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The Interest of Polish Communist Security Services in German Pomeranians and Their Historical Organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany

Zusammenfassung: Der Artikel behandelt anhand der Akten des polnischen Sicherheitsdienstes dessen Bemühungen zur Überwachung von Organisationen ehemaliger Pommern, die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg nach Westdeutschland ausgesiedelt worden waren, sowie von wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen in der BRD, die mit ihnen zusammenarbeiteten und sich mit der Geschichte Pommerns befassen. Dieses von der Forschung bisher noch nicht behandelte Thema ist auch ein Beitrag zu den polnisch-deutschen Wissenschaftsbeziehungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Anhand einer Analyse der im Archiv des Instituts für Nationales Gedenken aufbewahrten Dokumente werden die einzelnen Aktivitäten und Versuche, Informationen über die nach Westdeutschland ausgesiedelten Pommern zu erhalten, nachgezeichnet. Dabei wird der Verlauf der einzelnen Aktionen, Operationen und Versuche, Kontakte zu knüpfen, erörtert. Abschließend werden die durchgeführten Maßnahmen zusammenfassend charakterisiert.

Schlagwörter: Pommern; Geheimdienste; Pommersche Landsmannschaft; polnisch-deutsche Beziehungen

Abstract: Through an examination of the files of the Polish security service, this article discusses attempts to invigilate organizations of Pomeranians who had been displaced from Polish territory to West Germany after the Second World War, along with those scientific institutions interested in Pomeranian history. While this is a topic that has not yet been thoroughly researched it can also be seen as a contribution to Polish-German scientific relations since 1945. Through an analysis of the documents stored in the archives of the Institute of National Remembrance I was able to trace the activities of individual informants, along with their attempts to obtain information on the milieu of German Pomeranians in West Germany. After discussing these operations and attempts to obtain contacts, the article concludes with a summary which characterizes the activities that were undertaken.

Keywords: Pomerania; secret services; *Pommersche Landsmannschaft*; Polish-German relations

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Introduction

As a consequence of defeat in World War II, and decisions made by the ‘Big Three’ during the Yalta conference, Germany lost large swathes of its ‘eastern’ territories. The newly created Polish border was shifted several hundred kilometres west to the Oder and Lusatian Neisse rivers. Shortly after that, nearly the whole of the German indigenous population from this area was forcibly resettled into Germany. These events completely redefined Polish-German relations.

It was already clear at the time that such circumstances would cause increased revanchism.¹ Theoretically, the threat of German revanchism and subsequent border changes, was to be counteracted by the occupation of Germany, and later creation of the Iron Curtain. Nonetheless, the existence of revisionist organizations, among them the West German so called *Landsmannschaften* (Homeland Societies), played an important role in the politics of both countries: Poland and Germany. Polish propaganda often referred to a fear of Germany (and, after 1949, of West Germany), as it played an important role in the legitimisation of the newly established communist regime.² Even though the threat from the German *Landsmannschaften* was not real, they were carefully observed by the Polish intelligence services.³

Apart from public activities, consisting mainly of research led by Polish organizations such as: *Towarzystwo Rozwoju Ziem Zachodnich* (Society for the Development of the Western Territories),⁴ *Wyższa Szkoła Oficerska MSW im. Feliksa Dzierżyńskiego* (the Feliks Dzierżyński Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs),⁵ the institutes of Western Territories: *Instytut Zachodni* (the Institute of Western Affairs) in Poznań (Posen),⁶ *Instytut Śląski* (the Silesian Institute) in Katowice (Kattowitz) and *Instytut*

1 Cf. Piskorski, Jan M.: Tysiąc lat granicy polsko-niemieckiej [One Thousand Years of the Polish-German Border]. In: *Przegląd Historyczny* 83/4 (1992), 597–615, here 600 f.

2 Cf. Zaremba, Marcin: *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm. Nacjonalistyczna legitymizacja władzy komunistycznej w Polsce* [Communism, Legitimization, Nationalism. Nationalist Legitimization of Communist Power in Poland]. Warszawa 2001.

3 Cf. among other works Fuks, Rafał: *Organizacje ziomkowskie w NRF w latach 1945–1967* [*Landsmannschaften in the Federal Republic of Germany 1945–1967*]. Poznań 1968; idem: *Organizacje ziomkowskie w NRF w latach 1945–1967* [*Landsmannschaften in the Federal Republic of Germany 1945–1967*]. In: *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 12/4 (1968), 155–159; Czerwiński, Jan: *NRF – państwo przesiedleńców* [The GDR – A State of Expellees]. Warszawa 1969.

4 Cf. *Rola ziomkostw w systemie rewizjonistycznym polityki NRF. Wybór materiałów z Konferencji Rady Naczelnej TRZZ* [The Role of the Landsmannschaften in the Revisionist System of NRF Policy. Selected Materials from the Conference of the Supreme Council of the TRZZ]. Warszawa 1967.

