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## **Deportations of Poles to the USSR in 1940-1941 in Polish History Textbooks for Secondary Schools: Selected Examples**

This article presents the presentation of the deportation of Poles to the Soviet Union, including Kazakhstan, carried out in the years 1940 to 1941 in Polish history textbooks for secondary schools. The chronological framework of the study covers the years from the end of communist rule to the present. The issue of interest will be shown through selected examples. In the first part of the text, the author presented one of the most tragic events in the history of Poland in the 20th century, i.e. deportations of civilians from the eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic occupied by the USSR. They were part of the mechanism of extermination of the Second Polish Republic's society by the Stalinist authorities. The author's intention was to present the mechanism of falsification of history during the communist period and the process of restoration of memory after the change of political system. Some Polish history textbooks from the communist period mentioned deportations, but lacked information about the death toll, violence and destruction of the Polish nation. It was only stated that the number of Polish victims was 60 %, and that the local population in Kazakhstan, among other places, was friendly towards the displaced. Not even the Soviet occupation was written about. Among other things, the period of communist rule was characterised by strict censorship. The core curriculum was subordinated to the political line of the communist party. It was only after the change of the political system that it was possible to speak and write openly about Soviet crimes against Polish citizens. This information was included in the core curriculum for secondary school and appeared in all textbooks. The authors of the textbooks conveyed the knowledge about the Stalinist crimes against Polish citizens in various ways in more or less detail, usually to a limited extent. The focus was on the extermination of Polish officers by the Soviet NKVD — the Katyn Massacre.

*Keywords:* Stalinist crimes, deportations, Eastern borderlands, Siberia, Kazakhstan, education, school textbook, secondary school

### *Introduction*

The subject of the study presented to the reader is the issue of how the deportation of Poles from Polish territories occupied by the USSR to Siberia and Kazakhstan is depicted in Polish history textbooks for secondary schools\*. On February 10, 2025, the 85th anniversary of the first and largest of the four mass deportations of the Polish population from the territories occupied by the USSR was commemorated. These deportations sent Poles deep into Soviet territory, mainly to Siberia. During the second Soviet deportation, carried out on April 13-14, 1940, Poles were also sent to Soviet Kazakhstan. The deaths of thousands of deportees altered Poland's demographics, leaving large numbers of Poles stranded in the USSR. In 1942, within the Soviet state — referred to in Poland as the «inhuman land» — the Polish Armed Forces in the USSR were formed. These forces were later evacuated to Persia and the Middle East†. Following the Polish military, thousands of civilians also fled the «inhuman land,» eventually settling in Persia, Palestine, New Zealand, India, and even Africa. The largest number found refuge in the United Kingdom. Most of these exiled Poles never returned home, as their family homes were incorporated into the USSR.

During the communist era in Poland, discussing deportations and the plight of Polish exiles was forbidden. These topics, along with education about Soviet labor camps (gulags) and the Katyn Massacre, were banned in schools‡. The first official mentions of Stalinist crimes in Polish literature appeared in the final

\* In Polish, there are two words with different meanings to refer to Siberia. „Syberia” is understood by Poles as a geographical term, while „Sybir” refers to a place of forced labor, exile, and death in the northern and eastern territories of the former Soviet Union or old Russian Empire.

† This army was composed of Poles who had been deported to the USSR and later released from forced labor camps under the provisions of the Sikorski-Majski Agreement of July 30, 1941. This agreement reestablished diplomatic relations between Poland and the USSR. However, these relations were severed by the Soviets on April 25, 1943, after the Germans discovered mass graves of Polish officers murdered by the NKVD in Katyn.

‡ The Katyn Massacre was a mass execution carried out in the spring of 1940 by the Soviet NKVD on the orders of Stalin and Lavrentiy Beria. The victims were Polish Army officers, policemen, border guards, and other officials who had been taken prisoner

years of the PRL, but they were described very cautiously. Writings on the subject were circulated illegally through underground publishing, known as *samizdat* (самиздат). It was only after the fall of communism that these issues found their rightful place in public awareness and education. They were introduced into the national curriculum, though textbooks did not treat them as separate topics.

