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## Status of Research on Administrative Activities and Policing by Romanian Authorities with Regard to Poland and Polish Citizens and soldiers from mid-October 1938 till December 1939

*Stan badań nad administracyjnymi i policyjnymi działaniami władz rumuńskich wobec Polski i Polaków od połowy października 1938 r. do końca grudnia 1939 r.*

### ABSTRACT

The text reviews Polish and, to a lesser extent, Romanian subject literature and sources on Romanian actions against Poles in the period from mid-October 1938 to the end of 1939. The works of the following authors are the most useful in researching this problem: Andrzej and Tadeusz Dubicki, Krzysztof Dach, Waldemar Rezmer, Wojciech Rojek, Małgorzata Willaume, and publications of the Union of Poles in Romania. The

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most important documents have been published in 2013 by the Institute of National Remembrance and National Archives of Romania: *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1947. Dokumenty z narodowych archiwów Rumunii*. They built the starting point for researches on activities of the Romanian authorities in 1939.

**Key words:** Romania, Polonia, bibliography publication

#### STRESZCZENIE

W tekście dokonano przeglądu polskiej i w mniejszym stopniu rumuńskiej literatury oraz źródeł publikowanych, dotyczących w całości lub w części działań Rumunii wobec Polaków w okresie od połowy października 1938 r. do końca 1939 r. Szczególnie przydatne do badań nad działaniami rumuńskiego państwa są opracowania Andrzeja i Tadeusza Dubickich, Krzysztofa Dacha, Waldemara Rezmera, Wojciecha Rojka, Małgorzaty Willaume, a także publikacje Związku Polaków w Rumunii. Spośród dokumentów publikowanych, najwięcej informacji w tym względzie znajduje się w zbiorze wydany w 2013 r. staraniem Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej i Narodowych Archiwów Rumunii pod tytułem: *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1947. Dokumenty z narodowych archiwów Rumunii*. Stanowią one punkt wyjścia dla badań nad działaniami rumuńskich władz w 1939 r.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Rumunia, Polska, bibliografia publikacji

#### INTRODUCTION

In 1938–1939, the internal situation in Romania and the international environment in Europe were changing rapidly and in the very dynamic way. It was the time of Czechoslovakian crisis, the Munich Conference, annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany in 1939, dilemmas related to the future of the Subcarpathian Ruthenia and rapid evolution of the Ukrainian nationalistic movement in that area, as well as the threat emanating from Hungarian and Soviet revisionism. All that had built the situation that was politically unfavorable to Romania.

Also, the internal situation in Romania was tense and difficult. In 1938, the King Carol II directed the coup that led to the adoption of the new constitution, which, in practical terms, legalized the dictatorship. Then, he started actions aimed at liquidation of all Romanian democratic institutions. Political parties were banned, but the King was not able to make the same with the fascist Iron Guard movement in Romania (Rom. *Garda de Fier*), supported by Germany. The members of this group murdered, on 21 September 1939, the Romanian Prime Minister Armand Călinescu.

The situation deteriorated further after the German invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 and declaration of war by France and Germany on 3 September 1939. On 6 September 1939, Romania officially declared neutrality in the conflict. German successes in the Polish September Military

Campaign, Soviet invasion of Poland required from Romania to take necessary decisions on how to deal with refugees and evacuees from Poland, including members of Polish political and military authorities.

Annexation of the Polish territory by Germany and Soviet Union expanded the Romanian-Soviet Union border, which in turn strengthened the threat of the revisionism, making it more and more imminent, especially from the side of Hungary, German satellite state. Romania still pinned all political hopes on the Western States, mainly on France. In May 1940, after the defeat of France by Germany, Romania found itself in deep political isolation and threatened by neighbors. This prompted Bucharest to cooperate with Germany.

Till the end of 1939, Polish citizens, who had found refuge on the Romanian territory, enjoyed relative freedom of travel and the general attitude of the Romanian society towards them was positive and friendly. Although bilateral relations remained overshadowed by decisions on internment of the Polish President Ignacy Mościcki, the Polish Supreme Commander Edward Śmigły-Rydz and the Polish Government led by Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski, Romanian relations with the new Polish Government of General Władysław Sikorski were opened and correct.

#### ROMANIAN STATE 1938–1939

For the most of the Polish citizens, who crossed the Polish–Romanian border in 1939, the Kingdom of Romania was an important political and military partner, and ally but also a country that remained relatively unrecognized. Even today, the knowledge on this state and our current understanding of its situation and status in 1930s lacks deeper understanding in several of aspects. The main knowledge source on the history of Romania is still Juliusz Demel's monograph, *Historia Rumunii*, printed by the Ossolineum Publishing House<sup>1</sup>.

