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ARTICLES

International Migrations Connected with the National Conflicts in East-Central Europe in the First Half of the XXth Century

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Politically or ideologically motivated migrations were nothing peculiar in Europe prior to the XIXth century. People heretical from the point of view of the official religion looked for a safe and peaceful life in another country. The case of the French Huguenots is probably most known; in Central Europe there were Czech Brothers who had to escape from their homeland. Discriminated Jews, often murdered and tortured in order to convince them of the truth and mercy of Christianity, tried to escape and to remain loyal to the faith of their ancestors. Rebels against monarchs—if they managed to avoid prison or death—settled in countries where their former political involvement was of no importance. Quite often these emigrants found a shelter in East-Central Europe¹, among others in Poland, where monarchs rightly believed that the new settlers could help in the economic development of the country and in increasing royal revenues.

The French revolution with the mass emigration of her adversaries put an end to these traditional ideologically motivated migrations and opened a new era when other political reasons became more important. The religious emigrants were now rare, as brutal religious discrimination became rather an exception. It is true that in Russia, until the end of the ancient régime, the Orthodox faith was privileged and other religions discriminated. The cruel persecution of Greek-Catholics (Uniates) was however the last campaign of this kind and in the second half of the XIXth century the Russian authorities limited themselves to “more civilized” methods of religious discrimination. The Moslem Turkish authorities cruelly suppressed any endeavour to stand against their rule, especially when the rebels were of Christian faith. However religious motives were not the most important in the XIXth century as the resistance of the Christian population was primarily a national struggle for independence of Greeks, Slavs and Romanians or a social mutiny of peasants.

The XIXth century was an era when political migrations were motivated primarily by national and social conflicts. And when the national consciousness of peoples awakened, the rulers in multinational empires looked for new ways of enforcing internal peace and order. Thus two currents met. One was the striving of minorities to find another place for a peaceful life remaining loyal to their traditions and languages. Another was the idea of some governments to resettle or expel unwanted minorities or—at least—the most dangerous and rebellious individuals or classes of them.

Any endeavour to discern the ideological or political motives from other reasons of migration could bring only partial success. The XIXth century with its

developing transport system created new possibilities of travel for thousands and millions of people. Perspectives of settlement in developing countries attracted poor people from many states, independently of the political situation. Economic reasons were often mixed with political ones.

In an old anecdote an Irishman arriving in New York asked: Do you have any government here? If so, I am against it! The mass emigration from Ireland was caused by the misery and hunger of the peasants. At the same time the emigrants harboured strong resentment against the British rule and tried to find a country where they could live free from oppression. Similar was the situation of many other people escaping not only misery but national discrimination as well. On the other hand, the policy of governments trying to influence migrations was often motivated by economic and social reasons; solving national problems was of additional significance.²

The beginnings of the mass national migrations in East-Central Europe were probably after the unsuccessful Polish national uprisings of 1794, 1830-1831 and 1863-1864. The revolution of 1848 caused emigration of Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Germans and other national groups. The territorial expansion of Prussia significantly influenced the emigration of people who did not want to live under the rule of the Hohenzollerns, among them Czechs and Danes. France in 1870 expelled about 70,000 Germans but after the defeat in 1871 Paris had to accommodate about 130,000 refugees who left the lands occupied by German.³ The Balkans were another region of mass migrations. Rebellions and wars connected with the decomposition of the Turkish empire compelled many people to escape before the massacres. Others did not want to live under foreign rule and fled when the frontiers changed. Turks emigrated from the territories included in the newly established states: Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Bulgaria. The Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Macedonians, Romanians tried to find a shelter in their own national states or in countries where they hoped to find help against the common enemy.

Probably the very first idea to get rid of national minorities which could make political trouble was born under the reign of Sultan. It was connected with the Greek struggle for independence. The Turkish authorities tried to liquidate some Greek communities. A part of the people were murdered, others were resettled or sold as slaves.⁴

The most tragic was the plight of Armenians whom the Turkish authorities accused—often not without reason—of pro-Russian sympathies. The severe reprisals caused emigration to neighbouring Russia or to other countries. When Turkey joined the Central Powers during the First World War, the government was afraid of a possible cooperation of Armenians with the Russian army and resolved to get rid of the suspected minority from the vicinity of the border. In the beginning of 1915 Armenians serving in the Turkish army were deprived of arms and organized in labour battalions. Entire Armenian villages were liquidated, the men in most cases shot and the rest of the population forced to march through the desert. Probably about 1,000,000 Armenians were killed, 250,000 escaped to Russia, 200,000 were islamized and only 400,000 remained. Approximately 250,000 more were killed in 1919-1922 when they tried to return to their homes.⁵ The descendants of Armenian refugees, scattered to-day all over the

world, have not forgotten this first contemporary attempt of genocide.

Another plan to solve the national question with the help of emigration, formulated by an oppressed minority and not by rulers, was connected with the origins of Zionism. The discrimination of Jews in Russia and in some other countries and the birth of modern antisemitism in Europe influenced the idea that the so-called Jewish question could be solved only by settling the Jews in their own state or "national home", as was defined in a British document. Of course there was a fundamental difference between the policy inaugurated in Turkey and the Zionist plans. Turkey used brutal force, expelled and often murdered minorities. The Zionists appealed to Jews for voluntary emigration to the future Jewish state, which was to be established in Palestine.

The Jewish emigration, mainly from East-Central and Eastern Europe, developed in the second part of the XIXth century and at the beginning of the XXth century. Its reasons were in most cases economic. This was the story of emigration from Galicia under Austrian rule, from where not only Jews but Poles and Ukrainians as well were going abroad in hope of finding better life conditions. However the Jewish emigration was more or less connected with discrimination in different areas of everyday life. This discrimination was most important in Russia where the law decreed the inferior position of Jews. The Russian politicians displayed openly hostile attitudes towards Jews declaring they had to be assimilated or expelled—or had to perish. The Jewish emigration from Russia could be therefore ascribed not only to economic reasons but also to deliberated policy directed against this minority. The waves of pogroms and discrimination resulted in an outflow of Jewish emigrants to America and—to some extent—to Palestine. The Zionist movement offered these people a vision of a future Jewish homeland.⁶

All these developments were only the beginning of the idea to solve the questions connected with national minorities through emigration. Probably the first international treaty aimed at exchanging populations—national minorities in neighbouring states—was signed in Adrianopole in November 1913, between Bulgaria and Turkey. In spite of its formal stipulations the treaty did not initiate more significant emigration but rather regulated the legal status of former refugees. Turkey was, from the beginning of the XIXth century, the country most engaged in promoting migrations of national minorities. Turkish authorities tried to solve internal national conflicts often using brutal methods and supporting emigration of undesired minorities. On the other hand many Moslems (mainly speaking the Turkish language) immigrated to Turkey when new national independent states were born in the Balkan Peninsula. "The Turks had become minorities in these states ruled by the local Christian population, their former subjects. Not unlike other ethnic and religious groups, they have been exposed to varying degrees of persecution in the countries of their residence, especially in Bulgaria and Romania."⁷

After 1877 Moslems were escaping from Bulgaria, Bosnia, Montenegro and Serbia, rightly afraid of spontaneous revenge by the Christian population. In a short time the number of inhabitants of Istanbul doubled; the refugees in most cases joined radical nationalist political groups hoping to revenge their privations. Another wave of Moslem refugees came from Greece after the war of 1897.

There are no satisfactory data concerning their number.⁸

The Balkan Wars 1912-1913 caused the next flow of refugees to Turkey. The armies of the Balkan allies cruelly treated the former oppressors—the Turks—and many were killed. In 1912 about 100,000 Moslems (not only Turks) escaped to Turkey, in 1913 tens of thousands fled from Western Thrace. When Armenians were expelled, Turkish refugees were settled in their place.⁹ Apparently 135,000 refugees went through Saloniki to Anatolia. Altogether about 177,000 people arrived in Turkey in 1912-1913. The First World War caused new waves of Moslem refugees and their number in Turkey reached 414,000 from 1912 to 1920.¹⁰ However all statistics are approximate and no exact data are available. The legal status of about 50,000 people who fled from Bulgaria was regulated by the above mentioned agreement signed in Adrianopole.

In May 1914 Turkey concluded a similar agreement with Greece but this time the goals were much bigger. Both countries probably aimed at a total elimination of minorities through an exchange of population. The First World War cancelled this agreement but Turkish nationalist politicians did not abandon the idea. Turkey supported immigration of Moslems from all Balkan countries. The convention signed in January 1923 in Lausanne with Greece provided for “a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory and of Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established in Greek territory.”¹¹ The exchange was obligatory and about 356,000 Turks left Greece. Other groups of Moslems left Yugoslavia for Turkey; among them about 45,000 from Kosovo, including Albanians, Gypsies and Turks.¹² A small number of Turks left Cyprus for Turkey on the basis of the Lausanne peace treaty of July 24, 1923. The Turkish government tried to encourage emigration against the intentions of Great Britain; probably out of 62,000 Turks living on this island, about 5,000 emigrated.¹³

A significant number of Turks abandoned Bulgaria. Bulgaria and Turkey signed an agreement on October 18, 1925, in Ankara providing for voluntary emigration of Turks from Bulgaria and Bulgarians from Turkey. The number of emigrating Turks was at first relatively small (in the years 1928-1933 about 30,000 out of 618,000 Turks living in Bulgaria, according to the 1934 census). Only after the coup d'etat on May 1934 did the Bulgarian authorities begin to force the Turkish minority to leave the country. The number of emigrants reached 33,700 in the two years 1934-1935. This led to a new agreement which provided for annual emigration of 10,000 Turks. In reality the number of emigrants in the years 1936-1939 achieved 61,200. They were resettled mainly in Anatolia.¹⁴ Bulgarian policy left a deep resentment in Turkey.

