. In accordance with plans of bringing ethnic Germans on the areas incorporated to the Third Reich, as many as 268 028 people came to *Warthegau* as a result of international agreements<sup>45</sup>.

*Gauleiter* was consequent in separating Poles from Germans in all the fields of public life, and strictly opposed the Germanization of the Polish population subdued to him. On 28<sup>th</sup> October 1939 Warthegau *Statthalter* established the Bureau of *Deutsche Volksliste*, which at that time was the only organ dealing with the registration of all the Germans inhabiting this area before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939. This type of offices consisted of five-person commissions. There were eight of them in the whole district: three in Łódź and Poznań, and two in Inowrocław. In order to receive a positive opinion individuals applying for input on DV had to meet the following requirements<sup>46</sup>:

<sup>37</sup> C. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> J. Marczewski, *The Nazi National Policy in the Area of Warthegau District between 1939 and 1945*, in: *Germanization Extortion on the Polish Areas Incorporated to German Reich between 1939 and 1945*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1993, p. 59–61.

<sup>39</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 441.

<sup>40</sup> K. Strykowski, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> C. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> B. Ziółkowski, *Germanization Policy in Eastern Kuia-via*, in: *Germanization Policy of the Third Reich in Eastern Pomerania between 1939 and 1945*, ed. K. Minczykowska and J. Sziling, Toruń, 2007, p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> C. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, p. 69.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, p. 58.

1. Incessant German nationality in the past;
2. Active participation in political life of German minority in Poland before 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939;
3. Speaking the German language on a daily basis;
4. Attending German school by children in the mid-war period;
5. proving that that one of parents was German<sup>47</sup>.

All considered applications were approved by DVL headquarters in Poznań, and it was not possible to appeal from these decisions (including negative ones) to central authorities of the Reich. People qualified for registry on DV were divided into five categories:

- A – active Germans
- B – passive Germans
- C – people of German nationality, for whom there was an assumption that would be full-value Germans in the future,
- D – people of German origins who got Polinized and did not actively act against the German state in the past
- E – people of German origins, Polonized and presenting hostility towards Germany<sup>48</sup>.

Greiser did not want to allow the situation in which Poles in great numbers would be registered on the list, even if their application was supported by influential Germans. Nazi authorities allowed one exception, namely mixed Polish-German couples, under the condition of bringing up children in German spirit. Therefore, on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939 the *Statthalter* of Warthegau granted the Reich citizenship only to individuals qualified to I and II groups of the German National List. The others had to prove with their behaviour that they were the permanent “*particle of the great German nation*,”. Only in this way could they acquire German citizenship<sup>49</sup>.

DV was not a tool used to Germanize Polish population. It was an office meant for inventorying and verification of the Germans living in pre-war Poland. Thus, it also played the role of selection for the Poles. Despite the broad information action on the rejection of application for non-Germans, several hundreds of Poles applied for the qualification to the group of the Reich citizens. They were mainly merchants and craftsmen, who intended to become Germans for the fear of losing their possessions. This situation also concerned officials.

They did it for the fear of losing jobs. All the attempts to change nationality consequently finished with failure<sup>50</sup>.

The moment the decree on DV, which was to be the legal basis in all districts incorporated to the Third Reich, was issued the present division of Warthegau ceased to exist. On 6<sup>th</sup> April 1941 Greiser issued a directive, according to which individuals included in group A were counted to category I DV without any restrictions. Other groups, i.e. B to E along with applicants who had been rejected had to undergo another verification according to new regulations of German law. Thus the population of Warthegau was divided into four groups: Group I – the ones belonging so far to division A  
Group II – *Volskdeutsche* from division B  
Group III – people from division C  
Group IV – people from divisions D and E<sup>51</sup>.

People qualified to three first groups received the confirmation of registry on DV, whereas group IV did not have this privilege. Moreover, people from groups I and II received IDs in the blue color. According to the circulatory of the Minister of Internal Affairs from 13<sup>th</sup> March 1941 there was no distinction between I and II category. Both groups had the same IDs as well as the same rights, privileges and obligations. The ones holding the above mentioned documents were not informed which group they belonged to. This information was provided only when indicated by offices, party or other institutions of significance<sup>52</sup>.

The decree on DVL, which was an official document regulating nationality, introduced uniform rules on all the areas incorporated to the Third Reich. It also determined the conditions necessary for the ones applying for the registration. However, depending on the administrative division this process went on in different ways and was interpreted according to the will of the *Statthalter* of a particular district<sup>53</sup>.

*Gauleiter* of Upper Silesia, Fritz Bracht, and the *Statthalter* of Gdańsk and West Prussia District, Albert Forster, accepted mass qualification of Poles on DVL, and even applied brutal extortion. *Gauleiter* of Warthegau consequently expressed opinion against such practice, and after the above mentioned decree entered into force only exceptionally gave permission for the registry of

<sup>47</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 371.

<sup>48</sup> K. Strykowski, op. cit., p. 39–40.

<sup>49</sup> C. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 58–59.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, p. 59.

<sup>51</sup> The circular of the Reich *Statthalter* for Warthegau District from 6<sup>th</sup> April 1941 on the procedure concerning the proceedings concerning DVL, in: K. Strykowski, op. cit., p. 39–40.

<sup>52</sup> K. Strykowski, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>53</sup> C. Łuczak, op. cit., p. 59.



the Poles originating from mixed Polish-German marriages and had at least two German grandparents. In exceptional cases, Greiser, as the act of mercy, granted permission for placing on DVL individuals related to high rank representatives of NSDAP, Wehrmacht officers or officials of German administration<sup>54</sup>. The suggestion of Hitler himself, resulted in Greiser's agreement on the mellowing of existing conditions concerning the Germanization of merely low number of Poles "suitable when it comes to the race" without taking into account the views of individuals in question. The majority of chosen ones did not accept the change of nationality, and those who rejected Polish citizenship to get German one, according to the will of *Statthalter* were located on the area of the Old Reich and surrender to the process of further Germanization. These people received from the Reich IDs with inscription "nationality unclear". The Poles who surrendered to the process of Germanization were settled in regions not inhabited by Polish population, and their children attended German schools. Additionally, all the transported Poles could not contact fellow countrymen transported away to do forced labour. In order to assimilate better new neighbours Nazi authorities advised not to make any differences in treating Germanized population. To achieve this the decisions were made on:

1. Prohibition of discrimination;
2. Acquiring independent two or three-room flats;
3. Acquiring the same food rations as for the Germans;
4. Equal employment rights as for the Germans as well as the possibility of social insurance and earnings;
5. Inviting for cultural events.

Individuals who positively underwent the process of Germanization, which meant proving their unity with Germany received permanent German citizenship, yet due to the lack of archive documents confirming the fate of the Poles who were transported away it is impossible to determine their fate on the area of the Old Reich<sup>55</sup>.

According to Czesław Łuczak, between 1940 and 1944, 499 500 people in general were input on DVL in KW. 90 000 out of them are the people included in III and IV groups DVL. In this population were the ones related to Germans or married to Germans<sup>56</sup>.