5 Cf. the thesis from a departmental school: *Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej (AIPN)* [Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance] Warszawa (Wa.). Sign. IPN Sz 685/19; Bittel, Andrzej: *Organizacja “Ziomkostwa Pomorskie” i jej oddziaływanie na teren województwa koszalińskiego* [The Organization “Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft*” and Its Impact on the Area of Koszalin Voivodeship]. Legionowo 1977.

6 It also prepared secret expert opinions, cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00107/145, 46 et seq.

Zachodniopomorski (Westpomeranian Institute) in Szczecin (Stettin),⁷ and *Zachodnia Agencja Prasowa* (Western Press Agency);⁸ there were also secret actions carried out by the Security Service (*Służba Bezpieczeństwa* – SB; departments of the 3rd Division of the Ministry of the Interior leading the fight against anti-state activity in the state, and later, since 1967, divisions of the 2nd Department of the Ministry of the Interior: counterintelligence).

This article deals with the secretive surveillance of the organizations of the former residents of Pomerania in West Germany, including German historical societies and journals reactivated after World War II (*Historische Kommission für Pommern* in 1951, *Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* in 1954, the journal *Baltische Studien* in 1955). This is a subject that has not been previously researched in either Poland or Germany. Furthermore, the observation of historical scientific circles in West Germany, and in Poland at the regional Pomeranian level by the Polish secret service – both in the period from 1945 to 1989 – as well as the establishment of contacts between these milieus, have also not been researched.⁹ Therefore this paper is also a contribution to the history of scientific relations in the field of historical disciplines in Poland and West Germany under the supervision of the communist state.

The aim of this article is to present the activities of the Polish security service in relation to the milieu of the former Pomeranian society and its research institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany. The intention is to present, on the basis of the preserved source materials: the activities undertaken, indicate their aims, assess the progress and the sources of obtaining information by the agents, as well as the effects of these activities. In the first part of the text, I will initially look at the general actions

7 Cf. Jabłońska, Dorota: *Ziomkostwo Pomorskie 1945–1969* [The Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft* 1945–1969]. Poznań 1973; eadem: *Pomorze Zachodnie w publikacjach organu Ziomkostwa Pomorskiego “Die Pommersche Zeitung”* [Western Pomerania in the Publications of the Organ of the Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft* “Die Pommersche Zeitung”]. In: *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 10/1 (1966), 115–126; eadem: *Polityka Ziomkostw w Niemieckiej Republice Federalnej przeszkodą w walce o bezpieczeństwo zbiorowe w Europie na przykładzie działalności Ziomkostwa Pomorskiego* [The Policy of the *Landsmannschaften* in the German Federal Republic as an Obstacle in the Struggle for Collective Security in Europe on the Example of the Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft*]. In: *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 15/1 (1971), 65–72.

8 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 009/1466, 317 f.: *Biuletyny Niemcy Zachodnie* [West Germany Bulletins].

9 Nor do recent publications say so. Cf. Rosenbaum, Sebastian (Ed.): “Po linii rewizjonizmu zachodniemieckiego”. *Aparat bezpieczeństwa i akcja antyrewizjonistyczna wobec ludności niemieckiej i rodzimej w Polsce* [“Along the Lines of West German Revisionism”. *The Security Apparatus and the Anti-Revisionist Action against the German and Native Population in Poland*]. Katowice-Warszawa 2020. This volume includes a paper by Arkadiusz Słabig, whose research, however, focuses on the actions of the security apparatus against the German minority in Pomerania. Also, literature on Pomeranian academic institutions, such as the *Historische Kommission*, contribute nothing to the topic, including its most recent monograph from 2018: Jörn, Nils; Porada, Haik Thomas (Ed.): *Die Historische Kommission für Pommern. Bilanz und Ausblick*. Köln-Weimar 2018 (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern V/47).

taken against persons connected to agents within the *Landsmannschaft*, and then against West German researchers of Pomerania's past. The sources cited in this paper are materials produced by the security services of the People's Republic of Poland in the years 1945–1989. As it is impossible to discuss all the issues in such a short text, and because of the pandemic, it was not possible to conduct more extensive research in other archives in Poland and Germany. This text plays a role of an introduction to further, more detailed, studies on this matter.