Juliusz Demel himself was interned in Chernivtsi, then in Craiova. On 27 October 1943, he was sentenced to 12 years in prison for trying to illegally cross the Romanian-Bulgarian border. He was 22 years old at that time. In 1944, he was released from the prison and stayed in Romania till the end of WWII<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Demel, *Historia Rumunii*, Wrocław 1986.

<sup>2</sup> F. Anghel, *Dyktatura pamięci. Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1945*, in: *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1947. Dokumenty z narodowych archiwów Rumunii*, vol. 1, eds. F. Anghel et al., Warszawa–Bucharest 2013, s. CXXIII.

In 2004, the monograph of Małgorzata Willaume, *Rumunia*, saw the publication. It presented the history of this country in the 20th century<sup>3</sup>. Another important work and also a kind of mine of information on Romanian political parties, movements and struggle for power in Romania in 1866–1947 is the monograph by Andrzej Dubicki *System partyjny Królestwa Rumunii. Uwarunkowania i funkcjonowanie*, published in 2013<sup>4</sup>.

Main political events in Romania of the time, primarily those related to the fight of the King Carol II with the Iron Guard were thoroughly and comprehensively presented in works of Krzysztof Dach and Tadeusz Dubicki: *Żelazny Legion Michała Archanioła. Z dziejów ruchu faszystowskiego w Rumunii*<sup>5</sup> and *Marszałek Ion Antonescu. Biografia żołnierza i polityka*<sup>6</sup>. Also, the 1994 monograph of Ioan Căpreanu, *Partide și idei politice în România (1880–1947)* remains a valid and useful source for research<sup>7</sup>.

Information on the Romanian state and political system in 1938–1939 is scattered among many different sources. For example, the print of Ion Mamina, *Monarhia constituțională în România. Enciclopedie politică 1866–1938*, does not cover the relatively short period of the power of 27 February 1938's Constitution, which practically sanctioned and confirmed the Carol II dictatorship<sup>8</sup>.

The text of this act was translated and published in Poland in two different versions, by Tadeusz Władysław Stark, Henryk Gorazdowski and George Chițulescu. It was also presented, although only partially, by Witold Brodziński, in his introduction to the analysis of the current political system in Romania<sup>9</sup>.

The information on the Romanian political and administration system could be found in *Encyklopedia XX wieku* of Trzaska, Evert and Michalski that covers elements up until 1937. For example, it includes information on the administration structure of the State. Before WWII, Romania had 71 departments, with Region Councils as legislative organs and Regional

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<sup>3</sup> M. Willaume, *Rumunia*, Wydawnictwo TRIO, Warszawa 2004.

<sup>4</sup> A. Dubicki, *System partyjny Królestwa Rumunii. Uwarunkowani i funkcjonowanie*, Łódź 2013.

<sup>5</sup> K. Dach, T. Dubicki, *Żelazny Legion Michała Archanioła. Z dziejów ruchu faszystowskiego w Rumunii*, Warszawa 1996.

<sup>6</sup> K. Dach, T. Dubicki, *Marszałek Ion Antonescu. Biografia żołnierza i polityka*, Łódź 2003.

<sup>7</sup> I. Căpreanu, *Partide și idei politice în România*, București 1994.

<sup>8</sup> I. Mamina, *Monarhia constituțională în România. Enciclopedie politică 1866–1938*, București 2000.

<sup>9</sup> *Konstytucja rumuńska z dnia 20-go lutego 1938 r.*, transl. and introduction T.W. Stark, Kraków–Warszawa 1938; *Konstytucja Królestwa Rumunii z dnia 27 lutego 1938 r.*, transl. H. Gorazdowski, G. Chițulescu, 2nd edition, Warszawa 1938; Brodziński W., *System konstytucyjny Rumunii*, Warszawa 2006.

Offices exercising the executive power<sup>10</sup>. As for military, the territory of Romania was divided into seven military districts: Craiova, Bucharest, Chisinau, Iassy, Brasov, Cluj and Sibiu<sup>11</sup>. *Encyklopedia XX wieku* also presented data and information on the military and security system of the Romanian State, as well as on regulations of the military service, Ordre de Bataille of the Romanian Armed Forces and Gendarmerie, both for the peacetime and for the time of the armed conflict<sup>12</sup>. Such information should however be verified, for example with the use of monograph of the late Professor Marian Zgórnjak, *Europa w przededniu wojny. Sytuacja militarna w latach 1938–1939*. The author described and assessed the Romanian military potential with the research through German documents (pp. 265–266)<sup>13</sup>.