Tab. 1. The List of people registered on DVL in Warthegau between 1940 and 1944

Date	Groups				In general
	I	II	III	IV	
1 X 1940	182 500	151 200	47 600	28 000	409 300
1 IV 1942	201 018	175 831	41 265	12 843	430 957
31 XII 1942	209 249	191 210	55 715	19 906	476 080
1 VIII 1943	210 670	192 311	58 525	21 027	482 533
1 X 1944	219 000	192 000	70 000	18 500	499 500

Source: C. Łuczak, op. cit., s. 61.

Qualifying Polish population to III and IV groups of DVL in the analyzed district did not allow to take full advantage of citizens rights granted to the Germans. The Poles acquired German citizenship with a clause "for cancellation", which meant that it could be revoked any time. Besides, Nazi authorities limited the independence of these people in following ways:

- a) as a rule they did not agree for the restitution of seized possessions, in few cases however when it happened the Poles could only use their possessions but were not the owners
- b) they could not either take a bank loan or take advantage of tax relief like the Germans
- c) the occupants agreement in case of: changing the place of inhabitation, starting academic education, getting married to higher officials or functionaries of NSDAP,
- d) prohibition of NSDAP membership<sup>57</sup>.

The above points prove that the Poles remaining in Warthegau and qualified to groups III and IV of DVL were treated by Nazi authorities as lower category citizens. Their rights were limited or conditioned with additional obligations, such as serving in Wehrmacht. The Poles who themselves applied for input on DVL after March 1941 need to mentioned here as well. Such applications were forwarded by 50 000 individuals, mainly for purely material reasons, however there were also so called traitors who unscrupulously betrayed their homeland. Applying for input on DVL they pledged to forswear their nationality to be faithful to Germany. Yet, in most cases the occupant refused the input due to the fact that they did not meet the required criteria. On the opposite side of group III and IV DVL there were Polish enthusiasts of Hitler, who publicly manifested their German nationality. This group included many confidants of Gestapo and other political organi-

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, p. 59–60.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, p. 63–64.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, p. 62.

zations. The Poles who betrayed their homeland in this way mostly left with withdrawing Germans fearing the consequences<sup>58</sup>.

The *Statthalter* of Warthegau was proud of his achievements concerning national policy till the end of occupation. He only felt regret towards Polonized Germans who consequently refused being placed on DVL and confirmed their Polish citizenship<sup>59</sup>.

### Gdańsk–West Prussia

The views of Albert Foster, *Gauleiter* of the Reich District Gdańsk–West Prussia was of particular influence on fate of the Poles. In the autumn of 1939 he consequently initiated the process of removing the Polish element on the subdued area. In the outright way he was getting rid of indigenous inhabitants by liquidations or resettling to GG, making in this way space for German *Aussiedler* from the East. A year later Foster decided to influence on indigenes, who after the Germanization experience from the times of Prussian partition were to “return to the lap of the German nation”. The *Statthalter* was aware of the fact that it was impossible to achieve his goals without suppression<sup>60</sup>.

On 21<sup>st</sup> May 1941 *Gauleiter* issued a secret circular, which was not publicized, and referred to the population subdued to him<sup>61</sup>. German authorities initially set the date of starting works concerning DVL for 1<sup>st</sup> July 1941. However, they lacked the sufficient number of qualified staff, which had a significant influence on executing the work associated with the action. As a consequence, teachers and individuals from the resettlement camp were appointed to perform these activities<sup>62</sup>.

The *Statthalter* did not entirely agreed with the directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs remarking that it was the German origins that were the decisive factor qualifying for registry on DVL. In his opinion, interested individuals were supposed to prove their Ger-

man roots consistently with the enclosed birth, baptism, and marriage certificate, without racial examination, though. Depending on these criteria 100, 50, and 25% German origins were distinguished. Apart from the above, also the birth place was of significance. And so: people of German origins were the ones born on the area of Reich (with the exception of the Poles in Westphalia, Rhineland and Berlin) as well as in Wołyń, Lublin, Chełm, Warszawa and Galicia. According to the directives local Germans, whose nationality was not confirmed with additional examination, were treated with priority. In a special memorial from 14<sup>th</sup> December 1940 *Gauleiter* ordered broadening the action of qualifying individuals from intermediate levels. The “preliminary” selection was obligatory (*Vorerfassung*) or “thicker” selection (*Grobauslese*). Local party apparatus was authorized to conduct these activities. Eventually, the decision was taken by the block manager due to his excellent knowledge on local population<sup>63</sup>.

The initial selection took place in May 1940, and finished in July 1941. It was always conducted in an exceptionally solemn way. In January 1942 Foster again ordered the segregation of population. This time DVL was to concern officials, medical staff, as well as technically qualified individuals. Then these were large families, people related to Germans living in the Reich, as well as *Aussiedler*<sup>64</sup>. The initial selection did not have any directives from the central authorities, therefore Foster acted on the basis of circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from 14<sup>th</sup> November 1940<sup>65</sup>. Since the activities of *Statthalter* were not entirely in accordance with Führer’s wish due to too free inputs on DVL, in his letter to *Gauleiter* Himmler fiercely criticized actions pointing out that the initial selection is but a temporary activity<sup>66</sup>.

As already mentioned, in District Gdańsk–West Prussia the decree on DVL was not publicized, and the people intended for Germanization did not apply, but were appointed by Germans. Their process of Germanization happened in the following way: in branch

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 60–61.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, p. 62.

<sup>60</sup> W. Jastrzębski, *Germanization Extortion in Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District between 1939 and 1945*, in: *Germanization Extortion on Polish Areas Incorporated to German Reich between 1939 and 1945*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1993, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> The circular of the Gdańsk–West Prussia District *Statthalter* from 21<sup>st</sup> May 1941 on the regulations concerning local population expressing access to DVL, in: B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 79–82.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, p. 79–80.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>65</sup> The circular of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Reich from 14<sup>th</sup> November 1940 on issuing the certificates for people appropriate for Germanization on non-Polish Nationality, in: W. Jastrzębski, *From the Issues of DVL Gdańsk–West Prussia District between 1941 and 1945*, ed. R. Galon „Zeszytu naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu” 1965, z. 15, p. 32–33.

<sup>66</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 82.

office a candidate received six application forms. Three out of them concerned German nationality and the other three being complementary to the first ones. Forwarding the filled forms meant including on DVL. People who did not undergo the selection positively and were not qualified as candidates to become *Volksdeutsche* also forwarded their applications to DVL Office. This mainly happened because of the confiscated possessions. Nazi authorities did not reject forms automatically, since after repeat verification of a specially appointed commission there were cases that a candidate achieved his aim<sup>67</sup>.

Despite the extortion Polish population was reluctant to forward application to DVL Office, which was not well perceived by the Germans. Additionally, local *Volksdeutsche* opposed to such an operation since in their opinion treating Poles and Germans equally could have negative influence and lead to the defeat of the Reich<sup>68</sup>.

