



DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/EO.2014.007>

Ewelina W. Klimczak
(Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego
w Kielcach)

Where did Lithuanians come back? Fates of people from north-east borderline of the Second Polish Republic (September–October 1939)

Słowa kluczowe: Kampania Polska 1939; ludność cywilna; okupacja wojskowa; agresja sowiecka; wspomnienia uczestników

Keywords: Polish Campaign of 1939; civilians; military occupation; soviet aggression; memoirs of participants

“**W**here did the Lithuanian people come back from? From the nights excursion” – these words begin Polish poem *Konrad Wallenrod* written by Adam Mickiewicz and dedicated to a Lithuanian aspiration to independent. In this paper the author wants to pay attention to similar issue because it involves the situation of people from “Kresy” (Borderlines) in northeastern Poland. Most of them lived in the Lithuanian territory in the period being for them as a time of liberty, before annexation into Soviet Union, but after disintegration of the Polish state as a result of German and Soviet aggression. It was a Vilnius province during the period of the Republic of Poland (Rzeczpospolita), the Russian annexation and the Second Republic of Poland (Druga Rzeczpospolita). In the interwar period part of the Lithuanian territory was membership of Polish nationality areas (so called the Vilnius Lithuania) but for Lithuanian people’ feelings

it “came back to home¹” after World War II as Recovered Territories “came back” to Poland.

The administrative changes from 17th September 1939 (it is a symbolic date) mean in fact the end of the Lithuanian state as an independent country, because the Lithuanian Soviet Republic was incorporated to USSR. The first change was unification of the Vilnius Lithuania (the Lithuanian territory in Poland) with the Kaunas Lithuania (the Lithuanian state)². The author used the materials from archives, the basis of this paper were from Archiwum Wschodnie Ośrodka Karta (The East Archive on the Karta Center) in Warsaw as well as copies of documents from Hoover Institution. We can see this very important period of Polish history and the situation of civilian people just like they have seen it.

Most of people were separated from their families as being on the both sides of cordon. For example Witold Dowlasz has reminisced the history of his cousin, Gregory (Grzegorz), who in this time was studying at school (gimnazjum) in Vilnius. This boy wanted to go home over the cordon. It was illegal, so student was arrested³. The teacher from town Świąciany wrote the changes at school: many students and teachers couldn't more studying together⁴.

In relations we can find a positive characteristic of situation and relations between people on both sides this borderline. Helena Gałczyńska from a village nearby town Lida (she lived there before outbreak of the World War II) presented us very pleasant situation. People has been helping each other, neighbours have been borrowing to each other agricultural machines, tools and others. Before the war the society of her village was being divided into two groups: “nobility” and “non-nobility”. The members of these groups could not for example play together during society events. The Polish people were more wealthy than Ruthenian people. We can see that especially in case of Polish military settlers. The father of Helena Gałczyńska had 24 ha of ground because he was participating

¹ As wrote one of the representatives of Lithuanian minority, who wanted to stay anonymous: “Our land is poor and crying now, our lovely Congress Vilnius. Who's stayed alive, this protects You in his memory and value You, eastern barbarians should leave our homeland, we demand it, we – the Congress nation”; Archiwum Wschodnie Ośrodka Karta w Warszawie [further: AW] II/12, k. 3.

² About changes in administration (from 17.09 to the time of incorporating this territory to USSR) see: AW II/1271, k. 6, AW V-MID-06, k. 10, AW II/1299, k. 3, AW II/1093, k. 9–10, AW I/800, k. 1–2, AW I/366, k. 9.

³ AW II/1271, k. 6.

⁴ AW II/1093, k. 9–10.

during Polish-Bolshevik war in 1919–1921. Helena tell what her family had: radio⁵, gramophone, many books⁶ and newspapers. It bear witness to high status (worldly and cultural) of her family⁷.