The Second World War stopped this kind of emigration and after 1944 Bulgarian authorities discontinued the previous policy; in 1948 emigration was virtually banned. The new regime tried to integrate the Turkish minority into society and to improve its situation. The Turks themselves—in a new political atmosphere—did not engage in a spontaneous emigration. This changed after 1949 when Bulgaria initiated a policy of rapid collectivization and tried to suppress the influence of any religion, including Islam. The Bulgarian government agreed at that time to allow the emigration of Turks and even fostered it disregarding the limited possibilities of the Turkish government to manage such a large inflow of

people. In the years 1949–1951 at least 182,000, or perhaps even 220,000 people left Bulgaria for Turkey.¹⁵ In November 1951 Turkey closed the frontier and only small groups of refugees were admitted later.¹⁶

Greeks in the first two decades of the XXth century probably suffered most because of migrations, economic as well as political. Between 1901 and 1921 more than 400,000 people emigrated from Greece (excluding the exchange of population with its neighbours), mostly to the USA.¹⁷ More numerous however were the Greek immigrants from Turkey, Bulgaria and Serbia.

In 1913 about 70,000 Greeks left Western Thrace when it was occupied by Bulgarian troops. More than 80,000 left the Macedonian territories included into Bulgaria and Serbia so that about 157,000 refugees arrived to Greece. In addition to that Turkey expelled about 150,000 Greeks from the Aegean coast and about 50,000 from Anatolia.¹⁸ Another 55,000 Greeks escaping from Russia arrived in Greece in the years 1919–1920.¹⁹

After 1918 Greeks began to settle anew in the occupied territories. 51,000 arrived in Western Thrace, 133,000 in Eastern Thrace and 100,000 in Asia Minor. The last two groups had to return to their country shortly afterwards, when the Turkish army reconquered its losses.²⁰ The defeat of Greece in the war against Turkey in 1922 created a new mass migration. According to the data of the League of Nations from among 2,000,000 Greeks living in Turkey about half lost their lives, and the rest were evacuated to Greece. In 1922 about 900,000 refugees lived in this country and their number was growing. Part of them left Greece for other countries, mainly America. The legal status of refugees from Turkey was regulated by the above mentioned convention of January 1923 signed in Lausanne. The number of all refugees in Greece reached 1,500,000 people (according to Greek sources) of whom about 870,000 required help.²¹

These numbers include Greeks from Bulgaria whose formal right to emigrate was included in the peace treaty of Neuilly (November 1919). The migration had to be—and was in fact at the beginning—voluntary but when the Greek government expelled some thousand of Bulgarian families in 1923, reciprocal expulsions began and about 30,000 Greeks had to leave Bulgaria.²²

The emigration of Greeks from the north-western Macedonian territories (in 1913 included into Bulgaria and Serbia) went on from the beginning of the XXth century. An important reason was the fights of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization inspired by the Bulgarian government. Many Greeks arrived in their old homeland from Eastern Rumelia after 1906, when this province was united with Bulgaria. Others escaped or were expelled from Macedonia during the Balkan wars 1912–1913. According to the Greek sources on the whole 46,000 Greeks had to quit Bulgaria leaving almost no one in this country.²³ Similar was the fate of Greeks living on the territory included into Serbia.

In 1943 the Bulgarian authorities deported or resettled more than 100,000 Greeks from the occupied territories of Greece.²⁴ These people could return only after the war was over, harbouring strong resentment against their oppressors.

The civil war in Greece, which began shortly after liberation in 1944, caused a new outflow of emigrants who settled in several countries: Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the USSR. Some of them returned to Greece a few decades later.

Political conflicts on the Balkan Peninsula and the discriminatory policy in Turkey were the reasons for emigration of Bulgarians in the XIXth century. The rebellions in Macedonia resulted in cruel reprisals and many people speaking local Slavic dialects escaped to Bulgaria or Serbia looking for help in their fight for independence. The fights going on in the years 1903–1908 brought about a big emigration. Those who were connected with Bulgarian tradition and believed in a future union with Bulgaria emigrated to this country, where a strong Macedonian movement established its headquarters. Others fled to Serbia or emigrated to the USA. At the same time many Bulgarians returned to their homeland from Russia, Serbia, Moldavia and Vallachia.²⁵ New refugees were coming after the Balkan wars. About 13,000 Bulgarians escaped in 1913 with the Bulgarian army retreating from western Macedonia, others emigrated (or were expelled) from the regions united with Greece and Serbia after the peace treaty in Bucharest divided the country into three parts.²⁶

The subsequent wave of refugees was caused by the First World War and its consequences. Many people connected with Bulgarian traditions fled from Dobrudja (occupied by Romania) and Macedonia (Greek and Yugoslav parts) to Bulgaria where they organized clandestine organizations aimed at recapturing these territories. The agreements signed by Greece (November 27, 1919) and Turkey (October 18, 1925) with Bulgaria regulated the legal status of old refugees and made new emigrations possible. About 92,000 Bulgarians left Greece (often under a pressure from Greek authorities), a relatively small number came from Turkey.²⁷ The refugees—who lived in overpopulated Bulgaria under very difficult conditions—hoped to return to their homelands and harboured deep resentment against Greece, Romania and Serbia. This was an important factor influencing public opinion and the government in Bulgaria.

The Second World War and changes of frontiers under the auspices of Germany caused new resettlements of Bulgarians. The Bulgarian–Romanian treaty of September 7, 1940, divided Dobrudja and provided for an exchange of population between both parts of this region. According to Romanian sources about 61,000 people left northern Dobrudja for Bulgaria. The second agreement between both countries (April 1, 1943) provided for a general exchange of minorities independent of the region. This idea was, however, abandoned some weeks later and probably only 250 Bulgarians left Romania in autumn of 1943.²⁸

Apparently there were no significant migrations from Bulgaria to the occupied territories of Yugoslav Macedonia. Some hundreds of Bulgarian civil servants received posts in this territory, perhaps some former refugees returned, but there were no organized resettlements. Another was the Bulgarian policy on the occupied territories of Greek Thrace and Macedonia. The migration of former refugees and new Bulgarian settlers began from the beginning of 1942. According to Bulgarian sources about 122,000 people were settled there by May 1943; probably only a small number arrived later.²⁹ They had to return to Bulgaria after the war was over and the pre-war frontiers were reestablished. According to Greek sources, the people who collaborated with the Bulgarian authorities during the war or joined the Communist forces during the Greek civil war left for Bulgaria or Yugoslavia too, and in Greece the “problem of Slav-speakers with Bulgarian national consciousness was definitely resolved”.³⁰

In August 1943 the Bulgarian authorities tried to organize the emigration of Bulgarians living in the Ukraine (territories occupied by Romania) however with a small result; only a few hundred people returned. More significant was the number of Bulgarians who escaped with the German army. Apparently some 60,000 Bulgarians left Crimea at the beginning of 1944 but—according to Bulgarian sources—only 2,000 of them arrived in Bulgaria.³¹

The next nation suffering because of Balkan conflicts were the Serbs. Many of them escaped from Turkey during the wars and uprisings in the XIXth century. According to Yugoslav data about 400,000 people left the territories of Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohiya for Serbia, which changed the ethnic structure, especially that of Kosovo. The occupation of some regions by armies of the central powers during the First World War added a new group of refugees.³²

After 1918 the Yugoslav authorities organized a colonization of Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohiya allotting to Serbian settlers land acquired owing to the agrarian reform.³³ This inflow ended in 1940.

The dismemberment of Yugoslavia and occupation of her territory during the Second World War caused new resettlements. The Bulgarian authorities expelled Serbs from Macedonia, Hungarians—from the Banat, many people escaped from Croatia, afraid of massacres. Serbia registered 217,175 refugees during this war; Yugoslav historians quote even higher number of people expelled from the occupied territories (120,000 from Macedonia, which is an overestimation).³⁴ After 1944 many of these refugees returned to their former places. Besides, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from Hungary could resettle to Yugoslavia on the basis of a Hungarian-Yugoslav agreement of September 1946. Their number reached about 40,000 people. In the opposite direction 140,000 Italians had to leave Yugoslavia.³⁵

The migrations of Romanians were relatively small in the past. Even the migrations motivated by the economic situation were insignificant.³⁶ The immigration to Romania from Hungary of persons who were discriminated because of their nationality prior to 1914—however relatively small in numbers—was probably the most important phenomenon.³⁷ After 1918, when Romania acquired the lands formerly belonging to Hungary and Russia, some internal resettlements went on, from the so called Old Kingdom to these new provinces. The Romanian government was sending civil servants there and tried to do the same with Orthodox priests; in both cases persons considered to be loyal to the Kingdom, however often practicing bribery and abusing power.