Tab. 2. The tally of evolved applications on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1941 in bydgoski county

Specification	Conclusions						
	The groups of German People's List				rejected	Revoked for completion	altogether
	I	II	III	IV			
Number	2269	400	67	9	56	185	2 986
In which children over the age of 18	958	145	42	8	10	48	1 211
Altogether	3227	545	109	17	66	233	4 197

Source: B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 83.

As Brygida Wrzesińska points out in the middle of November 1941 in bydgoski county till 31<sup>st</sup> December 1941 it was mainly Germans who got included, i.e. groups I and II. Group III were mainly Poles, and this record makes a small fraction of people included on DVL (0.26%).

The action of Germanizing Polish population in Pomerania did not bring expected results even despite the criticized selection. Therefore, the *Statthalter* of District Gdańsk–West Prussia issued on 22 February 1942

an appeal, *Aufruf*, to the local population, in which persuaded accepting group III DVL in the following way:

*“Especially now when the German nation is struggling for its existence and freedom we must know who on the former frontier areas can be considered a German, and who a Pole. many of those who in the last twenty years publicly did not present themselves as Germans can now prove their Germanity by active cooperation. Those who will reject must be prepared that he will not belong to the German nation and will be submitted to regulations established for the Poles. It is obvious that he will be treated equally with the worst enemies of the German nation”.*

This announcement was placed on posters and publicized in all the press issued at that time in the German district<sup>69</sup>.

Gauleiter decided that it would not be possible to obtain locals voluntarily and without suppression on the submitted areas, thus he applied brutal extortion. Additionally, on the basis of the circular of the Reich Commissar for Strengthening Germanhood from 16<sup>th</sup> February 1942 the record of the population avoiding the input was ordered. The data of these people was supplied to the police, who set the eight-day period to accept DVL. The ones who would not respect this order were threatened with arrest and sending to a concentration camp. The final date of forwarding applications was set for 31<sup>st</sup> March 1942<sup>70</sup>.

Unexpectedly negative situation on the fronts resulted in even greater demand for men who could reinforce Wehrmacht, as well as the workforce for the military industry. In such a state of matters the regulations of DVL from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941 required amendment. In order to do this on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1942 Himmler issued a new decree<sup>71</sup>, which determined the conditions of input on DVL in a simpler and quicker manner. The six applications mentioned above were replaced with one, on which an applicant placed himself and all his family members under the age of 21. The *Statthalter* decree included a statement that people inhabiting the areas incorporated to the Reich were German population, therefore it was necessary for them hand in the form in *Deutsche Volksliste* Office. At the same time *Gauleiter* ordered the commission to act with due diligence because of precarious and racially undesired individuals.

<sup>69</sup> W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>71</sup> The decree of Reichsführer SS H. Himmler on the works associated with DVL, in: W. Jastrzębski, *From the issues*, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>67</sup> J. Rados, <http://www.historiachojnic.pl/artykuly/materialy/II-wojna-swiatowa/122/volkslista-przeklenstwo-czy-koniecznosc-> [01.06.2016].

<sup>68</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 84.

The specially appointed commissions included:

- a) a mayor or an appointed person;
- b) the head of a local NSDAP post;
- c) security police;
- d) two local *Volksdeutsche*.

The main assignment of the commission was to prepare materials for meetings of the branch office. In simple cases they could make decisions on an input beyond groups I, II and IV, since they required further verification by the branch office. Group III was legitimized collectively, apart from the cases when the commission had a different opinion. Then, a branch office examined the case documents again<sup>72</sup>.

Along with the appeal on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1942 Forster issued directions for work in DVL Offices. *Gauleiter* ordered administration workers to postpone all the other duties during branch office's increased activities, and treat DVL as their priority. To achieve this aim the administration apparatus was obliged to report their work weekly. Local branch offices began their action in April 1942. Before summoning a candidate to an office in written form, Nazi authorities checked whether political or criminal proceedings were being conducted against a particular person. In an applicant did not express any

misbehaviour towards the Reich, each individual over the age of 21 was obliged to answer the following questions:

1. Did an applicant have any direct German ancestor?
2. Does an applicant have relatives in the Reich?
3. What was his behaviour like during Polish times and since September 1939?
4. What is an applicant's efficiency at work, or his wife's, provided she works professionally?
5. Is an applicant's flat tidy?<sup>73</sup>

Responding at least three of the above questions in positive way qualified an applicant to group III DVL. The credibility of information was verified by local commissions or confronted with the opinion of a workplace. In cases when it was impossible to prove the actual state the commission based on the opinion of an applicant. The previous requirements set by German authorities for the ones applying for input on DVL were much more exorbitant. After the conditions were made simpler the first effects could be noticed as early as a month after the commission started working<sup>74</sup>.

Applications for the input on the area of Eastern Pomerania were forwarded by almost all the community. Not all of them, however, were considered positively. The Germans accepted mainly families that could

Tab. 3. The national relations in the Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District according to the state from May 1944. Gdańsk administrative district

County	Germans	III group DVL	Poles	Foreign workers	Overall population
Chojnice	12 215 (14,5%)	63 645 (75,5%)	8 429 (10 %)	–	84 289
Elbląg-city*	99 000 (100 %)	–	–	–	99 000
Elbląg – countryside*	26 582 (100 %)	–	–	–	26 582
Gdańsk – city*	275 725 (96,3 %)	–	–	12 270 (3,7 %)	287 995
Gdańsk – countryside*	43 3334 (98%)	–	884 (2%)	–	44 218
Gdynia	26 824 (20,4%)	66 422 (52,6%)	34 543 (27%)	–	127 789
Kartuzy	7 824 (10,1%)	40 217 (51,8%)	29 580 (38,1%)	–	77 639
Kościerzyna	7 433 (12,9%)	37 195 (70,1%)	8 417 (17,0%)	–	5 3045
Nowy Dwór*	54 560 (84,5%)	–	–	10 000 (15,5%)	64 560
Sopot*	30 241 (99,0%)	–	–	305 (1,0%)	30 546
Starogard	7 809 (10,0%)	62 479 (80,0%)	7 810 (10,0%)	–	78 098
Tczew	16 436 (22,5%)	51 217 (70,5%)	5 085 (7,0%)	–	72738
Wejherowo	18 045 (19,0%)	65 531 (69,0%)	11 397 (12,0%)	–	94 973
<b>In general:</b>	<b>626 046</b>	<b>386 706</b>	<b>106 145</b>	<b>22 575</b>	<b>1 141 472</b>

Source: W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 20.

\*Volkliste was not in force in the former German county of East Prussia as well as on the area of Free City of Danzig

<sup>73</sup> J. Rados., <http://www.historiachojnic.pl/artykuly/materialy/II-wojna-swiatowa/122/volkslista-przeklenstwo-czy-koniecznosc-> [01.06.2016].

<sup>74</sup> B. Wrzesińska, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>72</sup> W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 40.

