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ACTIVITIES OF BRANCH NO. 2 OF DIVISION II OF CHIEF OF STAFF HR OF POLISH ARMY AGAINST MASURIAN POPULATION IN THE 1930S

Formed in the year 1930, Branch no. 2 of Division II of the Chief of Staff HR of the Polish Army located in Warsaw, unlike other branches, did not function as a country branch of Division II but it was engaged in organizing subversion and sabotage in the event of the war in neighbouring countries. A very important part of its activity constituted the area of East Prussia.

At the end of 1930 there appeared a working plan of Branch no.2 in Masuria which was developing in the two following directions:

- a) awakening and organizing a Polish and Philolopolish element,*
- b) building technical subversive centres based on the organized Polish element.*

In order to regulate issues of the Polish minority being used by the Branch no. 2, in April 1934 an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reached. It was established that political directives related to all socio-political issues of the Polish minority abroad would be dealt with by the MFA. In return for the agreement to use the Polish minority in its activities, Branch no. 2 pledged to provide the MFA with access to possessed contacts in order to perform political actions.

Subsection A of Branch no. 2 created the working plan concerning Masuria (providing close cooperation with agendas of the MFA) divided into legal and illegal parts. By supporting gromadkarstwo Polish consulates in East Prussia intended to restrain German influence, whereas military authorities attempted to organize subversive centres having the use of conditions enabling open actions. However, after Germany had gained power in the National Socialist German Workers Party, in the lapse of time, the Polish range in East Prussia, as well as the range of activities of the Branch No. 2, were dwindling substantially. On the day of the outbreak of the Second World War Polish people had no subversive centre. For this reason, as the preparation for the war, in May 1939 Division II began organizing subversive groups belonging to Polish districts adjacent to Germany.

Key words: *intelligence service, diversion, Second Polish Republic, Masurians*

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INTRODUCTION

The intelligence organization of Division II of the Chief of Staff HR of the Polish Army (until 1928 the General Staff) consisted of two basic types of outposts. Interview deep was led by the head office based mainly in foreign intelligence establishments settled mostly in embassies and consulates, whereas interview board (embracing its own borderland and the area of several dozen kilometers width of the borderland belonging to the neighbouring countries) concentrated on the so-called internal branches being seated in Poland. The day before the outburst of the Second World War there were five field branches working for the needs of Polish intelligence: no. 1 in Vilnius and no. 5 in Lviv – both directed against the USSR, as well as no. 3 in Bydgoszcz, no. 4 in Cracow and no. 6 in Lodz – directed against Germany.

1. THE ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF BRANCH NO. 2

Branch No. 2¹ with its seat in Warsaw², as opposed to other remaining branches, did not function as a field body of Division II, but it was concerned with organizing subversion and sabotage in the event of war in the neighbouring countries. Its genesis reached the period of the so-called Promethean action initiated by Marshal Joseph Piłsudski at the beginning of the 1920s. Its purpose was to separate ethnically non-Russian areas from the USSR to be formed into buffer states that would be under the Polish political influence³.

By September 1928 in Warsaw there also existed Branch No. 2 being a field branch. At the time of its liquidation, a significant part of its espionage network was acquired by the outpost in Gdańsk belonging to Polish intelligence – Gdańsk Information Office (GIO). Another formation of Branch No. 2 in 1930 coincided with the liquidation of GIO. Probably a part of the agency within the outpost of Gdańsk went to work

¹ The exact date of the origin of Branch no. 2 functioning as a subversive branch has not been established in clear way. S. Mikulicz, *Prometeizm w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1971, pp. 216 i W. Kozaczuk, *Bitwa o tajemnice. Służby wywiadowcze Polski I Niemiec 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 124 - as the date of the origin of the branch shall be the year 1930; A. Woźny, *Dywerysyjna grupa Oddziału II SG na Łużycach w latach 1935 – 1939* [in: *Działania nieregularne w Polsce i w Europie* pod red. S. Jaczyńskiego, H. Królikowskiego, Warszawa 2007 i W. Włodarkiewicza, pp. 96 oraz M. Starczewski, *Plany dywersji pozafrontowej Sztabu Głównego Wojska Polskiego i ich realizacja w wojnie 1939 r.* [in: *Działania nieregularne w Polsce i w Europie* pod red. S. Jaczyńskiego, H. Królikowskiego i W. Włodarkiewicza, Warszawa 2007, pp. 106 as the date of origin of the Branch No.2 they give 01.04.1929. None of the authors, when providing the date of the above mentioned branch, do not relate to any particular document which would clearly establish the questionable date. The above matter is additionally complicated by the fact that between the years 1921-1925 the name Branch no. 2 was ascribed to the post in Gdańsk and in the years 1925 – 1928 it was the post in Warsaw, both being however field branches (W. Skóra, *Pierwsze lata działalności polskiego wywiadu wojskowego w Wolnym Mieście Gdańsku*, Zapiski Historyczne, t. LXX, R. 2005, z. 1, pp. 55 – 65).

² The seat of Branch no. 2 was located at Alei Przyjaciół 8 flat 7 – P. Kolakowski, *Uwagi i spostrzeżenia mjr. Feliksa Ankersteina z 1940 r. dotyczące przygotowań i działań dywersyjnych Eksperymenty nr 2 Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego WP*, [in:] „Dzieje Najnowsze” nr 1/2009, pp. 152.

³ From the year 1921 diversionary work abroad was taken care of by Subsection ‘A-1’ being part of Section Interview techniques of Division III Subdivision Intelligence of Division II of the Polish Army; in the year 1924 it was changed and transformed into Section ‘U’; from the year 1930 the responsibility for planning and leading diversion was given to Branch no. 2 (W. Skóra, *Próba organizacji polskiej dywersji na Pomorzu Zachodnim w 1925 roku*, [in:] *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, t. XX (XLIX): 2005, z. 2, pp. 150–151).

in Warsaw branch⁴. The new branch also took control over some activists from East Prussia who had worked previously for 'old' Branch No. 2, for example Paweł Sowa⁵, Gustaw Leyding⁶ or Jan Jagiełko–Jaegertal⁷. It also continued its patronage over the Compatriots Association of Warmia, Masuria and the Malborska Region.

Branch No. 2 included seven sections: 'West', 'East', its own areas, techniques, technical and safety, propaganda, as well as an administration section. The director of Branch No. 2 became Captain Edmund Charaszkiwicz⁸.

The action among the Polish minority living in the German Reich was led by Group XV, which was a field Subsection belonging to Section 'West'.