### *Materials and Methods*

In the article presented to the reader, the primary sources are history textbooks approved for use in Polish schools, as well as subject literature focusing mainly on historical issues rather than teaching methods. I used textbooks published in the final period of communist rule in Poland (the Polish People's Republic — PRL) and textbooks from the 1990s and 2000s. Due to the article's length, I discuss only selected publications. In this study, I applied the method of critical source analysis and the comparative method. I examined history textbooks from both the PRL era and post-1989 independent Poland, primarily those intended for secondary schools, focusing on the presence of the topic of Polish deportations to the USSR and the way it was described. After 1989, it became possible to write and speak openly about the difficult Polish-Soviet relations, particularly Stalinist crimes. This was a decidedly positive but slow process, leading to broader discussions on these issues. However, many of the resulting works were of low scholarly quality.

Using the comparative method, I attempt to compare textbooks from two different political systems: totalitarianism and democracy. When making this comparison, it was essential to consider the social and political conditions in which Polish education developed. While analyzing sources from the PRL era, I focused on textbooks published in its final years when censorship was not as strict. At that time, authors were already addressing the issue of Polish deportations from the USSR, but they did not describe it in detail and certainly did not identify those responsible. The analysis primarily includes textbooks for secondary schools, but also some from the final grade of primary school (grade 8) and from middle school (*gimnazjum*), an educational stage that no longer exists. However, the main source base consists of books published after 1989.

In my work, there was a risk of oversimplification. Primarily, I discuss topics that do not appear independently in textbooks but are part of broader subjects, such as the Soviet occupation and the formation of the Polish army in the USSR. The issue of deportations to the USSR and present-day Kazakhstan is covered only briefly in the texts. At these stages of education, students do not receive in-depth knowledge on this topic. Deportations to the USSR are described in a limited manner, often in conjunction with the Katyn Massacre, which is given significantly more attention in textbooks.

### *Results*

Introduction to the issue. In Poland, the education system has undergone numerous changes. After World War II, until 1948, during the communist period, the system established by Minister Jędrzejewicz's 1931 reform was in effect. Schools were divided into a seven-grade primary school followed by a six-year general education school, consisting of a four-year lower secondary school (called *gimnazjum*) and a two-year upper secondary school (called *liceum*). In 1961, primary school education was extended from seven to eight years. From 1968, a two-tier education system was implemented. A reform in 1999 led to the creation of a three-tier structure after three years: primary school, lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*), and upper secondary school. This system was changed in the 2017 / 2018 school year, restoring the eight-year primary school, followed by four-year upper secondary schools (*liceum*), five-year technical schools, or three-year vocational schools.

During the communist rule and after the transition to democratic governance, the history curriculum and teaching objectives underwent numerous changes. During the Polish People's Republic (PRL), education was subject to significant ideological pressure. One of the key goals of history education was the «struggle for the souls of the youth» and shaping obedient citizens of the communist state [1; 236-237].

In the 1959 curriculum of teaching history, it was stated that the purpose of history as a school subject in primary education was to «familiarize students with the history of Poland and selected elements of world history, and the school should aim to instill a love for the homeland, connect youth with progressive and revolutionary traditions, as well as with the current achievements of the Polish nation in building socialism; and

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by the Soviets in September 1939 and held in POW camps in Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov. During the communist era, the crime was falsely attributed to the Germans.

to develop feelings of friendship and respect for other nations....» These general objectives of history education remained in effect until 1989 [2; 12-13].

During the Polish People's Republic (PRL), it was initially forbidden to speak about communist crimes, including the deportations of Poles to Kazakhstan and Siberia. In the current primary school curriculum, Soviet crimes are discussed, and examples are provided, but teaching about the deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan in 1940-1941 is not mandatory, although every textbook includes a mention of them [3].