Tab. 4. Bydgoski administrative district

County	Germans	III group DVL	Poles	Overall population
Bydgoszcz – city*	40 510 (27,0%)	61 854 (43,0%)	44 004 (30,0%)	146 348
Bydgoszcz – countryside*	16 489 (28,8%)	13 674 (25,6%)	27 070 (45,6%)	57 233
Chełmno	13 989 (28,0%)	22 000 (44,0%)	13 989 (28,0%)	49 978
Sępólno	14 658 (45,0%)	11 735 (36,0%)	6 206 (19,0%)	32 599
Świecie	22 445 (23,9%)	44 425 (47,3%)	27 048 (28,8%)	93 918
Toruń – miasto	8 000 (10,0%)	57 000 (71,0%)	15 027 (19,0%)	80 027
Toruń – wieś	710 433 (19,1%)	20 163 (36,7%)	24 256 (44,2%)	54 852
Tuchola	6 769 (15,6%)	17 509 (70,1%)	19 272 (44,2%)	43 550
Wyrzysk	13 240 (19,8%)	9 730 (14,7%)	43 902 (65,5%)	66 872
<b>In general:</b>	146 533	258 070	220 974	625 377

Source: W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 21.

Tab. 5. Kwidziński administrative district

County	Germans	III group DVL	Poles	Foreign workers	Overall population
Brodnica	12 215 (14,5%)	63 645 (75,5%)	8 429 (10%)	–	84 289
Grudziądz – city	99 000 (100%)	–	–	–	99 000
Grudziądz – countryside	26 582 (100%)	–	–	–	26 582
Lipno	275 725 (96,3%)	–	–	12 270 (3,7%)	287 995
Malbork*	43 3334 (98%)	–	884 (2%)	–	44 218
Nowe Miasto Lub.	26 824 (20,4%)	66 422 (52,6%)	34 543 (27%)	–	127 789
Prabuty*	7 824 (10,1%)	40 217 (51,8%)	29 580 (38,1%)	–	77 639
Rypin	7 433 (12,9%)	37 195 (70,1%)	8 417 (17,0%)	–	53 045
Sztum*	54 560 (84,5%)	–	–	10 000 (15,5%)	64 560
Wąbrzeźno*	30 241 (99,0%)	–	–	305 (1,0%)	30 546
<b>In general:</b>	626 046	386 706	106 145	22 575	1 141 472

Source: W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 21.

\* in the former German counties of East Prussia as well as the area of Free City of Danzig *Volksliste* was not in force.

be useful for the Reich, i.e. males who able to serve in the army or specialists for managerial positions, whereas rejected those who could be the burden, like elderly or sick people, as well as the ones who deprived of the only breadwinner. The Reich did not need pre-war humanist intelligentsia or unskilled individuals, as well as so called asocial elements, namely criminals<sup>75</sup>.

The procedure concerning the rejection of applications and appealing from the decision of the branch office was relatively complicated. According to the rules, a representative of a particular level had to have the way of promotion ahead and accurately fulfill the conditions set for him<sup>76</sup>.

Tab. 6. The percentage indicators referring to the Poles from Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District included in III group DVL (the state from 1944)

Administrative district	%
Gdańska	79,00
Bydgoska	53,80
Kwidzińska	44,90

Source: W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 23.

Tab. 7. The percentage indicators concerning the Poles in Gdańsk–Prusy Zachodnie Reich District included on III DVL (the state from May 1944 r.)

L.p.	City/ district	%
1.	Tczew	92,7
2.	Toruń – city	91,8
3.	Starogard	88,9
4.	Chojnice	88,0

<sup>75</sup> W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem.

Tab. 7 – cont.

L.p.	City/ district	%
5.	Grudziądz – city	87,2
6.	Wejherowo	85,2
7.	Kościerzyna	81,7
8.	Sępólno	66,5
9.	Gdynia	65,8
10.	Świecie	62,1
11.	Chełmno	61,0
12.	Kartuzy	59,0
13.	Bydgoszcz – city	58,4
14.	Grudziądz – countryside	57,2
15.	Nowe Miasto Lubawskie	54,6
16.	Brodnica	54,2
17.	Wąbrzeźno	48,3
18.	Tuchola	47,6
19.	Toruń – countryside	45,4
20.	Bydgoszcz – countryside	33,5
21.	Wyrzysk	18,1
22.	Lipno	8,0
23.	Rypin	5,0
<b>The general indicator for the district</b>		<b>59,5</b>

Source: W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 22.

Referring to the data included in the work by Władysław Jastrzębski one needs to take into account the fact that Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District was the conglomerate of numerous nations with various traditions. Apart from Free City of Danzig, Elbląg, Kwidzyn, Malbork Prabuty, and Sztum<sup>77</sup>, this area included the territory of Eastern Pomerania with prevailing Polish population, which had experienced the process of Germanization during the times of Prussian partition, whereas Lipno and Rypin had been the part of the former Russian partition areas. Such a situation affected the variety of proceeding on these areas, i.e. *Volksliste* did not apply in the lands that were purely German since the local population consisted of German citizens, on the other hand in lipnieński and rypiński counties German authorities did not introduce Germanization extortion<sup>78</sup>.

The large difference in the percentage indicators of Germanization, as Władysław Jastrzębski points out, can be explained with the individual attitude of particular administration managers in counties. On the area

<sup>77</sup> W. Jastrzębski, op. cit., p. 23, “it included, beside the areas that were almost entirely German – it concerns the former Free City of Danzig, as well as five counties incorporated from East Prussia: Elbląg, Kwidzyń, Malbork, Prabuty and Sztum”.

<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, p. 23.

of Gdańsk administrative district German policy was explicitly anti-Polish, however in spite of this some areas contrasted between each other. The author presents Toruń as the example – the town which was the capital of Pomerania voivodship before the war and was inhabited by a relatively high number of Polish intelligentsia and yet at the same time its indicator of Germanization was very high. A reverse situation occurred in wyrzyski and bydgoski counties, where the number of people qualified to group III *Deutsche Volksliste* was low<sup>79</sup>.

In this analysis one may not omit group IV DVL. According to the currently binding law this category was to be powered by German renegades, who did not acknowledged their roots, which in opinion of Nazi authorities deserved a reprimand and resulted in sending to a concentration camp. As Władysław Jastrzębski presents the number of individuals included in group IV DVL was relatively small. According to statistics from June 1943 in bydgoski administrative district there were 509, as compared to 236 014 individuals in group III.

The data for Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District from January 1944 indicate that 937 000 out of 1 332 000 of the local population (excluding Free City of Danzig) qualified for DVL. This number comprised all four groups and the Germanization index on the basis of the above mentioned data (May 1944) was relatively high and made 59.5% of the overall Polish population.

“On 10<sup>th</sup> April 1943 executive area of Gdańsk of Security Service reported on the atmosphere and attitudes of Polish Germanized population: *in its majority the population qualified to group III DVL presents itself similarly to the Poles. As notified before there are these and other previously reported phenomena as: speaking the Polish language in public places ostentatiously, making contacts with the Polish population and arrogant attitude towards Germans, refusing to work and deserting the workplace*”<sup>80</sup>.