The activities of the secret services against the *Landsmannschaft* in Pomerania

I shall begin with a conclusion already articulated by Marian Fryc, the author of a departmental study in 1973, which was created during a period of increased interest by the Polish Interior Ministry into the German and native population after the signing of the agreement between the Polish and West German governments.¹⁰ The document says that revisionist activity inspired by external factors – from Germany – had already begun in Poland in 1945, and intensified in the years 1949–1950. At the time – in 1950 – the organization *Freie Europäische Jugend*, founded by Alfons Rekowski,¹¹ was liquidated in Bytów.¹² The peaks of activity took place in moments of political tensions, such as the Berlin crisis or the revival of tourism in Germany in the years 1957–1959.¹³ In the 1970s the *Landsmannschaft* aimed to attract Polish citizens to West Germany by, among other things, providing humanitarian aid; so showing the prosperity of West Germany and the peaceful intentions of the Germans.¹⁴ According to the department's analysts, the dominant methods and forms of influence that the West German *Landsmannschaft* directed at the autochthonous population and the national minority in Koszalin (Köslin) province were:

1. visiting residences and establishing contacts with Polish citizens,
2. contacting the administrative authorities of patron towns with Polish towns,
3. attempting to establish contacts with the youth in Poland,
4. using of religious rituals in activities in Poland,
5. collecting of materials for the meetings of compatriots,

¹⁰ Cf. Słabig, Arkadiusz: *Aparat bezpieczeństwa wobec mniejszości narodowych na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945–1989* [Security Apparatus against National Minorities in Western Pomerania in the Years 1945–1989]. Szczecin 2008, 103 f.

¹¹ Cf. Romanow, Zenon: *Freie Europäische Jugend*. Tajna organizacja bytowskiej młodzieży kaszubskiej w 1950 r. [*Freie Europäische Jugend*. A Secret Organization of Bytów's Kashubian Youth in 1950]. In: *Acta Cassubiana* 17 (2015), 102–118.

¹² Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00107/145, 11 f.: Counter-intelligence characteristics of German revisionism.

¹³ Cf. *ibid*, 15.

¹⁴ Cf. *ibid*, 16 f.

6. demonstrating revisionist attitudes and other negative behaviour by tourists from West Germany,
7. using of tourist visits for intelligence purposes.¹⁵

The Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft*, the *Deutsche Welle* and *Deutschlandfunk* radio stations, as well as the official press of the Pomeranian Association, the *Pommersche Zeitung*, were regarded as factors in inspiring anti-Polish revisionist actions.¹⁶ To counteract these the authorities took several measures.

Particular attention had previously been paid to surveillance of the *Pommersche Zeitung*, which was given the code names “Conservator” (*Konserwator*) and “Spree” (*Szprewa*) from 1966–1982.¹⁷ It was one of the main sources of information that kept the public informed about the activities, composition, and ideas of the Pomeranians in West Germany. The case files contain articles translated into Polish and contributed to profiles of individual activists, such as Ellioner von Puttkamer (1910–1999)¹⁸ and Oskar Eggert (1896–1974).¹⁹ Information has also been obtained from other press titles, such as *Kolberger Zeitung* or *Stolper Heimatblatt*, since the beginning of the 1950s.²⁰

The object case “Center” (*Ośrodek*) was nationwide.²¹ It was directed against the Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft* in the Pomeranian Voivodeships of Szczecin and Koszalin. It was approved in 1962 as a result of the beginning of actions against people of German origin in Szczecin province. The Warsaw headquarters recommended that the action should be carried out together with the second Pomeranian Voivodeship – Koszalin. The materials indicate that the activities were not intensive nor numerous, due to the small number of the people of German origin living in Szczecin Voivodeship. The intelligence services checked how many Germans originating from the current Polish Pomerania were in the political elites of West Germany, and in the *Landsmannschaft*. It was soon discovered that 15 persons from the region were in

¹⁵ Cf. Bittel, *Organizacja* (cf. n. 5), 1f. Similar points, with the exception of the last one, can also be found in: AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0131/68. Vol. 2, 75: Study on the forms of homeland activities in the Koszalin province from 1974.

¹⁶ Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00107/145, 9, 11, 38 et seq.: Counter-intelligence characteristics of German revisionism.

¹⁷ Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0013/44. Vol. 1: “Spree” case file.

¹⁸ Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 012/498. Vol. 122: Materials relating to the operation of *Landsmannschaft*; *ibid.* Vol. 93, 352–354: Correspondence relating to persons moving abroad.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 495 et seq.

²⁰ Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00103/228/5–6.