The primary auxiliary tool in school education is the textbook. Throughout the Polish People's Republic (PRL), textbooks, designed in accordance with the mandates of the communist authorities, served as tools for the ideological indoctrination of schools and youth. They were the primary didactic resource used by teachers [4; 286]. In every country, the historical narrative in school textbooks reflects the current state of research and the prevailing historiographical discourse. It also stems from the historical policy shaped by state authorities. On one hand, history education in schools is aimed at enhancing students' cognitive understanding, but on the other, it seeks to instill specific beliefs and attitudes. One of its goals is patriotic education [5; 87]. Currently, in a democratic state, the school system is not subjected to political indoctrination. Textbooks must adhere to the curriculum framework, but the method of its implementation depends on the teacher and the textbook author. The textbook serves as supplementary material for lessons, although most teachers use it as a primary reading resource.

### *Deportations of Polish citizens to the Soviet Union in 1940-1941*

The subject of this study presented to the reader is the depiction of Soviet deportations of the Polish population from the occupied eastern territories of the Republic of Poland in 1940-1941. Following the Soviet Union's aggression against Poland on September 17, 1939, the eastern lands of the Republic were occupied and subsequently incorporated into the Soviet state. Many inhabitants of the territories occupied by Soviet Russia were displaced deep into the USSR in several waves of deportations. The first deportation took place on February 10, 1940. The next deportation occurred between April 13-15, 1940, followed by another at the turn of June and July 1940. The final deportation took place on June 22, 1941 [6; 36].

The most tragic deportation occurred on February 10, 1940, under extremely low temperatures. Entire families were deported; according to Polish estimates, 250,000 people were displaced, while the Russian organization Memorial estimates the number at 143,000. The ethnic composition of the deportees was 70 % Poles, with Ukrainians and Belarusians accounting for the remaining 30 %. Mortality rates were very high, particularly among children. The population was resettled in areas such as the Dvina basin, Arkhangelsk, Komi, Western Siberia, the Yakut ASSR, and Krasnoyarsk Krai. These people were referred to as «special resettlers-settlers.» The second deportation occurred on April 13-15, 1940. It targeted the families of so-called «enemies of the system,» including state officials, military personnel, police officers, families of individuals arrested by the NKVD, teachers, and others [6; 37].

The first deportation primarily targeted forced labor camps (gulags), while the second focused on areas of special settlement. Women and children made up as much as 80 % of the deportees during the second wave. These individuals were resettled in northern Kazakhstan, specifically in the Aktyubinsk, Kostanay, Petropavl, Semipalatinsk, and Karaganda regions. The third deportation occurred at the turn of June and July 1940 and included refugees from central Poland, which was under German occupation, who had fled to Soviet-occupied territories. Estimates of the deported population range from 250,000 to 400,000. The fourth deportation took place on June 22, 1941, the day the German-Soviet war began. Particularly tragic was the deportation of children from summer camps between June 21-23, 1941. These camps aimed to raise school-age youth in the model of Soviet pioneer camps. Most of the children were never returned to their parents and were placed in Soviet orphanages [6; 39-40].

During the Second World War, other categories of the Polish population also ended up in the USSR: individuals fleeing the front after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war; children and youth from summer camps and colonies deported in the summer of 1941; those conscripted into the Red Army; workers who went to the USSR for employment; and people who, for various other reasons, found themselves deep within Soviet territory. The situation of these various groups of Poles in the USSR differed in legal, social, and material terms, but all experienced separation from their homeland and family homes, and often separation from their loved ones. Their shared experience included displacement, harsh living conditions, hard daily labor, and, in many cases, death [7; 398].