Worldly status of farmers⁸ as well Poles as Ukrainian or Belarusian – was low. The index of emigration was huge. People were going out from these territories to America as USA was just like a dream of a better life⁹ for them. In their work they had to use outdated tools. Antoni Stukan lived in the village Wierzchlida in Lida district. He said about a plough. The modern machines and tools hadn't been being popular and commonly available because of its high price¹⁰. People didn't have enough money to buy them and to simplify their work. Stukan said directly: "The village was poor, crowded. There was no industry here [...]. The young people didn't have job, the farms were being fragmented, people lived poor. Nobody achieved secondary education from Wierzchlida [...]. There was no help for poor children¹¹". This situation we can compare with similar situation in the other regions of Poland. Leonard Szuski from the town Płock wrote about his boyhood: "I had to work in the hairdresser's [...], but I hadn't 300 zloty what [the chief] had required to learning, so I was working as the boy [...]. It was an exclusive hairdresser's [...] for the women of high spheres, for men too [...], the officers [...], surrounding earthly possessors [...]. I had got circa 5 zloty as wage. I hated this work because it was beneath me [...]. In 1939 I didn't have any job¹² and I tried to move something [...]"¹³.

⁵ Compare: "I served in grange in Dylewo [...]. There was a radio in Dylewo, so we were listening a broadcasts"; AW I/809, k. 2 and "We had a radio in our house – headphones only [...]. I don't know if the neighbours had radios too. Our aunt had a radio-apparatus with the loudspeaker [...]. We had gramophone, the young people have been coming and dancing"; AWI/176, k. 3. Compare too: "Only we had a radio with the lamp in Sienkance. Nearest and farther neighbours have been coming to us to listen [...]"; AW II/1271, k. 4.

⁶ The situation of farmers was different – compare: "I liked reading very much. At 5th class I had no book and my father could not afford to buy any for me. I had a friend whom parents have bought some books so I was visiting her"; AW I/809, k. 1.

⁷ AW I/176, k. 1–3.

⁸ Compare the relation of Sławoj Kucharski from Polesie, he told about being out of the date and poverty in Belorussian villages – AW I/422, k. 2–3 (e.g. using flint).

⁹ AW I/809, k. 1. A. Stukan mentioned that none of emigrants from his village have never come back to Poland – *ibidem*.

¹⁰ AW I/809, k. 1.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Compare relation S. Kucharski about the preference to giving a job in select professions – AW I/422, k. 6.

¹³ AW I/1199, k. 1.

People of borderline were very organized and united. Many organized social events together and cooperation bear witness of it. There were organized courses for women and tours for young people¹⁴.

However the situation wasn't idyllic. After Red Army's invade on Polish territory many people started to report each other to new authorities. There where lived before the war more Ruthenian people than Polish one, society had a sympathy to communism¹⁵. In many relations we can find information about brutality in relations between people. In anonymous relation of the Volkovysk heir's daguher we can read: "They were getting revenge¹⁶ for inhuman beating, while police has been raiding pitiless communists' vil-lages and has been beating [viciously] [...]"¹⁷. It might be true like in the case of young Polish teacher from Święciany who had good relationship with her Jewish students. She didn't receive any repression on her person as deportation to Siberia for example¹⁸.

The economic situation had an impact on civilians' relation to occupants, to each other and – as people thought – on their fate, e.g. that somebody has been arrested or deported to Siberia or not...¹⁹. Very important was milita' relation to civilians who were spirited. Helena Gałczyńska told very

¹⁴ AW I/176, k. 2–3.

¹⁵ AW IV/338, k. 1–4. Compare: "They reported! Who? Oh, in situations like this there was many people who wanted to do this"; *ibidem*, k. 1; "every orthodox village was sympathized to communism"; *ibidem*; "My brother was left-wing and people in the village respected him"; *ibidem*, k. 2; "Someone there, an important person let for 2 weeks Belorussian people – communists and everybody who wanted, to carouse [...]. They ruled themselves and were drinking vodka and hooch [...], were shooting in mass"; *ibidem*, k. 3; "For these 2 weeks of free activity [the people from NKVD] [...] let Belorussian people – orthodox [...] for all fancy methods of revenge"; *ibidem*, k. 4.

¹⁶ Compare variety methods of revenge what about one of speakers told: fancy murders, plunder of estate, inventory and luxurious goods – *ibidem*, k. 4.