The organizational plan of Branch No. 2 approved in June 1932 by the Chief of Staff envisaged the three following subgroups within the Subsection:

- 1) 'XV-a' – covering the areas of Opole Silesia and Central Germany together with Berlin;
- 2) 'XV-b' with three main ports of the Reich: Bremen, Hamburg and Kiel;
- 3) 'XV-c' – covering northern and southern Polish-German borderland.

Following the same organizational plan, East Prussia Subsection Group XV was to fall within Subsection XII including Lithuania and Gdańsk, whereas distinct Subsection XVII, the so-called socio-political, aimed at conducting works among Polish socio-political organizations.

⁴ A. Misiuk, *Służby specjalne II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 102–104.

⁵ Paweł Sowa - an office worker of Warmian Plebiscite Committee (1920), next the Secretary General of Association of Youth Societies in East Prussia (Związek Towarzystw Młodzieży w Prusach Wschodnich) (1923 – 1924); in 1925, basing on the Association of Youth Societies, he organised subversion cells in East Prussia which in the event of German – Polish armed conflict; in the years 1928 – 1934 a coparticipant and the secretary general of the Association of Compatriots Executive Board of Warmia and Mazury and The Malborska Region (Zrzeszenie Rodaków z Warmii, Mazur i Ziemi Malborskiej) as well as the editor of 'East Prussia Region' („Ziemia Wschodnio-Pruska”); his earliest connections with Polish military intelligence are confirmed in Situation report of the <<F>> group' - Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe w Warszawie, Oddział II Sztabu Generalnego WP (CAW, O II), Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5413, Raporty sytuacyjne grupy „F” z lat 1924 – 1925.

⁶ Gustaw Leyding – a member of People's Association Mazury (Mazurski Związek Ludowy) (1920), a co-founder of Masurian Self-Help (Samopomoc Mazurska) (1922), a cofounder and a secretary of Masurian Union (Zjednoczenie Mazurskie) (from 1923), a coorganizer, a treasurer and a member of Association of Youth Societies Executive Board in East Prussia (from 1923), a secretary of Mazurian Union (Związek Mazurów) in Działdowo (from 1935), latest from 1925 he was associated with Division II, evidences of which can be found in the Intelligence establishment events official <<Narew>>' from the year 1925 (CAW, O II, Wydział I Organizacyjny, Referat Organizacyjny, I 303.4.101, Dziennik wydarzeń placówki wywiadowczej „Narew” z 1925 r.

⁷ Jan Jagiełko–Jaegertal (Jägerthal) – a trader, a secretary of People's Association Mazury (1919 – 1921), a board member of Masurian Self-Help (1922), the Vice President of Reunification Mazurskie in Działdowo (1923); in 1935 he became a treasurer of Masurian Union in Działdowo; he joined Polish military intelligence the latest in 1924 (CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5644, Pismo kierownika PO nr 1 kpt. Cymera do komisarza policji Makowskiego w Działdowie z 9 IX 1926 r. w sprawie pieniędzy otrzymanych przez Jana Jaegertala na werbunek konfidentów.

⁸ W. Kozaczuk, op. cit., pp. 103.

However, the scarcity of funds and deficiencies in appointments of executive positions in the Subsections led to a different organizational status in Subsection XV, which was the following:

- 1) Subgroup 'XV-a' – covered the area and issues of East Prussian;
- 2) Subgroup 'XV-b' – the area of the German Reich;
- 3) Subgroup 'XV-c' – related to Polish associations and social organizations in Germany.

The issues intended before for three directors were tackled by one person – the head of Group XV – Capt. Feliks Ankerstein. At the beginning of 1933 the situation worsened by an abrupt departure of Capt. Ankerstein to a six-month course in Rembertów, consequently the burden of leadership in Group XV fell additionally on the director of Branch no. 2 – Capt. Edmund Charaszkiwicz.

In order to obtain easier access to East Prussia, Subgroup 'XV-a' was using the Association of Compatriots from Warmia, Masuria and the Malborska Region.

As part of organizational work, in 1932 five subversive cells were established: two in the Sztum District, two in the Olsztyn District and one in Masuria. For the purpose of national awareness and technical preparation, four people were trained on subversion-educational course (their personal details are unknown). In the near future there was a plan to form a Pomeranian Shooting Inspectorate, the work of which was to be moved to East Prussia. As part of reorganization, the work in the East Prussian province was entrusted to the director of Subsection XII – 'Baltic Countries' as Group 'XII-b'⁹.

Subgroup 'XV-a' organized in the first place cooperation with the National Office for Physical Education and Military Resettlement. On the initiative of the Subgroup, these institutions organized annual physical education courses for Poles abroad. On the other hand, the Subgroup made a record of those people and conducted surveillance. The most valuable ones, from the point of view of Division II, were planned to be used for subversive activity in this area.

Most likely, however, still in 1934 Group XV was reorganized. In its place Section 'A' (West) was formed, which was divided into two basic Subsections:

- 1) 'A-p' (Baltic countries);
- 2) 'A-z' (German Reich).

Subsection 'A-p' covered the areas of Lithuania, East Prussia and Free City of Gdańsk, as well as ancillary areas – Latvia and Estonia.

Subsection 'A-z' covered the areas of Polish and German Pomerania, Polish and German Upper Silesia, Central Germany, Berlin, Westphalia and ancillary areas – Czechoslovakia and Austria. If necessary, there was a plan to introduce supplementary activities in other regions.

The head of Subsection 'A' became Capt. Feliks Ankerstein, whereas Capt. Aleksander Jabłonowski was in charge of Subsection 'A-p', at the same time performing

⁹ CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5487, Sprawozdanie z działalności Grupy XV za czas od 1.01.1932 r. do 31.12.1932 r.

duties of Section 'A' deputy head. Each of the directors of a Subsection had an assistant to run the office of a Subsection and to help with field work.

Directors of Subsections were obliged to cooperate with various state and social institutions. The director of Subsection 'A-p' cooperated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Board of Physical Education (Państwowy Urząd Wychowania Fizycznego), Military Adoption (Przysposobienie Wojskowe), the Organizational Council of the World Association of Poles (Światowy Związek Polaków), the Academic Youth Organization (Organizacja Młodzieży Akademickiej), the Vagabonds Club (Klub Włóczęgów) and Lithuanian emigration, while the director of Subsection 'A-z' cooperated with Borderlands of the Western Association of Defense (Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich), the Rifle Association (Związek Strzelecki) and the Polish Scouting Association (Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego).