Waldemar Rezmer presented results of his research on Romanian Armed Forces and Law Enforcement elements in the article: *Potencjał wojskowy międzywojennego Królestwa Rumunii w ocenie polskich władz wojskowych*<sup>14</sup>. With the available data and information, he was able to evaluate the status and situation of the Romanian military during the interwar period. The King was the Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief. He was supported by the advisory body, the Supreme War Council. During the peacetime, the Ministry of War was responsible for the military (since 8 June 1932, Ministry of National Defence) and supported by General Inspectorates.

Romanian Armed Forces had three arms and services: Ground Forces, Air Force and Navy. Waldemar Rezmer evaluated the situation and status of all arms and services and delivered necessary numbers on strength of particular parts of the national defence and security system. He also described and assessed Law Enforcements with the National Police, which included Gendarmerie (30,000) and the Border Guard (25,000), subordinated to the Ministry of Interior. The National Policy was supported by local police elements at the commune and township levels, Forestry Service, Seaport Police and Railway Police (6,000 in total), subordinated to the Ministry of Agriculture. Law Enforcement also included Prison Guard (1,000), subordinated to the Ministry of Justice and Customs (250)

<sup>10</sup> Trzaski, Everta i Michalskiego *Encyklopedia XX wieku*, ed. S. Lem, Warszawa 1938, p. 1745.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 1747.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> M. Zgórnjak, *Europa w przededniu wojny. Sytuacja militarna w latach 1938–1939*, Kraków 1993.

<sup>14</sup> W. Rezmer, *Potencjał wojskowy międzywojennego Królestwa Rumunii w ocenie polskich władz wojskowych*, in: *Polska i Rumunia – związki historyczne i kulturowe – przeszłość i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava 2011.

in the Treasury<sup>15</sup>. Additionally, Waldemar Rezmer published the text on the military training and education system in Romania: *Przysposobienie Wojskowe w Rumunii w połowie lat 30. XX wieku w ocenie Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego Wojska Polskiego*<sup>16</sup>.

The structure of Romanian administration before WWII was also presented in the monograph of Gheorghe Calcan, *Unificarea administrativă a României întegrite (1918–1925). Integrarea Basarabiei, Bucovinei și Transilvaniei în structurile administrației românești*, published in 2016. The author also included to the text, in one of annexes, The Administration Unification Act (Rom. Lege pentru unificarea administrativă) of 14 June 1925<sup>17</sup>.

As for the National Police and Gendarmerie, a very good introduction to the topic was produced by Stan Stangaciu, Ovidiu Miron, Octavian Burcin, Adrian Balan, in the book *Ordinea internă și apărarea româniei 1939–1941. Contribuția Jandarmeriei române la apărarea instituțiilor de stat*, published in 1999<sup>18</sup>. This print includes information of the Romanian Gendarmerie and its structures and activities during WWII. The topic of Polish refugees and evacuees was only partially covered as related operations had been just one of the tasks for Gendarmerie. On 29 September 1939, it built for example the system to prevent influx of refugees, as the Government wanted to secure the border against saboteurs, criminals, and foreign subversive actions<sup>19</sup>.

## POLISH–ROMANIAN RELATIONS

Important elements of any research on the attitude of the Romanian State towards Poland and Polish citizens are works on Polish–Romanian relations. Such list should include the monograph of Henryk Walczak

<sup>15</sup> W. Rezmer, *Potencjał wojskowy międzywojennego królestwa Rumunii w ocenie polskich władz wojskowych*, in: *Polska i Rumunia – związki historyczne i kulturowe – przeszłość i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. S. Iachimowski, E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava 2011, pp. 174–183.

<sup>16</sup> W. Rezmer, *Przysposobienie Wojskowe w Rumunii w połowie lat 30. XX wieku w ocenie Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego Wojska Polskiego*, in: *O relacjach polsko-rumuńskich na przestrzeni wieków w stulecie nawiązania polsko-rumuńskich relacji dyplomatycznych*, ed. E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava, 2021.

<sup>17</sup> G. Calcan, *Unificarea administrativă a României întegrite (1918–1925). Integrarea Basarabiei, Bucovinei și Transilvaniei în structurile administrației românești*, Cluj–Napoca 2016.

<sup>18</sup> S. Stangaciu et al., *Ordinea internă și apărarea româniei 1939–1941. Contribuția Jandarmeriei române la apărarea instituțiilor de stat*, București 1999.

<sup>19</sup> A. Balan et al., *Ordinea internă și apărarea româniei 1939–1941. Contribuția Jandarmeriei române la apărarea instituțiilor de stat*, București 1999, pp. 98–99.



