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Polish Universities During the Second World War

On the eve of the Second World War, there were over a dozen publicly accredited institutions of higher education in Poland. Among these were six universities located in the most important cities of inter-war Poland (Warszawa, Krakow, Lwow, Wilno, Poznan, and Lublin). Warsaw, the capitol, was the strongest academic center. After Warszawa (Warsaw) came Lwow (ukr. Lviv), Krakow (Cracovia), then Poznan and Wilno (lit. Vilnius). Lublin was the smallest. The Jagiellonian University, established by King Kazimierz the Great (Wielki) in 1364¹, was the oldest University. The second oldest was the revived University of Stefan Batory in Vilnius, founded originally in 1574². Next came the University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwow (est. 1661)³, the University of Warsaw (instituted by the Russians in 1816)⁴, as well two new universities: the Catholic University of Lublin (est. 1918)⁵, and the University of Poznan (est. 1919)⁶.

During the twenty-year interwar period, academic work in the newly independent Polish state experienced rapid development. Student enrollment figures grew, and a number of unaccredited private institutions of higher education came onto the scene. It must be kept in mind that previous to Poland's regaining of independence in 1918 there existed only two Polish universities: the Jagiellonian University in Cracovia, and the University of Lwow. In 1919, the University of Lwow was renamed the "University of Jan Kazimierz", after the King,

¹ See: H. Barycz, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w życiu narodu polskiego*, Wrocław 1948; J. Dybiec, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński 1918-1939*, Kraków 2000; S. Gawęda, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w okresie II wojny światowej 1939-1945*, Kraków-Wrocław 1986.

² Reinstated by the Head Leader of the Polish Armies, Józef Piłsudski, on the 20th day of August 1919 as the University of Stefan Batory in Vilnius (*Uniwersytet Stefana Batorego w Wilnie*).

³ See: L. Finkel, S. Starzyński, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwówskiego*, Lwów 1894; F. Jaworski, *Uniwersytet Lwowski. Wspomnienie Jubileuszowe*, Lwów 1912.

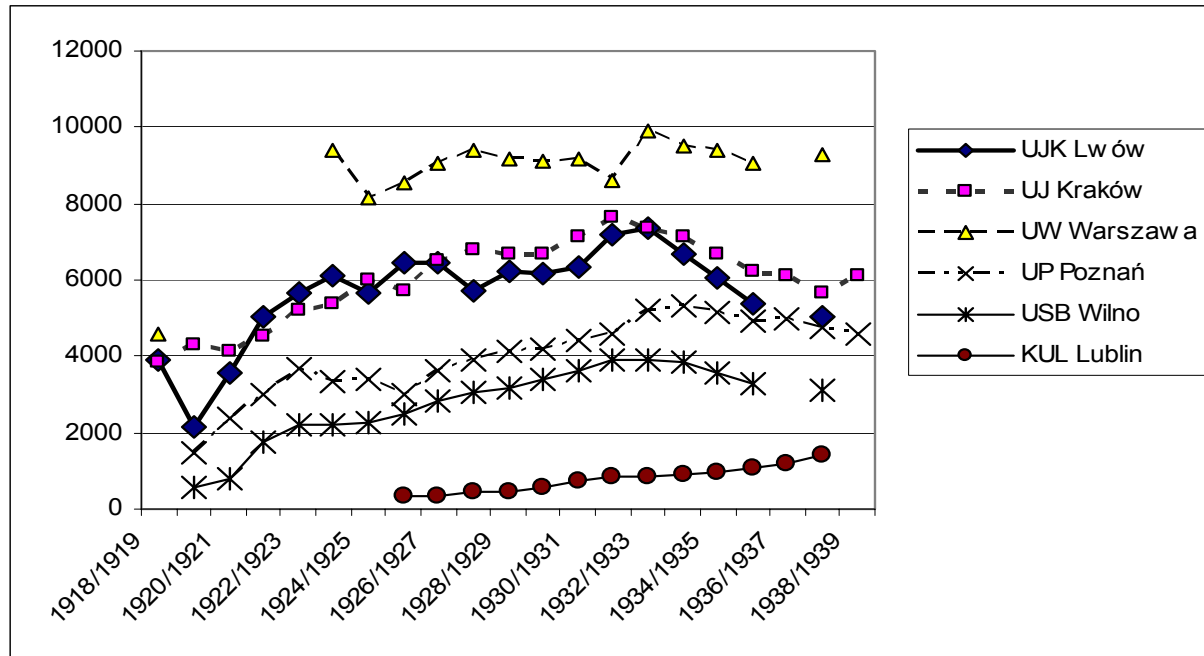
⁴ In 1915, the Polish University of Warsaw was founded in the place of its Russian run predecessor by the same name. In 1935, the university was renamed the "University of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (*Uniwersytet Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego*)."—for a broader account see: A. Garlicki [red.], *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1915-1939*, Warszawa 1982; *Uniwersytet Warszawski w latach 1915/1916—1934/1935*, oprac. T. Manteuffel, Warszawa 1936.

⁵ Until 1928, the Catholic University of Lublin (*Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski*) was referred to as the "University of Lublin (*Uniwersytet Lubelski*)."—This university gained full public accreditation in 1938—See: G. Karolewicz, *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski w latach 1918-1939*, [w:] *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski w latach 1918-1939 we wspomnieniach swoich pracowników i studentów*, Lublin 1989, s. 11-75; idem, *Nauczyciele akademicy Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w okresie międzywojennym*. T. I-II, Lublin 1996.

⁶ The University of Poznań (*Uniwersytet Poznański*) was founded in the spring of 1919, under the name "Wsztechnica Piastowska"—See: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza 1919-1969*, Poznań 1972.

who signed a charter for the university in 1661. The remainder of these institutions were either reestablished or founded during the First World War, or directly thereafter.

Table 1. Enrollment at Polish Universities during the Inter-war Period



**This table was compiled for this work using an assortment of available texts as references.*

On the first day of September 1939, Hitler’s army crossed the Polish border. Shortly afterwards, on the 17th of September, the Soviets invaded Poland. Within a month the Polish state had been defeated and its political leadership had fled. In observance of a German-Soviet pact previously established in August, 1939, and, more specifically, in accordance with a secret protocol included in the so-called “Ribbentrop-Molotov pact,” Poland was split in two and divided between the two occupying nations. The eastern territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union, while the western territories were in part added to the Third Reich—the remaining land became the so-called “General Governorship” (Generalna Gubernia).