When, in 1940, Romania lost some of her territories to Hungary, the USSR and Bulgaria, diplomats discussed an idea of resettling national minorities. Hungary and Romania agreed to organize a voluntary exchange of population but neither government was apt to introduce this into life. Both sides considered the new frontier to be only a temporary solution and did not want to get rid of ethnic arguments. On the territory ceded to Hungary 49% of the inhabitants were Romanians and only 38% Hungarians; the Romanians were afraid that an exchange of minorities could reverse this relation. The share of Hungarians in the Transylvanian territory remaining in Romania was 14% (64% were Romanians) and the discussed resettlement could deprive Hungary even of this feeble ethnic argument.³⁸ A spontaneous emigration of Hungarians however began, and the Hungarian authorities were exerting pressure on Romanians begin

under their jurisdiction to leave for Romania. In 1940-1943 probably almost 220,000 people—more or less voluntarily—emigrated; according to Romanian sources 218,927 refugees from the lands occupied by Hungary lived in Romania in January 1944.³⁹

After autumn 1940 many Romanians left south Dobrudja which had been included into Bulgaria. They were mainly people who had settled there after 1913. The total number of refugees reached about 100,000; besides that, a small group (probably 200 persons) arrived in Romania from other parts of Bulgaria in 1943.⁴⁰

All these people had to be settled in new places. There were plans to settle them in the Soviet territories occupied by Romania after 1941 but this was done only on a small scale. The refugees from south Dobrudja were settled mainly in the northern part of this region, from where Bulgarians emigrated.⁴¹ After autumn 1943 Romanians living in the occupied Soviet territories were evacuated back to the Kingdom; the scope of this migration is unknown.

The emigration of Hungarians before the First World War had mainly economic reasons. The political reasons of emigration were especially important as a result of the unsuccessful uprising of 1848-1849. Only after 1918, when Hungary lost a large part of her previous territory and many Hungarians became national minorities in neighbouring countries, did more significant politically motivated migrations begin. Besides that, a number of communists, active during the time of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, escaped to other countries. The policy of the Horthy regime caused even more refugees in next years.⁴²

In Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia the position of Hungarians changed from the one of a dominating nation to that of a minority group. This was all the more significant as the Hungarian authorities before 1918 tried to fight the national cultures, languages and traditions of the other peoples they governed. The emigrants from the lost territories were mainly people who were engaged in this policy of oppression: civil servants, policemen, teachers. The authorities of the newly emerged countries tried to suppress the political activity of the Hungarian minority and (especially in Romania) expelled the most known persons considered to be a danger to the state.⁴³ The scope of these migrations is unknown.

The changes of Hungarian frontiers in 1940 caused new mass migrations. A number of Hungarians were settled on the territories of Slovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia occupied by Hungary. They came from the lands remaining outside of the Hungarian sovereignty: Bessarabia, Bukovina, Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. According to Hungarian sources, some 160,000 Hungarians had to leave Romania between August 1940 and January 1944.⁴⁴ Some political opponents of the regime however had to escape the country and in 1944 many Jews were deported to the death camps.⁴⁵

The end of war caused new migrations. Members of Fascist organizations fled with the German army; many of them were afraid to be held responsible of war crimes.⁴⁶ On the other side Communists, who had to escape after 1919, were returning home and the new republican government reinstated their citizenship. The anti-Jewish laws were abolished and a small number of people who did not perish in the Nazi camps returned.⁴⁷ The territories occupied by Hungary were returned to their previous sovereignty and Hungarians began to emigrate from

them, more or less under the pressure of the new authorities. In Romania, only a Soviet intervention stopped a mass expulsion of Hungarians.⁴⁸ Czechoslovakia tried to achieve international approval for her plan to expel all Hungarians. When she did not succeed, an agreement concluded with Hungary (February 26, 1946) provided for an exchange of minorities. Both sides expected an exchange of about 200,000 people. Slovaks in Hungary had the right to voluntary repatriation and the Czechoslovak authorities were to choose an adequate number of Hungarians to be expelled from the Republic. In the years 1946-1948 only 73,273 people left Hungary for Czechoslovakia and about 74,000 Hungarians left Czechoslovakia (6,000 voluntarily, the rest were expelled).⁴⁹ The 44,000 Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were forcibly resettled in the borderlands of Bohemia and Moravia, where formerly Germans had lived.⁵⁰

Another agreement concerning exchange of population was signed with Yugoslavia. An attempt to expel all Hungarians from Yugoslavia was abandoned after a protest by the Hungarian government and in September 1946 both countries reached an agreement providing for the exchange of minorities, no more than 40,000 on each side.⁵¹

A complicated problem were the Hungarian displaced persons in Austria and Germany. Part of them returned to their homeland after the war was over however others did not want to do so. The total number of displaced persons was estimated at 800,000 to 1,000,000. The repatriation ended in the summer of 1947 leaving a large political emigration abroad.⁵² Shortly after a new kind of Hungarian refugees appeared. They were the active opponents of the Communists when the latter established their full power in Hungary.⁵³

The resettlements of Poles achieved an enormous scope in the XXth century owing to a repeated redrawing of European frontiers and the First and Second World Wars. Before 1914 many Poles, mainly peasants from the southern regions being at that time under Austrian rule, emigrated in search of jobs. Similar emigration from under the Russian administration had to some extent political reasons because people engaged in illegal political activity often had to escape abroad. Others were imprisoned or—more often—deported to the central and eastern areas of the Russian empire.

At the beginning of the First World War, a big number of Polish peasants from the Russian part of Polish lands, who worked in summer as seasonal agricultural workers in Germany, were detained for a longer time. The German economy urgently needed labourers to fill the gaps caused by the mobilization of manpower. In the Russian part of Poland many workers were evacuated to Russia before the German invasion. In eastern provinces of the future Polish Republic town dwellers and peasants escaped when heavy battles were waged on in the years 1915 and 1916. It is true that among them Byelorussians, Ukrainians and Jews prevailed but there were Poles too. Other Poles were included in the armies of Germany, Russia and Austro-Hungary. A significant number became prisoners of war and were detained in camps inside the fighting states. Some of them being in Russian or French captivity joined the Polish forces organized by the Entente states.

All these people tried to return home after the war was over. According to Polish sources between November 1918 and June 1924 the number of people

returning from different countries to Poland exceeded 1,265,000. However there are no data concerning people who returned from the West between 1918 and 1922, so that it can be supposed that at least 2,000,000 people returned. Probably about 1,200,000 were Poles.⁵⁴

There were however other migrations of Poles too. The frontiers established after the war left a large number of Poles as minorities in neighbouring states. Some of them were engaged in fighting for Polish independence and were later afraid of possible persecutions. Others simply did not want to live under foreign rule after the Polish Republic was reborn. These people immigrated to Poland from Germany, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, the Byelorussian and the Ukrainian Soviet Republics. The mainstream of returnees ended in 1922; in the following years only a small number of Poles immigrated.

According to Polish sources, about 12,000 Poles came from Czechoslovakia between January 1919 and February 1921; in the next 10 years the number of these immigrants was probably a little higher than 2,000.⁵⁵ After October 1, 1928, some of them returned to their native places when parts of Czech Silesia (so-called Zaolzie), Spisz and Orava were occupied by Poland. Besides that a number of Poles, mainly civil servants and representatives of private companies, arrived in this territory, from other Polish provinces.⁵⁶

On the other hand, after 1918 a significant economic emigration of Poles was going on, restricted only after 1929 owing to the immigration laws of foreign countries.

The big migration of Poles began in September 1939, during the Second World War. Many people escaped before the entering German armies. Some of them—especially military men and politicians—went through Romania to France and afterwards to Great Britain. The Polish government and army in exile were organized there. Others escaped to the territory occupied by the Soviet Union. Many people were in danger because of their previous engagement in public affairs and moved to different places in occupied Poland hoping to avoid immediate arrest.

Soon the German authorities began to expel the Polish and Jewish population from the provinces included into the Reich, which were to be a place for Germans only. The Poles had to live in the so-called General Gouvernement ruled by the Nazi authorities. The outstanding representative of these authorities, Reinhardt Heydrich, said at the end of November 1939: "Die primitive Polen sind als Wanderarbeiter in den Arbeitsprozess einzugliedern und werden aus deutschen Gauen allmählich.....ausgesiedelt.....Der Pole bleibt der ewige Saison- und Wanderarbeiter, sein fester Wohnsitz muss in der Gegend von Krakau liegen."⁵⁷

The total number of people deported from the provinces included into the Reich was about 1,500,000 by the end of 1940. They were resettled in the General Gouvernement or sent to concentration camps. At the same time the whole Polish native population of Silesia was declared to be German; they had to serve in the German army and their children had to attend German schools. Shortly however some Nazi plans were changed and the Polish and Jewish population was expelled from some regions of the General Gouvernement too; the regions near Zamość and Lublin suffered most.