By cooperation with the above mentioned institutions and organizations, Section 'A' was planning to achieve the following goals:

- to obtain instructions concerning Polish reason of State towards the areas being the objects of interest from the side of Section with cooperation of the MFA.
- to camouflage preparations for organizing a sabotage-subversive network;
- to prepare the ground for penetration of the future area;
- to collect people for auxiliary-subversive organizations, as well as for subversion centres.

Each of the above-mentioned organizations cooperating with Division II was obliged to find and to train any valuable human elements in order to provide them to the Branch which in turn used them as residents, emissaries, liaison officers, directors of organization offices etc., this way it was possible to fill vacancies caused by financial difficulties. Conducting independent training of personnel by Branch no. 2 would require enormous funds, whereas the other way would reduce costs to a minimum. Moreover, Division II strived for filling the key positions with its own people in the institutions cooperating with Branch no. 2¹⁰.

At the end of 1930 the director of Subgroup 'XV-a' (probably Z. Frąckowiak) wrote a new comprehensive special action programme in the subordinate land. According to him, the then work of Division II in this direction was inappropriately planned and coordinated. Frąckowiak criticized the previous tactics of building subversive centres separated from each other, which were disintegrating after a certain time. In his opinion, due to materialism of local inhabitants and lack of idealism, the only manner which would enable the maintenance of subversive organizations was only through the proper and stable expenditures. Above all, however, it would be possible by providing at least the most important members of subversive groups with payment.

Frąckowiak's plan assumed that subversive effort should take two basic directions:

- 1) awakening and organizing a Polish and Philolopolish element,

¹⁰ Ibidem, I 303.4.5489, Instrukcja wykonawcza Referatu „A” (Zachód) z kwietnia 1935 r.

- 2) building technical diversionary centers based on the organized Polish element.

Penetration into the area of East Prussia was planned to start by sporting and educational activities, which, according to Frąckowiak, would occupy the local Poles' mind the most. He planned to solve the issue of shortage of instructors by strengthening relations with the State Board of Physical Education (SBPE) which, in agreement with Branch no. 2, had organized earlier special PE training for Poles from abroad. On the other hand, in the area of education Frąckowiak postulated establishment in Toruń a permanent centre for educational personnel training. Until that time such centre had not been established.

Frąckowiak condemned the behaviour of the Minister of Foreign Affairs towards Polish minor organizations because, as he wrote – *since the MFA can only give without demanding anything in return which, from the organizational point of view, is demoralizing and constitutes a mistake*. According to Frąckowiak, in order to improve organizational work of Subgroup XV *'a stable official relation between the director of Referat Terenowy and the relevant agent from the MFA should be established, in such a way so that Branch no. 2 could influence some moves of the MFA in East Prussia, such as scholarships, subsidies, an attitude towards Polish societies etc'*¹¹.

Frąckowiak's plan began in 1932. According to the report presented by Subgroup XV – five diversionary cells in East Prussia were successfully established: two in the Sztum District, two in the Olsztyn District and one in Masuria. 600 copies of the propaganda book 'Winczara Rajek' written in the dialect of Warmia, as well as one hundred various historical and educational brochures were released. Apart from that, four people were trained on a PE course organized in Sulejów and Jordanów¹². According to the report from Paweł Sowa, in 1932 Subgroup 'XV-a' consisted of 17 people (except for himself as a director).

Subgroup 'XV-a' recruited its co-workers from among 600 free subscribers of the East Prussia Region¹³.

The work on collecting press materials for the periodical often served as a camouflage for developmental activities of the Subgroup. For this reason, the suspension of issuing the monthly in July 1932 Sowa described as 'an attack on the work of the group and undercutting of elastic and masked work'¹⁴.

When planning to develop broader operations, Paweł Sowa made the following demands towards the direction:

¹¹ Ibidem, I 303.4.5487, Referat w sprawie pracy organizacyjnej i dywersyjnej na odcinku grupy XV a. Referat zasadniczy z 16 X 1930 r.

¹² These were the following people: Waleria Wróblewska, Marta Preussówna, Konrad Winkowski i Paweł Wiśniewski.

¹³ 'East Prussia Region' („Ziemia Wschodnio-Pruska”)- authority press of Compatriots Association of Warmia, Masuria and The Malborska Region funded by Division II

¹⁴ CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5597, Sprawozdanie za czas od 1 I 1932 do 31 XII 1932 r. The activity of the Compatriots Association of Warmia, Masuria and The Malborska Region was paralyzed by provincial authorities in Toruń (supported by central authorities in Warsaw) which regarded it as political rowdiness being destructive for Polish-German relationships.

- increasing the budget for activity of the group;
- resuming the edition of 'the East Prussia Region' – at least in the form of a bimonthly magazine;
- official transfer of the consul Józef Gieburowski and the secretary of consulate in Olsztyn Władysław Pieniężny – as being harmful to the activities of Branch no. 2 in East Prussia;
- replacing Władysław Pieniężny with Józef Mazurek who until then had taken the position of an inspector in the Directorate of Posts and Telegraphs in Poznań; Mazurek's task was to organize, on behalf of Branch no. 2, the Rifle Association in East Prussia;
- financial maintenance of the Compatriots Association of Warmia, Masuria and the Malborska District as an organization constituting a counterbalance for the nationalist German 'Heimatdienst';
- commanding governors of Pomeranian province, for each collected passport of any member of Polish minority in East Prussia, to, by contrast, also collect passports of members of German minority residing in their territory;
- issuing booklets for East Prussia in the slang of Warmia and Masuria¹⁵.

In the reporting year 1933 Group 'XV-a' could not boast about any significant achievements. At that time it included:

- seven paid and registered people;
- three unpaid graduates from educational courses;
- four unpaid and unregistered liaisons.

One of the members of the group succeeded in opening two football clubs for which new equipment was purchased, whereas the other member organized a chess club. Paweł Sowa managed to canvass a certain Dembowski (probably a pseudonym)¹⁶.

In order to regulate the issues concerning the use of Polish minority abroad by Branch no. 2, in April 1934 an agreement with the MFA was reached. It was established that political directives with respect to all socio-political matters of the Polish minority abroad would fall within the competence of the MFA, on behalf of which the post of a leader of the action would go to the director of Consular Section – Wiktor Tomir Drymmer. In return for the agreement to use the Polish minority in its activities, Branch no. 2 pledged to provide the MFA with access to possessed contacts for conduct political actions.

The funds for activities among Polish minorities Branch No. 2 was receiving from the MFA from the cash of Division II. In the years 1934 – 1935 this amounted to about PLN 150 000 quarterly¹⁷. In May 1936 the E Subdivision of the Consular Affairs Section within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cooperating with Branch no. 2 allocated

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Ibidem, I 303.4.5413, Roczne sprawozdanie z działalności na terenie Prus Wschodnich za rok 1933.