At the end of 1941, in the Kazakh SSR, individuals of Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Jewish nationality who had been citizens of the Second Polish Republic before the war were conscripted into the Red Army. A

significant deterioration in the situation of Polish citizens living deep within the USSR occurred in the second half of 1942, driven by the worsening of Polish-Soviet relations. Further negative changes in the conditions of Polish citizens followed the evacuation of General Władysław Anders' army to Iran. This evacuation was completed in August 1942, resulting in over 113,000 people leaving Soviet territory, including more than 36,000 civilians [7; 403].

The deportees from the April 1940 deportation were assigned the status of «resettled by administrative decision.» They were sent to settlements under civilian administration, and the living conditions of Polish deportees largely depended on the local authorities. The employment situation of the April deportees was further complicated by the fact that the second wave of deportations to Kazakhstan primarily involved children and women, mainly from intelligentsia families, who were generally unaccustomed to physical labor. Their lack of qualifications for agricultural work exacerbated the difficulties associated with the obligations imposed on Polish citizens [8; 69].

Sometimes, even 6–8-year-old children were forced to work under the threat of punishment, though in other places of exile, this applied only to children aged 12 or 14–15. The vast majority of Polish citizens' families were sent to agricultural farms — state farms (sovkhozes) and collective farms (kolkhozes) [8; 69–71].

There were instances of escape attempts from exile, but only a few were successful. According to NKVD data from October 1941, a total of 182 people escaped from Kazakhstan, and 134 were apprehended during their attempts. Only a small group of Polish citizens deported in 1940–1941 were released from forced settlement [7; 399]. However, it remains unclear whether these individuals were able to return to their previous places of residence. The number of residents of the occupied Republic of Poland deported to the USSR in 1940–1941 is estimated at 1.7 million.

### Discussion

The topic of deportations in Polish school textbooks. The deportations of Polish citizens from the eastern territories of the Republic of Poland occupied by the Soviets in 1940–1941 represent one of the most tragic chapters in Poland's 20th-century history. This tragedy also affected other nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. During the communist regime in Poland, this topic was officially forbidden. However, school textbook authors attempted to convey knowledge of these tragic events between the lines. One example is the textbook *Historia dla klasy IV liceum ogólnokształcącego oraz dla klasy III technikum* (History for grade IV of general secondary schools and grade III of technical schools), published in 1974 by the Central School Textbook Publisher (Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne — WSiP). It is worth noting that during the communist era, a centralized publisher, WSiP, was responsible for publishing school textbooks. This particular textbook was written during the «deep communist era» of the Polish People's Republic. The author of the textbook mentioned only the actions of General Władysław Sikorski, the Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile, and included criticism of his pro-Western government. According to the author, the deterioration of Polish-Soviet relations was attributed to the death of General Sikorski, who was portrayed as the only Polish leader in the West capable of recognizing the importance of Polish-Soviet relations. The textbook does not mention anything about the deportations of Poles to Kazakhstan and Siberia [9; 81–82].

In Józef Ryszard Szaflik's publication, *Historia Polski 1939–1947* (History of Poland 1939–1947 First Edition, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw, 1987), the author does not mention the deportations of Poles from the eastern territories of the Republic of Poland to the USSR. Instead, he discusses the formation of the Polish Army in the USSR and the granting of amnesty to all Polish citizens deprived of freedom as prisoners of war or on other sufficient grounds. The army was to be created in areas with larger concentrations of Polish people. However, the textbook does not clarify what these «sufficient grounds» were or how these concentrations of Polish people came to exist [10; 58–59]. This omission raises questions about how the Poles ended up there in the first place.

The topic of the deportation of Poles to the USSR was addressed by Tadeusz Siergiejczyk in his work *Dzieje najnowsze 1939–1945, Historia dla szkół średnich* (Modern History 1939–1945, History for Secondary Schools), published by Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw, 1986. According to the author, economic and social elites, state officials — the so-called «socially dangerous elements» — were deported to the USSR. They were followed by priests, teachers, forestry workers, military settlers, craftsmen, and peasants. In several waves, around 900,000 to 1,000,000 people were deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan, of whom, according to the author, 60 % were Poles, with the rest being Ukrainians, Jews, and Belarusians. The textbook claims that Poles encountered kindness and sympathy from the local population. This textbook does

not include any photographs or maps related to this topic. It features a very modest graphic design and is printed on low-quality paper [11; 159].