The war brought all administrative work, as well as the work of all state institutions, to a halt. It also forced the closing of the Ministries of Religious Persuasion and Public Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Wyznan Religijnych i Oswiecenia Publicznego), which meant the suspension of the schooling it oversaw⁷. Of those cities with universities, Poznan was

⁷ For post-secondary institutions in the second Polish Republic (Druga Rzeczpospolita), the academic calendar began on the first of October, and concluded at the end of June. Universities divided the academic year into trimesters. The first of these trimesters lasted until the Christmas Holidays, the second ended with the Easter holidays, and the final semester concluded, as mentioned, at the end of June. This setup was instated by a act on higher education from 1920, and was maintained by a similar act in 1933.

incorporated into the Reich, Warsaw, Kraków and Lublin became part of the General , Vilnius was temporarily transferred to the Litva, and Lwow was incorporate in Soviet Socialist Ukraine, which was part of the overall Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There was absolutely no possibility for opening a Polish university in Poznan, since Hitler's government had decided to rid the entire Great Poland (Wielkopolska) region of Poles. As a consequence of this decision, this region saw a mass deportation of it's Polish residents.

German Politics Regarding the Polish Educational System

From the outset, the policies of Hitler's occupying forces were extremely anti-Polish. Already, on the seventh day of October, Hitler gave orders "concerning intensified Germanization," in which he nominated the leader of the SS and police, Hainrich Himmler, to the position of the Reich's commissary in matters concerning Germanization. This order set to work a policy that sought the elimination of the Polish elite, the removal of cultural goods, and the establishment of German institutions in the occupied territories. In November 1939, at the Department of Racial Politics in Berlin, authorities wrote up a document entitled "Concerning the Treatment of the Inhabitants of the Former Polish Territories - from a Racial-Political Standpoint". The document stipulated that regions that had been incorporated into the Reich were to be entirely Germanized. One particularly persistent obstacle in the realization of these plans was the Polish social elite: teachers, priests, doctors, high government officials, writers, and landowners. For this reason, Nazi leaders paid special attention to the educational system. As the author of the document put it, "Universities and other institutions of higher education, as well as secondary and trade schools, have always provided a means for the cultivation of Polish nationalism; therefore, for these very fundamental reasons, such institutions must be closed. The only permissible institutions are those that teach the most elementary skills: reading, writing and arithmetic. The teaching of subjects, which are important from a national point of view, such as geography, history, the history of literature, as well as gymnastics, is to be prohibited"⁸.

The demands expressed in these documents were very quickly realized. By October, the University of Poznan, which was out of session, was permanently closed and a portion of

⁸ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje oświaty Polskiej 1795-1945*, Warszawa 1996, s. 295-296.

its academic faculty was arrested⁹. Some two years later, in 1941, the German Reich opened a university in its place. The new institution did not meet with a warm reception.

In Warsaw, where occupying forces had made their presence known for some time, many of the former university buildings were being utilized by the military or police. The university, like many other institutions of higher learning, had not officially resumed work; nevertheless, the German authorities permitted the administration of exams for students in their last year of study. As such, up until May, 1940, at which time the Germans finally banned this activity, diplomas were awarded to 529 students of the University of Jozef Pilsudski in Warsaw (Warsaw University)¹⁰.

It is important to mention that of all the universities located in the German occupied area, the Catholic University of Lublin was the only one to resume work in October, 1939¹¹. The university's rector, Father Antoni Szymanski, came out with the initiative to resume work at a conference of professors, during which he individually asked each faculty member whether they intended to remain at the university. Teaching was nonetheless cut short when, on the 11th of November 1939, Nazis arrested a number of professors and university employees. On the 23rd of December 1939, some of those taken into custody were executed by firing squad at the castle in Lublin (Zamek Lubelski). Among those killed were, among others, professors Czeslaw Martyniak and Michal Niechaj.¹² Soon enough, news of the executions in Cracow resonated across the world.

As late as October 1939, the Germans had indicated a possibility that the university might be reopened. At a meeting on the 19th of October the academic senate planned for commencement ceremonies to be held on the 4th of November, in anticipation of the reopening of the university, which was to take on the 6th.¹³ On the 4th of November, a holy mass marking the beginning of the academic year took place at the Church of St. Anna. A day later, members of the faculty at various institutions in Cracow were to attend a speech given at the Jagiellonian University's Collegium Novum by the Chief of the Gestapo in Cracow, Dr. Bruno Muller. The Germans called on the rector of the Jagiellonian University,

⁹ S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i Szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939-1951*, [w:] *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, red. B. Suchodolski, t. V 1918-1951, cz. 1, „Ossolineum” Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1992. s. 319; J. Krasuski, *Oświata i szkolnictwo w okresie okupacji*, [w:] *Historia wychowania, wiek XX*, red. J. Miąso, Warszawa 1981, s. 259.

¹⁰ S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach...*, op. cit., s. 320.

¹¹ G. Karolewicz, *Nauczyciele akademicy...*, t. 2, s. 136.

¹² For a broader treatment see: J. Ziółek, *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w czasie okupacji. Relacje i dokumenty*, Lublin 1983; A. Wojtkowski, *Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1918-1944*, [w:] *Księga jubileuszowa 50-lecia Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, Lublin 1969.

¹³ Thereafter, the beginning date for classes was moved up to the 13th of November—See: A. Bolewski, H. Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki w latach 1939-1945. Straty osobowe*, Ossolineum 1989, s. 167.

Prof. Tadeusz Lehr-Splawinski, in order to gather professors for the meeting. Nobody anticipated that the meeting was only a pretext.

On the sixth of November, 1939, after the lecture hall at the Collegium Novum had been filled by some 200 representatives of Cracow's academic elite, the university building was surrounded by the Gestapo and all were arrested¹⁴. Thereafter, the faculty was transported to the barracks of the 20th infantry on Mazowiecka street. The following day, all of the Ukrainians were released along with a handful of sick and elderly professors. Those remaining in custody were brought to a prison in Wroclaw, and from there they were transported to the concentration camp "Sachsenhausen," which was located in Oranienburg, on the outskirts of Berlin¹⁵. Of the 183 imprisoned faculty members from the Jagiellonian University and the Mining Academy, 19 froze as a consequence of imprisonment¹⁶. A majority of those remaining were released following the intervention of the academic community abroad along with a number of foreign governments (one of these being the fascist Italian government). Among the victims were such notable professors as Ignacy Chrzanowski, Karol Estreicher, and Tadeusz Garbowski.

Governor Hans Frank was unable to come to terms with these events. At a briefing on the 30th of May, 1940, he made the following remark: "One cannot begin to describe the trouble caused us by the Professors from Cracow. If we had taken care of the matter on the spot, the situation would have taken a completely different course. I most urgently beg you, gentlemen, not to send anyone else away to concentration camps. Either conduct a complete liquidation on the spot, or allot a punishment in accordance with the law. Any other conduct constitutes a threat to the Reich, and will result in additional troubles for us"¹⁷. The conduct of the Germans in July of 1941 followed from this "order."