¹⁷ Ibidem, I 303.4.5547, Sprawozdania z kontroli konta „N” za I–IV kwartały roku budżetowego 1934–1935 z sum pobieranych przez Ekspozyturę nr 2 Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego z Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych.

PLN 200 000 for cultural- educational work among Poles. This amount was divided as follows:

- 1) Germany – PLN 77,155;
- 2) Romania – PLN 9,405;
- 3) Latvia – PLN 11,860;
- 4) Czechoslovakia – PLN 8,755;
- 5) Lithuania – PLN 5,000;
- 6) World Union of Poles from Abroad – PLN 26,947;
- 7) Unforeseen expenditures – PLN 15,877.

The E II Subdivision gave that year numerous cash allowances to Polish activists in East Prussia, among others, it settled litigation costs and penalty imposed on August Kiwicki¹⁸ in September 1936, 400 Deutschmarks were spent on scouts action conducted by the consulate in Kwidzyń in the first quarter of 1936, it donated 'Głos Ewangelijny', as well as feeding actions concerned with the poorest children in Polish schools located in East Prussia, it provided the editorial office of the journal 'Mazur' appearing in Szczytno with financial help (particularly in terms of fines imposed on it by German authorities)¹⁹.

Probably in 1935 Subsection 'A-p' was organizationally divided into the following divisions:

- '121' – socio- political;
- '122' – Estonia and Latvia;
- '123' – Lithuania;
- '124' – East Prussia;
- '125' – Gdańsk.

According to the above Subdivision, division '121' dealt with penetration of areas subordinate to Subsection 'A- p' through organizations and institutions of social and political nature, sports association etc. Any activity in this area was based on coordination of activities of other divisions in cooperation with social institutions and the MFA, as well as on inducing candidates to cooperate with Branch no. 2. As regards the above remaining divisions within Subsection 'A-p', they pursued the activities in the area assigned to them.

The penetration of areas in East Prussia division '124' grounded on:

- a) nationally conscious element of Masuria;
- b) 'gromadkarstwo'²⁰;

¹⁸ M. Wańkiewicz wrote about Kiwicki, *Na tropach Smętka*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 155–163.

¹⁹ Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), Ambasada RP w Berlinie, 11 383, Budżet MSZ, Referat Funduszu Specjalnego za rok budżetowy 1936/1937.

²⁰ 'Gromadkarstwo' – Evangelical religious movement initiated in the middle of the XIX century in Masuria; the most important reasons for 'gromadkarstwo' to appear were: general discontent due to the reforms concerning prayers and rites introduced after the union of two Churches (Lutheran and Calvinist) in 1817, the shortage of clergymen having knowledge of Polish and Lithuanian language which occurred already from the beginning of the XIX century, lack of closer contacts between the clergy-

- c) individual people – Poles working in Warmia;
- d) the possibility of indirect inspiration of political subversion with the help of certain Lithuanian factors (the so-called Umbras' action aimed at forming Baltic Confederation) was also taken into account.

2. THE ACTIVITIES OF BRANCH NO. 2 IN MASURIA

The management of Subsection 'A-p' decided to solve the problem of Masuria in the Działdowo District by initiating activities of the Masurian Union (Związek Mazurów)²¹. Improving living conditions and organizing Masurian movement aimed at gaining confidence of Masurians in Działdowo ill-disposed towards Poland, as well as at gradual gain of more Masurian masses in East Prussia. The Masurian Union was treated also as a stage for work behind the cordon.

The support given to Masurian 'gromadkarstwo' by Branch no. 2 was aimed at joining it in the range of Polish influence, accustoming the Masurians to cultivate the distinctiveness of the 'Polish' Evangelical Church. The financing of 'Gromadkarstwo' was made by subsidizing 'Evangelical Voice', issuing and distributing books and brochures of religious content (in Masurian language) and by educating Masurian preachers in Poland. In order to unify the activities in this direction, Branch no. 2 founded in Warsaw, October 1934, the Mazury Cultural Care Committee of Compatriots (MCCCoC) (Mazurski Komitet Opieki Kulturalnej nad Rodakami). On the basis of the MCCCoC there was a plan to form in Masuria subversive extensions. Division II prepared a plan of work in Masuria (providing close cooperation with agendas of the MFA) divided into a legal and an illegal parts. By supporting 'gromadkarstwo' Polish consulates in East Prussia intended to restrain German influence, whereas military authorities attempted to organize subversive centres with the use of conditions enabling open actions.

In the legal part, above all aiming at the development of 'gromadkarstwo' the following decisions were made:

men and the faithful and rejection by people of Polish and Lithuanian language of rationalism rooted among Evangelical clergymen working in the back country of Prussia; 'gromadkarze' formally belonged to Evangelical Church – within its structure they received the sacraments and performed towards the church and religion; but the actual 'spiritual nourishment' for them constituted meetings based on gromadkarstwo usually held in private houses; the services included hymns, prayers, readings of the biblical text and sermons in mother tongues; their press organ was „Głos Ewangelijny” More about gromadkarstwo: G. Jasiński, *Kościół ewangelicki na Mazurach w XIX wieku (1817–1914)*, Olsztyn 2003; idem, *Pomiędzy sektą a Kościołem. Gromadkarze litewscy i mazurscy w XIX wieku (do 1885 roku)*, [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, nr 1/1999; ibidem, *U źródeł gromadkarstwa. O grupie „świętych” na Mazurach*, [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, nr 3/1996; R. Otello, *Problemy narodowościowe w Kościele Ewangelickim na Mazurach w latach 1918 – 1945*, Olsztyn 2003; ibidem, *Ruch gromadkarski w Prusach Wschodnich 1848-1914*, [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, nr 3/1976; Ibidem, „Głos Ewangelijny” (1925 – 1939), [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, nr 1/1977.

²¹ The history of Masurian Union in Działdowo found wider reflection in literature, see among others W. Wrzesiński, *Listy Gustawa Leydinga o powstaniu i początkach Związku Mazurów w Działdowie*, [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, nr 2/1997; H. Chałupczak, *II Rzeczpospolita a mniejszość polska w Niemczech*, Lublin 1990; A. Chojnowski, *Związek Mazurów w Działdowie (1935–1939)*, [in:] „Przegląd Historyczny”, t. 66: 1975, z. 2; Z. Lietz, *Karol Mattek w latach 1920–1939*, [in:] „Komunikaty Mazursko–Warmińskie”, 1973, nr 1–2, pp. 115-130 for this reason, the present study is limited only to some aspects concerned with work of the Union in the context of its relationships with Polish military intelligence.