*Sojusz z Rumunią w polityce zagranicznej w latach 1918–1932*<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately, it does not cover next years, but careful reader can find many useful information that helps in analysis and evaluation of some processes and events. The same author prepared a print on diplomatic contacts, such as *Wizyty szefów państw w ramach wzajemnych stosunków Polski i Rumunii w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*<sup>21</sup>. Polish–Romanian relations have been covered by Daniel Hrenciuk in his two monographs: *România și Polonia 1918–1931. Relații politice, diplomatice și militare* oraz *România și Polonia 1932–1939. Relații politice și diplomatice*<sup>22</sup>.

Information on the attitude of Romania towards Poland and Polish citizens could be found in collection of documents and studies on Polish–Romanian relations. Therefore, also elements in *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne* for 1938 and 1939, printed by the Polish Institute of International Relations (Pol. *Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych*. PISM), should be taken into account<sup>23</sup>. As for Polish–Romanian relations and problems of the military alliance, Henryk Walczak and Krzysztof Nowak prepared and edited source documents for 1921–1932. They were published in two volumes by the Polish Historical Society (Pol. *Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne*). The first one, titled *Jeden naród o dwóch sztandarach. Przymierze polsko-rumuńskie (1918) 1921–1926. Dokumenty i materiały*, was printed in 2020, second – *Najbezpieczniejsza gwarancja pokoju i cywilizacji w Europie Wschodniej: przymierze polsko-rumuńskie 1926–1932* was published in 2022<sup>24</sup>.

Another study that is important and useful for the project is the work of Marek Kornat *Polityka zagraniczna Polski 1938–1939*. This author has prepared quite an extensive biography of Józef Beck, together with

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<sup>20</sup> H. Walczak *Sojusz z Rumunią w polityce zagranicznej w latach 1918–1932*, “Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Rozprawy i Studia” 2008, 776.

<sup>21</sup> H. Walczak, *Wizyty szefów państw w ramach wzajemnych stosunków Polski i Rumunii w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Szczecin 2019.

<sup>22</sup> D. Hrenciuk, *România și Polonia 1918–1931. Relații politice, diplomatice și militare*, Rădăuți 2003; D. Hrenciuk, *România și Polonia 1932–1939. Relații politice și diplomatice*, Suceava 2005.

<sup>23</sup> *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1938*, eds. M. Kornat et al., Warszawa 2007; *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne 1939*, eds. W. Rojek et al., Warszawa 2007.

<sup>24</sup> „*Jeden naród o dwóch sztandarach*”, *Przymierze polsko-rumuńskie (1918) 1921–1926. Dokumenty i materiały* “*Un singur popor cu două drapele*”. *Alința polono-română (1918) 1921–1926. Documente și materiale*, eds. K. Nowak, H. Walczak, Warszawa 2020; „*Najbezpieczniejsza gwarancja pokoju i cywilizacji w Europie Wschodniej*”: *przymierze polsko-rumuńskie 1926–1932, dokumenty i materiały/Garanția cea mai sigură a păcii și a civilizației în răsăritul Europei: alianța polono-română 1926–1932: documente și materiale*, eds. K. Nowak, H. Walczak, Warszawa 2022.

Mariusz Wołos. They described the story of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs after internment and presented a lot of information about realities of life in Romania at that time<sup>25</sup>.

A separate issue had been Romanian policies towards Poles in Bukovina. Most works cover the period before the Great War but there is also print by Daniel Hrenciuk. He prepared the comprehensive monograph in two volumes: *Continuitate și schimbare: integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în regatul României Mari (1918–1940)*, vol. 1, *Perspectiva național-liberală (1918–1928)*. The second volume has the same title with the postscript 1928–1940<sup>26</sup>.

### POLISH REFUGEES AND EVACUEES IN ROMANIA IN 1939

As for the question of Polish refugees in Romania during WWII, it was T. Dubicki, who has made a breakthrough in this field of research. He developed and presented a new and interesting point of view on Romanian attitude towards Poland and Polish citizens before the war. The author covered many historical dimensions and provided results of research in Polish and Romanian archives. In the beginning of the 1990s, T. Dubicki published several articles and monographs on civilian and military aspects of the Polish migration and evacuation, just to mention: *Żołnierze polscy internowani w Rumunii w latach 1939–1945*, Łódź 1990; *Wojsko polskie w Rumunii 1939–1941*, Warszawa 1994; *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1945. Studia i materiały*, Warszawa 1995<sup>27</sup>.