A resolution published in September 14, 1940, added the finishing touch to Nazi policy regarding the Polish educational system. In this document they ordered an *ex post facto* closure of all institutions of higher education in Poland beginning on the 30th of

¹⁴ After all had entered the auditorium the Chief of the Gestapo remarked the following in German: "Gentlemen. I have gathered you here today to tell you that the University of Kraków has always been a hotbed for anti-German sentiments, and that it is in this negative spirit that the university has cultivated the youth. Now you have attempted to open the university—without asking our permission. You tried to administer examinations and hold lectures—without asking our permission. For this reason you will be arrested and sent to a camp. We shall accept no appeals in this matter." – See: A. Bolewski, H. Pierzchała, *Losy polskich...*, op. cit. s. 167-169.

¹⁵ See: *Podstępne uwięzienie profesorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Akademii Górniczej* (6 IX 1939 r.). Dokumenty. Wybór i opracowanie Józef Buszko, Irena Paczyńska, Kraków 1995; I. Homola Skąpska, *Wstęp, [w:] Wspomnienia Frederyka Zolla (1865-1948)*, oprac. I. Homola Skąpska, Kraków 2000, s. 22-23.

¹⁶ R. Wroczyński, *Dzieje...*, op. cit., s. 300.

¹⁷ *Okupacja i ruch oporu w Dzienniku Hansa Franka*, t. 1 1939-1942, Warszawa 1970, s. 217-2181; por. S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe...*, op. cit., s. 327.

September, 1939. This was but one of numerous examples of the Nazis' preterition of fundamental societal and legal principles. On this occasion, they ignored the conventions of "non-retroactivity" (*Lex retro non agit*)¹⁸.

The Soviets and Polish Higher Education

The academic situation in the regions occupied by the Soviet Union was rather different. It should be noted that the fate of Polish universities in Wilno and Lwow during the Second World War is a subject that has yet to receive much treatment. In the People's Republic of Poland (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa 1945-1989) this topic was off limits, since addressing the issue meant potentially agitating Poland's "great neighbor" to the east. Censorship and the broader circumstances of communism meant that any attempts to investigate the region, which was occupied by the Soviets in 1939, would be in vane. Recollections of this period are few and far between, and a large section of the Soviet archives remain classified to this day.

The fate of Polish universities in the east, at least in the first phase after occupation, was different from that of universities located in the German occupied regions. Vilnius, which was invaded by Soviet forces in September, 1939, was transferred into Lithuanian hands following an arrangement between the Soviets and Lithuanians on the 10th of October, 1939.¹⁹ On December 15 of the same year, the Lithuanian leadership resolved to liquidate the University of Stefan Batory. The entire teaching faculty was thereafter discharged, and some 3,000 students were told to leave.²⁰ In place of the Polish university, the government founded an extension campus affiliated with the University of Witold the Great in Kovno. Lithuania did not enjoy its concessionary independence for long, however: in June 1940, it was incorporated into the Soviet Union.²¹ At that time, some Polish professors and students were

¹⁸ Ibidem, s. 320.

¹⁹ It should be emphasized that the Lithuanians provided assurance that they would remain neutral; also, they declared that they would not take advantage of the Nazi invasion as an opportunity to take power of Vilnius from Poland. As a result of this agreement (which had the character of an ultimatum), the Soviets transferred control of Vilnius and the surrounding area to Lithuania in exchange for permission to use Lithuanian land rail lines for military purposes. Lithuania's concessionary freedom was short-lived, since Lithuania, along with Latvia and Estonia, was incorporated into the Soviet Union by June. —W. Roszkowski, *Historia Polski 1914-1993*, Warszawa 1994, s. 91, 94.

²⁰ The vast majority of students at the University of Stefan Batory were of Polish nationality.—See: *Likwidacja Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego przez władze litewskie w grudniu 1939 r. Dokumenty i materiały*, Warszawa 1991; L. Żytkowicz, *Uniwersytet Stefana Batorego w Wilnie w ostatnich miesiącach swego istnienia*, [w:] *Wilno-Wileńszczyzna jako krajobraz i środowisko wielu kultur*, Białystok 1992, s. 1937-1938; W. Bonusiak, *Polska podczas II wojny światowej. Zamordowani--więzieni—deportowani*, Warszawa 2001, s. 6, 12-13.

²¹ See: M. Kosman, *Orzeł i Pogoń. Z dziejów Polsko-litewskich XIV-XX w.*, Warszawa 1992, s.298.

permitted to return, though they were the exception. Between September, 1939, and July, 1941, the Soviets arrested and deported nineteen ex-faculty of the University of Stefan Batory, of which 9 perished (among others, Professors Stanisław Cywinski, Wladyslaw Jakowicki, Jan Kempisty, and Jozef Marcinkiewicz).²² Of those, five were murdered at Katyn (Tadeusz Kolaczynski, Piotr Oficjalski, Wlodzimierz Godlowski, Konstanty Pietkiewicz, and Konstanty Sokol-Sokolowski)²³.

In Lwow - one of the most flexible academic centers of the interwar period, the situation was unique in contrast to that of other regions. Lwow, which was invaded by Soviet forces on the 22nd of September, 1939, seems to have received exceptional treatment from the occupying forces. In historiography, there exists the widely held opinion that Lwow was regarded as the “first European city.” In light of this, it became a fortress of enlightenment in the times following the invasion. This does not change the fact, however, that the Soviet political police (NKWD) in effect wiped these ex-Polish territories clean of nearly all those who had participated in politics, not to mention politically active clergy and former employees of the judicial system. In the very first days following the occupation of Lwow, the prisons were already brimming with the Polish intellectual elite. In October, 1939, the NKWD arrested the renowned economists and politicians Prof. Stanislaw Glabinski and Prof. Stanislaw Grabski, who were at one time affiliated with the Polish national movement. In addition, they brought into custody Prof. Ludwik Dworzak, a presiding judge in the appeals court in Lwow. Of the three, only Stanislaw Grabski was freed²⁴. In the period 1939-1941, the Soviets also executed over a dozen faculty from the University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwow²⁵.

Despite all this, efforts were made to preserve some semblance of normality. On the 28th of September, 1939, at a public assembly organized by the administration of the University of Jan Kazimierz’s *Collegium Maximum*, assurance was given that work at the university would continue and that the multinational city of Lwow would have both Polish and Ukrainian universities²⁶. Meanwhile, preparations were made for a recommencement.

²² S. Kalbarczyk, *Polscy pracownicy...*, op. cit., s. 210.