²¹ This operation, directed against milieu of different *Landsmannschaften* in West Germany, had a countrywide scope. Cf. Hytrek-Hryciuk, Joanna: Kryptonim “Ośrodek”. Służba Bezpieczeństwa wobec Ziomkostwa Ślązaków (1962–1972) [Kryptonim “Center”. The Security Service against the *Schlesische Landsmannschaft* (1962–1972)]. In: Eadem; Strauchold, Grzegorz; Syrnok, Jarosław (Ed.): *Internacjonalizm czy...? Działania organów bezpieczeństwa państw komunistycznych wobec mniejszości narodowych (1944–1989)* [Internationalism or...? Activities of Communist State Security Organs against National Minorities (1944–1989)]. Warszawa-Wrocław 2011, 200–219.

managerial positions; among them were Philipp von Bismarck (1913–2006) and Carl Wiggert (1903–1983, chairman of the Hamburg branch of the *Landsmannschaft*). Polish agents also collected association leaflets and publications, translated them, and analysed the public speeches of association chairmen Oskar Eggert and Philipp von Bismarck. One of the more interesting tasks was to observe Klaus von Bismarck (1912–1997) during his visit in Polish Pomerania in 1964. Efforts were also made to recruit collaborators, such as a woman of German origin under the pseudonym “Lucyna” from the Pyrzyce (Pyritz) region, who had family in West Germany. Agents used a list of activists from revisionist organizations from 1961, where item C discusses the Federal Board of the Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft*. The object case “Center” ran from 1967 until its closure in 1972 by Marian Zubiak,²² who concluded that the materials collected in it “do not represent operational value at the moment and cannot be used in current work”.²³

As I mentioned above, the intensity of the services’ activities did not decrease after the ratification of the Gomułka-Brandt Agreement in 1972 and the normalization of relations between Poland and West Germany. If anything the activity seems to increase with the number of contacts between the two countries and increased tourist traffic, especially to birthplaces of Germans connected with the *Landsmannschaft*.²⁴ The information on the activities of revisionist organizations in West Germany from 1974 (operation “Moor”) stated that, although Brandt’s government recognized the territorial status quo in Europe, the Cold War instruments created earlier remained intact and continued to fund anti-communist and retaliatory organizations from the state budget.²⁵ It even pointed out that the *Landsmannschaft* of Pomerania, led by Philipp von Bismarck, had, after the signing of the treaties, addressed a call to

22 Marian Zubiak (1938–2001) was in the service from 1961 to 1990. Up to 1980 he was in the Second Department where he was responsible for matters related to revisionism. In 1968 he graduated in law from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and in 1973 he began his doctoral dissertation on Polish-German relations there, but he did not complete it. Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0019/6251, passim. Author of the article: Zubiak, Marian: Rola kościelnych instytucji i organizacji w polityce rewizjonizmu Niemieckiej Republiki Federalnej [The Role of Church Institutions and Organizations in the Revisionist Policy of the German Federal Republic]. In: *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 14/2 (1970), 147–168.

23 AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 009/1466: Files of the “Center” object case.

24 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00107/145, 21: Counter-intelligence characteristics of German revisionism; Hejger, Maciej: Kampania antyrewizjonistyczna wobec ludności niemieckiej w Polsce w latach sześćdziesiątych XX wieku (na przykładzie województwa koszalińskiego) [The Anti-Revisionist Campaign against the German Population in Poland in the 1960s (on the Example of the Koszalin Voivodship)]. In: Semczyszyn, Magdalena; Syrnok, Jarosław (Ed.): *Między ideologią a socjotechniką. Kwestia mniejszości narodowych w działalności władz komunistycznych – doświadczenie polskie i środkowo-europejskie* [Between Ideology and Social Engineering. The Question of National Minorities in the Activity of Communist Authorities – the Polish and Central European Experience]. Warszawa-Szczecin-Wrocław 2014, 404–418, here 413f.

25 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00107/145, 33: Information on the activities of revisionist organizations in West Germany.

its members and supporters to use travel to Poland for the purposes of the union. It was also to be a pioneer in establishing and maintaining contacts in socialist countries.²⁶ All this meant that, despite a softening of the political situation in terms of bilateral relations, the Polish authorities felt an increased German threat among so-called autochthonous circles and an increase in migratory tendencies, as well as the need to control sentiments about attitudes towards power politics.²⁷

Tourist arrivals have been the subject of several detailed investigations. An operation under the code name “Fischer”, active from 1979 to 1985, concerned the organizer of trips to Poland by the name Christoph Reinke, who originated from the former Gryfino (Greifenhagen) district.²⁸ Hans Georg Bartelt, who was allegedly connected with *Landsmannschaft*, and who visited Świnoujście (Swinemünde) and Goleniów (Gollnow) between 1971 and 1975, was subject to an operation under the code “Mercedes”.²⁹ Operation “Fama” from 1975 to 1985, in turn, was directed against Wilhelm Hoffmann, secretary of the *Landsmannschaft* in Hamburg. However, no “hostile activity” was found during this investigation.³⁰

Unofficially organized reunions of German countrymen took place in Central Pomerania, including a large one in Lębork (Lauenburg) and Słupsk (Stolp) in 1974. An investigation was conducted to determine the initiator and organizer, the aim, the people taking part, contacts with the local population; and prevent official speeches and punish for activities detrimental to the interests of the Polish People’s Republic. The convention was attended by 200 people, including those from the GDR who had arranged to come by correspondence.³¹