The above means that the ones included in group III DVL were actually the Poles. Nazi authorities assumed that sooner or later the whole local population would become Germanized, and the ones opposing this actively would be liquidated. There still was the question of individuals that had not been qualified to any category, but were sorted in the negative selection. These individuals, according to the currently binding decree on DVL from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941 had acquired the status of taken care of by the German state. On 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1944

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

the authorities of Gdańsk–West Prussia Reich District issued a new decree on the basis of which the taken care of received IDs, so called *Kennkarte*<sup>81</sup>.

### East Prussia – “Mazurzy”

East Prussia District was established on the basis of Hitler's decree from 8<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on the incorporation of western and northern Polish areas to the German Reich. This district covered the newly established ciechanowski administrative district, and the district of Suwałki. The above mentioned administration units included northern Mazovia (counties: ciechanowski, ostrołęcki, płocki, przasnyski, pułtuski and sierpecki). The overall area of the district was 13 500 km<sup>2</sup>. Suwałki district covered a small area and included the pre-war suwalski county and a part of augustowskie voivodship. The unit covered circ. 3 000 km<sup>2</sup> and was included in the administrative district of Gąbin<sup>82</sup>. Erich Koch was appointed the *Statthalter* of East Prussia District<sup>83</sup>.

According to the ideological assumptions of Hitler's, Nazi authorities initiated Germanization activities immediately after the annexation of this area. As a result, the complete prohibition of educating children and the youth was announced. Schools, libraries, and all the cultural institutions were liquidated, as well as courts of law and notary offices. In accordance with the decree of Göring from 17<sup>th</sup> September 1940 all real property belonging to the Poles were confiscated. Germans appropriated banks and changed the currency into German one. Moreover, all the place and street names were in the German language<sup>84</sup>.

Acting on the basis of Hitler's authorization, the *Statthalter* Erich Koch reserved the lands of the newly established district to provide the space for German *Aussiedler* from the East and the Baltic states. In this way numerous Polish families had been deprived of their possessions and resettled to GG or concentration

camps<sup>85</sup>. Apart from that, East Prussia was to provide free workforce for the Reich. Obviously, DVL was in force in this district as well<sup>86</sup>.

The headquarters of DV was in Königsberg. The area office was supervised by the administrative district president, whereas in counties there were branch offices. Administrative activities referring to input on DVL were performed on the basis of the decree from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941<sup>87</sup>.

Nazi authorities assumed that Masurian's were mostly of German nationality, therefore this social group was particularly searched for and Germanization extortion was not applied towards them. Polish population inhabiting this area was relatively small compared to the overall population. It was the consequence of losing Polish identity throughout the years. It ought to be mentioned in this place that the process of input on DVL was of formal character and basically did not change the relations between neighbours<sup>88</sup>.

For a large group of Polish population of German origins the confirmation of the access was a natural decision, since they had been inhabiting these areas along with Germans for years. Both peasants and intelligentsia shared the opinion in this matter.

As Czesław Madajczyk presents, in ciechanowski administrative district circa 46 000 people were included on DVL, 1/3 of whom was the Polish population qualified to groups III and IV. In białostocki district Germanization extortion was applied for some time towards the Poles employed in German administration<sup>89</sup>.

Tab. 8. The population registered on DVL in ciechanowski administrative district and in Suwałki county, in %

Period	DVL				In general
	Groups				
	I	II	III	IV	
VII 1942	5	11	3	0,5	19,5
I 1944	9	22,5	13,5	1,5	46,5

Source: C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 449.

According to Ryszard Kaczmarek, DVL on the area of East Prussia was aimed at the intimidation of the Polish society. Koch intended to dispose of the indigenous population and settle there his kinsmen from the East.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem, p. 28.

<sup>82</sup> W. Monkiewicz, *The National Policy in Ciechanowski Administrative District and the District of Suwałki between 1939 and 1945*, in: *Germanization Extortion on Polish Areas Incorporated to German Reich between 1939 and 1945*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1993, p. 156–157.

<sup>83</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *German National Policy in West Prussia District and Upper Silesia Province*, in: *Germanization Policy*, ed. K. Minczykowska and J. Sziling, Toruń, 2007, p. 24.

<sup>84</sup> W. Monkiewicz, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>85</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 447.

<sup>86</sup> W. Monkiewicz, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>88</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 449.

<sup>89</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 449.

As presented in the table 8. in this district over 45 000 people were input on DVL. The majority were in groups I and II. The others were the Poles who were under so called the custody of the Third Reich. Polish resistance reported at the end of 1942 that in ciechanowski administrative district less than 2% of Polish population was qualified for DVL. It is worth mentioning here that the entry in this district did not base on the commonly accepted racial and national norms, and individuals accepted as *Volksdeutsche* were, “of low value and disrespected already before the war. Their decision was made for material reasons and the fear of losing their farms, shops, real estate. All of them, however, were obliged to prove their German origins...”<sup>90</sup>.

### Upper Silesia – “*palcówka*”

Upper Silesia was incorporated to the province of Silesia along with the neighbouring counties, which were separated from krakowskie and kieleckie voivodships. This area comprised the following counties: chrzanowski, żywiecki, bielski, okulski, częstochowski, będziński, zawierciański, and żywiecki. Out of them two administrative districts were established: opolski (with lubliniecki county) and katowicki (bytomski and gliwicki counties along with Zabrze and Bytom). After the division of the Silesia province into: górnośląska and dolnośląska they made Gornoslaska province (*Provinz Oberschlesien*)<sup>91</sup>.

The process of input on *Deutsche Volksliste* was conducted on the basis of the same document as in Pomerania and Warthegau, i.e. the Decree on the German People's List and German Nationality from 4<sup>th</sup> March 1941, supported by an executive by-law from 13<sup>th</sup> March 1941 passed by the minister of internal Affairs of the Reich. The quickening of the Germanization action in Upper Silesia was determined by the decree from 31<sup>st</sup> January 1942 and had an analogous aim as in Pomerania. It was about mass qualification of people to group III<sup>92</sup>. The register of population was created in order to collect the current data, which was to illustrate the number of people suitable for Germanization and most of all estimate the scale of conscription for the service in Wehrmacht. Inhabitants, considered by the authorities to be Germans acquired German citizenship

and could stay in their place of dwelling. Individuals who did not meet the requirements of nationality were doomed for expulsion<sup>93</sup>.

The structure of DVL office looked like in Pomerania. The presidents of administrative district supervised district outposts and their branch offices managed by *landrats*. Branch offices were the organs of the first level, whereas district outposts of DVL made institution of appeal. The subsequent way of appealing were central outpost. The ultimate instance was the Supreme Court of Appeal for National Matters of Incorporated Eastern Areas at the Office of the Reich Commissar for the Matters of Strengthening Germanhood. This organ possessed the highest power. It had the competence to change all decisions regardless of the course of administration procedure. The Reich commissar was the Head of the court and seven jurors appointed by him. They were: a representative of Reich Chancellery, the Head Management of NSDAP, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Main Security Office, Main SS Office for the matters of Race and Settling, as well as two representatives of German national minority<sup>94</sup>.