- 1) educating preachers in a seminary in Działdowo, as well as in Cieszyn Silesia; the time of education would last one year;
- 2) creating in Działdowo a school for deaconesses; they would help the preachers in their religious work and they would run nurseries;
- 3) issuing the Bible in Polish language and in gothic fonts, collections of religious songs, as well as other Evangelical prayer books²².

Being educated in Poland, preachers and deaconesses were lectured to work according to the idea: 'Masuria for Masurians!' („Mazury dla Mazurów”). Subsection 'A' attached great importance to the work of preachers, 'whose influence in Masuria equals the influences which a rabbi has on the mass of the Jewish community'. Additionally, there was a plan to use untypical for Evangelicals, but popular among Masurians the cult of the Mother of God by circulating the Polish language prints related to the legends connected with Her²³.

In the illegal part one intended to conduct courses for the Masurian youth residing in Poland. The training was to take place in two triple groups under the care of native Masurians, and the purpose of their stay was to have strictly secretive character.

The plan of the course assumed eight weeks of training: five weeks in Warsaw, one week of sightseeing in Poland, and two weeks in Toruń. In Warsaw centre the following subjects were planned to be taught: physical education, Polish language, singing and possibly national dance, geography, history, car driving and motorcycle riding, the use of telephone, telegraph and the radio, exercises on reading a topographic map, trade learning and typing²⁴. A two-week stay in Toruń was intended to prepare the participants for canvassing work and to present their duties during fieldwork. After completing the course the participants were provided with a one-week trip around Poland, particularly visiting Cracow, Tatry, Częstochowa, Poznań and Gdynia, the purpose of which was 'to see with one's own eyes that Poland is a beautiful and rich country'. Before their return to Masuria, the participants were to be sworn in Masurian colours (blue – white – red) and they were to be bound to secrecy.

After the return to their homeland, the graduates commitment would be to penetrate into the social life of the surrounding area: activity in sports associations, fire sections or agricultural societies etc²⁵.

Activities in Warmia were going to be expanded with the help of wards who attended special sports courses conducted in Poland. After return, their task would be to organize sports circles among the Polish youth, which, by their development, could provide other organizations with personnel, and with time cross the Warmia - Masurian boundary and enter the Evangelical - Masurian area.

A contact with Prussian Lithuanian, Albinas Umbras, residing in Klaipeda, was established. With the support of Lithuanian authorities, he propagated the idea of sepa-

²² CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5597, Plan działania Podreferatu A na Mazurach Pruskich z XII 1933 r.

²³ Ibidem, I 303.4.5485, Plan akcji mazurskiej.

²⁴ Ibidem, I 303.4.5597, Plan działania Podreferatu A na Mazurach Pruskich z XII 1933 r.

²⁵ Ibidem, I 303.4.5485, Plan akcji mazurskiej

rating East Prussia from the German state and bringing the Baltic state into existence, which would include Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and East Prussia²⁶.

In 1936 Division '124' within Subsection 'A-p' (East Prussia) was divided into two completely distinctive parts: Warmia and Powiśle, as well as Masuria. That year the main effort of the Subsection was directed towards Masuria which started to be perceived as 'the area entirely distinct and presenting a single area inhabited by Masurians'.

The director of the Subsection was aware of the past failures in this direction. He characterized the area and the past activities in the following way:

'A Masurian is a type of a man different from a Pole in Warmia or Powiśle] in terms of a distinct dialect, beliefs, customs, mentality and culture (very low). A Masurian does not feel as a Pole. Very little was achieved in terms of changing Masurians into Poles. The MFA definitely failed in this area'.

The slogan proposed by Capt. Ankerstein 'Masuria for Masurians' became today the only real issue, it is not sure, however, if it was not proposed too late.

Similarly, Capt A. Jabłonowski described Warmia and Powiśle, at the same time accusing the local director of the Union of Poles and the former consul of the Polish Consulate in Olsztyn of failures in this area:

The other type of a Pole [in Warmia and Powiśle – A. S.], unlike in Poland. The population materialized by Germany which wins and Germanizes them with the use of money, a good and resilient organization and terror; depraved by <<inactivity>>, demoralized by the lack of planning and no working method of the manager of District IV – [Władysław – A. Sz.] Narożyński, as well as by, unresponsive to such a state of affairs, the former consul of Polish consulate in Olsztyn – p. [Antoni – A. Sz.] Zalewski. That kind of atmosphere prevented Branch no.2 from any work.

In the Masurian area the main focus was on the activities towards the Masurian Union, in particular in the scope of socio-cultural matters, such as:

- admission of Masurian children from the Działdowo District to gymnasiums;
- bringing teachers of Masurian origin to the area of the Działdowo District;
- founding a library and two rural clubrooms equipped with radios etc.

In the scope of economic issues several matters, such as the need to deal with Masurian settlement, job placement, credit assignments etc. were raised, concerning residents of Masuria aiming at independence and at gaining freedom from the influence of economic activity of the German minority. On March 21st the Masurian Council (Rada Mazurska) was established²⁷, which in fact constituted a supplementary extension

²⁶ Ibidem, I 303.4.5489, Sprawozdanie Podreferatu „A – p” z okresu działalności za czas od 1 IV 1934 do 31 III 1936 r.

²⁷ There are no detailed information concerned with Masurian Council; Henryk Chałupczak mentioned it in a few sentences: *the Subsection 'A – p' received a command at that time [between 1936 – 1937 – A. Sz.] to prepare the conditions for organizing several combat teams consisting of three personal patrols – and including a Sub-office for East Prussia. The camouflage for those ventures was to be formed by 'Masurian Council' founded in March 21st- a legal one, but indeed a subversion - supportive secret extension of the branch in Masurian Council. Its action plan was inspired by its secretary, being also employed by the branch. It was also consulted with the head of E II within MFA J. Zaleski.*

for potential subversive activities of the Branch which were based on the Masurian Union.

By the end of 1938 the directory of the Branch No. 2 set the following goals:

- 1) to make the Działdowo District the headquarters of Masurian action and a gateway to Prussia, Mazovia;
- 2) to execute and implement the working plan of the Masurian Council;
- 3) to arouse interest of the director of the MFA Consular Section in the plan towards the cooperation by subsidizing the Council;
- 4) to use Masurian Union for implementing the working plan of the Masurian Council, as well as using institutions or existing organizations, or those authorized by the Masurian Council;
- 5) to convey gromadkarstwo to the Masurian Council.