¹⁷ AW IV/338, k. 4.

¹⁸ Compare: "I didn't have any racial or religious prejudice [...]. For me there was no difference between any of them [my students] if they were Poles and another – Jewish. I tried to be objective and fair in assessment. Maybe thank to that there were no reports for me and I was arrested and deported to lager in 1944"; AW II/1093, k. 7.

¹⁹ Compare relations: AW I/809 i AW IV/338. See: "The major has been not deported to Siberia – he was not a rich, he had 9 ha of land. Nobody was spirited from Kobylniki in 1940, there weren't «kułacy» there". AW I/809, k. 2; "I had many pictures painted by myself with the our blooming orchard, our dalie and roses in front of the house [...]. They took everything"; AW IV/338, k. 4; "We have taken with us [to Siberia] meats, the personal things, bedding, clothes; they did not let to get sewing machine (they did not let to get bicycles by aunt)"; AW I/809, k. 2.

well about Jewish people²⁰ from this group, who were helping her family during the packing²¹. Tadeusz Żukowski has written to Red. of “Tygodnik Solidarność”: “We have here many time, but they [people in Siberia] have not a time, we have something to eat, they have nothing and they were waiting for our help, but there is no help²²”. He has written to Director of Polish Section of Free Europe Radio: “There [in Siberia] were waiting my people for a liberty from 1939 [...]. My memory will not help them²³”. He paid attention these people are “forgotten” and nobody is helping them²⁴.

Very interesting is presenting Polish-Lithuanian relationships²⁵, especially after the administrative changes about what Polish people were say-

²⁰ L. Szuski told very well as well about Jewish man who have helped him during his stay in one of Lithuanian town after his gateway from fields works – AW I/1199, k. 2.

²¹ AW I/176, k. 4.

²² The letters in archive of Author.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ In this place we can talk about the relations between Poles and people from the national minority who lived in the East of Poland, for example with Jews. That situation was not a simple, because there were rich and pour Jews (see: “There were many rich Jews between them [...], but there were many poor as well” – AW I/878, k. 6). There where more poor people in case of Belorussian or Ukrainian people. Compare relations: И. Н. Гридина, „Чужие освободители” или „свои оккупанты”: Как население Западной Украины воспринимало „советских” в 1939–1941 годах // *Былые годы: Черноморский исторический журнал*, „Сочи” 2012, № 2 (24), s. 36–41; А. Смалянчук, *Вобраз полскай, савецкай і нямецкай уладаў II сусветнай вайны ва ўспамінах жыхароў польска-беларускага памежжя*, [in:] *Wyzwolenie czy okupacja? Stosunek społeczności zamieszkujących pogranicze polsko-litewsko-białoruskie do zmieniających się w XX wieku systemów państwowych*, red. M. Kietliński, W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2006, s. 150–158 and reports to Polish government in London (about characteristics many nationalities): AW V-MID-10, AW-V-MID-14, AW-V-MID-38, see also: AW-V-MID-06. We can read also about Polish-Jewish relationship in the interwar period, for example in relations of Julia Tyszko-Paradistalowa (AW II/1093, k. 6–7) or Kazimierz Władyka (AW I/878, k. 1–6). Władyka told about a life and relations between people from different nationalities: Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian people in the time of occupation and before the war. In both relations there were shown complications of human life: “In Poland before the September [1939] the Polish-Jewish relationships were complicated” – AW II/1093, k. 7 or: “Before the war conflicts and antipathy were growing up [...]. It was economy concurrence [...]. Our societies lived behind in isolation” – AW I/878, k. 6. Similar picture is shown in the story of E. Szumikowski about the situation in Vilnian territory between people from different nationalities (Poles, Lithuanian, Jewish) and their relations with occupants (Soviet and German) during wartime and occupation – AW I/800, k. 2–4 (1–5). See Polish-Lithuanian conflicts around Vilnius issue – AW I/366, k. 7. See relation about sympathy to communism, relations to authority in the interwar period – AW I/422, k. 3.