A great number of people were imprisoned in concentration camps. Accord-

ing to approximate estimation, between 2 and 3 millions Poles (excluding Jews) were in these camps and only 863,000 survived. Many people were sent as a compulsory labour force to Germany. The total number of Polish workers was about 2,800,000.⁵⁸

A large number of Poles were deported by the Soviet authorities, too, mainly in 1940, from the territories included into the USSR in September 1939. They were settled in different regions, many in Kazakhstan or in the Far East. A significant number was sent to labour camps. The total number of deportees is estimated at about 1,500,000 people, however probably including a certain number of Byelorussians, Jews and Ukrainians with Polish citizenship.⁵⁹ The number of Poles among them was probably about 1,000,000.⁶⁰

Part of these people were recruited into the Polish army organized in the Soviet Union in autumn of 1941. Later on they went to Iran, often with their families. Others, however not all, were to return to Poland after 1944: young men in the Polish army organized under the auspices of Polish Communists.

When the war was over a majority of displaced persons—as they were called—tried to return home but a significant number remained as political refugees in western countries (probably about 500,000) and many others were retained in the Soviet Union. The Poles living on the territories included into Soviet republics: Byelorussia, Lithuania and Ukraine, could resettle within the new Polish frontiers. As a total of about 1,600,000 people returned from Germany (besides that about 600,000 former prisoners and forced labourers who were in the former German provinces included into Poland at that time), about 500,000 from other Western European countries, and about 1,500,000 came from the Soviet Union.⁶¹ A small number left Zaolzie (this region was returned to Czechoslovakia); they were mainly people who settled there after October 1938).⁶² At least 4,500,000 moved to the former German territories which, on the basis of Big Powers' decisions, were included into Poland.

The numbers of migrating Czechs and Slovaks was relatively less significant, except for emigration motivated by economic and social reasons. During the First World War some emigrants joined the Czechoslovak armed forces organized in Russia and France, together with a part of Czech and Slovak prisoners of war from the Austro-Hungarian army. After 1918 these forces returned home. At the same time a rather small number of Czechs and Slovaks immigrated from neighbouring countries (Austria, Hungary and Poland).

Between the two world wars there were some significant internal migrations in Czechoslovakia. Czechs moved to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia as civil servants, teachers, sometimes as skilled workers. A certain number of Czech civil servants settled in districts with German minority population.⁶³ Probably about 45,000 Czechs moved to Slovakia before February 1921 and the next 50,000 between 1921 and 1930. At the same time more than 60,000 Slovaks left their country for the Czech lands.⁶⁴

After 1938 many Czechs and Slovaks emigrated (most often through Poland) to avoid the danger of occupation and to initiate a resistance movement abroad. Some went to the Soviet Union, many more to France and Great Britain, where shortly afterwards the government-in-exile was established, organizing Czechoslovak armed forces. After 1941 a Czechoslovak corps was organized in the

USSR.

Other migrations were connected with the changes of frontiers and incorporation of certain territories into Germany, Hungary and Poland. At least 130,000 Czechs fled from the territories included into the Reich after the Munich conference⁶⁵ and more than 20,000 escaped or were expelled from the territory occupied by Poland. This was the number of refugees registered at the end of December 1938 by the Czech authorities, however a private estimation of the number of Czechs expelled by Polish authorities was as high as 50,000. More people were expelled in January and February 1939.⁶⁶

A certain number of Czechs were expelled from the Slovak Republic after March 1939; probably about 60,000 people left that country. Others emigrated from Subcarpathian Ruthenia.⁶⁷ In the opposite direction, a big number of Slovaks returned from the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia to Slovakia (according to Slovak sources on May 8, 1939, there were 14,600 refugees who had to be cared for) and more than 50,000 Slovaks escaped from the territory occupied by Hungary.⁶⁸ The insignificant number of refugees from lands occupied by Poland is unknown.

In the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia the German authorities organized compulsory recruitment for work in the Reich, which affected about 600,000 people. Many Slovaks were also recruited voluntarily in 1939 alone their number reached about 70,000 and at the end of 1941 the number of Slovak workers in Germany was 90,000 and in the Protectorate 50,000.⁶⁹

After 1945 the displaced persons returned to Czechoslovakia from the western European countries, besides that there began a resettlement of Czechs and Slovaks coming from other countries. It would be impossible to estimate the scope of spontaneous population movements during the first months after the war was over. According to some sources between 1947 and 1949 some 42,000 Czechs and Slovaks immigrate from the Soviet Union (including 38,848 Czechs from Volhynia), 18,000 from Romania, 13,000 from France, 11,000 from other countries.⁷⁰ These data are probably incomplete. 73,273 Slovaks immigrated from Hungary. These people were resettled mainly in the western borderlands of the state.⁷¹ A certain number of people emigrated in 1948, after the Communists took over power.

The emigration of Jews, who were dispersed in all the Central European countries, had in many respect a specific character. It is true that—as in case of the emigration of peasants—the main reason was the poor economic situation of the Jewish population. However the wave of pogroms in Russia developing from the end of the XIXth century and discriminatory Russian laws and policies added an important political background. Similar were the reasons for Jewish emigration from Romania, and to some extent from other countries as well. Between 1880 and 1914 about 2,500,000 Jews emigrated from East Central Europe,⁷² mainly to the USA.

During the First World War a significant number of Jews were evacuated from the western provinces of the Russian empire before the advancing German army. In Galicia many Jews were evacuated or escaped when the Russian army was advancing westwards in 1914 and 1915. After 1918 the refugees returned from Russia, mainly to their native places in Poland. Their number was given as 33,474 but this figure is probably too low⁷³; the antisemitic politicians were

quoting improbable figure of 300,000 people. Refugees in Austria in most cases remained there (some of them however went to Germany) aware of the total loss of their workshops and homes in Galicia. The Austrian authorities tried to get rid of them but, owing to a strong intervention of the Polish government, the refugees in most cases were not expelled.

In 1923 several families of Polish Jews were expelled from Bavaria in spite of an immediate diplomatic action of the Polish authorities. These expulsions were of small importance, they are however worth mentioning as the expression of a trend which ended with the Holocaust.⁷⁴

In Greece the Jews of Salonica—after the great fire of 1917 which destroyed 30 synagogues and left about 50,000 homeless—were inclined to emigrate to other countries such as Palestine, the USA and France.⁷⁵

From the end of the XIXth century a growing number of Jewish emigrants settled in Palestine. The Zionists argued the necessity of mass Jewish emigration to this country but economic and political reasons allowed only for a limited number of settlers. Anyway, between the two world wars the Jewish emigration from East-Central Europe was motivated not only by the economic situation and discrimination but by hopes to create a Jewish national home as well, according to the promises of British politicians. It would be difficult to appreciate the share of this ideological emigration in the whole of Jewish emigration from East-Central Europe. Probably most important was the situation in countries of origin; the main waves of settlers in Palestine were connected with economic difficulties (so called fourth aliya was connected with an economic crisis in Poland, 1923-1925) or political discrimination (immigrants from Germany after 1933). Probably similar were the reasons of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, estimated at 70,000 people between 1922 and 1941.⁷⁶

After 1933 a growing number of Jews tried to escape from Germany and East-Central Europe, understanding the danger of radical nationalism. However the number of immigrants to Palestine was limited by the British authorities and other countries often did not agree to allow any immigration. This caused a growing illegal emigration from Germany. The number of refugees from this country, mainly Jews, was estimated at about 150,000 people in 1933-1937.⁷⁷

On the other hand the Nazi authorities tried to get rid of Jews and pressed them to emigrate. In many cases the police and SS were “throwing” Jews across the borders, mainly to Czechoslovakia and Poland. At the end of October 1938 German authorities “threw” about 17,000 Jews across the Polish border under threat of arms. In the next months they were joined by their families. Many of them emigrated later to other countries.⁷⁸

The occupation of Czech lands by the IIIrd Reich created another wave of refugees. After the Munich conference about 25,000 Jews fled to the rest of Czechoslovakia from the lands occupied by Germany and about 17,000 emigrated to other countries. The next 26,000 escaped after March 15, 1939, before October of that year, from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.⁷⁹

The mass expulsions of Jews began after the outbreak of the Second World War. The German authorities began at first to expel all Jews from the Polish territories included into the Reich and directed them to the General Gouvernement; there existed even a short-lived plan to create some kind of Jewish reserva-

tion in the Lublin district. The cruel persecutions caused an illegal emigration of Jews (probably about 30,000) from the General Gouvernement to the Soviet occupied territories.⁸⁰ Later the Jews were closed in specially established districts in some towns (ghettos) where they died of starvation and hard labour. Finally the Jews were murdered in the ghettos, in the death camps and in all possible places. This was the fate of all Jews in the German occupied territories and even in some states allied with Germany.