In another textbook by Tadeusz Siergiejczyk, *Historia 4. Dzieje najnowsze 1939–1945. Podręcznik dla szkół średnich* (*History 4. Modern History 1939–1945. Textbook for Secondary Schools*), published in 1988, the issue of the deportation of Poles to the USSR was addressed in Chapter V, *Polska pod okupacją* (*Poland Under Occupation*). At the beginning of the chapter, a section titled *Zagadnienia do przypomnienia* (*Review Questions*) was included. The second point of the chapter was titled *Polityka zagraniczna ZSRR w okresie poprzedzającym wybuch wojny i we wrześniu 1939* (*The Foreign Policy of the USSR in the Period Leading up to the Outbreak of War and in September 1939*) [12; 128].

The author described the USSR's nationality policy in the occupied Polish territories, including staffing the administration with individuals brought from the USSR and restricting civil rights. NKVD crimes were euphemistically referred to as «actions by parts of the NKVD security service and arrests.» Deportations were described as «cleansing the border territory» of anti-Soviet and socially dangerous elements. Mass deportations initially targeted landowners, industrialists, and individuals associated with the state apparatus, such as officers, police officers, and officials (though, as the Kresy region was not industrialized, there were few industrialists). Teachers, forestry workers, military settlers, and even craftsmen and peasants were subsequently deported. In several waves, 1.2 million former citizens of the Republic of Poland were deported, 65 % of whom were Poles, with the remainder being Ukrainians, Jews, and Belarusians. The author states that Polish deportees encountered displays of sympathy and kindness from the local population in their places of exile. Assistance from local communities helped them survive the initial, most difficult period after resettlement. However, the sudden change in living conditions caused casualties, primarily among children. The author also claims that some Poles voluntarily migrated to the USSR in search of better jobs and wages, particularly to the Donbas region, estimating this group at 200,000 people [12; 134]. This textbook, published in 1988, reached schools before the end of communism in Poland. While Stalinist crimes are acknowledged, they are presented in a very mild manner. The author does not describe the tragedy of the deportees but emphasizes the assistance of the local population, as if the deportations were merely a routine relocation. This textbook was undoubtedly still in use during the transition period at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s.

An interesting example of a publication from the late communist period is the work by Janusz Adamski and Lech Chmiel, *Czasy, ludzie, wydarzenia. Książka pomocnicza do historii dla zasadniczych szkół zawodowych* (*Times, People, Events. Auxiliary History Book for Vocational Schools*), first edition, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw, 1985. This supplementary book was designed for teaching history in three-year vocational schools preparing students for industrial work. In the chapter *Polacy na terenach przyłączonych do ZSRR* (*Poles in the Territories Annexed to the USSR*), the authors describe the division of Polish lands between the USSR and Germany. They write about the referendum on the incorporation of Poland's eastern territories into the USSR, the situation of Poles under Soviet occupation, and the Soviets' treatment of various social groups. The book contains only one sentence about Soviet repressions, including deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan [13; 93]. The book also includes source texts titled *Codzienne życie w nowych warunkach* (*Everyday Life in New Conditions*) by Jan Zamojski, excerpted from *Miejsce postoju* (*Stopping place*), Warsaw, 1972. In the text about daily life under Soviet occupation, the author writes that in February 1940, deportations began of families of so-called settlers — farmers cultivating land obtained from the partitioning of large estates. Some of these settlers had received their land as a reward for their participation in the 1920 war. On April 10, the father of the author of the memoirs was arrested [the text is interrupted]. What happened to him next remains unknown, but this was the day of the April deportation to Kazakhstan. Thus, while information about the deportations to the East is present, it is somewhat concealed, requiring careful reading to discern the details.