The commission of DVL Bureau consisted of:

- a) the head – the Reich *Statthalter* or the head president of the province and his deputy-administrative district president;
- b) people appointed by the Reich Commissar for the Matters of Strengthening Germanhood;
- c) an NSDAP member;
- d) a representative of Security Police and Security Services along with people appointed by him;
- e) local *Volksdeutsche*<sup>95</sup>.

The central DVL commission adjudicated in nine-person, district in seven-person, whereas a branch office in five-person board<sup>96</sup>. Handing in filled applications resulted in receiving temporary IDs, which were confirmed with a fingerprint, hence the whole action associated with an input and receiving an ID was called “*palcówka*”<sup>97</sup>.

The action of qualifying population on DVL based on the above mentioned decree, however it was conducted differently in every district. The process of Germanization in Upper Silesia was conducted analogically to the rules in Pomerania district. Nazi authorities con-

<sup>93</sup> A. Szefer, *German Aussiedler in Upper Silesia between 1939 and 1945*, Katowice 1974, p. 107.

<sup>94</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>97</sup> A. Szefer, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>90</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *The Poles*, p. 57–59.

<sup>91</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, *The Issue of Volksliste in Upper Silesia. The Concepts of Issues and their Realization*, Opole 1978, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem.



sidered the population of Upper Silesia to be mainly of German nationality and therefore everybody ought to be included in DVL. In this area the occupant had achieved an impressive result, since over a half of Silesia population confirmed their access to DVL<sup>98</sup>. Having done the selection, it was necessary to exclude from the community individuals useless for the Reich, i.e. the Poles<sup>99</sup>.

The Germanization extortion in Upper Silesia district was commonplace. Qualification to groups I and II was conducted firstly, whereas categorization to the remaining two groups was conducted much slower. Candidates to group III, according to Nazi authorities, were to make the largest community, however they had to undergo the strictest requirements, i.e. the racial and health examination, which remarkably slowed down the process of Germanization<sup>100</sup>.

Due to the industrial character of Upper Silesia *Gauleiter* of katowicki administrative district, Fritz Bracht, did not agree to resettle local population not included in DVL extortion scheme to GG. Such a behaviour could result in economic instability, hence the *Statthalter* acquired the consent of authorities to soften requirements, and thus got the workforce<sup>101</sup>.

The increasing military demand of the German army had caused the quickening of action associated with nationality. With a view to that on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1942 German authorities issued an amendment to the decree on DVL in power, granting group III with nationality status for cancellation. At the same time in case of mistaken qualification of a candidate the authorities made it possible to issue the correction through appeal. Immediately after the above mentioned amendment granting group III the right to appeal, there appeared the guidelines for the remaining ones. I and II made no problems and were obvious, whereas III and IV required further regulations. The work on this issue was still conducted by the Reich Commissar Office for Strengthening of Germanhood, which was supervised by Himmler. In order to do that *Reichsführer SS* issued two decrees: the first one on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1942 on treatment towards groups I, II and III, and the second one on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1942 referring to group IV<sup>102</sup>.

The first decree included little information on the two first groups, and focused mainly on population from group III. The intention of Nazi authorities was to make this group submitted to the same legal regulations as individuals from groups I and II. However, in spite of applied Germanization extortion the rights of this group were significantly limited and referred e.g.<sup>103</sup>:

- a) property rights
- b) the requirement to acquire consent for getting married
- c) the prohibition of NSDAP membership
- d) the prohibition of holding high social functions
- e) exclusion from holding white-collar posts
- f) the requirement to acquire consent to attend higher schools<sup>104</sup>.

Due to the deepening military and economic crisis in Upper Silesia Nazi authorities granted group III with various kinds of privileges to make appearances of equaling them people included in categories I and II. Despite the above mentioned limitations and the mistrust towards this category of people German offered this Polish-German intermediate class a special allowance to their earnings as well as employment<sup>105</sup>. Not submitting to the process of Germanization as well as not applying to DVL office, and not accepting the imposed group was punished with concentration camp or even death.

People qualified to the last, IV group DVL, were in much worse situation. Since they did not play any significant part in the occupants plans, they were not taken into account when it came to army draft, and therefore no efforts were made to gain this population. Hence, they were considered renegades. It was German indigenous population, which opposed the policy of the Third Reich as well as asocial and genetically defected individuals. Such an attitude was punished with concentration camp. People who strictly opposed the process of Germanization lost their children, who were given to German families to be brought up by them, the others were transported to concentration camps. Generally, people from group IV DVL experienced the same limitations as group III, yet due to its low position Nazi authorities were incline towards disposing of them<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> G. Górski, *The Population of Pomerania...*, p. 131–132.

<sup>99</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 424–425.

<sup>100</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>101</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *German*, p. 35.

<sup>102</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>104</sup> I. Sroka, *The police o Population and DVL in Upper Silesia (legal regulations, results)*, in: *Germanization Extortion on Polish Areas Incorporated to German Reich between 1939 and 1945*, ed. W. Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 1993, p. 133.

<sup>105</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

On 10<sup>th</sup> February 1942 Himmler issued another decree. According to this legal act the qualification of local population to DVL was to be quickened. In order to achieve this aim the assisting commissions were appointed in communes, which included: a mayor, the head of local NSDAP, a representative of SD and two local *Volksdeutsche*. The commission's task was to provide opinions on applications and suggest categorization to groups I, II, or IV of DVL to branch office. Group III did not require individual consideration, since it was adjudicated cumulatively. According to the mentioned decree the date of handing in applications was set till 31<sup>st</sup> March 1942, which finished the first stage of categorization on DVL<sup>107</sup>. The following step was the appeal procedure, which also changed administration procedure, i.e. it was forbidden to accept the appeal from granting group III, only such documents were accepted that could lead to granting groups III or II revision procedure, which was associated with conscription to

Wehrmacht. The following years caused that procedure of registering the population on DVL was systematically eased due to the situation on warfronts, which led to the transformation of DVL Bureau into the assisting organ at the military Army Recruiting Command<sup>108</sup>.