In the territories occupied by the Soviet Union, mass deportations of Poles and Jews began after February 1940. About 250,000 Jews were deported eastwards and after June 22, 1941, probably 120,000-180,000 more escaped before the advancing German army.⁸¹ About 8,000 of them later left the Soviet Union with the Polish army, to Iran.⁸²

After the outbreak of hostilities between the IIIrd Reich and the USSR, large number of Jews was killed on the spot by the Germans. Others were transported to death camps where they were killed and their bodies burned. Jews from other countries were also transported to these camps and killed. Jews from Czech lands were at first deported to the occupied Polish towns (from October 1939), next to the ghetto in Terezin. Many people died or were killed in this ghetto, others were transported to the death camps. A total of 73,635 people from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were deported to Terezin; 31,879 of them were later sent to the death camps or ghettos in Poland. 72,000 Czech Jews perished.⁸³

52,000 Jews from Slovakia were taken over by the Germans (Slovak authorities paid 500 RM for each of them) in the years 1941-1942 and killed in the camps. The rest (35,000) had to remain in Slovakia, however most of them were detained in 1944 and killed in the death camps.⁸⁴

Romania and Bulgaria resisted the German demands to deliver their Jewish citizens in the hands of the Nazis. However Jews living on the territories occupied by Bulgarians (Macedonia and Thrace) and Romanians (Moldavia and Ukraine) were transported to the death camps and killed. The Jews from Thrace (4,058 people; 216 persons were left) were deported in the spring 1943; approximately at the same time 7,152 Jews were deported from Macedonia and 158 from Pirot (a small region in eastern Serbia). Almost all were killed in Auschwitz.⁸⁵ Jews had to leave Sofia and many of them were exploited as compulsory labourers, but their lives were spared. 3,000 Jews from Bulgaria could even emigrate to Palestine during the war.⁸⁶ The Jews from the Greek and Yugoslav territories occupied by Germans were deported to the death camps and murdered. About 45,000 Jews from Salonica arrived in spring of 1943 to the death camp of Auschwitz and almost all were murdered. Similar was the fate of Jews from Thrace, Greek Macedonia, Epirus, Corfu and Crete. However a significant number of inhabitants of Thessaly, Peloponesus and Sterea Hellas (with a relatively small Jewish population) were saved owing to help of the Greek resistance movement, which could draw conclusions from the previous deportations.⁸⁷

Hungary rejected the German demands; Jews were however recruited to so called labour service (14,413 people in December 1941). Some of them (probably 6,000) were sent to the mines in Yugoslavia where they perished. In 1941 15,000-18,000 Jews from Hungarian occupied lands were sent to the Ukraine where they were murdered. Only in April 1944, under direct pressure of the Germans, the

Hungarian authorities accepted their demands and the first group of Jews was sent to the death camps. When the country was occupied by the Wehrmacht mass murders and deportations began. As a whole about 300,000 Jews from Hungary were murdered.⁸⁸

The Nazi policy against the Jews during the Second World War aimed not at expelling and resettling them in other countries but at liquidating them as a nation. This was a great difference in comparison with all previous kinds of policy directed against the national minorities. Even in the case of the Armenian tragedy the initial idea was to resettle the suspected minority from the border area and the mass murder was a kind of side effect, resulting from the brutality of the authorities and soldiers. Therefore the Armenians remained as a nation—in spite of enormous losses and tragedies. The Nazi policy resulted in the total annihilation of the Jewish culture and population in East-Central Europe.

After July 1944 many Polish Jews (no less than 170,000 during the years 1944-1946) returned from the Soviet Union to Poland, however, a majority of them emigrated later to Palestine (after 1948 to Israel). This migration ended in 1950. A similar emigration of Jews from Czechoslovakia numbered more than 35,000 people by 1949. Between September 1944 and October 1948 about 7,000 Jews left Bulgaria for Palestine. A mass migration developed in the next months and by May 1949 no less than 44,000 Jews had emigrated. During the same time Jews were leaving Yugoslavia. The main wave of Jewish emigration from Romania began in 1947; probably about 1,000 people left this country between 1945 and 1951.⁸⁹

Germans migrated eastwards as early as the Middle-Ages because of economic and social reasons, often trying to avoid religious discrimination in their lands. A new phenomenon appeared in the XIXth century. Prussian authorities tried to change the ethnic structure of the eastern provinces inhabited by Poles. A similar policy of the Habsburg empire promoted the germanization of Czech lands. The defeat of the Central Powers in the First World War and the peace treaties with Germany and Austria however changed this situation and the Germans in newly created states became national minorities.

After 1918 many Germans living in the western provinces of the Polish Republic, formerly belonging to Germany, began to emigrate. They were mainly civil servants, policemen, military men, teachers and representatives of other professions previously taking part in the anti-Polish policy of the German government. The peasants and landlords were emigrating in much less significant numbers. The Polish authorities often encouraged this emigration which ended in 1924. At that time the German government began to restrain the exodus of Germans from Poland afraid of possible political consequences: a diminishing number of Germans in Poland made it more difficult to rise a necessity of restoring pre-war borders with the help of ethnic reasons. The estimated number of Germans emigrating from Poland between 1918 and 1924 was between 35,000 and 730,000.⁹⁰ After this year only a small number of Germans emigrated.

A similar emigration was going on from Czechoslovakia, however not on such a large scale and it would be difficult to estimate the number of emigrees. According to German sources about 40,000 Germans left Czechoslovakia between 1922 and 1937⁹¹; there are no sufficient data covering the earlier years, when a

majority of emigrating Germans went to Austria.

Probably some emigration of Germans was going on in the South Tyrol included into Italy, however there are no exact data. The Italian authorities, especially after the Fascist coup d'état, discriminated against Germans and supported an immigration of Italians to the districts with a German majority.⁹² Some Germans emigrated from the Soviet Union; between 1923 and 1926 probably about 21,000 Germans left this country. More people emigrated within the next year.⁹³

The migrations of German minorities between the two world wars were in most cases spontaneous, in some cases influenced by the policy of particular countries. Germany and Austria in most cases did not interfere with these resettlements; an important exception was the hampering of the emigration from Poland. However, this changed at the end of the thirties.

Adolf Hitler declared on February 20, 1938: "There are more than 10 million Germans in states adjoining Germany which before 1866 were attached to the bulk of the German Nation by a national link.....Present-day Germany will know how to guard its more restricted interests. To these interests of the German Reich belong also the protection of those German peoples who are not in a position to secure along our frontiers their political and philosophical freedom by their own efforts."⁹⁴ It was the political and diplomatic basis of the Nazi policy to use the German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, later in other countries, as an instrument of expansion. In some cases the IIIrd Reich undertook the task of gathering the dispersed German minorities in one state with the help of more or less compulsory resettlements. On the other hand however many Germans afraid of political persecutions in their homeland escaped abroad.

The first international agreement concluded by the IIIrd Reich and concerning an exchange of minorities was that signed with Czecho-Slovakia in November 1938. The agreement, providing for a compulsory resettlement of Germans from the Czech and Slovak lands, was never executed and became obsolete when Bohemia and Moravia were occupied in March 1939. Instead, the IIIrd Reich managed to obtain a privileged legal status for the Germans living in Slovakia, which declared independence. Similar were the legal changes in the situation of Germans in Hungary and Romania.⁹⁵

The first agreement concerning the exchange of minorities and carried into effect concerned the German population in South Tyrol and was concluded with Italy in June 1939 (signed in October the same year). From about 220,000 people having the right of option, 166,488 (73%) voted for Germany but only 72,000 left. They were settled mainly in the occupied territories of Poland.⁹⁶

In October 1939 Germany signed other agreements providing for the transfer of German minorities, namely with Latvia and Estonia. In November 1939 a similar agreement with the Soviet Union provided for the transfer of Germans from the former eastern provinces of Poland now occupied by the USSR. The evacuation from Estonia was finished by November 15, 1939 and almost 12,000 people emigrated. More Germans left Estonia in 1940 and only 3,500 remained. Evacuation from Latvia was ended by December 15, 1939, when 47,810 people emigrated; 830 Germans left during the next year. The Germans from the Polish eastern provinces left before March 1940. As a whole 128,000 people emigrated; among them were not only Germans but some of other nationalities who were

afraid of Communist rule and who succeeded to prove German descent.

When the three Baltic republics were occupied by the Soviet Union, a new German-Soviet agreement was signed providing for the transfer of the remaining Germans from these countries. Before the end of March 1941, an additional 16,244 Germans left Estonia and Latvia and more than 50,000 left Lithuania. The majority of them were settled in the occupied Polish territories, a relatively small group was directed to the Czech lands. Many emigrants had to spend some time in transitory camps before settling.

The next agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany concerned the transfer of Germans from the former Romanian territories included into the USSR. It was signed in September 1940 and before the end of that year about 135,000 Germans were resettled in the occupied Polish lands. Another agreement with Romania in October 1940 provided for the transfer of Germans from Southern Bucovina and Northern Dobrudja. From both provinces about 66,100 people emigrated and 5,400 remained. There were however many more Germans in other Romanian provinces; according to the census of 1941, there were 542,325 in the whole state.

Other agreements concerned Germans living on the territory of dismembered Yugoslavia. In October 1941 an agreement with Croatia provided for the resettlement of 26,000 Germans. 20,000 of them were registered and settled in Lublin province in Poland. A small group of Germans (about 2,000) from Serbia was transferred to the General Gouvernement in December 1941.