²³ See also: Katyń. Księga Cmentarna Polskiego Cmentarza Wojennego, Warszawa 2000.

²⁴ See: Archiw Lwivskoho Natsionalnoho Universitetu im. Iwana Franka (Archive of the Lviv National University of Ivan Franko), f. 119, Orders of the Rector 1939, order 30—this document contains information regarding the termination of the following professors’ employment (from the 3rd of November, 1939): S. Głąbiński, S. Grabski, L. Dworzak. These dismissals were handed down in conjunction with the arrest of the professors.

²⁵ During this period, a few dozen representatives of the academic community were taken into custody. According to Sławomir Kalbarczyk, out of the 68 arrested, 31 were killed.—S. Kalbarczyk, *Polscy pracownicy...*, op. cit. s. 202-205.

²⁶ See: K. Lanckorońska, *Wspomnienia wojenne*, Kraków 2003, s. 21-22.

Enrollment began on the 2nd of October, in accordance with a directive handed down by the rector, Prof. Roman Longchamps de Berier²⁷. The first lectures began on the 5th of October, 1939²⁸. It quickly became apparent, however, that promises made regarding the continuation of the university would not be held for long. Although the University of Lwow, when it reopened on the 5th of October, 1939, was much the same place as before the war, by January 1940, it had been completely transformed. On the 18th of October, Roman Longchamps de Berier was unexpectedly removed from his position as rector, and replaced by a Ukrainian by the name of Michailo Marczenko, an associate professor at the Institute of History at the Ukrainian Academy of the Sciences in Kiev. Marczenko was determined to transform the University of Lwow into the Ukrainian National University. On the third of January, 1940, the university was renamed the “Ivan Franko National University” after the famous Ukrainian poet and political activist²⁹. As time went on a growing number of Polish professors, assistant professors, associate professors, and administrative assistants were fired. This was accompanied by the liquidation of all departments having any connection whatsoever with free-market economics, capitalism, or the “West.” In addition, all faculty members dealing with Polish geography, literature, or history were removed. The university, in turn, brought in new faculty specializing in Marxism, Leninism, political economics, as well as Ukrainian and Soviet literature, history and geography. At the end of October, 1939, the department of theology was liquidated³⁰, and the medical academy was separated from the university to form the Medical Institute of Lwow. The humanities department was divided up into the department of history and the department of philology.³¹ Prof. Antoni Podraza, who, in 1939, was a student in the department of humanities (later to become the department of history) recalls that the academic programs at the university were initially identical to those of the interwar period. According to his account, the most fundamental changes to the university took place in January of 1940, after students had returned from the holidays. As Podraza notes, “it seemed that the university was a completely different place”³². The structure of the university and the curriculum were adjusted to the Soviet educational system, and the

²⁷ Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie (Archive of the Polish Institute of the Sciences) (henceforth - APAN), sygn. III – 160 - Materiały Kamila Stefki, Jednostka arch. 47 - Uniwersytet we Lwowie 1934-1939, k.8.

²⁸ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie...* op. cit., s. 128.

²⁹ Previously, the University of Lwów had been referred to as the “University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwów.”

³⁰ See: J. Wołczański, *Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie*, Kraków 2002, s. 575-576.

³¹ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie...*, op. cit., s. 128-130; A. Głowacki, *Sowieci wobec Polaków na ziemiach wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej 1939-1941*, Łódź 1998, s. 461.

³² A. Podraza, *Uniwersytet Lwowski w latach II wojny światowej*, [w:] *Lwowskie środowisko naukowe w latach 1939-1945*, pod red. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowej, Warszawa 1994, s. 40-44.

trimester calendar was abandoned in favor of the two-semester academic calendar. Aside from this, the university incorporated a mandatory curriculum with required examinations. The required coursework was precisely defined, consequently restricting the freedom of the university³³. The department of history provided only one course of study. The department of humanities, on the other hand, expanded its faculty of Russian and Ukrainian literature, while only keeping one faculty position in Polish literature (within the area of Slavic philology), and Germanic-Romance philology. The Polish department of literary history, which was replaced by three other departments in 1939 and 1940, was headed by Prof. Juliusz Kleiner. Between the years 1939 and 1941, the department of natural sciences and mathematics underwent several subdivisions, so that, by 1941, there existed four small departments: the department of mathematics and physics, the department of geology and geography, and the departments of biology and chemistry. By the second half of 1940 the University of Lwow maintained 76 distinct faculties (as compared with 1938, at which time there were around 110)³⁴.

In the college of law the following departments were removed: Roman law, church law, commerce law, statistics, and private international law. In their place, the college established a department for the study of the legal history of Soviet nations, a department of communal farming law (*prawo kolchozowe*), as well as a division for medical law³⁵. Leading up to the 6th of December, 1939, the dean of the college was Prof. Kazimierz Przybylowski (who was chosen for the position previous to the war). In addition to his duties as dean, Przybylowski ran the department of civic law from 1939-1941. Its worth noting that, although the complete liquidation of the University of Lwow occurred in 1940, leading up to this date a number of associate professors and “lecturers” were brought in from Kiev and Charkov. Nevertheless, the majority of professors in the period until 1940 were members of the teaching faculty before the war broke out. Of these, a few worked on a full time basis, while others lectured on commission. In June, 1941, as many as 15 of the 30 faculty members in the college of law were Poles. The faculty of the department of civic law consisted of Professors Kazimierz Przybylowski (director), Roman Longchamps de Barrier, and Maurycy Allerhand, Associate Professors Mykola Topolnickyj and Jurij Fedynskij, and assistant Magister Adam Radziszowski. Of these, only Topolnickyj and Fedynskij were Ukrainians.³⁶

³³ c.f.: A. Podraza, *Uniwersytet Lwowski w latach...*, op. cit., s. 40-58.

³⁴ Archiw Nationalnoho Uniwersytetu im. Ivana Franki u Lwówi (National Archive of the University of Ivan Franko) (henceforth—ANUIF), fond 119, opis 1, sprawa 404 (description given in Ukrainian).

³⁵ ANUIF, f. 119, op. 1, sp. 404, k.6-7, 18-19 (strony).

³⁶ ANUIF, f. 119, op. 1, sp.407—Obsada katedr uniwersyteckich na rok akademicki 1941/1942, k. 32-41.

Not all of the prewar professors at the University of Jan Kazimierz found employment at the Soviet-Ukrainian University of Ivan Franko. A number left for the West to participate in the establishment of Polish institutions abroad.³⁷ Others found themselves in the General Governorship. A number were even arrested by the NKWD, shipped into the heart of the USSR (e.g. Kazakhstan or Siberia)³⁸, or executed. There were also those, however, who remained in Lwow and found other occupations: practicing as attorneys, working in museums and libraries, or continuing with academic work.