Andrzej Garlicki [14] in the publication *Historia 1939–1996/97. Podręcznik dla liceów ogólnokształcących* (*History 1939–1996/97. Textbook for General Secondary Schools*), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warsaw, 1997, it is stated that from the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1939, the Soviets began registering Polish groups they deemed counter-revolutionary. Deportations were already being planned at that time. The author dedicates half a page to outlining the successive waves of Polish deportations, noting that the first occurred during the winter. Mortality during transport reached 8 %, with widespread deaths from exhaustion and hunger affecting 20 % of the deportees. In Soviet policy towards Poles, the Katyn massacre takes precedence. Today, the plural form «Katyn massacres» is used because Polish officers were murdered not only in Katyn but also in other locations. While the deportation of Poles to the USSR, including Kazakhstan, is an important subject, it is often placed second in significance. The deporta-

tions are described in varying ways, emphasizing harsh living conditions, high mortality rates, and the grueling transport to places of exile. The textbooks do not include photographs from the exile sites. The author estimates the number of Polish citizens repressed in 1940-1941 at approximately one million. The deportations aimed to cleanse the territories incorporated into the USSR of unreliable elements, breaking the Polish will to resist. The Soviets applied the same concept as the German Nazis, implementing a program to eliminate the leadership class of the Polish nation [15]. This textbook lacks illustrations related to the topic of deportations. It features an unappealing graphic design and includes a section at the end of the subchapter titled *Problemy do rozwiązania* (*Problems to Solve*), with questions such as: *1. What were the similarities in the policies of the occupiers towards the Polish population?* The textbook contains black-and-white photographs and clear black-and-white maps, but none related to the topic of interest. With its academic tone and length of 480 pages, the book resembles more of an academic publication than a typical school textbook. The subchapter *Okupacja* (Occupation) concludes with a section titled *Problemy do rozwiązania* (Problems to Solve), posing the following questions:

What were the similarities in the policies of the occupiers towards the Polish population?

What were the most significant differences in the situation and attitudes of Poles in the occupied territories?

In Stanisław Sierpowski's textbook, *Historia najnowsza (1918–1994). Podręcznik dla szkoły średniej* (*Modern History (1918–1994). Textbook for Secondary Schools*), published by Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza «BGW» and Wydawnictwo GRAF-PUNKT, Warsaw, 1995, the material on Soviet crimes occupies an entire page in *Part II: The Second World War*. In addition to a brief mention of Poles deported to Kazakhstan in four deportations, the text references the Katyn massacres, noting that 448 officers from Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov survived. Together with officers interned in Lithuania, they were intended to form a Polish army subordinate to the communists in the USSR. The last wave of deportations occurred in the spring of 1941, during the German attack on the USSR and shortly before the signing of the Sikorski-Maisky Agreement. This agreement improved the situation of Poles in the USSR [16; 155].

In Halina Tomalska's textbook, *Polska i świat po 1939 roku. Historia dla szkół średnich zawodowych* (*Poland and the World After 1939: History for Vocational Secondary Schools*), first edition, Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, Warsaw, 1997, the author provides information about four deportations, stating that the total number of deported individuals from October 1939 to June 1941 was one million (with other sources estimating 1.25 million). The text highlights that the victims included refugees (*bieżeńcy*) from western Poland. It describes deportation practices, such as separating fathers from their families and sending them in different directions. Tens of thousands of people did not survive the weeks-long journey. Deportees were sent to remote regions of the USSR, including the north and Central Asia, such as Alma-Ata and Samarkand (though these locations are referred to by city names rather than the names of Soviet republics like Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan, which were the actual destinations). The author specifies that tens of thousands of women and children from the Vilnius region were resettled in Kazakhstan. Within a short time, diseases and harsh living conditions decimated the deportees. The textbook includes a black-and-white photograph captioned *Polish soldiers at work in a gulag*. It also features an excerpt from a source text: Waclaw Żołnierczyk's *To jest wasza Warszawa*, from *Wspomnienia Sybiraków*, («This is your Warsaw» — from «Memoirs of Siberian Exiles»). The excerpt describes the harsh working conditions of Polish deportees engaged in logging in Siberia. The book is illustrated with black-and-white photographs and has a soft, colorful cover [17; 66-67].