His findings on numbers of Polish civilian refugees and military evacuees were based on Romanian administration data (50,000 people). This figure remains today an entry point for analysis of the problem<sup>28</sup>. However, data presented by T. Dubicki did not close the discussion on the actual numbers. For example, Romanian researchers provided estimates that place

<sup>25</sup> M. Kornat, *Polityka zagraniczna Polski 1938–1939. Cztery decyzje Józefa Becka*, Gdańsk 2012; M. Kornat, M. Wołos, *Józef Beck. Biografia*, Kraków 2020.

<sup>26</sup> D. Hrenciuk, *Continuitate și schimbare: integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în Regatul României Marii (1918–1940)*, vol. 1, *Perspectiva național-liberală (1918–1928)*, Rădăuți 2005; D. Hrenciuk, *Continuitate și schimbare: integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în Regatul României Marii (1918–1940)*, vol. 2, (1928–1940), Suceava 2007.

<sup>27</sup> T. Dubicki, *Żołnierze polscy internowani w Rumunii w latach 1939–1945*, Łódź 1990; *Wojsko polskie w Rumunii 1939–1941*, Warszawa 1994; *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1945. Studia i materiały*, Warszawa 1995.

<sup>28</sup> T. Dubicki, *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1945. Studia i materiały*, Warszawa 1995, p. 11.



the figure at the 100,000 level. This included people who were able or tried to avoid contacts with Romanian administration and did not receive any benefits. They just wanted to reach port in Constanta and board a ship, which sails out to France or to other friendly port in allied country<sup>29</sup>.

Works of T. Dubicki include basic data and information on activities of the Romanian administration with regard to Polish refugees. First regulations were issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs already on 9 September 1939. Since 11 September 1939, special committees in the border areas were established to deal with the refugee problem, with the participation of local mayors, heads of local administration, chiefs of local police, physicians, and technical staff. On 27 September 1939, the Commissariat General for Registering and Assistance for Polish Refugees, with Colonel Hagi Stoica heading the new body, was established.

Such efforts were supported by a number of non-governmental organizations: Societata Leagarul Sf. Ecaterina, Asociaționa Cristina Femei (YWCA), American Assistance to Polish Refugees Commission, and Straja Țari. On the Polish side, the Central Assistance and Refugee Committee in Romania launched its operations. The Romanian government also agreed to establishment of Polish Schools. Polish refugees were divided into three categories: the Polish Government and central national institutions employees, which were subject to particular governmental protection; military evacuees; and civilian refugees. Military evacuees were the responsibility of the Ministry of National Defence, civilian refugees – of the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>30</sup>.

After the Polish September Military Campaign of 1939 and taking over the control of the border by Soviet troops, any case of illegal border crossing was considered a criminal offence, and such person was put on trial before the Military Court in Chernivtsi. Most of court judgments were 2–4 weeks detentions, but even such short sentences had not been enforced. Since January 1940, illegal migrants from the Polish occupied territories were sent, thanks to the Polish Consulate efforts, to the Youth Centre in Chernivtsi.

The same month, Consul Tadeusz Buynowski and the Romanian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghorge Vântu, agreed on special treatment of Polish refugees from the territories occupied by Soviets. They were to be considered asylum seekers and not send back to Soviet-controlled districts<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> F. Anghel, *Dyktatura pamięci. Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1945*, in: *Polscy*, vol. 1, p. CXXI.

<sup>30</sup> T. Dubicki, *Polscy*, pp. 14, 35–36.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 262, 329, 331.

The Bukovina area had been under the tight police scrutiny due to its 50,000 Polish ethnic minority. The Romanian intelligence tried to recruit agents within groups in the area. The Polish Consulate in Chernivtsi also was under permanent surveillance. On the other side, it is necessary to mention that Romanian authorities tolerated Polish intelligence elements in Bukovina<sup>32</sup>.

With the silent consent of Romanian authorities, it was possible to organize and launch some activities by Polish intelligence and underground organizations. On 13 December 1939, the "R" Office of the Second Branch of the Polish Main Staff was established in Romania and its main office in Bucharest was even secured by the Romanian National Police.

The "R" Office immediately started to organize communication and courier service with the Polish occupied territories. People executing such tasks could cross the border in assigned and agreed places and use passwords that had been agreed on beforehand with Romanian organizations. In return, Bucharest expected data and information on the situation on the Soviet-controlled territories, including deployment of military units and security elements<sup>33</sup>. The monograph of T. Dubicki on this topic: *Konspiracja polska w Rumunii 1939–1945*, vol. 1, 1939–1940, published in 2002, remains an important source for any research on Polish–Romanian wartime relations. This could be complemented by the biography of Lieutenant Colonel Ziemiański of the same author<sup>34</sup>.