The actions of *Gauleiter* Bracht and the rapid process of inputting Upper Silesia inhabitants on DVL was not favoured by Himmler. In Bracht's opinion Germanization of the population that was submitted to him could not depend on racial examination, and DVL commissions ought to act independently and in doubtful cases play assisting role. The attitude of *Gauleiter* did not follow the regulations of decree in power, therefore on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1943 there was the meeting between representatives of Race and Settlement Main Office with local posts of DVL. Representatives of the Main Office proved that the action of qualifying for DVL without racial examination would not bring the expected results. Such a standpoint was decidedly rejected by central and

Tab. 9. The results of the registry of the population in katowicki administrative district on DVL (the State on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1943)

Separated countries and towns	Overall population	Registered on <i>Volksliste</i>					Undecided cases of nationality	Population		German <i>Aussiedler</i>	Other nations
		In general	To groups					Polish not included in the list	German with the Reich nationality		
			I	II	III	IV					
będziński	199 622	4 929	68	419	3 550	892	–	185 281	5 495	3 018	899
bielski	319 804	85 492	•	•	•	•	–	202 725 a)	15 694	13 937	1 956
bytomski	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
chrzanowski	117 856	2 957	•	•	•	•	–	108 415	3 097	2 236	1 151
cieszyński	297 400	205 300	3 000	22 000	180 000	300	4 900	33 700	14 110	890	38 500
gliwicki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
katowicki	384 486	349 398	•	•	•	•	–	19 992 b)	14 717	379	–
olkuski	39 996	468	31	75	274	88	39	38 239	706	448	96
pszczyński	169 761	158 016	7 929	11 294	128 184	10 609	–	7 826	3 787	102	30
rybnicki	225 557	212 533	11 947	19 831	175 782	4 973	–	5 087	7 115	656	166
tarnogórski	115 937	106 317	12 197	19 299	69 336	5 485	1 000	4 500	4 000	20	100
żywiecki	130 829	2 426	124	559	1 704	39	128	116 084	2 723	9 282	186
Bytom	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Chorzów	129 021	118 739	14 033	40 686	57 479	6 541	–	7 340	2 704	238	–
Gliwice	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Katowice	132 138	103 351	10 805	29 640	58 419	4 487	–	7 787	21 000	–	–
Sosnowiec	99 846	3 537	20	530	2 584	353	–	89 095	5 334	1 880	–
Zabrze	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Altogether</b>	<b>2 362 253</b>	<b>1 353 463</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>6 067</b>	<b>826 071</b>	<b>100 482</b>	<b>33 086</b>	<b>43 084</b>

- a) bielski country included also territories that were not the part of Silesia hence a significant percentage of the population not qualified to any group;
- b) other nations are also included merely to the Polish territories incorporated to the Reich included in katowicki administrative district. Columns for groups I–IV have not been summed due to the lack of data for bielski, chrzanowski and krakowski countries.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, p. 28.

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

district DVL commissions as well as the district management of NASDAP. These organs had applied a common concept and pointed out that the verification of already issued decisions would undermine the authority of DVL Office and deepen the discontent with the mistrust towards the authorities<sup>109</sup>.

In the area of katowicki administrative district 1.4 million people were included on DVL, which made over half of the population in this area. As Zofia Broda-Krężel presents circa 120 000 people were included in group I, circa 250 000 in group II, circa 1 million in group III, and 70 000 in group IV. The data prove that group III was the most numerous one and made 70% of all registered. The Poles not included in DVL made around 1 million. As one can see in the table there were circa 100 000 German citizens of the Reich in katowicki administrative district and around 40 000 individuals of other nationalities (mostly Czechs). The Poles not included in Germanization extortion who inhabited 85% of the area of non-Silesia administrative district and due to that were not required to fill DVL forms, made high indicator. The remaining 15% consisted of the Silesia inhabitants who had not been accepted on DVL or the ones who despite the extortion had not handed in applications. What is more, as the author remarks, in rybnicki county Germanization extortion was 2%, and in Chorzów 6%, with the exception of cieszyński county, where the population not included on DVL was the most numerous, which made around 11% of the overall population of the county.

Analyzing the data in the above table one may notice that in rural county prevailed the population included in group III, which was granted temporary citizenship and made 80% of all citizens registered on DVL, whereas group II fluctuated around 10% and group I around 5% of the population in question. The opposite could be seen in industrial counties and was as follows: group I around 10%, group II 30%, while group III 50%.

Differences concerning the qualification of the population embraced with the Germanization extortion, as Zofia Broda-Krężel remarks presenting the location of groups in katowicki administrative district, were disproportionate, which resulted from the concentration of the German population as well as the character of economy this area. Additionally, the views and ambitions of the local authorities apparatus were of significance<sup>110</sup>.

After the Great War Upper Silesia had been incorporated to the Polish state along with a remarkably large group of citizens who composed German national minority. Therefore, the authorities concerned the indigenous population as German and imposed common obligation to fill in documents confirming German nationality. The forms were not applications, however they served the authorities to conduct the selection of citizens<sup>111</sup>. Generally this community was included in groups I and II DVL. The Poles inhabiting Upper Silesia obeyed Himmler's by-law filling the forms so that they could acquire possibly the lowest group. Relatively the largest group of Poles acquired group II, which in the final phase of DVL was enlarged to complete the shortages in the army. Group II consisted mainly of long-term skilled factory workers who were to be bound more strongly with Germanhood and most of all secured the proper work of industry<sup>112</sup>.

The process of Germanization in Pomerania and Upper Silesia had a similar course. Both Bracht and Forster had similar views on racial examination, however *Gauleiter* of Gdańsk–West Prussia District was not able to conduct the action skillfully due to his behaviour, which caused conflicts with Himmler. Actions undertaken by Bracht were accepted by the authorities due to the potential of skilled workers and continuously increasing demands in the German army<sup>113</sup>.

The process of qualifying of Upper Silesia population on *Deutsche Volksliste* was completed in the middle of 1943, yet despite closing the action the applications were still delivered to DVL Offices. It resulted from the Gestapo actions. Further appeal procedures were performed by higher DVL Offices until 1945, i.e. the liberation of Upper Silesia<sup>114</sup>.

### **The concepts of Germanization extortion in General Government**

On the basis of the decree of Führer and Reich Chancellor from 12<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on the administration of the occupied Polish areas which had not been incorporated to the Third Reich (or the USSR) a political and administrative unit was established which was called General Government for the occupied Polish territo-

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, p. 33–34.

<sup>111</sup> I. Sroka, op. cit., p. 126.

<sup>112</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 34–35.

<sup>113</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *The Upper*, p. 198.

<sup>114</sup> Z. Broda-Krężel, op. cit., p. 32.

ries<sup>115</sup>. This area covered central and southern Polish territories, i.e.: the part of warszawskie voivodship with the capital city, the part of łódzkie voivodship (without Łódź), the part of krajowskie voivodship with Kraków, lubelskie voivodship, the part of kieleckie voivodship with Kielce and the western part of lwowskie voivodship (without Lwów). Altogether 96 000 square kilometers<sup>116</sup>. Additionally the area of GG was divided into four districts: radomski, lubelski, warszawski and krakowski. As a result of German aggression on the USSR the area of GG was enlarged with yet another, fifth district Galicia. It included the territory of lwowskie voivodship with Lwów, as well as stanisławowskie and tarnopolskie voivodship. After the incorporation of this territory to the Reich on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1941, the area of GG covered 145 000 square kilometers<sup>117</sup>.

GG was governed by General Governor Hans Frank, who was directly subordinate to Führer<sup>118</sup>. General Governor appointed the government, managed by a secretary of state, assisted by under-secretary, managing ministries.

Larger towns were subjected to German town *Statthalter*, whereas smaller ones and communes to Polish self-government. The legislative organs got disbanded<sup>119</sup>.