Cooperation with a confidential informant (CI) “Wiesław” – a medic, who prepared an extensive report on his stay in Germany in October 1971 – yielded similar results. According to his account, Philipp von Bismarck had told him that his party was to recognise the borders after 1945 only within the framework of the “European Community”. “Wiesław” reported, that the position of the *Landsmannschaft* was still strong, especially that of Silesia and Pomerania, but it will weaken. At the time, however, Philipp von Bismarck was trying to use it to soften the mood, to marginalize extreme, revisionist voices. The western territories integrated into Poland have ceased to be perceived as a “homeland” that most of his countrymen carry in their hearts, and that Pomeranian politicians encouraged people to go to Poland.

26 Cf. *ibid.*, 34f.

27 Cf. Słabig, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa* (cf. n. 10), 103f.

28 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0011/1548: Case file “Fischer”.

29 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0011/705: “Mercedes” registration questionnaire.

30 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0011/1571: “Fama” registration questionnaire.

31 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Gd 002/18, *passim*: Files of the object case “Convention” (*Zjazd*); AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Gd 0046/297. Vol. 13, 103 et seq.: Information on the meeting of the group of former Pomeranians.

He concluded that it would be a mistake to make it more difficult for people to come to Poland, because the benefits would be mutual.³²

The activity of the services declined in the 1980s, when the Polish authorities engaged their forces in other problems, mainly of an internal nature. Nevertheless, there was a return to an anti-West German narrative in Poland during the period of *Solidarność* and martial law following Helmut Kohl's assumption of power in Germany in 1982.³³

Historical milieu of the operation of Polish secret services

In May 1961, searching to compromise the Nazi past of the compatriot activists, the Security Service (SB) officials contacted the director of the Voivodeship State Archive in Szczecin in order to check the possibility of using archival material. The discussion did not have the desired effect, as the Gestapo files were confiscated by the Office of Public Security, and there were no remaining records of Nazi party activities. The director identified a former employee, Bogusław Drewniak (1927–2017), as the person competent to discuss these issues. This meeting facilitated the establishment of contact with the archivists.³⁴ Conversations led the officers to trace the visits of former employees of the Pomeranian State Museum archaeologist Hans-Jürgen Eggers (1906–1975) and archivist Adalbert Holtz (1905–1977) to scientific institutions in Szczecin in the late 1950s.

One of the archivists – appearing in the files under the pseudonym CI “Wiliam” – was selected by the SB to cooperate as early as 1959. This cooperation lasted until 1983, when it was dissolved due to its lack of effectiveness. Nevertheless, it seems that he was the most efficient informant who introduced Marian Zubiak to the topics of the Pomeranian countrymen's scientific organizations: *Gesellschaft für pommerische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Kunst, Historische Kommission* and the journal *Baltische Studien*,³⁵ their structure, and the composition of their boards, both before

³² Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0012/498. Vol. 93, 482: Correspondence relating to persons moving abroad.

³³ Cf. Malinowski, Krzysztof: *Polityka Republiki Federalnej Niemiec wobec Polski w latach 1982–1991* [The Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany towards Poland 1982–1991]. Poznań 1997; Zarembo, Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm (cf. n. 2), 383f.

³⁴ Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0012/498. Vol. 93, 711f.: Correspondence relating to persons moving abroad.

³⁵ The contacts with Rita Scheller (1935–2020), an ethnographer writing for *Baltische Studien* and dealing with the Jamno culture, were the reason why Franciszek Lachowicz (1933–2020), an archaeologist from Koszalin, was given a case numbered “Pyramid” (*Piramida*) in 1984. “Wiliam” also had contacts with Scheller, which he himself reported to the services. Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 00124/

the war and at the present time. His reports from years 1967–1968, prepared at the direction of the officer in charge, discuss the contents and authors of individual articles, along with the background and connections to other East German and West German academics.

He pointed out that many of the researchers publishing in *Baltische Studien* or *Pommersche Zeitung* were recruited from high positions in Pomerania before 1945, such as: Erich Murawski (1894–1970), Otto Kunkel (1895–1984), or Hans Branig (1905–1985). He wrote that the texts published there could create the impression that the scientific institutions in Szczecin, such as the archive and museum, were still German, and therefore must have been established before 1945. He also highlighted an article by Adalbert Holtz concerning the lost treasury of the cathedral in Kamień (Cammin), which was based on materials stored in the GDR, which the GDR authorities refused to admit to Polish researchers.³⁶ The archivist also reported on the contacts of Pomeranian historians in both German countries, pointing out that scholars from the West took part in Hanseatic conferences in Rostock, which were also attended by academics from Szczecin: such as Władysław Filipowiak (1926–2014) and Henryk Lesiński (1923–1994). He also pointed out that the brother of Joachim Wächter (1926–2017),³⁷ head of the archive in Greifswald, was active in the Bonn branch. “Wiliam” visited Marburg in 1982, after which he gave an extensive account of his conversations with members of the *Herder-Institut* and the *Historische Kommission*, including Roderich Schmidt (1925–2011).³⁸ Above all, however, “Wiliam” was the main informant about Hans-Jürgen Eggers and especially Adalbert Holtz, their visits in Poland and their activities.