Between January and March 1942 about 3,800 Germans from the environments of Leningrad (at that time under German occupation) were resettled in Lublin province. 11,500 Germans from the Northern Caucasus, Donbas and other occupied regions were transferred to the General Gouvernement in February 1943. From the beginning of 1943, after military defeats of the Wehrmacht, there were more significant transfers of Germans. Between January and July more than 100,000 people were evacuated from Byelorussia but not settled in other regions; they were included into the Arbeitsdienst in Germany. After October 1943 about 350,000 people were evacuated from the south-eastern Russian provinces and the Caucasus. They were settled in Polish lands. The Polish territory included into the Reich after September 1939 was considered to be the land most fit for German settlers. They were to increase the number of Germans living there. Together with the expulsion of Poles and Jews, this would change the ethnic structure of the population. In spite of these efforts, it appeared impossible to achieve more significant changes during the war years. A relatively small number of Germans was settled in the General Gouvernement.

The German population from the General Gouvernement, according to the first plan, had to be resettled in the territories included into the Reich. In 1940 about 30,000 Germans from Lublin province were resettled there but in the next year these transfers were stopped and in 1942-1943 some Germans from other countries received the land left by expelled Polish peasants in the Lublin province and mainly in the Zamość region. Germans from Bulgaria (2,156), Serbia (1,925), Bosnia (about 20,000) and the Leningrad region (2,104) were settled there. Similar transfers took place in the occupied Soviet territory. In 1942 about 4,000 Germans from the Polesie region were resettled in the vicinity of Zhitomir. In the winter

of 1943/44 about 44,600 Germans from Wolhynia were transferred to Warthegau in occupied Poland.

The Germans in Hungary, Slovakia and the bulk of Romania were left there as a kind of instrument influencing the governments of these countries. However some of the men were recruited into the SS. In Romania 73,000 Germans went to the front and did not return. In Hungary their number was 40,000 (of which 10,000 lived on the territory of Trianon Hungary, which was established in the peace treaty after the First World War).

The defeat of the Wehrmacht in the Soviet Union caused a mass evacuation of Germans. The exact data of this exodus are not known as many escaped in the last minute and could not be included in any report. The German settlers on the Polish lands were as a rule evacuated before the Soviet and Polish armies reached these territories. However the rapid movement of the front after January 1944 made it impossible to evacuate all of them.

The situation in Romania was similar. The Germans planned to evacuate all their nationals in summer of 1944 but only a small part of them could really leave the country. Fragmentary data inform that 28,000 people escaped from the towns Satu Mare, Arad, Oradea, Carci and their vicinities. Probably no more than 300,000 Germans left Hungary (about 360,000 remained). In September 1944 Germans from Serbia tried to escape but the majority of them were retained by partisans. Probably about 34,000 left.

After the defeat of the IIIrd Reich a certain number of Germans living in the countries of East-Central Europe were deported to the Soviet Union. According to scarce data, in Romania the Soviet authorities ordered a registration of Germans (men between 17 and 45 year, women between 18 and 30) in spite of protests by the Romanian government. 93,538 people were registered and 69,332 deported to the Soviet Union, to help in the reconstruction of destroyed regions. Some 100,000 Germans were deported from Yugoslavia, several thousands of miners from the Silesian coal basin in Poland.

The Postdam agreement (August 1945) provided for the expulsion of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The Big Powers expected that the total number of people evacuated from Czechoslovakia would reach 2,500,000, from Poland 3,500,000 and from Hungary 500,000. Probably 4-5 million Germans escaped before any organized transfer began.⁹⁷ According to German sources at least 2,280,000 were expelled from Czechoslovakia in 1946-1949, excluding a spontaneous return of people who were evacuated from Germany in 1944 and the flight of many others before the Red Army, mainly in the first half of 1945. Probably the total number of people who left Czechoslovakia before 1950 was 2,900,000.⁹⁸ About 178,000 Germans were transferred from Hungary excluding those who fled before the organized resettlement.⁹⁹ The total number of Germans transferred from Poland in the years 1945-1950 reached 3,200,000, excluding spontaneous flights.¹⁰⁰

The data concerning the migrations of Byelorussians and Ukrainians are much less exact. Before 1914 there was an emigration in both cases, mainly motivated by economic and social problems. Besides there existed a small emigration from Russia of politically active people. During the First World War a large number of peasants and workers—especially from the lands under Russian power—were

moved because of fights waged in their territories. According to some sources in December 1918 in Russia there were no less than 2,700,000 refugees from the territories affected by the war.¹⁰¹ The share of Byelorussians and Ukrainians among them is unknown. They returned home in most cases after the war was over.

The Russian revolution and the civil war caused a large outflow of emigrants, mainly Russians. Probably at least 1,500,000 people emigrated from Russia; some authors estimate their number at 2-3 million.¹⁰² Most of them were Russians.

After the establishment of Soviet power Byelorussians and Ukrainians suffered at first because of the national policy of local authorities. Many Bolsheviks considered that a demand to introduce the Byelorussian and Ukrainian languages in public life was a kind of counter-revolutionary idea. Only after an intervention of the central authorities a policy of "korenizatsya" (i. e. introducing of national languages) was initiated. Before this change some intellectuals and young people tried to find other solution for their national demands. Some of them, especially the Byelorussians, looked for help in Poland; others in countries like Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Germany. The Polish policy however discouraged the hopes. Other governments tried to use the emigrants as tools for their own policy.

It would be difficult if not impossible to establish the number of Byelorussians and Ukrainians in other countries. In Czechoslovakia many young people attended professional and high schools organized in Russian or Ukrainian languages some attended the universities (including Ukrainian academic schools). According to the Czechoslovak data the government provided support for 6,341 students, of whom 4,663 attended academic schools. Among them were 2,328 Ukrainians and 47 Byelorussians.¹⁰³ However there was an unknown number of students who did not receive any state support. After finishing their studies, in most cases the young people emigrated from Czechoslovakia. Some went to the Soviet Union in the conviction that their national and social demands were realized there and that their skill was necessary. Those, who were born on the territory included into Poland returned often to their native places and took part in the political life of the national minorities in Poland. Others joined the Byelorussian and Ukrainian political emigration in different countries.

The changes of the national policy in the Soviet republics convinced an important group of Byelorussian intellectuals and some Ukrainians that they could help to develop their national culture better in the Soviet Union than abroad. They returned home and some of them achieved important places in the national revival. However at the end of the twenties the Communists began a campaign against so called bourgeois nationalism which ended in arrests of the most eminent Byelorussian and Ukrainian intellectuals and politicians and the death of majority of them. The same was the fate of Byelorussian and Ukrainian Communists who emigrated from Poland to the Soviet Union in the thirties.

At the same time the Soviet government initiated mass collectivization and deported so called kulaks to the labour camps or settled them behind the Ural mountains. Both Soviet republics—Byelorussia and Ukraine—suffered heavily when a great number of the more affluent peasants were transferred in very hard conditions; many of them died. The unfortunate agricultural policy caused a wave of hunger in the Ukraine with immense human losses.¹⁰⁴

In Poland the government planned, at the end of the thirties, new principles for an emigration policy aimed at a strong support for the emigration of minorities, in the first place of Jews and Ukrainians. These plans were however not introduced to the life before the outbreak of the Second World War.

The occupation of Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine by the Soviet Union in September 1939 was followed by a new wave of deportations and migrations. The agreements between the USSR and the IIIrd Reich signed on November 3, 1939 and January 1, 1941, provided for the reciprocity of resettlements and Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians from the territories occupied by Germany had the right to opt for the Soviet Union. There are no exact data concerning this emigration. According to press news 35,000 Russians left the General Gouvernement for the USSR. It is possible that the word "Russians" was used for all the people but there are reasons to doubt that many Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians wanted to risk possible harassments after resettlement. In the territories annexed by the Soviet Union there were mass deportations of Byelorussians and Ukrainians. The relatively small intellectual classes were almost totally deported as well as enemies of the Soviet power, and so called kulaks.

The German occupation caused another wave of migrations. Many people were evacuated before the German army entered Byelorussia and Ukraine. Nazi authorities recruited—more or less compulsory—young people for work in Germany. After the war those who lived through their ordeal returned home but a part of them did not want to live under Soviet rule and remained as displaced persons.

An agreement signed by Poland with the Soviet republics after the Second World War provided for voluntary emigration of Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians from Poland to the respective republics. Polish authorities exerted some pressure however, mainly on the Ukrainians. As a result 480,000 Ukrainians and 36,000 Byelorussians but only an insignificant number of Lithuanians emigrated from Poland to the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁵ The Ukrainians who did not want to emigrate were in 1947 expelled from their villages and resettled in the northern and western provinces of Poland. The official reason for this decision was that the Ukrainian peasants helped the underground Ukrainian army to fight against the Soviet Union and Poland. A significant part of these partisans escaped through Czechoslovakia to Western Europe. A similar agreement with the Ukrainian Republic was signed by Czechoslovakia and in 1945 about 30,000 Ukrainians left Slovakia.¹⁰⁶

At the same time a significant number (estimations are between 500,000 and 800,000) of Ukrainians was deported eastwards from the western part of the Ukrainian lands, which were under Polish sovereignty before 1939.¹⁰⁷

The discrimination of Lithuanian culture and language in Russia before the First World War caused some emigration of people engaged in political activity. After 1918 these people returned to an independent Lithuania, however new problems arose, connected with the conflict with Poland. The frontier established as a result of the war left a number of Lithuanians in Poland (a Polish minority remained in Lithuania). The people engaged in the struggle for Lithuanian independence in most cases emigrated from Poland and settled in Lithuania. Later

on only very limited illegal migrations were possible.