Table 2. Number of Academic Workers (Full Professors, Associates, and Assistants) Targeted in Soviet War Crimes.

	Warsaw University	Jagiellonian University in Cracow	University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwow	University of Stefan Batory in Wilno	Poznan University	Catholic University of Lublin	All
Imprisoned	26	7	37	19	17	2	108
Killed	22	7	17	9	14	2	71

*Source: S. Kalbarczyk, *Polscy pracownicy nauki ofiary zbrodni sowieckich w latach II wojny światowej. Zamordowani – więzieni – deportowani*, Warszawa 2001.

Lwow under German Occupation

The situation in the regions incorporated into the USSR underwent radical changes following the outbreak of the German-Soviet War on 22nd of June, 1941. Already on the 30th of June, 1941, the German army had occupied Lwow. In the initial period of the occupation, the Ukrainians, having allied themselves with the Nazis, attempted to establish a Ukrainian state, with a capitol located in Lwow. Despite these efforts, the Germans refused to allow the new state, and arrested the self-proclaimed Ukrainian leadership. Lwów and its surrounding regions were incorporated into the General Governorship, and became known as the Galicja District (Galizien).

Three days following the Nazi invasion of Lwow, actions against Lwow's intellectual community began. On the 2nd of July, 1941, the ex-premier of the Polish government, Prof. Kazimierz Bartel was arrested. This, however, was only a precursor to the tragedy that was to unfold on the night of July 3rd. On that night, between 10:00pm and 2:00am, divisions of the

³⁷ See: J. Draus, R. Terlecki, *Polskie szkoły wyższe i instytucje naukowe na emigracji 1939-1945*, Ossolineum—Wrocław 1984.

³⁸ For a more extensive discussion of the fates of Polish academic workers in the USSR during the Second World War, see: S. Kalbarczyk, *Polscy pracownicy...*, op. cit.

SS rode throughout the city, arresting a number of Lwow's professors. The action was carried out efficiently. Arrests were made according to a list of targeted professors, which had most likely been compiled beforehand by a group of Ukrainian students in Cracow³⁹. During an arrest, a division of military police would surround a targeted professor's home, while SS officers would enter the residence and take all men into custody who were over the age of 18.⁴⁰ The arrest of Prof. Roman Longchamps de Berier (the last rector of the University of Jan Kazimierz) illustrates how such arrests were typically carried out: Around one o'clock in the morning, there was a knock on the door at the Longchamps de Berier's residence, at 11 Karpinski street. Located within the house were the professor, his wife, his four sons and housekeeper, along with his cousin and her son and daughter. After SS officers entered the home, they asked the professor to confirm the identity of those present, and ordered him to get dressed quickly. Though the professor asked for an explanation in German, no response was given. The professor's three sons, Zygmunt, Bronislaw and Kazimierz (who had been asleep in the living room) were also ordered to get dressed. All three were at least 18 years of age. Only one of the professor's sons was allowed to stay behind: this was his youngest son, a thirteen-year-old, who happened to have been asleep in another room when the SS arrived. The Germans conducted a quick and superficial search of the residence, taking with them a radio and some jewelry. In total, the entire ordeal lasted only a few minutes and was similar to other arrests conducted that night.

In the course of four hours, the military police had brought 40 people into custody and transported them to Abramowicz dormitory. Of those, 23 were professors. Somewhere around three or four in the morning, all of those arrested were escorted to nearby Wuleckie Hill, where they were stood before a dugout and shot to death. The mass grave was then covered, so as not to leave any traces of the execution⁴¹.

³⁹ In historical accounts it has been written that the list of professors, according to which the Nazis carried out arrests and conducted executions in the year 1941, was compiled by Ukrainian students in Kraków, who belonged to nationalistic organizations. This account is very probable, nevertheless, this is not to say that these students are liable for the murders. Indeed, nobody anticipated that these lists would be used to target individuals for execution.

⁴⁰ Z. Albert, *Mord profesorów Lwówskich w lipcu 1941 roku*, [w:] *Każń profesorów Lwówskich lipiec 1941. Studia oraz relacje i dokumenty zebrane i opracowane przez Zygmunta Alberta*, Wrocław 1989, s. 37; Cz. Madajczyk, *Mord na profesorach: likwidacja Lwówskich uczonych przez Niemców w 1941 r.* – *Przegląd* 2001, nr 30, s. 44-45; T. Marcinkowski, *Martyrologia profesorów Lwówskich w lipcu 1941 roku*, Goleniów 1992.

⁴¹ This, however, was not the end of the tragedy. The Germans did not own up to the execution of the professors in Lwów. In fact, on the ninth of October, 1943, they called upon the so-called "Death Brigade", to return to the sight of the execution in the Wuleckie Hills, in order to further conceal their activities. This group dug up the corpses of the victims, transported them to the Krzywczycki Forest in Lwów, where they were piled and eventually incinerated.

In the General Governorship, during this same period, there were a number of individual executions and other acts of persecution against the intellectual elite; nevertheless, the situation in this region was relatively calm when one realizes that the Governorship, unlike Lwow, did not experience any mass executions of Polish elite. Though the Nazis made every effort to conceal the atrocities committed in Lwow, word of these happenings spread fast throughout the academic community abroad, shaking public opinion regarding the nature of the occupation.

The Germans very quickly shut down the University of Ivan Franko, and in September of the same year they gave word that a few professional schools would be opened. The opening of these institutions eventually came in the spring of 1942. Although these schools did not confer non-professional (conventional undergraduate) academic titles, their curricula were in principle very similar to those of general-educational universities. This fact is reflected in the course offering at the technical university (Politechnika), where coursework similar to that of the prewar period was readopted⁴². In November of 1941, an extension campus of the Cracowian Institute of German Work in the East (Institut für Deutsche Osterbeit) was founded. The institute employed, among others, Professors Adam Fischer, Przemyslaw Dabrowski, and Eugeniusz Słuszkiewicz. To a large extent, it served as the administrative body implementing the medical program (Staatliche Medizinische Fachkurse Lemberg). After some time, this program began offering pharmaceutical coursework, at which time the “National Medical-Natural Science Professional Courses” (Państwowe Medyczno-Przyrodnicze Kursy Zawodowe) were established to train pharmacists and doctors⁴³. Lwow’s research institutes, and especially the institute of Prof. Weigel, played a very important role in the investigation of typhus. Weigel’s institute not only supplied injections for the German forces, but it also produced medicine, which was thrown secretly into concentration camps and ghettos⁴⁴. Though the existing institutes were officially intended for the education of Germans, admission was also offered to Polish and Ukrainian youths, and courses were often conducted in Polish⁴⁵.