T. Dubicki only to a small extent covered issues related to movable property brought by Polish citizens to Romania. He ignored problems related to saving Polish assets in Romania, including the fate of the gold from the Bank of Poland. This gap was filled by Wojciech Rojek, who published in 2000 the monograph: *Odyseja Skarbu Rzeczypospolitej. Losy Banku Polskiego 1939–1950*. Second and third chapters of the print presented the story and included some assessments of the situation<sup>35</sup>.

Most of the Bank of Poland gold worth 364.4 million Polish Zloty was, with the tacit agreement of the Romanian Government, transported during the night 13/14 September 1939 by train from Sniatyn to Constanta. In that port, the gold was reloaded to the ship "Eocene" and evacuated.

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<sup>32</sup> T. Dubicki, *Konspiracja polska w Rumunii 1939–1945*, vol. 1, 1939–1940, Warszawa 2002, pp. 93–94, 330.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 67–69, 105, 262–263, 330.

<sup>34</sup> T. Dubicki, *Konspiracja polska w Rumunii 1939–1945*, vol. 1, 1939–1940, Warszawa 2002; T. Dubicki, *Ppłk Bolesław Ziemiański (1901–1976). Szef ochrony marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego. Oficer wywiadu polskiego w Rumunii w czasie II wojny światowej*, Łomianki 2016.

<sup>35</sup> W. Rojek, *Odyseja Skarbu Rzeczypospolitej. Losy Banku Polskiego 1939–1950*, Kraków 2000.

The fate of other 70 crates with 3,817 kilogram of gold, worth 22.2 million Polish zloty was different. This transport was stopped on 12 September 1939 in Dubna at the order of Polish military authorities. Part of the gold was sold and money were used to cover the most current and urgent expenses (1,014 kilogram for 238.3 Romanian Leu).

The remaining part had to be deposited in the National Bank of Romania. The work of the late Wojciech Rojek was based on British, French, German and Polish documents. As for Romanian side, the national point view on this specific problem was presented by Cristian Păunescu and Dorin Matei in the publication: *Saving the Polish Gold*, published in Bucharest in 2013. The print has the character of the popular science publication, but authors also included a number of documents to their work<sup>36</sup>.

The period of 1990s was the time of intensive Polish-Romanian contacts and increased interest in the history of bilateral relations, both in Poland and in Romania. In 1996, in Craiova, the collective work of Polish and Romanian historians was published: *Polonezi în România după anul 1939*, edited by Luchian Deaconu. The introduction was prepared by the Counsellor of the Embassy in Bucharest, Roman Wyborski<sup>37</sup>.

An important part in research on the problem of Polish refugees in Romania had been played by prints published by the Polish Association in Romania – The Polish House (Rom. Uniunea Polonezilor din România / Związek Polaków w Rumunii). This institution organizes annually scientific symposiums in Suceava, i.e. on above-mentioned topics. Works presented there were prepared, edited and published thanks to the work and dedication of two very important editors, late Stanislava Iachimovschi, tireless Elżbieta Wieruszewska-Calistru and Karina Stempel-Gancarczyk. The first volume of such materials was published in 2000. From 2013, the Association presents softcopies of such prints on its webpage.

In publications issued by the Polish Association in Romania it is possible to find some very interesting works on the attitude and activities of the Romanian administration: by Andrzej Dubicki, *Wojenne uchodźstwo polskie w Rumunii w ujęciu statystycznym* (2000)<sup>38</sup>; Mihai Căruntu, *Bucovina și drama refugiaților polonezi în toamna anului 1939* (2000)<sup>39</sup>; Krzysztof Spruch,

<sup>36</sup> C. Păunescu, D. Matei, *Jak ocalono polskie złoto*, București 2013.

<sup>37</sup> *Oltenia. Studii și comunicari. Polonezi în România după anul 1939*, eds. L. Deaconu, O. Gherghe, Craiova 1996, p. 122.

<sup>38</sup> A. Dubicki, *Wojenne uchodźstwo polskie w Rumunii w ujęciu statystycznym*, in: *Druga wojna światowa na tle stosunków polsko-rumuńskich*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska, Suceava 2000.

<sup>39</sup> M. Căruntu, *Bucovina și drama refugiaților polonezi în toamna anului 1939*, in: *Druga wojna światowa na tle stosunków polsko-rumuńskich*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska, Suceava 2000.