ing: “Lithuanian occupation”²⁶. In the first period of Polish-Lithuanian relations, people were very good, kind, friendly and positive. Polishmen were talking about that case of civilian and militarian Lithuanian people. The vilnianman Vladislav (Władysław) Korcuć said, that the Lithuanian soldiers had been giving out a soup to civilians from their own field-kitchens, had been “very friendly”, in addition they had been talking in Polish²⁷. For civilians it was very positive²⁸, especially if we note that during Soviet occupation of this territory there were supply problems²⁹. About friendly treating Lithuanians by Polish people bears witness their behavior during parade – “all Poles were cheereing during Lithuanian parade³⁰”. The Lithuanian people were “cordially”³¹ during invading to Poland – remembers Korcuć.

In earlier memorized report³² the author siad: “Comparing to the Soviet occupation, the Lithuanian one seems to be like a lesser evil for people living here, so people are more willingly and kindly to it. Journalists in their news presented situation in Vilnius and its surroundings in similarway³³”. But we should remember there were contrary opinions. For Zenon Jackiewicz, student from Vilnius, the Lithuanian army wasn’t so well perceived if he wrote: “From the windows at school [...] we were observing the Lithuanian army moved [...] to Cathedral Place. It has seem very dangerous/threatening. Bayonets on guns, grenades in hands³⁴”.

But politics and Polish-Lithuanian relationship were changing – Lithuanians had similar ethnic policy for Poles as Soviets³⁵. The Polish

²⁶ This wording “Lithuanian occupation” was used in the report to Polish government “The news from Poland. No. 1” from 1st November 1939 – AW V-MID-06, k. 16–17. It is possible that the Lithuanian people have been using “occupation” word earlier to describe Polish government over the Vilnius territory in the 20–30 years XX century (compare: so called insubordinate of gen. L. Żeligowski and following happenings).

²⁷ AW I/368, k. 4.

²⁸ See: “The first days were enthusiastic: there will no hunger, because now, at first day Lithuanian people were giving out from these fields kitchens [...] the soup of pea”; *ibidem*.

²⁹ AW I/368, k. 3–4. Compare: “The first queues for a bread. I’ve never seen longer queues than in 1939 [...]. People in the night have coming to had a place and we needed to stay and stay for one loaf of bread”; *ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, k. 4.

³¹ *Ibidem*, k. 5.

³² See footnote 26.

³³ AW V-MID-06, k. 17.

³⁴ AW II/1299, k. 3.

³⁵ For example: introduction of Lithuanian language and citizenship, change of currency... – AW II/1299, k. 3. More about the Soviet politics see: B. Chrzanowski, P. Niwiński, *Okupacja niemiecka i sowiecka – próba analizy porównawczej (wybrane zagadnienia)*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Pismo Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 2008, nr 1 (12), s. 13–39;

teachers were dismissed from a job, vacates were took by Lithuanian one³⁶. Names were changing into Lithuanian language³⁷. They wanted to destroy Polish culture – there were projects to destroy Polish libraries. Polish young people were making what they could to stop these plans. It was similar to activity of German occupants in General Government, where young Polish students were helping to save Polish books from libraries at school, e.g. in town Piotrków Trybunalski³⁸.

The relations Lithuanian people to Poles were not very friendly at all, they were changeable and labile. It was caused by policy and military situation during the war. Eustachy Szumikowski noted: “The Lithuanian people [...] didn’t know where they are³⁹, so it was calm. Suddenly, when Germans gave them back, the Lithuania was as a free, independent state – the alliance of Germany. They created a Lithuanian army [...], they [Lithuanian people]