In September 1939 Lithuania occupied the north-eastern regions of the Polish Republic which were the object of conflicts. This caused an inflow of Lithuanians to this region, mainly to Vilnius, when this city became capital of the state. When Lithuania was included into the Soviet Union many people opposing this change emigrated. After some time the Soviet authorities began deportations of Lithuanians considered to be dangerous for the new political system, mostly from among the intellectual classes. The beginning of collectivization marked another wave of deportations which afflicted peasants opposing the new policy. The tragic night of sudden arrests and deportations, 13/14 June 1941, is well remembered in Lithuania. As a whole about 34,000 people were deported in the years 1940-1941.¹⁰⁸

After June 1941 the Germans who occupied Lithuania deported about 75,000 Lithuanians as compulsory labourers in the IIIrd Reich.¹⁰⁹

The Soviet authorities after 1944 deported not only those who collaborated with the Nazis but other enemies of the Communist system as well. The number of Lithuanians deported eastward in the years 1945-1950 is estimated at 320,000. A certain number of Russians was settled in their place.¹¹⁰

A similar development was going on in Estonia and Latvia with the important exception of a controversy with Poland. After 1918 some Latvians and Estonians returned to their independent countries but after 1939 a wave of emigration began when the people opposing the union with the USSR left the country. The next years were marked with deportations eastward. Their scope in Estonia was primarily limited. "Arrests and deportation, especially of leading members of the national régime, of the police, of Social Democrats, and of so-called capitalists..... began very early. But the N. K. V. D. went very slowly at first, collecting data for its planned mass deportations, which were intended by gradual stages to include over half the population, as it clearly appeared from documents left behind after the hurried Russian retreat in 1941."¹¹¹ Only in June 1941 the first groups of Estonians—together about 60,000 people—were deported.

The German occupation authorities introduced compulsory labour service (the number of recruited persons is estimated at 15,000)¹¹² but planned deportations of Estonians were not realized. Many people escaped to Finland; approximately 80,000 people left the country in the summer and autumn 1944, before the Soviet troops recaptured Estonia. The Soviet authorities deported many people eastwards (including the Kuriles) as Estonia was considered to be an overpopulated region. The number of deported between autumn 1944 and May 1946 was estimated at least 130,000.¹¹³ In March 1949 another group of Estonians, about 60,000 people, were deported.¹¹⁴

The estimated number of Latvians deported by the Soviet authorities in the years 1940-1941 was 35,000. The occupation of Latvia by the IIIrd Reich was marked the deportation of 35,000 people as compulsory labourers into Germany (mainly in 1943). In 1944 many Latvians escaped to Scandinavia before the collapse of the German army. According to the International Red Cross in 1947 there were about 147,000 Latvians political refugees in different countries. In January 1945 40,000-50,000 peasants were deported to Russia and their place was occupied by 50,000 Russians. Besides that approximately 38,000 Latvian workers

were sent to Russia to take part in the post-war reconstruction. In March 1949 the next group of 50,000 Latvians were deported.¹¹⁵

The deportations of Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians in the Soviet Union disastrously influenced the development of national cultures. On the other hand there were some significant centres of these national cultures abroad, having definite anti-Soviet features. The situation of the Byelorussians was extremely difficult as their intellectual classes developed relatively late and after heavy losses the Byelorussian language and culture were retarding under the Russian influence.

The migrations of Finns were connected with the Soviet-Finnish war and its aftermaths—the changes of frontiers. The peace treaty of March 12, 1940 established a new frontier and almost the entire Finnish population of the territories included into the Soviet Union left their homes for Finland. According to president Risto Ryti only 20 people remained. According to Finnish statistics about 415,000 emigrated and probably about 5,000 remained on the lost territory (97,000 left during the hostilities and 318,000 when the peace treaty was signed). After the German attack against the Soviet Union in June 1941 and Finland recapturing the lost provinces about 77,000 people returned; the next wave of returnees took place in spring 1942. In June 1943 about 265,000 people inhabited the recaptured territory. All of them had to resettle once more after 1944 when the disputed lands were included into the Soviet Union again.

In 1942 the Finnish authorities inaugurated the resettlement of the Finnish population (so called Ingermanland Finns) from the environments of Leningrad occupied by the Germans. The total number of this minority was about 50,000. The resettlement, approved by the German authorities, went on through 1942 and 1943 and in May 1944 probably 65,000 Ingermanland Finns lived in Finland. Some 46,000 resolved to return after the armistice with the Soviet Union and this was done before end of January 1945. These people were later deported behind the Ural mountains and to the eastern Karelia.¹¹⁶

The last small group of migrants were the Swedes inhabiting Estonia. After September 1939 the Swedish inhabitants of some Estonia islands were transferred on the continent when the Soviet Union arranged military bases in this region. One year later they left for Sweden. Another group escaped from Estonian in 1943; others emigrated legally. In October 1944 there were 6,450 refugees from Estonia in Sweden.¹¹⁷

A short survey—probably incomplete—of migrations caused by the national conflicts in East-Central Europe presents a tragic picture. Millions of desperate people were looking for a secure and peaceful place to live, millions of other were killed. The plight of Armenians and Jews proves that national conflicts can end with the mass murder of whole nations. The national oppression of minorities in some states created extremely sharp conflicts which were difficult to disentangle. This was all the more so when some countries—notably Germany—tried to exploit the national feelings for their expansionistic aims.

Joseph B. Schechtman is right when asserting that the international system of protection for minorities, established in 1919 under the auspices of the League of Nations, failed. The international guarantees did not help any minority. In many cases the international protection of minorities was used only as a useful

diplomatic tool against a rival country.

However internal political conflicts involving national minorities required some solution. From the point of view of extreme nationalist politicians and governments the most convenient method was to get rid of the national minorities considered to be dangerous or unwanted. However most people, even those living in very difficult conditions and pressed by the authorities, did not want to leave their homes to look for a better future even in their own national state. This was the reason for the idea of compulsory transfers. Sometimes it was an exchange of population between two countries, sometimes an arbitrary decision of the individual government. The most drastic cases involved cruel treatment of the expelled people, including murder or transfer in extremely harsh conditions ending with death. A special case was the Nazi policy of "Endlösung" aimed at the murder of the whole Jewish nation.

The Communists in the Soviet Union tried at first to find a solution according to the international ideology of the socialist movement. The campaign against extreme nationalism however changed into a new type of national persecutions and mass deportation of "suspected" nations.

"By and large, leading jurists and students of minority problems agree that unconditional compulsory transfer is wholly inconsistent with democratic concepts of human rights. There is something deeply shocking in the idea that human beings may be indiscriminately transferred or exchanged like goods or cattle, without having any legal right to protest or appeal. Among the prospective evacuees there are certain to be some for whom the abandonment of their homeland and resettlement in another country entail insupportable tragedy. In such cases, irrespective of their number, it would be needlessly cruel and a violation of the principle of individual self-determination to compel departure, withholding all legal means of obtaining exception from the transfer. On the other hand, the conventional option clause, requiring a registration of intention only from those who wish to go, constitutes a serious threat to any transfer operation."¹¹⁸

J. B. Schechtman may be basically right when he criticizes the very idea of any compulsory transfer of people. However he accepts an opinion that at least a voluntary transfer and "en-mixing" of nationalities are the best way to solve the national conflicts and the problems of national minorities.

Independent of the—very important—question of human rights, the resettlement of population does not seem to solve definitely old national conflicts. The experience of the last forty years after the Second World War confirms the conclusion which can be drawn from the Balkan history. The transfer of national minorities leaves a deep resentment on both sides and this makes any future cooperation between the interested countries much more difficult. The resettled people and their descendants often retain a strong memory of their former homeland and can be a source of revisionist trends even more than a century after the transfer. Therefore resettlement may be a way of changing internal conflicts into international resentments.

At the same time—at least as the Polish experience indicates—the contact between the different national cultures in one country can help in developing each individual national culture. The deep influence of the Byelorussian, Lithuanian,

Jewish and Ukrainian traditions and cultures on the Polish contemporary culture is proof of this. The loss of significant national minorities after the Second World War meant a diminution of a vivid source of development of the Polish culture.

There are however some important preconditions of any solution of national conflicts without transfer of population. They include real equality of chances and rights for national minorities, absence of outside interference in the internal conflicts (at least absence of any stirring up of these conflicts), the reciprocal will of peaceful coexistence of nations on the same territory. Therefore there probably should be some exceptions in a general critical evaluation of resettlements of national minorities. There were—and may be there are—cases when previous and current conflicts resulted in accumulating such strong mutual hatred, fear and negative stereotypes, that any future coexistence seems to be at least very doubtful. In such a case “en-mixing” of nationalities, even using compulsory solutions, can be seen as the only real perspective for future friendly relations between two nations. Perhaps this was the situation in which the decision to expel the Germans from some countries of East-Central Europe after the Second World War was made.