*Internowanie marszałka Śmigłego-Rydza w Rumunii* (2011)<sup>40</sup>; Krzysztof Halicki, *Internowanie funkcjonariuszy policji państwowej w Rumunii* (2011)<sup>41</sup>; Wanda Krystyna Roman, *Dorobek historiografii w zakresie internowania Polaków w Rumunii* (2017)<sup>42</sup>; Radu Florian Bruja, *Drama Poloniei din septembrie 1939* (2021)<sup>43</sup>; Gheorghe Calcan, *Refugiul polonez din anul 1939 în România: punctări în presa vremii* (2022)<sup>44</sup>.

The must-read for researchers interested in the Romanian attitude towards Poland and Polish citizens is the two-volume collection of source documents, issued in 2013: *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1947. Dokumenty z narodowych archiwów Rumunii*. The print includes quite a sizeable introduction prepared, from the Polish side, by T. Dubicki, from Romanian – by Florin Anghel<sup>45</sup>. This work was a result of the joint project of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance, the National Archives of Romania and the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania (Rom. Institutul de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului în România)<sup>46</sup>.

The work provides an access to 302 documents from 1939–1947, which include information on civilian refugees and military evacuees, lists of names, information on transfer of specific groups and individuals to different locations in Romania, on their accommodation, trips and related costs of living. Documents had been generated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Romania, Romanian Ministry of Defence (orders,

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<sup>40</sup> K. Spruch, *Internowanie marszałka Śmigłego-Rydza w Rumunii*, in: *Polska i Rumunia – związki historyczne i kulturowe – przeszłość i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska, Suceava 2011.

<sup>41</sup> K. Halicki, *Internowanie funkcjonariuszy Policji państwowej w Rumunii*, in: *Polska i Rumunia – związki historyczne i kulturowe – przeszłość i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska, Suceava 2011.

<sup>42</sup> W.K. Roman, *Dorobek historiografii w zakresie internowania Polaków w Rumunii*, in: *Historia i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. K. Stempel-Gancarczyk, E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava 2017.

<sup>43</sup> R.F. Bruja, *Drama Poloniei din septembrie 1939*, in: *O relacjach polsko-rumuńskich na przestrzeni wieków w stulecie nawiązania polsko-rumuńskich relacji dyplomatycznych*, ed. E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava 2021.

<sup>44</sup> G. Calcan, *Refugiul polonez din anul 1939 în România: punctări în presa vremii*, in: *O relacjach polsko-rumuńskich na przestrzeni wieków w stulecie zawarcia polsko-rumuńskiego sojuszu wojskowego*, ed. E. Wieruszewska-Calistru, Suceava 2022.

<sup>45</sup> See also: Anghel F., *Despre o problemă aproape necunoscută: frontiera româno-polonă în perioada interbelică (1918–1939)*, "Revista Istorică" 1997, 3–4; idem, *The difficult union: Besarabia and Romania 1918–1940*, "Slavic Review" 2009, 68, 2; idem, *Polskie społeczności w Wielkiej Rumunii (1918–1940)*, "Studia Polonijne" 1966, 17; idem, *Topografie memorii exilului polon. Babadag 1939–1947*, "Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană" 2018.

<sup>46</sup> *Polscy uchodźcy w Rumunii 1939–1947. Dokumenty z narodowych archiwów Rumunii*, vol. 1, parts 1–2, eds. F. Anghel et al., Warszawa–Bukareszt 2013.

official announcements, telegrams, information bulletins, different lists with figures, reports from the Commissariat General for Registering and Assistance for Polish Refugees).

A significant part of documents are elements prepared by heads of local administration and local administration, representatives of the King and officials from the King's Court, documents from National Commandants and Inspectors. There are also papers prepared by military commanders, Gendarmerie and Counterintelligence elements, including reports on the events in the Caracal Internment Camp. Polish soldiers protested there to the local Camp Commandant due to his efforts to force Polish citizens to sign a declaration that they would not leave the Camp without official permission.

The source documents collection mentioned above also includes exchange of correspondence of local charitable and assistance organizations, Jewish communities and extensive report on the legal status of Polish political leaders in Romania. The last document had been so far known only from other works and excerpts were placed in studies: Marina Stoian, *Vespasian Pella despre situația juridică a refugiaților politici aflați în România, "Oltenia Studii și comunicari. Polonezi în România după anul 1939"*, Craiova 1996<sup>47</sup>. Other available source editions are T. Dubicki, *Początek internowania władz II RP w Rumunii w świetle dokumentów rumuńskich*, in: *Polska i Rumunia w Europie Środkowej w XX i XXI wieku*, eds. Agnieszka Kastory, Henryka Walczaka, Kraków 2017<sup>48</sup>.