⁴² G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie...*, op. cit., s. 364-365.

⁴³ Zob. J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1939-1944*, [w:] *Historia – Społeczeństwo – Wychowanie. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana prof. J. Miąso*, Awarszawa 2004, s. 83.

⁴⁴ D. Naspiak, Z. Ojrzyński, *Lwówianin i Polak z wyboru – profesor Rudolf Stefan Weigl*, [w:] *Rudolf Stefan Weigl (1883-1957). Profesor Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie. Twórca szczepionki przeciw tyfusowi płamistemu*, Wrocław 1994, s. 8-9.

⁴⁵ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie...*, op. cit., s. 350-357.

Secret Education

After the Germans liquidated Polish higher education and placed bans on the teaching of subjects such as history, geography and Polish literature in lower level institutions, underground education became a common practice. At first, covert teaching only took place at the primary school level. Initially, no one attempted to conduct university-level courses on a secret basis, since the violation of prohibitions on higher education carried very serious legal consequences. In addition to this fact, it was generally thought that the war would come to a quick conclusion, and that higher institutions would therefore recommence their usual work in the near future. Despite all this, in the autumn of 1939, the underground Commission for Public Enlightenment was founded in Warsaw as an initiative of the Service for the Victory of Poland (Sluzba Zwyciestwu Polski, later to become the Union of Armed Battle – Związek Walki Zbrojnej – Armia Krajowa). The commission conducted business as a subdivision of the underground military until the 28th of July, when the army's leader and the ex-Minister of Enlightenment, Kazimierz Pieracki, was brought under arrest. In his absence, the administrative body was headed by Dr. Tadeusz Kupczynski, who arranged for the commission to become a subordinate division of the Department of Enlightenment and Culture, which in turn was part of the Delegation of the Homeland Government (Delegatura Rządu na Kraj).

Some teaching organizations also took up the task of providing underground education. The most significant organization in this respect, the Secret Teaching Organization or "TON" (Tajna Organizacja Nauczycielska), was lead by Zygmunt Nowicki, Kazimierz Maj, and Czesław Wycech. This organization, which was founded by members of the pre-war Polish Teachers Union (Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego), began functioning in October, 1939. Around the end of 1940, the Department of Enlightenment and Culture came into being as part of the Delegation of the Homeland Government⁴⁶. Czesław Wycech - a member of TON, was the director of this organization throughout the entire occupation. In addition, the Secretary of the Department was the very skilled Waclaw Schayer. With time the department became genuinely important in the coordination of the pedagogical work of a

⁴⁶ The Department of Enlightenment and Culture under the Delegation of the Homeland Government (Departament Oświaty i Kultury przy Delegaturze Rządu na Kraj) serve the same function as the Underground Ministry of Religious Persuasion and Public Enlightenment (Podziemne Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego), otherwise known as the Ministry of Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Oświaty). For a more detailed treatment, see: Cz. Wycech, *Z dziejów tajnej oświaty w latach okupacji 1939-1945*, Warszawa 1964.

wide range of smaller organizations and the administration of educational and cultural projects in the occupied territories⁴⁷.

Already by 1940, covert education was administered at all levels (elementary, secondary, and post-secondary). The strict prohibition of education past the secondary level meant that the illicit reopening of such institutions was an extremely risky prospect. Professors, nonetheless, took up this difficult task, and began meeting up with individuals and small groups of students in unofficial settings. Most often classes were conducted in a professor's home, and at times, in church buildings. Educational authorities were nominated on every administrated level (that is centrally, for each voyvodship or state, as well as each region and municipality). Primary schools were attended by one and a half million youths. In 1944, some 100 thousand youths were enrolled in secretly run middle schools. All types of underground education were strictly opposed by the Nazis – in the course of the war nearly 8,000 teachers lost their lives⁴⁸.

Warsaw was the first area to establish a network of covert educational institutions. The underground University of the Western Territories (Uniwersytet Ziemi Zachodniej) was relocated to Warsaw from Poznań. This institution was established by the evacuated ex-employees of the University of Poznań, and was established to educate youths who had fled the western territories. In its initial stages, the University of the Western Territories functioned exclusively in the Warsaw region; however, from autumn 1943, it was extended to Częstochowa and Kielce. In total, it provided the required coursework for 17 academic specializations. The first extension campus to function in Częstochowa offered a course of study in Polish Philology, which, in 1944, was superseded by a department of humanities. In Kielce, the university conducted coursework in Polish studies⁴⁹.

In Warsaw, underground education was conducted by the University of Warsaw, the Warsaw Polytechnic University (Politechnika Warszawska), the Free Polish University (Wolna Wszechnica Polska), the Main School of Rural Economics (Szkoła Główna Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego), the Main School of Commerce (Szkoła Główna Handlowa), and the Polish Conservatory of Music. Initially, medical and technical courses were offered (though some of these courses were sanctioned by the occupying powers).

With the establishment of its department of Polish studies under the direction of Professor Julian Krzyżanowski and a division of history under the direction of Dr. Tadeusz

⁴⁷ S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939 – 1951...*, op. cit., s. 336-337.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ For more detailed description, see: W. Kowalenko, *Tajny Uniwersytet Ziemi Zachodniej, Uniwersytet Poznański 1940-1945*, Poznań 1961.

Manteufel, the University of Warsaw began its underground educational activities in mid 1940. In the years 1943 and 1944, 200 students were enrolled in the Polish studies program, while around 100 students pursued degrees in the department of history. Coursework in Classical philology, pedagogy, Romance philology, and philosophy was also offered by the end of 1940. On the eve of the Warsaw Uprising (8-1-1944) around 460 students intended on resuming studies in the college of humanities. In addition, secret coursework was taken up by the medical department, the department of natural sciences and mathematics, and the department of Catholic theology. From the outset, the department of legal studies functioned as a whole, conducting regular departmental administrative meetings. This department was established in December of 1940, by the initiative of Professors Jozef Rafacz, Roman Rybarski, and Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski. Initially the dean of the department was R. Rybarski; however, following his arrest in May of 1941, the position was filled by J. Rafacz. At first, the department was organizationally tied to the University of the Western Territories; though as of 1943, it became associated with the University of Warsaw, while maintaining its ties with the former institution. In 1944, twenty-eight professors lectured in the department and some 580 students were enrolled in courses⁵⁰.

The Jagiellonian University conducted underground education in Cracow. These activities were begun only as late as 1942. Professor Wladyslaw Szafer was the rector of the secretly functioning Jagiellonian University from 1942 to 1945. Teaching generally took place in small groups. Coursework was temporally cancelled in August of 1944, as a consequence of an exchanging of bribes. During this entire period, 54 professors held positions at the university and around 455 students were enrolled in coursework.