At that time in Warmia and Powiśle the Branch gained merely two people willing to cooperate. The activity of the Branch was increasingly limited to the preparation of reports concerning education, Polish scouting, people's customs, religious organizations of the Polish population etc. In the second half of 1930s great importance was attached to the distribution of Polish language magazines, as well as to printed in Działdowo the 'Masurian Calendar' („Kalendarz Mazurski”). Among editorial and distribution staff of the 'Calendar' there were also co-workers of Branch no. 2. The Branch kept a close record of readers, creating by the way projects for the purpose of increasing their numbers²⁸.

3. DISTRIBUTION ACTION OF THE CALENDAR FOR MASURIANS'

The action of distribution of the 'Calendar for Masurians' for the year 1937 lasted over two months (mainly for the period of November and December 1936). As a result, the total of 1574 calendars were distributed, out of which 934 copies were distributed by the workers employed in the distribution division - Piotr Gostyński, Gottfried Linka i Błana (the name unknown), with the use of bicycles at a temperature of several degrees below zero, exposing themselves to insults, to being shown the door or to the threat of beatings. For his participation in the distribution action, Linka received dismissal lease housing.

The most serious receivers of the 'Calendar' turned out to be districts of Szczytno (624 copies) and Ełk (288). Far worse effects of the distribution action were in the Olecko District (84) and the Nidzica District, the Pisz District and the Reszel District (the total number of 128 copies)²⁹.

According to the opinion of the director of PODREFERAT 'A – p', Masurian Union together with Masurian Council became indeed 'the head office of Masurian action and a gateway to Masuria Prussia' (H. Chałupczak, op.cit., pp. 300).

²⁸ CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5489, Sprawozdanie Podreferatu „A–p” z okresu rocznej działalności za czas od 1 IV 1936 do 31 III 1937 r.

²⁹ Ibidem, I 303.4.5485, Raport Konsula RP w Olsztynie, Bohdana Jałowieckiego, do Ambasadora RP w Berlinie w sprawie akcji kolportażowej „Kalendarza dla Mazurów” na rok 1937 z dn. 01.03.1937 r., pp. 1.

According to the report of the Polish Consulate in Olsztyn, the readers of the 'Calendar for Masurians' were recruited almost only, similarly to the readers of the journal 'Mazur', among the generation of fifty - and eighty-year old people. Much smaller enthusiasm showed the generation of middle-aged inhabitants of Masuria, often explaining that, although they understood Polish language, they were not able to read it. On the other hand, the Masurian youth, with minor exceptions, refused to accept the 'Calendar' claiming to be native Germans.

As a very worrying sign, the consul Bohdan Jałowiecki considered the fact, observed by distributors among the representatives of older and middle generations residing in Masuria that they concealed their Polishness from the youth. In quite a number of cases distributors met even with concerns of elder people who arrived at the following conclusions: 'when my son finds out that I received the calendar, he may kill me'³⁰.

According to the consulate in Olsztyn, what impeded the Polish action in Masuria and, at the same time facilitated Germanization work, was illiteracy, backwardness and superstition of the local people, who could be terrorized, for example by the threat saying that anyone involved in distributing the 'Calendars for Masurians' or in subscribing to 'Mazur' would be not welcomed in grocery shops, or their disability pensions would be cancelled. One commonly believed the rumors spread by German teachers which said that those who would accept the 'Calendar' would be imprisoned up to two years. The latter rumor was justified by the fact that one of the farmers in the village Rummy was sentenced in the court to four months of prison (in the court of the second instance he was acquitted). As proof of simply incredible backwardness of Masurians was the fact that people residing in the Elk District commonly collected the magazine 'Masurischer Volksfreund' in the localities where it was distributed by clergymen, as it was believed that this way allowed to receive the grace of God³¹.

The consul B. Jałowiecki postulated the need to develop great propaganda that would enlighten Masurians in their rights as citizens of the Third Reich, to 'protect them from the moral blackmail on the part of German social and cultural organizations of any type and to overcome the psychosis of fear which overwhelmed Masurian population'. One of the most important means to reach the goal would be to give a firm but careful support for 'gromadkarstwo'. Jałowiecki was of the opinion that without that the 'Polish card' in Masuria would be lost³².

Lasting over two years, the action of distribution of the 'Calendar for Masurians' for the year 1938 ended before Christmas of 1937, mainly for the reason of severe frosts and snowdrifts making it impossible for distributors on bicycles to reach Masurian villages situated mainly on isolated communication routes. As a result, 1496 copies were distributed, that is 78 copies less than the previous year. Additionally, approximately 100 copies were sent by post to the environment of Masurian emigration in Westphalia. The biggest number of the 'Calendars' – 1,223 – were delivered by distributors.

The attitude of Masurian population towards the distribution action, despite an intensive awareness campaign conducted on the pages of 'Mazur', as a matter of fact,

³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 2–3.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 2–3.

³² Ibidem, pp. 5.

was similar to that of the previous year. One could occasionally see straightforward acceptance of the 'Calendars', and the explanation of the fact that the publication was completely legal and printed in Germany did not bring any results. Various persecutions used by military policemen, teachers and other officials, as well as fear of their own children, caused Masurians to collect the 'Calendars' secretly, like an illegal 'underground pamphlet'.

Placing an order for 'Mazur' or 'Calendar' was for a Masurian the height moral courage. Often, however, there were written dismissals of 'Mazur' subscriptions sent by German post without the knowledge of the people interested.

During the distribution action German police repeatedly detained distributors for a while and established their identity. It happened that the windows in the flat of Jan Dopatka, temporarily engaged in the distribution action, were shattered twice. A certain, unspecified number of 'Calendars' were confiscated as a result of house searches conducted under various pretexts. No other severe action, except for the above mentioned, was noted.

According to Jełowicki, distribution action should be continued, as it was the only possibility to permeate Polish influences outside Szczytno. He also observed that the Masurians, 'since they agreed to accept the Calendar, they preserved it with reverence and did not give it to the authorities even for immediate benefits'³³.

According to the report 'Bund Deutscher Osten' (BDO)³⁴ in January 1938, the office of the Union of Poles (Związek Polaków) in Szczytno itself was to provide free distribution of about 5,000 pieces of the 'Calendar of Mazurians' for the then year. However, thanks to the alert of the local circle of BDO they were to be returned in large quantities to the editor by Masurian population. According to the director of BDO the 'Calendar for Mazurians', as it was written in Polish literary language which was not mastered by Masurians, did not constitute any 'significant national-political threat of Masurian population'. Nevertheless, the same German sources informed that a weekly issue of 'Mazur' was approximately 700 copies, out of which only 300 readers paid for delivered copies. As BDO claimed, editorial staff of 'Mazur', similarly to „Gazeta Olsztyńska” depended on foreign financial support³⁵.