NOTES

- 1 The East-Central Europe is treated here in a broad sense as the nations and countries being between Germany and Russia.
- 2 The statistical data quoted in this survey are in most cases estimations, in some cases comprise only refugees registered by relief organizations. The reader can find divergent figures in different sources. The quoted data have therefore mainly a tentative value and their aim is to inform about the scope of the refugee problem. In order to compare the number of refugees with that of the population of particular countries here are the data of censuses (the year of census is in brackets): Bulgaria 6,078,000 (1934); Czechoslovakia 14,730,000 (1930); Estonia 1,126,400 (1934); Finland 3,463,000 (1930); Greece 6,205,000 (1928); Hungary 8,685,000 (1930); Lithuania 2,029,000 (1923); Latvia 1,950,000 (1935); Poland 32,107,000 (1931); Romania 18,057,000 (1930); Yugoslavia 13,934,000 (1931); Byelorussia (Soviet Republic) 4,983,000 (1926); Ukraine (Soviet Republic) 29,000,000 (1926).
- 3 Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York & Oxford 1935), pp. 15-23.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-44.
- 5 Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia. The Survival of a Nation* (London 1938), pp. 200-230.
- 6 Louis Greenberg, *The Jews in Russia. The Struggle for Emancipation* (New Haven & London 1965), Vol. 2, pp. 55-75.
- 7 Joseph B. Schechtman, “Compulsory Transfer of the Turkish Minority from Bulgaria,” *Journal of Central European Affairs*, No. 2 (July 1952).
- 8 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 41-44.
- 9 Walker, *Armenia*, pp. 202-203.
- 10 John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem. Report of a Survey* (Oxford

- 1939), p. 26.
- 11 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, p. 102 ; J. A. S. Grenville, *The Major International Treaties 1914-1973. A History and Guide with Texts* (New York 1984), p. 50.
 - 12 D. Bogdanović, "La question du Kosovo hier et aujourd'hui," *Revue des etudes slaves*, No. 3 (1984), p. 394.
 - 13 G. S. Georghallides, "Turkish and British Reactions to the Emigration of the Cypriot Turks to Anatolia, 1924-1927," *Balkan Studies*, No. 1 (1977), pp. 43-45, 48, 51.
 - 14 J. B. Schechtman, *Compulsory Transfer of the Turkish Minority*, pp. 154-156.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159, 165 : J. Tomaszewski, *Bułgaria 1944-1971 : trudna droga do socjalizmu* (Warszawa 1989), pp. 241-243.
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 - 17 S. Agapitidis, "Déplacements recents de population en Grèce," *Balkan Studies*, No. 2 (1977), p. 273.
 - 18 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 45-47.
 - 19 Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, p. 14.
 - 20 *Ibid.*
 - 21 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 100-103 ; Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, p. 14 ; Agapitidis, *Déplacements*, p. 278.
 - 22 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 106-107.
 - 23 S. Nestor, "Greek Macedonia and the Convention of Neuilly (1919)," *Balkan Studies*, No. 1 (1962), pp. 171-174, 182.
 - 24 J. B. Schechtman, *European Population Transfers 1939-1945* (New York 1946), pp. 417-418.
 - 25 Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, p. 22.
 - 26 Nestor, "Greek Macedonia", pp. 171-173.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183 : Schechtman, *Compulsory Transfer of the Turkish Minority*, pp. 154-156.
 - 28 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 405-406, 412-414 ; E. M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move. War and Population Changes 1917-1937* (New York 1948), p. 303.
 - 29 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 421-424.
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 - 31 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, p. 444.
 - 32 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, p. 42 ; Bogdanović, *La question du Kosovo*, p. 392-393.
 - 33 Bogdanović, *La question du Kosovo*, p. 394.
 - 34 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 417-418.
 - 35 Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, p. 303.
 - 36 *International Migrations*, Vol. 1 Statistics. Compiled on behalf of the International Labour Office, Geneva, with introduction and notes by Imre Ferenczi and edited on behalf of the National Bureau of Economic Research by

- Walter F. Wilcox (New York 1929), p. 875.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 38 Transylvanus, "Ordeal in Transylvania," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, No. 1 (April 1941), p. 27.
- 39 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 427-430.
- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 409, 412-414.
- 41 *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 410-411, 431, 446-447.
- 42 G. Ginsburg, "Hungary and Hungarian Exiles," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, No. 3 (October 1959), p. 229.
- 43 J. Zvara, *Mad'arska menšina na Slovensku po roku 1945. Bratislava, p. 13 ; The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Roumania with Reference to the Treaty Concluded in Paris on the 9th of December 1919 between the Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania, Dealing with the Protection of Minorities*, 1, (1919-1922), passim.
- 44 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 429, 434-437.
- 45 Ginsburg, "Hungary and Hungarian Exiles," p. 229.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 231.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
- 48 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, p. 433.
- 49 Zvara, *Mad'arska menšina*, pp. 58-64 ; A. Bohmann quotes somewhat higher numbers 77,150 Slovaks and about 80,000 Hungarians. A. Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen. Band IV. Bevölkerung und Nationalitäten in der Tschechoslowakei*, (Koln 1975), p. 407-408.
- 50 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen IV*, p. 374.
- 51 Ginsburg, "Hungary and Hungarian Exiles," p. 233-234.
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236.
- 53 *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.
- 54 Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej 1918-1939*, Vol. I, *W dobie inflacji 1918-1923* (Warszawa 1967), pp. 35-38 ; Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939, p. 52.
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- 57 H. E. Volkmann, "Zur Ansiedlung der Deutschbalten im 'Warthegau'," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, No. 4 (1981), p. 529.
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- 62 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen IV*, pp. 392, 295.

- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 112 ff.
- 64 Tomaszewski, *Struktura narodowościowa Czechosłowacji*, pp. 647-648, 651; J. Svetoň, *Obyvatel'stvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu*, (Bratislava 1958), pp. 179, 181-182.
- 65 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 174-175. Data quoted by Bohmann (*Menschen und Grenzen* IV, pp. 217-218) suggest even a larger number of refugees. Besides about 40,000 German and Jewish refugees from the IIIrd Reich left these territories.
- 66 Tomaszewski, "Pożenie klasy robotniczej," pp. 341-342. Marrus (*The Unwanted*, p. 175) and Bohmann (*Menschen und Grenzen*, p. 241) estimate this number at 10,000 and 34,000 respectively.
- 67 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen* IV, pp. 272, 273, 314.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 265.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377.
- 71 Zvara, *Mad'arska menšina*, p. 64.
- 72 Marrus, *The Unwanted*, pp. 27, 33-34.
- 73 B. Pinkus, "The Emigration of National Minorities from the USSR in the Post-Stalin Era," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, No. 1 (1983), p. 5.
- 74 This episode of the tragic history of Jews in Germany is discussed by Józef Adelson in an article prepared for *Gal-Ed*.
- 75 L. S. Stavrianos, "The Jews of Greece," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, No. 3 (October 1948), pp. 259-260.
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- 77 Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, p. 139.
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- 79 P. Mayer, B. D. Weinryb, E. Duschinsky, N. Silvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites* (Syracuse 1953), pp. 61-62.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p. 342.
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- 82 Pinkus, "The Emigration of National Minorities," p. 8.
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- 84 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen* IV, pp. 325, 326.
- 85 F. B. Chary, *Bulgaria and her Jews: "The Final Solution" 1940 to 1944* (doctors dissertation), (University of Pittsburgh, 1968), pp. 204, 224, 237, 247; M. L. Miller, *Bulgaria during the Second World War* (Stanford, Ca. 1975), pp. 103, 105.
- 86 Mayer, Weinryb, Duschinsky, Silvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, p. 575.
- 87 Stavrianos, "The Jews of Greece," pp. 261-267.
- 88 R. L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labour Service System, 1939-1945* (New York 1977), pp. 24, 26, 120.
- 89 Mayer, Weinryb, Duschinsky, Silvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, pp. 146-147, 152, 241, 254-256, 330, 533, 549, 619-620.

- 90 Landau, Tomaszewski, *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej* Vol. 1, pp. 39, 44-45.
- 91 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen* IV, p. 149.
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- 93 Pinkus, "The Emigration of National Minorities," p. 5.
- 94 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, p. 35.
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- 98 Bohmann, *Menschen und Grenzen* IV, p. 460: P. Burian, "Der 'Transfer' und seine Konsequenzen." In: *Das Jahr 1945 in Tschechoslowakei. Internationale, nationale und wirtschaftlich-soziale Probleme*. Herausgegeben von Karl Bosl. München-Wien 1971, pp. 212-213.
- 99 Ginsburg, "Hungary and Hungarian Exiles," p. 233.
- 100 Ryszka ed., *Polska Ludowa*, p. 141.
- 101 Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, p. 64.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 81: Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, p. 54.
- 103 V. E. Andic, "The Economic Aspects of Aid to Russian and Ukrainian Refugee Scholars in Czechoslovakia," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, No. 2 (1961), pp. 177, 182.
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- 115 A. Bilnanis, *A History of Latvia*, (Westpoint, Con. 1951), pp. 402, 405, 407; Misiunas, Taagepera, *The Baltic States*, pp. 40, 54, 96.

- 116 Schechtman, *European Population Transfers*, pp. 388-398 : I. M. Matley, "The Dispersal of the Ingrian Finns," *Slavic Review*, No. 1 (1979).
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