His interest in coming to Poland and maintaining contact with Poles was the reason for taking up the case against Adalbert Holtz, code-named “Wezera”, which was carried out from 1963 to 1976; where “Wiliam” was encouraged by the SB to maintain contact with him. As it was shown during the investigation, Holtz was interested in excavations in Wolin (Wollin) where he took photos of the monuments and met with Polish researchers dealing with Wolin and Kamień (Władysław Filipowiak, Włodzimierz Stępiński [b. 1949], Father Roman Kostynowicz [1921–2008]).³⁹ He also tried

544/Jacket: Operational case “Pyramid” file, passim; AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0024/301. Vol. 2, 241 et seq.: “Wiliam” personal folder; AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN SZ 00107/145: Object case file.

36 Cf. Holtz, Adalbert: Ist der “Cordula”-Schrein aus dem Domschatz Cammin verloren? Bericht und Dokumentation. In: *Baltische Studien* NF 52 (1966), 133–137.

37 He was removed from directing the institution in 1969 for political reasons. Cf. Schreyer, Hermann: *Das staatliche Archivwesen der DDR*. Düsseldorf 2008, 169 f.

38 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0024/301. Vol. 1, passim: “Wiliam” personal folder.

39 Holtz was born nearby – in Swinemünde (Świnoujście). In the 1930s he took part in the excavations in Wolin, carried out by the Pomeranian National Museum and directed by Otto Kunkel. In 1939 he was employed in the State Archive in Stettin, among others, because of his interest in history and his knowledge of Polish language. During the war he performed German archival services in the Ukrainian lands. Cf. Lehr, Stefan: *Pewna prawie zapomniana “akcja na Wschodzie”*. Niemieccy archiwiści w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie i komisariacie Rzeszy Ukraina [Some Almost Forgotten

to persuade the Szczecin museum to do archaeological research in Trzyglów (Trieglaff).⁴⁰

From the mid-1960s, he was involved in the search for the treasure of Kamień Cathedral, which disappeared in 1945. Through “Wiliam”, he identified people from East Germany who might have knowledge about this. He met with people involved in the search in Poland, including editor Andrzej Androchowicz (1932–2006), who was preparing a film about the treasure. He also coordinated the arrival of Hasso von Flemming’s family from Benice, with whom the treasure was stored. This allowed the officer in charge to conclude that these countrymen were keeping records of the population originating from the present Polish part of Pomerania.

When Adalbert Holtz came to Poland in the early 1970s during the vacation period, the officer in charge emphasized that his trips were financed by the *Landsmannschaft*, which was proven by the collection of tickets and receipts. During his stays in Poland, his movements were observed, his rooms were searched, and photographic plates were seized at the border. These were later returned to him without several “aesthetically unfavourable” photographs by “Wiliam”, who visited Adalbert Holtz at home in Hamburg during his trip to the West. The archivist also discussed the German’s relations with the Szczecin research community, including archaeologists Władysław Filipowiak, Tadeusz Wieczorowski (1904–1970),⁴¹ historians Henryk Lesiński, Włodzimierz Stępiński.

During the investigation, at the end of 1971, the SB in Szczecin asked the Head of the 3rd Division of the 2nd Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Warsaw to ask the East German services to collect information about the socio-political activity and connections of 19 persons who, during the investigation, revealed themselves as having contacts with revisionist organizations in Germany. Among them were the names of Joachim Wächter, the church historian Hellmuth Heyden (1893–1972), and the art restorer Walter Ohle (1904–1971). The Ministry of the Interior’s reply of Feb-

“Action in the East”. German Archivists in the General Government and the Reich Commissariat Ukraine]. Warszawa 2014, passim; Migdalski, Paweł: Słowiańszczyzna północno-zachodnia w historiografii polskiej, niemieckiej i duńskiej [The North-Western Slavs in Polish, German and Danish Historiography]. Wodzisław Śląski 2019, 262; Szukała, Maciej: Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie w latach 1914–1945. Ludzie i działalność [State Archive in Szczecin 1914–1945. People and Activities]. Szczecin 2019, 108f.