Underground teaching also took place in Wilno (Vilnius), yet to a lesser extent. Throughout the course of the war, a couple dozen students participated in courses conducted by Professors Tadeusz Czyzewski, Jan Dembowski, Stefan Ehrenkrautz, Stanislaw Hiller, Kornel Michejda, and Michal Reichera⁵¹. Lublin saw a similar situation: In 1941, the Rector, Father Szymanski, along with a few fellow professors, established a number of seminar groups in order to allow fifth year law students and students of social and economic studies to graduate. Following three months in which several students and lecturers were arrested, a number of seminars and individual courses were cancelled. Following these cancellations,

⁵⁰ S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939 – 1952...*, op. cit., s. 346.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, s. 353.

secret groups were formed in Warsaw and Kielce in conjunction with the University of the Western Territories⁵².

In Lwow secret teaching was conducted at the University and the Academy of Foreign Commerce (Akademia Handlu Zagranicznego)⁵³. In July of 1941, a representative from the Department of Enlightenment under the Delegation of the Homeland Government, Czeslaw Wycech, arrived in Lwow with the mission of organizing a secret network for the administration of post-secondary education. According to Jan Draus, underground teaching in Lwow had begun already in 1939 – directly following the liquidation of the Department of Theology and the University of Jan Kazimierza⁵⁴. The secret University of Jan Kazimierz fully resumed its activities following the closure of the University of Ivan Franko by the Germans in autumn of 1941. The initiative for secret education was introduced by professors at the UJK. In accordance with the initiative, it was decided that the rector and those deans selected for the academic year 1939/1940 would serve as the administration of the underground university. Seeing as the previous rector of the UJK, Professor Roman Longchamps de Berier, was executed along with several dozens professors on the July 4th, 1941, his position within the secret university was filled by his predecessor, Professor Edmund Bulanda⁵⁵. Professor Kazimierz Przybylowski was nominated dean, and took up responsibility for the organization of the department of legal studies. In addition, professors Jerzy Kurylowicz and August Zierhoffer were nominated deans for the department of humanities and the department of mathematics and natural sciences, respectively⁵⁶. A partially covert seminary was run by Father Dr. Stanislaw Frankel, who, from 1939, continued academic work in the tradition of the prewar department of theology at UJK. In the theological seminary the number of students from 1942 to 1943 fluctuated between 32 and 34. In the academic year of 1933-1934, fifteen clerics attended the program⁵⁷. The university also maintained a college of medicine⁵⁸.

⁵² J. Ziółek, *Działalność Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego w czasie okupacji. Relacje i dokumenty*, Lublin 1983.

⁵³ *Lwówskie środowisko naukowe w latach 1939 – 1945. O Jakubie Parnasie*, pod red. Ireny Stasiewicz Jasiukowej. Warszawa 1993, s. 53-57, 106-107.

⁵⁴ J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1939-1944*, [w:] *Historia—Społeczeństwo—Wychowanie*.

⁵⁵ c.f.: J. Draus, *Profesor Edmund Bulanda. Ostatni rektor Uniwersytetu Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie*, [w:] *Z dziejów Polski i emigracji (1939-1989)*. Księga dedykowana byłemu Prezydentowi Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej Ryszardowi Kaczorowskiemu, pod red. Marka Szczerbińskiego i Tadeusza Wolszy, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2003, s. 153-157.

⁵⁶ The information contained in this portion of the text is taken from the unpublished memoirs of Professor Kazimierz Przybylowski, which are in the possession of one of his pupils.

⁵⁷ G. Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939 – 1944*, Warszawa 2000, s. 365.

⁵⁸ J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1939-1944...*, op. cit., s. 97-98.

The department of humanities conducted courses in the area of Polish philology led by the following professors: Witold Taszycki, Stanislaw Lempicki, and Eugeniusz Kucharski. Professors Mieczyslaw Gebarowicz and Wladyslaw Podlacha taught Art History, while the rector, Edmund Bulanda, led courses in Archeology. Professor Stefan Inglot directed studies in the field of History, while conducting additional courses in the history of economics. In addition to the aforementioned professors, the university also employed the following professors: Roman Grodecki (medieval history), Karol Maleczynski (medieval history and the history of legal aid), Teofil Modelski (medieval history), Jerzy Manteuffel (ancient history), Czeslaw Nanke (modern history), and Kazimierz Horleb (cultural history). The number of students was not large: around ten people studied history and five the history of art. The department of philosophy was initially organized by professor Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Dr. Izabela Dabska, who were later joined by professor Roman Ingarden. In total, 18 students studied in the department. From these 18 students, three groups of six were formed. Lectures took place in the private homes of professors or in the institutions where they worked. Also, history lectures took place in the underground monastery of the Dominicans. There was never much information regarding coursework conducted by the department of mathematics and natural sciences. These lectures were presented by August Zierhoffer along with teaching assistants taken from the prewar university staff. No enrollment statistics remain for this department.

In the underground department of legal studies, in the course of three years of functioning, fifty-three undergraduates as well as five doctoral candidates pursued degrees. Coursework was conducted according to a plan put forth in the year 1939, and teaching, for the most part, took place in the given professor's legal office or private residence. Coursework in this department was conducted by the following full professors: Marcelli Chlamtacz (Roman law), Juliusz Makarewicz (criminal law and criminal process), Jan Czekanowski (statistics), Antoni Wereszczynski (political law), Kazimierz Przybylowski (civil law and international private law), Wacław Osuchowski (Roman law), Marian Zimmermann (administrative law), Stanislaw Hubert (national law), and Leon Halban (cannon law). The following associate professors also taught in the department: Edmund Wilhelm Rappe (administrative law and cannon law), Wojciech Hejnosz (historical law), Wincenty Stys (economics and investments), and Marian Waligorski (civil action). Finally, the university employed the following master degree recipients: Stanislaw Plawski and Adam Radziszowski (both leading study sessions in civil law), and Adam Ostrowski (legal theory). Professor Przemyslaw Dabkowski wrote a number of academic reviews. Among the students

attending courses in the department of law were future professors Waldemar Voise, who graduated on June 3, 1944, and Mieczysław Sosniak, who graduated June 13, 1944. The following people were awarded doctoral degrees: Franciszek Zachariasiewicz, Bronisław Walaszek, and Piechocki. Teaching also took place in the department of diplomacy, which, in the spirit of the prewar diplomatic studies program, was intended for the preparation of future diplomats. Several foreign languages were taught in this department - among others Persian, which was taught by the prewar lecturer, Mohamed Agabekzadeh Sadyk Bej. Professors Zygmunt Czerny and Jerzy Kuryłowicz also conducted coursework in foreign languages⁵⁹.