An incomparably greater success belonged at that time to division '125' (Gdańsk) within Subsection 'A-p'. Branch no. 2 developed training camps of 'Rifleman' („Strzelec”). At the beginning of 1937 'Rifleman' included 768 people, from which 425 were considered to be active. In the opinion of the Subsection management, the Polish Army entering Gdańsk could count on the support of about 1,000 armed local people³⁶. Above that, at the time of 1936-1937 20 rifles, 50 handguns, 100 grenades, 6,000

³³ Ibidem, I 303.4.5676, Raport Konsula RP w Olsztynie Bohdana Jałowickiego do Ambasadora RP w Berlinie w sprawie akcji kolportażowej „Kalendarza dla Mazurów” na rok 1938 z 19 I 1938 r., pp. 1–4.

³⁴ 'Bund Deutscher Osten' (Association of German East) – German nationalist organization was founded in 1933 and as a goal it set germanization of the population residing in eastern territories of the Reich

³⁵ Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie (OBN), Zbiory specjalne, R-725/II/1, Zusammenfassung der Berichte über die minderheitspolitische Lage in den östlichen Grenzbezirken. – Stand 1. Januar 1938.

³⁶ CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2 w Warszawie, I 303.4.5600, Okręg północny Związku Strzeleckiego w WM Gdańsku. Raport z 15 I 1937 r.

rounds of ammunition were smuggled there, a secret hiding – place was made in the building of the Polish Post and the organization of subversive Combat Units was widely expanded.³⁷ For the activities of Gdańsk 'Rifleman', Division II allocated an amount of PLN 3, 800 per month³⁸.

4. FAILURE OF 'MASURIAN ACTION'

In the meantime, the scope of work of Branch no. 2 towards Masurian people was dwindling more and more. The last serious attempt to mobilize various official factors in order to improve the actual state of affairs was the conference initiated by the Branch on April 1st, 1938 in Warsaw, which was attended by the following people: Director Pa-procki from the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, Capt. Aleksander Jabłonowski – Branch no. 2 and M. Zalewski – the director of the Polish Western Union. At that time a preliminary draft of the status for the Committee for Cultural Aid to Mazurians (Komitet Niesienia Pomocy Kulturalnej Mazurom) was prepared.

The committee was expected be an institution of closed and confidential character which would include several people showing their personal interest or interested on account of their function in the progress of work among the Masurians, as well as the people or representatives of institutions with the capability of activating monetary subsidies or other means for the above purposes. The committee would consist of:

1. the governor of Warsaw – as a committee chairman;
2. the superintendent of Warsaw school district;
3. the representative of the MFA;
4. the representative of the Mayor of Warsaw;
5. the office director of the Polish Western Union³⁹.

There are no records of further activity not only related to the above committee, but also to Subsection 'A-p'⁴⁰. It may be assumed, however, that any attempts to form subversive groups by the Subsection did not succeed. The real purpose, that is to say subversive purpose of the formed organizations, was concealed from the vast majority of members. In Masuria they were mostly of cultural and national character, while in Free City of Gdańsk it was focused on military training and sport. Members of these organizations were not 'induced' for subversive work and it is doubtful whether Branch no. 2, by employing them, could accomplish their objectives at a crucial moment.

The most serious Masurian organization founded by Branch no. 2 – Masurian Union – at the peak of its development (1937-1938) did not include even 200 members. To a very small degree the Union won the youth. According to the files of the Branch,

³⁷ Ibidem, I 303.4.5489, Sprawozdanie Podreferatu „A-p” z okresu rocznej działalności za czas od 1 IV 1936 do 31 III 1937 r.

³⁸ Ibidem, I 303.4.5600, Projekty preliminarzy budżetowych okręgu północnego Związku Strzeleckiego z 1937 r.

³⁹ AAN, Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, 10512, Sprawozdanie z konferencji mazurskiej z 1 IV 1938 r.

⁴⁰ Records from the work of the Subsection 'A – p' from 1938 is preserved in a fragmentary form; the situation is even worse in terms of the year 1939.

the range of its influence in 90% embraced the generation of forty- and sixty-year-old people and over time it was diminishing more and more⁴¹.

In view of the fact that Division II did not manage to obtain Polish language inhabitants in East Prussia, as part of preparation for war, it began organizing subversive groups in Polish counties bordering Germany. These groups recruited trusted people from different backgrounds and social organizations. At the head of each group was a commandant (a commander of a subversive patrol) with 2-4 members. Some of the tasks were specified before the outbreak of war, additional tasks were going to be conveyed by the liaisons after German troops would enter their area. Subversive groups were equipped with an appropriate number of weapons, ammunition and explosives, and their members were trained on special courses⁴².

For all the defeats in East Prussia Branch no. 2 often put the blame on the clerks in the consulate in Olsztyn and on the local management of the Poles Union. Nevertheless, under the Nazi regime Masurians themselves were less and less willing to associate with Polishness. During the period of NSDAP material and living conditions of agricultural population in Masuria were much improved. One of the first regulations related to agriculture after Adolf Hitler gained power was the regulation on banning compulsory auction of farms in debt. Other moves of the Third Reich in this field related to the regulation by the state of agricultural debt, the introduction of fixed or guaranteed prices for farm products, provision of credit facilities with loans of low interest for agricultural investments, as well as intensification of agricultural production and the crops import reduction. Achievement of self - efficiency in farm production became one of the priority tasks of the Third Reich.

The breakdown of social structures and at the same time a free and expanded system of education allowed Masurian youth to graduate from secondary school, and even from a university, as well as to make a career in administration, military, police or party apparatus. All these factors contributed to a sense of economic security of a Masurian peasant who also for the first time in the history ceased to be the scorned dregs of society and became a resident of Germany with equal rights. The Nazi rule won this way general approval among the Masurians, and the Polish question was definitely lost⁴³.

The Nazi propaganda played a significant role in shaping attitudes of Masurians. In East Prussia it was particularly 'Bund Deutscher Osten' which aimed at it and which replaced the existing 'Heimatdienst' during the Nazi period.

BDO not only monitored any indications of suspicious activity, but it also prepared the lectures and essays related to the history of East Prussia in German interpretation, among other things they presented the history of particular places, teutonic castles

⁴¹ CAW, O II, Ekspozytura nr 2, I 303.4.5485, Prusy Wschodnie – krótka charakterystyka terenu z 1933 r.