40 Holtz was probably here in the 1950s together with Adolf von Thadden. A visit of another von Thadden, Fritz, in 1957 was described by the journalist Błahij, Kazimierz: Pogrzeb ostatniej nadziei [Funeral of the Last Hope]. In: Łazarewicz, Cezary; Klim, Andrzej (Ed.): Morze i ziemia. Antologia reportaży z Pomorza [Sea and Land. An Anthology of Reportage from Pomerania]. Poznań 2019, 163–173. He was also to persuade Filipowiak to undertake research in Trzyglów.

41 Wieczorowski, according to “Wiliam”, was reluctant to contact Holtz. It is perhaps worth adding here that he may have met Holtz during the Nazi period, when he visited the excavations in Wolin in 1938. Cf. Migdalski, Paweł: Wizyta polskich naukowców w Szczecinie i w Wolinie w 1935 roku [A Visit of Polish Scholars in Szczecin and Wolin in 1935]. In: Roczniki Historyczne 84 (2018), 329–348, here 342f.

ruary 1972, in which information on six persons, including Joachim Wächter who was said to have had intensive contacts with West German citizens, was confirmed. These contacts had been checked by the East German services.⁴²

CI “Dorota” also provided detailed information on the Pomeranian scientific organizations when he visited them in Hamburg and Kiel in October 1968. He met with Hans-Günter Cnotka and Wilhelm Hoffmann, a full-time employee of the association, who told him that they hosted many Poles, but that they asked for discretion. He pointed out that the head of the *Gesellschaft für pommersche Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Kunst* was the city planner Hans Reichow (1899–1974), a good friend of Piotr Zaremba (1910–1993), the urbanist and first Polish mayor of Szczecin from 1945 to 1950,⁴³ and that the accounts were managed by Adalbert Holtz. He asked about funding for the organization, and he also met Hans-Jürgen Eggers, who complained that he was not allowed into Poland after his visit in 1959 and the publication of the article in which he described it.⁴⁴ “Dorota” also informed the service that the *Historische Kommission* was headed by Roderich Schmidt, a historian from Greifswald, who had fled East Germany and was a private assistant professor in Marburg.⁴⁵

It is also worth noting the already mentioned Władysław Filipowiak who, from 1955 to 2000, was director of the Museum of Western Pomerania, then the National Museum in Szczecin. In the late 1950s, he made the archives available to Eggers and Holtz which, amongst other reasons, led secret service officers to keep him under surveillance under the code name “Maska” in the years 1969–1974.⁴⁶ Some SB agents, such as “Karol” in Poznań, “Wiktor” in Szczecin, or the director of the Maritime Museum in Gdańsk (Danzig) – Przemysław Smolarek, who was connected with Szczecin in the 1950s – reported that he had interfered with research on Slavic boats at the instigation of Hans-Jürgen Eggers. Eggers was, however, mistaken for a spokesman for the countrymen, Oskar Eggert.⁴⁷ During the conversations with SB officers, feeling the support of political and scientific forces in Warsaw, Filipowiak engaged in a certain game with the secret services. Not only did he not shun contacts with compatriot scholars, about whom – as he said – he knew to be biased, but he used the fact of his conversations with them to complain about the difficulty of obtaining research materials from the GDR, where he was also supposed to be under

42 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0011/476, passim: “Weser” case file.

43 Cf. Bernhardt, Katja; Musekamp Jan: Przełom roku 1945? Urbaniści w Stettinie i w Szczecinie [The Turning Point of 1945? Urban Planners in Stettin and Szczecin]. In: Migdalski, Paweł (Ed.): Odbudowa miast Pomorza Zachodniego po drugiej wojnie światowej. Wybrane problemy [Reconstruction of Western Pomeranian Cities after World War II. Selected Problems]. Poznań-Stargard 2021, 179–194.

44 Cf. Eggers, Hans-Jürgen: Pommersche Vorgeschichtsforschung im Exil (1945–1960). In: Baltische Studien NF 48 (1961), 75–104.

45 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 009/507, 222–224: Registration questionnaire of Władysław Filipowiak.

46 Cf. *ibid.*, 1, 142.

47 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0012/498. Vol. 77, 32: Work note of “Karol”; AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 009/507, 168f: Registration questionnaire of Władysław Filipowiak.

surveillance. He received these materials thanks to Eggers. He pointed out that West German researchers did not have as many problems in East Germany as Polish academics.⁴⁸

Concluding remarks

The research results presented here are based solely on SB materials. The credibility of these materials is questioned by some researchers because of the one-sided nature of the reporting. Despite this, during the internal inspection the services themselves pointed out to the credulity and lack of criticism in the assessment of the information obtained by officers, as in the case of Marian Zubiak.⁴⁹ In addition, we only have the resources that have not been destroyed and these certainly do not reflect the full range of activities undertaken. Therefore, further research should include other archival resources, including the legacy of the persons discussed here as well as the materials of the institutions of interest, and interviews with witnesses on both sides of the border. This would make it possible, for example, to reinterpret the statements of the *Landsmannschaft* activists recorded by the agents, like the references to a strong and free European community made by Philipp von Bismarck.⁵⁰