A. Głowacki, *Ogólne założenia sowieckiej polityki okupacyjnej w Polsce*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Pismo Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 2008, nr 1 (12), s. 61–78; interesting is also: D. Boćkowski, „*I znów przyszlśmy was wyzwolić...*” – *stosunek ludności ziem północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej do „wyzwolicielei” 1920, 1939, 1944*, [in:] *Wyzwolenie czy okupacja?*, s. 140–145. See the similarity on military sphere – terror: “In the end of Soviets’ presence, while Germans were coming, Russians went berserk and began a terror. They were shooting to small children as well as for sparrows [...]” AW I/574, k. 5 – Janina Nuckowska told about the situation in Lviv in the end of first Soviets occupation (1941). E. Szumikowski from Vilnius told similar about behavior of Lithuanian people to Poles: “They were shooting to Poles as to ducks” AW I/800, k. 3. Compare: “The father stopped to be a forester [in Zdzieciol] at the moment when Russians arrived. They sent a man [...], it was a forester [...] graduated at public school, not at university. I don’t know they introduced him because he was “their” man or not. Probably [...]. My father graduated a higher education, he didn’t have [...]. Father was working as his subordinate [...]”; AW I/422, k. 10–11.

³⁶ AW I/368, k. 5. Compare the activity of Soviets: AW II/1271, k. 5–6, AW II/1093, k. 8–9. J. Tyszko-Paradistalowa described a personnel changes in education sphere’ staff: arrests of teachers, comming of new workers from USSR, replacing of present teachers by local Jews – AW II/1093, k. 8–9. I. Kordowicz recalled a situation of teachers and Lithuanian language issue – AW I/366, k. 8.

³⁷ AW I/368, k. 5. Compare the activity of the Soviets in changing names into Russian ones: AW IV/338, k. 1. E. Szumikowski told they had to learn the Lithuanian language – AW I/800, k. 2.

³⁸ AW I/368, k. 5; S. Szmaglewska, *Książki jak żołnierze*, [in:] *Przez lata walki*, pr. zbior., Warszawa 1968, s. 62–66 (59–68). See also: „Biuletyn Fundacji Generał Elżbiety Zawackiej” 2009, nr 2/57, s. 7 [saving of Sanok school’s equipment and libray collections – relation of Danuta Przystasz]. About the situation of students and school see also: Z. Strózik, *W Krakowie i gdzie indziej*, [in:] *Byli wówczas dziećmi*, wyb. i oprac. M. Turski, Warszawa 1975, s. 209.

³⁹ It is about period when Soviets were forced to retreat by Germans (1941), but the situation wasn’t stabile yet.

worked in police [...], so then was known that Lithuanians were not so dear, as they were shooting [...] to Poles, it was impossible to walking calm, harassments, brawls, murdering Poles [...], just like Ukrainians were doing [...]”⁴⁰. Irena Janina Kordowicz formulated own opinion: “The Lithuanian people [...] were a lords of situation, in the next years [...]. The more more safely and confident they felt, the less sympathetic and the worse they were for Poles [...]”⁴¹.

One of Poles, Korkuć said about Lithuanian policemen had prohibited him and his friends because of wearing a school cap in “rogatywka”-shape⁴² (the military cap). German propagandists have been showing Polish people as people in these caps, “rogatywka” was a symbol of Poland⁴³. Henryk Czarkowski from Baranowicze with his friend have been obliged by a Jewish policemen to nod upon the “triumph gate”. The policemen said to them: “You lousy Polatszki [...], take off your caps for the Soviet star⁴⁴”.

The both occupants, Soviet and Lithuanian, had similar plans about Poland. The words of soldiers bear witness to it. Korkuć noted: “[The Lithuanian soldiers] were talking: yeah, it’s the end, now [...] here will be Lithuania⁴⁵”. George (Jerzy) Buchowicz from Lutsk noted the visit of Soviet soldiers in his home and the talk from that moment. One of the “guests” gave this opinion: “Poland does not exist and it never will be⁴⁶”. What’s interesting that Buchowicz said about Soviet soldier’s sorry and Korkuć told in his relation about “friendly” Lithuanian soldiers⁴⁷.

A new life conditions, difficulties in economy, danger comming from security services and changes in hearts and relationships between people – reflections about all of these issues were founded in the diaries of this time. Julia Tyszko-Paaradistalowa from Świąciany wrote: “Shelfs in shops have shined by emptiness. It is very difficult to get something to eat [...]. The life now is so hard, so it is surprise whence was power to tolerate it. So many too painful changes [...], between people so many ways of behavior [...].