On 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939 Hans Frank issued a decree on the introduction of identification cards on the area of GG<sup>120</sup>. According to this document Polish population inhabiting GG was to have identification cards, called *Kennkarte*. This document served as ID and included the following data: family name, date of birth, origins, occupation, marital status and nationality. Moreover, each card had to include a fingerprint.

The decree of General Governor from 26<sup>th</sup> January 1940 on introducing the identification card for in GG was regulating the issue of nationality. According to paragraph 1 the those of German nationality were the ones, who in spite of not having nationality acknowledged their German nationality. This acknowledgement was to be confirmed with the origins, the knowledge of the language and behaviour<sup>121</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> G. Górski, *The Legal Aspects...*, p. 102.

<sup>116</sup> A. Wrzyszczyk, op. cit., p. 695–696.

<sup>117</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>118</sup> Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny from 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939, Nr 282.

<sup>119</sup> G. Górski, *The History of Administration*, Warszawa 2001, p. 275.

<sup>120</sup> The decree on the introduction of identification cards on the area of General Government (Dz. Rozp. GG. p. 8).

<sup>121</sup> The decree from 26<sup>th</sup> January 1940 on the introduc-

tion of identification cards for those of German nationality in General Government (Dz. Rozp. GG. I p. 36).

On the basis of the first executive decision from 13<sup>th</sup> June 1940, to decree from 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on introducing identification cards in GG, acting on the order of the General Governor Krüger determined the mode and procedure of granting identification cards<sup>122</sup>. The decree concerned all the town inhabitants over the age of 15 apart from the Germans, the ones of German nationality and foreigners.

The application was to be handed in personally in a commune at woyt or mayor, in accordance with the place of residence. In case of individuals with limited legal capacity or incapable of performing legal activities, this obligation was performed by a legal representative. The form was issued by offices, and a candidate was obliged to provide truthful information. In doubtful cases the office could also demand additional documents, such as birth or marriage certificate. An applicant was obliged to enclose two photographs. An identification card also bore the file number, the prints of the right and left fingers, as well as the signature of an applicant. In addition the ID was issued in two copies and in different colours. In paragraph 4 of the decree particular colours of the document were determined for particular nationalities, in case of the Poles it was grey. Since that moment any alterations in the document had been forbidden.

Since *Kennkarte* was the document that was forged most frequently, Nazi authorities issued documents on a specially prepared paper, holding in their files exactly the same document as the one held by a candidate. The issuing of *Kennkarte* was charged with a fee of 4 zloty. In case one was not able to pay and could prove it according to paragraph 15 point 2 of the first decision(...) the Germans relieved the candidate of the fee.

As one may conclude from the above, the concepts of Germanization extortion had also appeared in GG, even though the March decree on DVL did not embrace this area. The Germans had such a plan, yet eventually they quit it. They refrained from the division into four groups, and left the one, i.e. German nationality<sup>123</sup>. *Deutschestämmige*, which was the population with, “even one drop of German blood”. The selection of people was not simple.

tion of identification cards for those of German nationality in General Government (Dz. Rozp. GG. I p. 36).

<sup>122</sup> The first executive decision to the decree from 26<sup>th</sup> October 1939 on the introduction of identification cards in General Government from 13<sup>th</sup> June 1941 (Dz. Rozp. GG. p. 344).

<sup>123</sup> J. Kochanowski, op. cit., p. 24.

In 1940 Nazi authorities selected around 90 000 people, who were equivalent of groups I and II DVL, *Volksdeutsche*, however they did not acquire German nationality. This privilege was about equalling the rights granted to native born Germans, which meant receiving rations of groceries or payment<sup>124</sup>.

The recruitment process was voluntary, however at least one of grandparents had to be native-born German. On the basis of the decree from 29<sup>th</sup> October 1941 an applicant filled in the application, and then received a proof of his German origins<sup>125</sup>. Moreover, commissions qualified a candidate to groups A or B. People included in group A soon acquired German citizenship. As Czesław Madajczyk points out, this population was the equivalent of groups III and IV DVL<sup>126</sup>.

Being registered on DVL in GG was a marginal phenomenon, no extortion was applied. This privilege ought to be treated as a reward for possessing German genes. Around 2000 individuals expressed their access in this matter. The most numerous community which was to be embraced with Germanization process were highlanders, *Goralenvolk*, who made a separate ethnic group. Although, a remarkable number of IDs had been issued this idea was not approved of broadly<sup>127</sup>.

## Conclusion

The national policy introduced by the occupant aimed at the Germanization of the Polish society within the frame of DVL, which at the same time had become the main instrument of national segregation on the areas incorporated to the Third Reich. WPIS on DVL meant accepting German citizenship and acknowledging German nationality. It is worth paying attention here, that despite the legal basis which was in power on all the incorporated areas, the Nazi authorities did not construct the uniform procedure on the qualification on DVL. In each district decisions were taken by *Statthalter*, who adjusted the process of Germanization on the areas submitted to them to the conditions present on a particular area. Due to economic character of Polish regions the Germanization process was conducted differently in Pomerania, Mazury and Silesia, as compared to Warthegau. The concept of introducing the March

decree on the area of GG also needs to be mentioned here, even though eventually the Germans quit this idea. Yet, legal acts issued in GG were also an attempt to segregate the population into the ones of German nationality. It is worth mentioning, that according to Grzegorz Górski, the Nazis forced the Poles to confirm their German identity especially in Pomerania and Silesia, which was the violation of legal regulations in international law, and their actions were brutal and aimed at the destruction of both the Polish state and its citizens<sup>128</sup>. On the other hand, Wielkopolska and Mazury were not in the circle of extortion, thus in these areas *Statthalter* did not pay much attention to DVL. In GG, however, the effect of applying similar legal norms concerned but a few<sup>129</sup>.

The attitude of the Poles to the question of DVL was evolving along with the war defeats of the Germans. Moreover, still during the war Polish political formations acting both in the country and on emigration established the procedures towards individuals who had accepted DVL. Polish underground had knowledge on the Germanization of particular areas, however the command did realize that settling accounts of this behaviour would not be simple and unambiguous. In reference to that Government Delegation for Poland elaborated the proposal of liquidation of the effects of DVL qualification. After the German capitulation the time had come to settle the accounts of Polish citizens from their past. In order to accomplish that separate acts of criminal law were issued referring to individuals collaborating with the occupant. The moment of rehabilitation and verification of the Germans and *Volksdeutsche* had arrived<sup>130</sup>.

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<sup>124</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 454.

<sup>125</sup> A. Karolak, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>126</sup> C. Madajczyk, op. cit., p. 454.

<sup>127</sup> R. Kaczmarek, *The Poles*, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>128</sup> G. Górski, *The Legal Aspects...*, p. 100–101.

<sup>129</sup> G. Górski, *The Population of Pomerania...*, p. 132.

<sup>130</sup> S. Bykowska, op. cit., p. 185.

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### Polish legal acts

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