Despite this, however, we can draw some conclusions. For instance, the activities of the SB towards the Pomeranian *Landsmannschaft* and related scientific organizations, in principle, were limited to the surveillance of structures and activities in Poland by Polish informants: Poles and representatives of the German minority and autochthons. Based on the research carried out so far, it was not possible to obtain informers outside Poland in the milieu of the *Landsmannschaft* in West Germany. Secret collaborators and operational contacts recruited on various occasions, often during investigations concerning other cases, were used in these activities. Their selection was therefore rather random. The network of informants was exchanged quite frequently, and only the cooperation with “Wiliam” turned out to be longer and lasted, with different periods of intensity, for over 20 years.

It also seems that the actions of officers were often taken without preliminary knowledge of the environment, both in Germany and of their counterparts in Poland. This is evidenced by the confusion of names and surnames or attempts to reach people who were in fact of little significance. One of the reasons for this situation is most

48 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0012/498. Vol. 77, 40–43; Work note of “Karol”.

49 Cf. AIPN Wa. Sign. IPN Sz 0019/6251, 128; Personal file of Marian Zubiak.

50 Cf. Dąbrowska, Małgorzata; Hackmann Jörg: Kulice na mapie intelektualnej pogranicza polskoniemieckiego. Tradycja, dorobek i perspektywy [Kulice on the Intellectual Map of the Polish-German Borderland. Tradition, Achievements and Perspectives]. In: Migdalski, Paweł; Iwańczak, Wojciech (Ed.): Regionalne towarzystwa historyczne w Polsce w epoce globalizacji [Regional Historical Societies in Poland in the Age of Globalization]. Chojna-Wodzisław Śląski 2017, 187–202, here 189–192.

likely the lack of or little knowledge of the German language (as evidenced by the requests addressed to “Wiliam” for reviews of publications and the processing of available materials). These deficiencies, and the fact that the investigations had little effect, are often replaced in the comments with CI’s denunciations using standardized expressions about activities detrimental to the interest of the Polish state, and about the importance of the given activist.

The aspirations of the *Landsmannschaft* and its members to question the current Polish borders or the desire to deport the Polish population from Pomerania were commonly emphasized. In the reports of the secret collaborators themselves, such unambiguous statements are not so often to be found. It should be stressed here that the reports themselves do not provide sensational information about their compatriots either; most of this information could be gleaned from reading published official materials, reports, the press and academic papers. For this, however, you did not need CI, but well-educated investigators with language skills.

It is worth emphasizing here that there was no cooperation or coordination with East German services, at least at the provincial level. On the other hand, information on the trilateral relations of regional researchers between Poland, the GDR and the FRG is interesting and worthy of further comprehensive research. For instance, Tomasz Ślepowroński has only touched upon this subject in the field of Polish and East German historiography.⁵¹ I would add here that even the relations of the central research centres and scientific institutions between these countries, outside of the German-Polish textbook commission, have not been the subject of separate research based on a broad survey.

The actions taken against the German *Landsmannschaften* in West Germany resulted in the observation of Polish scientists: historians, archaeologists, archivists, who had established and maintained international contacts that were few in number and thus risked being accused of activities detrimental to the People’s Republic of Poland. Here the decision to undertake an observation was often determined by a denunciation or slander, as well as by a mistake; confusing the scholar Hans-Jürgen Eggers with the association activist Oskar Eggert, for example.

In conclusion, it can be said that the observations carried out by the SB officers were largely inept. This was probably due to the greater involvement of the services in the surveillance of potential and real opposition and political opponents in Poland, rather than in the observation of essentially harmless foreign revisionist organizations and related research milieus. The publicising of the problem of German

51 Cf. Ślepowroński, Tomasz: *Polska i wschodniemiecka historiografia Pomorza Zachodniego (1945–1970). Instytucje – koncepcje – badania* [Polish and East German Historiography of Western Pomerania (1945–1970). Institutions – Concepts – Research]. Szczecin 2008. But archaeology is now the work of Anne Kluger, cf. preliminary results of the work: Kluger, Anne: *Between Pottery and Politics? “Slavic Archaeology” in Communist Poland and East Germany and Its Interrelations with Politics and Ideology. A Biographical-Comparative Approach*. In: *Studia Historiae Scientiarum* 19 (2020), 287–326.

revisionism was primarily aimed at consolidating the national community in Poland and therefore at strengthening communist power.