⁴⁰ AW I/800, k. 2–3.

⁴¹ AW I/366, k. 7.

⁴² AW I/368, k. 5.

⁴³ For example check: illustration of propaganda (the animals like Polish people in these caps and other): „Kladderatsch” 16 II 1919, s. 6, 13 II 1927, s. 9, 1 I 1928, s. 7, 4 I 1931, s. 5, 1 II 1931, s. 1, 8 <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/kl>

⁴⁴ AW II/1260, k. 15; *ibidem*, k. 14–15.

⁴⁵ AW I/368, k. 4.

⁴⁶ AW II/1253, k. 24.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, AW I/368, k. 4.

Terror close every mouths⁴⁸". The people were taking various stance and it is very difficult to criticize them for it. For young teacher who's diary was cited, the situation like this was impermissible⁴⁹ and indignant. She wrote: "I understood atmosphere of fear, scare⁵⁰ from terror, but this... My young uncompromisable heart was full of disgust⁵¹". We can understand it as a women was very young and young people usually are idealistic, uncompromisable and they have interchangeable assessment.

Experiences of crimes on civilians and activities of Soviet partisans in Vilnius province⁵² have induced indelible trauma on psyche of witnesses and had taken impact on radical opinions of witnesses about this partisans ("bandit", "scoundrel")⁵³. For Poles actions of deportation to Siberia was acute. Eustachy Szumikowski asked "What winners (Soviets) were until the German-Soviet war⁵⁴", he answered said: "Russians [...] have started to take everyone away, everything and everyone⁵⁵".

To summarize, the conflicts burnt because people from various nationalities on the Borderline have accepted these territory as their own. After many years these conflicts are actual. Democratic states want to solve problems peacefully and in agreement of international law with acceptance of humanitarian aspect. In the most territory of the Earth there are burning similar ethnic conflicts, for example in Palestine (the Near East). Very important and interesting is people's responsibility in extreme situation as war or totalitarianism. Desire of life during war is very strong and it is determined by human behavior. In all groups of people there were those "humane" persons helping other who's needed it⁵⁶.

⁴⁸ AW II/1093, k. 10.

⁴⁹ These teachers who had been cooperating with the new government were traitors for her – Ibidem, k. 9.

⁵⁰ About "ubiquitous scare" was writing Karol Kosek – AW II/1332, k. 7–8.

⁵¹ AW II/1093, k. 8.

⁵² About the slauther of prisoners from former monastery in Berezwiecz in Głębokie district in 1941 and activity of Strukov in the Szarkowszczyzna-Koziany in Postawy district see: AW II/12, k. 2–3.

⁵³ Ibidem, k. 1–3. About the Soviets crimes see too: S. Kalbarczyk, *Zbrodnie sowieckie na obywatelach polskich w okresie wrzesień 1939–sierpień 1941. Próba oceny skali zjawiska oraz szacunku strat ludzkich*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 1996, 39, s. 13–35.

⁵⁴ AW I/800, k. 2.

⁵⁵ Ibidem. About spirits in Siberia see: AW I/422, k. 11.

⁵⁶ About minorities' behavior see for example: AW I/222, k. 1 and AW II/2755, k. 4–5 (to Poles), AW II/1380, k. 2 (to Soviet soldier), AW II/1260, k. 17–20 (to "Soviet people" coming from the USSR).

Streszczenie

Dokąd Litwini wracali? Losy Kresowian z północno-wschodnich ziem II RP (wrzesień–październik 1939 r.)

Tematem niniejszego opracowania jest okres przełomu, który w stosunkach polsko-litewskich oraz dla mieszkańców obu państw zapoczątkowała agresja Niemiec na Polskę w 1939 r., co w konsekwencji doprowadziło do okupacji Polski przez III Rzeszę, a Litwy przez Związek Sowiecki.

Ów początek (wrzesień–październik 1939 r.) wojny stanowił zaledwie jeden z wielu jej epizodów, już choćby z tego powodu, że wkrótce Litwa została włączona w skład ZSRS. W tekście tym autorka oddaje głos polskim mieszkańcom ziemi wileńskiej stanowiącej w okresie międzywojennym część tzw. Kresów Północno-Wschodnich Polski celem ukazania „polskiej” perspektywy omawianych wydarzeń.