Some more information on the situation and status of Polish citizens in Romania could also be found in Polish source editions, i.e.: *Protokoły z posiedzeń Rady Ministrów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, vol. 1, październik 1939–czerwiec 1940. Problems of refugees from Poland and financial status of Polish institutions and offices in Romania were discussed during the Cabinet meetings on 17 October 1939, 9 November 1939 and 29 March 1940. Additional information on problems mentioned above could be explored by analysis of "Wniosek na Radę Ministrów z 27 października 1939 r." and "Wniosek ministra skarbu na Radę Ministrów w sprawie przyznania nowych kredytów przeznaczonych na pomoc uchodźcom polskim

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<sup>47</sup> Stoian M., *Vespasian Pella despre situația juridică a refugiaților politici aflați în România*, in: *Oltenia. Studii și comunicari. Polonezi în România după anul 1939*, eds. L. Deaconu, O. Gherghe, Craiova 1996, pp. 46–51.

<sup>48</sup> T. Dubicki, *Początek internowania władz II RP w Rumunii w świetle dokumentów rumuńskich*, in: *Polska i Rumunia w Europie Środkowej w XX i XXI wieku*, eds. A. Kastory, H. Walczak, Kraków 2017, pp. 79–90.



w Rumunii 16 listopada 1939 r.”<sup>49</sup>. Some more documents are available in the report “Siódme posiedzenie Komitetu Ministrów dla spraw Kraju, Protokół z 19 XII 1939 r.”, published in source edition: *Polskie Państwo Podziemne w dokumentach*, vol. 1, *Protokoły posiedzeń Komitetu dla spraw Kraju*, published in 2008<sup>50</sup>.

Another important source of information on the attitude of the Romanian State towards Poland and Polish citizens are memoirs of refugees and military evacuees, especially with regard to first months of WWII. Such documents and also iconographic materials have been collected and are stored by the Foundation “Karta” Centre. These efforts resulted in 2009 publication and formed a richly illustrated textbook and album: *Rumuński Azyl. Losy Polaków 1939–1945*<sup>51</sup>. The Romanian publication is titled: *Iar pământul vostru a devenit casa noastră. Refugiații polonezi în România în anii 1939–1945*. This category should also include texts of Krzysztof Żabirek: *Pobył w Rumunii żołnierzy polskich w świetle literatury wspomnieniowej (1939–1940)*<sup>52</sup>, Aleksander Smoliński: *Przekroczenie granicy polsko-rumuńskiej we wrześniu 1939 roku w wybranych pamiętnikach polskich kombatantów uczestniczących w kampanii jesiennej*<sup>53</sup>; and collection published in 2000 and edited by Anna Mamulska: *Polacy w Rumunii mówią o sobie*<sup>54</sup>. It could be complemented by other available memoirs and diaries from Romania.

## SUMMARY

The current status of research allows the assumption that there is already a strong fundament for further actions, especially to present problems from the Romanian perspective, from the point of view of Romanian administration and local authorities, taking into account social

<sup>49</sup> *Protokoły z posiedzeń Rady Ministrów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, vol. 1, *październik 1939 – czerwiec 1940*, eds. W. Rojek, A. Suchcitz, Kraków 1994.

<sup>50</sup> *Państwo Podziemne w dokumentach*, vol. 1, *Protokoły posiedzeń Komitetu dla spraw Kraju*, part 1, 1939–1941, ed. W. Grabowski, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>51</sup> *Rumuński Azyl. Losy Polaków 1939–1945*, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>52</sup> K. Żabirek, *Pobył w Rumunii żołnierzy polskich w świetle literatury wspomnieniowej*, in: *Historia i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. K. Stempel-Gancarczyk, E. Wieruszewska-Kalistr, Suceava 2017.

<sup>53</sup> A. Smoliński, *Przekroczenie granicy polsko-rumuńskiej we wrześniu 1939 roku w wybranych pamiętnikach polskich kombatantów uczestniczących w kampanii jesiennej*, in: *O relacjach polsko-rumuńskich na przestrzeni wieków w stulecie zawarcia polsko-rumuńskiego sojuszu wojskowego*, ed. E. Wieruszewska-Calistr, Suceava 2022.

<sup>54</sup> *Polacy w Rumunii mówią o sobie*, selection and edition A. Mamulska, Lublin–Leszno 2000.



and economic impact of the situation. Still a lot is to be done, especially to gather knowledge and understand reasons for Romanian decisions, due to the complicated security and political situation with a limited room for maneuver and limited freedom of action at the time.

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