Thousands of young people risked participation in underground education despite terrifying circumstances and an unthinkable sense of uncertainty. As many as 1.5 million children attended secret primary schools and, in 1944, around 100 thousand children were enrolled in underground middle schools. During the war, secret teaching was strictly prohibited; nonetheless, following the war, Poland's first government (which was yet to come under the full control of the communist party) recognized the validity of such schooling. Indeed, in a memo dated the 22nd of November, 1946, the Minister of Enlightenment, Czesław Wycech (who served as director of the Department of Enlightenment and Culture during the war) recognized prof. Edmund Bulanda as the wartime rector of the underground university in Lwów. Similarly was at differed Polish universities.

Table 3 A numerical assessment of enrollment at Polish Secret Universities 1939-1945

<i>Universities</i>	<i>Estimated Students</i>	<i>Estimated Holders of Masters Degrees (Magisterium)</i>	<i>PhD's</i>	<i>Recipients of the Title "Dr. Hab."</i>
UW Warsaw	1100	120	7	-
Univ. of the West. Territories	900	100	5	5
UJ Cracow	465	100	4	-
UJK Lwów	250	100	12	10
USB Wilno	65	-	-	-
KUL Lublin	30	-	-	-

*Source: M. Walczak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska w latach wojny i okupacji 1939-1945*, Wrocław 1978; J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1939-1944*, [w:] *Historia – Społeczeństwo – Wychowanie. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana prof. J. Miąso*, Warszawa 2004; S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939 – 1951*, [w:] *Historia Nauki Polskiej*, red. B. Suchodolski, t. V 1918 – 1951, cz. 1, „Ossolineum” Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1992

The sheer number of wartime masters and doctoral degree recipients illustrates the prevalence of the underground educational system. Statistics taken from the academic year 1944-1945 show, in full fruition, the achievements of the secret educational establishment. In

⁵⁹ J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1939-1944...*, op. cit., s. 92.

that year, 1850 masters degrees and 211 higher degrees were awarded to students, many of whom had started their post-secondary education after the start of the war. In the year that followed, 5482 masters degrees were awarded along with 535 higher degrees.⁶⁰ According to Marian Walczak, around 6.3 thousand students were enrolled in secret coursework in institutions of higher education (not counting 5.8 thousand students attending government authorized professional schools)—this is around 13 percent of the prewar enrollment (taken from 1938). The largest number of students were enrolled in the humanities and social sciences (around 3050 students or 48.4% of the overall student population). Next came medicine, with an enrollment of around 2100 students (33.3%), and mathematics and natural sciences, with approximately 1150 enrolled (18.3%)⁶¹.

An Assessment of Loss

As a result of the war, around 450 professors and associate professors at Polish post-secondary institutions perished, along with several hundred young academic workers⁶². Additionally, around 8000 secondary and post secondary educators lost their lives during this period.

Table 4. Loss of Teaching Faculty (Full Professors, Associates Professors) at Polish Universities 1939-1945

Universities	Those who perished or were murdered					Those who died	Total in 1939-1945
	September Campaign 1939	Katyn	Warsaw uprising 1944	German and Soviet Terror	Total		
University of Jozef Pilsudski in Warsaw	4	7	21	26	58	28	86
Jagiellonian University in Cracow	1	3	3	23	30	26	56
University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwow	1	1	2	35	39	30	69
University of Stefan Batory in Wilno	1	6	1	14	22	13	35
University of Poznan	7	6	1	15	29	12	41
Catholic University of Lublin	1	1	1	3	6	5	11

*Source: A. Bolewski, H. Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki w latach 1939 – 1945. Straty osobowe*, Ossolineum – Wrocław 1989, s. 162-163.

⁶⁰ S. Mauersberg, *Nauka i szkolnictwo wyższe w latach 1939 – 1951...*, op. cit., s. 356.

⁶¹ M. Walczak, *Szkolnictwo wyższe i nauka polska w latach wojny i okupacji 1939-1945*, Wrocław 1978.

⁶² A. Bolewski, H. Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki...*, op. cit., s. 158-159.

At war's end, approximately 30% of the academic workforce had been lost. This period also saw the destruction of university buildings, libraries and archives. Cracow and Lublin suffered huge losses in human life, while Warsaw was left in complete ruins. Lwow and Vilnius were now situated outside the borders of the "New Poland".

Tab. 5. Loss of Professors polish universities, in general, during Second World War

	<i>UJP in Warsaw with z School Political Science</i>	<i>UJ in Cracow</i>	<i>University of Jan Kazimierz in Lwow</i>	<i>USB in Wilno with z School Political Science</i>	<i>Poznan University</i>	<i>Catholic University of Lublin</i>	<i>Total</i>
Quantity proff. in the 1937/38	127 + 33 = 160	109	84	82 + 10 = 92	94	29	907
Casualties Professors	46	30	29	21	19	10	245
% from 1938	28,8	27,5	34,5	22,8	18,6	34,5	27,0

*Source: A. Bolewski, H. Pierzchała, *Losy polskich pracowników nauki w latach 1939 – 1945. Straty osobowe*, Ossolineum – Wrocław 1989, s. 164.

Following the war, Poland found itself under the political influence of the Soviet Union. Within this system schooling fell under the control of the government, and Poland experienced a nation-wide assimilation to Soviet educational and cultural standards. Many pre-war academic workers, who found themselves organizing Polish scholarly activity in Paris or London did not brave a return to the politically constrained new Polish state. For many years such intellectuals served as Poland's representatives at Oxford, as well as in Paris and New York. Professor Antoni Deryng, a former faculty member of the pre-war UJK in Lwow, continued his scholarly work in Madrid University.

Despite all this, those who stayed as well as those who returned to Poland fought vigorously for the dignity of Polish academia. The Jagiellonian University and the University of Poznan both underwent a quick revival, while the Catholic University of Lublin resumed function in October of 1944. New universities were established in Wroclaw, Lodz, Torun and Lublin (the University of Marie Curie-Sklodowska). Those professors deported from Lwów took it upon themselves to rebuild the modern-day University of Wroclaw (Wroclaw *ger. Breslau* was 70% destroyed), while those deported from Vilnius founded the University of Nicolaus Copernicus in Torun. Despite the tragic consequences of war, the initial postwar period was a time of intense rebuilding and academic development. Hopes ran high that the state would not interfere with the freedom of the academic establishment, since, in the initial phase following the conclusion of the war, the new communist government was not yet fully capable of monitoring and regulating the educational establishment.