Relanci obok charakterystyki okresu początku wojny przywołują też wspomnienia sprzed jej wybuchu. Pojawiają się również wzmianki na temat wydarzeń z następnych lat wojny. Oczom czytelnika ukazuje się obraz złożony: warunków życia, relacji międzyludzkich, stosunków pomiędzy Polakami i Litwinami oraz okrucieństw wojny, jak mordy na ludności, polityka okupantów względem zajętych terytoriów.

Tekst jest próbą analizy skomplikowanych relacji, jakie łączą wielonarodową ludność obszarów pogranicznych. Szczególnym czasem dla tej są momenty ekstremalne, za jaki z pewnością uznać można konflikt zbrojny.

Summary

Where did Lithuanians come back? Fates of people from north-east Borderline of the Second Polish Republic (September–October 1939)

In this article author is studying the situation of “wilnian Lithuania” in the period between the collapse of Polish state and incorporating into USRS (September–October 1939). For Author it is the same situation like “returning” of Polish people on “recovered territories” after 1945.

Article bases on direct relations, memories and notes from diaries of participants. It is useful to show history from social view. At first analyzed is relationship between Polish and Lithuanian people during interwar and Red Army’ soldiers coming to eastern borderlands.

The main theme of article concerns changing of polish-lithuanian relationship. It touches also an issue of lithuanian and soviet activity on the Poles and their opinion about independent Polish state matter.

As conclusion author takes two issues- of attachment of border territories as having impact on durability of conflict. The second concerns people having moral values though surrounding chaos, violence and apathy.

Bibliography

- Archiwum Wschodnie Ośrodka Karta w Warszawie
 „Biuletyn Fundacji General Elżbiety Zawackiej” 2009, nr 2/57
- Boćkowski D., „*I znów przyszedłmy was wyzwolić...*” – *stosunek ludności ziem północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej do „wyzwolicielei” 1920, 1939, 1944*, [in:] *Wyzwolenie czy okupacja?*
- Chrzanowski B., Niwiński P., *Okupacja niemiecka i sowiecka – próba analizy porównawczej (wybrane zagadnienia)*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Pismo Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 2008, nr 1 (12).
- Głowacki A., *Ogólne założenia sowieckiej polityki okupacyjnej w Polsce*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Pismo Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 2008, nr 1 (12)
- Gridina I. N., „*Czużyje oswoboditeli*” ili „*swoi okupanty*”. *Kak naselenije Zapadnoj Ukrainy wosprinimalo „sowietskich” w 1939–41 gg.*, „Byłyje gody” 2012, nr 2 (24).
- Kalbarczyk S., *Zbrodnie sowieckie na obywatelach polskich w okresie wrzesień 1939–sierpień 1941. Próba oceny skali zjawiska oraz szacunku strat ludzkich*, „Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej” 1996, nr 39.
- „Kladderadatsch” 16 II 1919, 13 II 1927, 1 I 1928, 4 I 1931, 1 II 1931.
- Mickiewicz A., *Konrad Wallenrod*.
- Smaljanczuk A., *Wobraz polskaj, sawieckaj i niameckaj uladał ciasoł II suswetnaj wajny na lspaminach žycharoł polska-belaryskaga pamiežža (Вобраз полскай, савецкай і нямецкай уладаў II сусветнай вайны ва ўспамінах жыхароў польска-беларускага памежжжа)*, [in:] *Wyzwolenie czy okupacja? Stosunek społeczności zamieszkujących pogranicze polsko-litewsko-białoruskie do zmieniających się w XX wieku systemów państwowych*, red. M. Kietliński, W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2006.
- Strózik Z., *W Krakowie i gdzie indziej*, [in:] *Byli wówczas dziećmi*, wyb. i oprac. M. Turski, Warszawa 1975.
- Szmaglewska S., *Książki jak żołnierze*, [in:] *Przez lata walki*, pr. zbior., Warszawa 1968