⁴² *Regulamin pracy dla referatów dywersyjnych Oddziałów II sztabów armii z 31 V 1939 r.*, [in:] „Wojсковy Przegląd Historyczny”, nr 1/1989, R. 34; pp. 234–243; R. Juskiewicz, *Mławskie Mazowsze w walce*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 25–27.

⁴³ B. Koziełło–Poklewski, *Kształtowanie się postaw politycznych ludności Mazur w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Zagadnienia narodowościowe w Prusach Wschodnich w XIX i XX w.*, pod red. J. Jasiński, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 127–131.

etc., which comprised the records of German past on those lands⁴⁴. It was constantly proved that a large part of Masurian population was in fact of German origin, as it had often come from Germany to East Prussia few hundred years before. Only later did it start to use Masurian language influenced by their neighbours. A dominant influence of German culture on Masurian folk culture was emphasized, undervaluing at the same time the contribution of culture of the settlers from Polish Mazowsze⁴⁵. It was reasoned that many surnames which were generally considered to be Masurian were in fact German. And so, for example, popular surnames in Masuria, such as Willimski or Willamowski, allegedly came from the name Wilhelm⁴⁶. In magazines there appeared eulogies praising Hitler and the gains of national - socialistic revolution having the influence on the improvement of the economic situation in East Prussia⁴⁷.

CONCLUSION

Any activities of Division II towards the Masurian population aiming at raising national awareness and founding subversive centres should be considered nearly as a total fiasco, to which, to a large degree, internal realities of the Third Reich (among others, extended system of the police, general fear of Gestapo etc.) contributed. German authorities were aware of the fact that the activities of Masurian organizations were supported by the Polish official factors, especially by consulates in East Prussia. However, they did not discern any relations of those organizations with Polish military intelligence⁴⁸, which confirm even the reports of Gestapo⁴⁹ and BDO⁵⁰. There is no indication that Polish minority organizations in East Prussia were of major interest to the Abwehr centre in Królewiec, namely of interest to German military intelligence⁵¹.

As a success of Polish intelligence one should consider the identification of intelligence in East Prussia. Among others, the day before World War II the disposition of a vast majority (about 80%) of German units was properly established in this area. Also, the main directions of their attack were relevantly foreseen as well. The sources of these

⁴⁴ See a. o. F. Ross, *Der Bevölkerung im deutsch-polnischen Grenzgebiet*, Königsberg 1936 (BDO publication).

⁴⁵ W. Schlusnus, *Die germanischen und altdutschen Wurzeln der masurischen Volkskultur*, Masurischer Volkskalender 1938, pp. 44-52.

⁴⁶ J. Zachau, *Die deutsche Herkunft unserer Familiennamen in Masuren*, Masurischer Volkskalender 1938, pp. 57 – 60.

⁴⁷ See a. o. G. Tilk, *Masuren erwacht! Der Sieg der nationalsozialistischen Revolution* Masurischer Volkskalender 1934, pp. 58 – 59.

⁴⁸ H. Chałupczak, op.cit., pp. 303.

⁴⁹ OBN, Zbiory Specjalne, R-725/II/1, Raporty gestapo Szczytno do gestapo Olsztyn w sprawie ruchu polskiego z lat 1934 – 1939.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, R-725/IX/1, BDO, Varia.

⁵¹ O. Reile, *Geheime Ostfront. Die deutsche Abwehr im Osten 1921–1946*, München 1963; the author also claims that only as a result of the takeover of some parts of the files related to Division II, which was ordered by a special group within Abwehr after the occupation of Warsaw in 1939, the Third Reich arrested over one hundred people that cooperated with the Polish military intelligence in Germany; however, it was concerned mainly with people and issues connected with the Branch No. 3, Ibidem, pp. 288–290.

facts were obtained from information espionage as well as through careful observation of German garrisons, airports and railway stations etc⁵².

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⁵² A. Szymanowicz, *Działalność wywiadowcza ekspozytur terenowych Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego (Generalnego) wobec Prus Wschodnich (1918–1939)*, [in:] „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, nr 4/2004, pp. 118.

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DZIAŁALNOŚĆ EKSPOZYTURY NR 2 ODDZIAŁU II SZTABU GŁÓWNEGO WOJSKA POLSKIEGO WOBEC LUDNOŚCI MAZURSKIEJ W LATACH TRZYDZIESTYCH

Streszczenie

Utworzona w 1930 r. Ekspozytura nr 2 Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego WP z siedzibą w Warszawie w odróżnieniu od innych ekspozytur nie funkcjonowała jako organ terenowy Oddziału II, lecz zajmowała się organizacją dywersji i sabotażu na wypadek wojny na terenie państw ościennych. Bardzo ważnym odcinkiem jej działalności stał się teren Prus Wschodnich.

W końcu 1930 r. powstał plan działania Ekspozytury nr 2 na Mazurach, który rozwijał się w dwóch następujących kierunkach:

- 1) budzenia i organizowania elementu polskiego i filopolskiego,
- 2) budowy technicznych ośrodków dywersyjnych bazujących na zorganizowanym elemencie polskim.

W celu uregulowania sprawy wykorzystania mniejszości polskiej za granicą przez Ekspozyturę nr 2 w kwietniu 1934 r. doszło do porozumienia z MSZ. Ustalono, iż dyrektywy polityczne w odniesieniu do wszelkich zagadnień społeczno – politycznych mniejszości polskiej za granicą będą należały do MSZ. Ekspozytura nr 2 w zamian za zgodę na wykorzystanie do swej działalności polskiej mniejszości zobowiązywała się udostępniać na rzecz MSZ posiadane kontakty dla przeprowadzania akcji politycznych.

Podreferat A Oddziału II opracował program pracy na Mazurach (przewidujący ścisłą współpracę z agendami MSZ) podzielony na część legalną i nielegalną. Dzięki wspieraniu gromadkarstwa konsulaty polskie w Prusach Wschodnich zamierzały hamować postępy niemieckie, natomiast władze wojskowe próbowały zorganizować ośrodki dywersyjne korzystające z warunków, które umożliwiłyby działania jawne. Jednak po dojściu Niemców do władzy w NSDAP, w miarę upływu czasu, zasięg polskości w Prusach Wschodnich, jak i również możliwości działania Ekspozytury nr 2, kurczyły się coraz bardziej. W dniu wybuchu drugiej wojny światowej Polacy nie posiadali tam jakiegokolwiek ośrodka dywersyjnego. Z tego powodu w ramach przygotowań do wojny Oddział II rozpoczął w maju 1939 r. organizowanie grup dywersyjnych w należących do Polski powiatach graniczących z Niemcami.

Słowa kluczowe: wywiad wojskowy, dywersja, Mazurzy, II Rzeczpospolita

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