In the publication by Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski [18; 199–202], *Historia 1939–1956. Podręcznik dla szkół średnich* (*History 1939–1956. Textbook for Secondary Schools*), published by Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, Warsaw, 1998, the topic of the deportations of Poles to the USSR is addressed in *Part 2: Poland During World War II*, within the chapter titled *Two Occupations*. The subsection *Polityka radziecka* (*Soviet Policy*) begins with a comparison of the occupation policies of Nazi Germany and the USSR. While Germany promoted slogans of German racial superiority, Soviet ideology used the rhetoric of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The authors write that after the Red Army entered Poland, deportations and arrests began, targeting intellectual elites, artists, social, economic, and cultural activists, as well as officials. These individuals were accused of serving the Polish state, which was interpreted as a crime against the revolution and proletarian interests. Soviet courts based their accusations on fabricated charges and confessions extracted under duress. Deportations are described in just two paragraphs. The narrative focuses on the tragedy of long transports, the deaths of infants, the cruelty of guards, harsh living conditions, diseases like scurvy, and winter labor. The authors highlight the presence of criminals who created an alternative camp society governed by their own rules (referred to as «jungle law»). They note that escapes

were rare because local Soviet populations often captured escapees and handed them over to the authorities, while the surrounding taiga and tundra made escape nearly impossible. More space is devoted to the Katyn massacre — the murder of Polish officers by the Soviets — than to the deportations. The textbook includes a colorful map showing Soviet gulags and places of exile [19; 61].

In Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski's textbook, *Historia dla maturzysty. Wiek XX. Podręcznik. Szkoły ponadgimnazjalne. Zakres rozszerzony* (*History for High School Graduates: The 20th Century. Textbook. Post-Gymnasium Schools. Extended Scope*), published by Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, Warsaw, 2004, which covers the period from World War I to the second half of the 20th century, the topic of the deportation of Polish citizens to the USSR is addressed in just one paragraph. The authors discuss the issue in very general terms, noting that several hundred thousand people were deported, faced harsh working conditions, primarily in gulags, and suffered massive child mortality. They highlight that one of the significant problems was the dominance of criminals in the camps, whose rule was tolerated by the authorities [20; 154-155]. On page 155 of the textbook *Historia dla maturzysty. Wiek XX*, there is a colorful map showing gulags and places of forced resettlement of Poles in the Soviet Gulag archipelago after 1939. It is the same map as the one included in the earlier-described textbook by Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski.

In the textbook by Stanisław Sierpowski *Historia najnowsza 1918–1997. Podręcznik dla szkoły średniej* (*Contemporary History 1918–1997. A Textbook for High School*) from the year 2000 the topic of the deportation of Poles to the USSR is discussed in the chapter World War II, specifically in subsection 3, The Community of Aggressors, right after the description of German concentration and extermination camps [21; 158]. The author depicts Stalinist terror against Poles who were held by the Soviets in labor camps and prisons. However, the primary focus is on Katyń. Seventy-five percent of the page is dedicated to the Katyń massacre, while at the bottom, in bold print, it states that the Soviet authorities considered Poles a potential threat, similar to the Germans and Ukrainians living in those territories. This was one of the reasons for the mass deportations, primarily to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Large-scale deportation operations affected nearly a million people, many of whom did not survive the extremely harsh living conditions, poverty, and hostility from the authorities. Poles who were not sent to labor camps but were instead resettled had a chance of survival if they endured the hardships of transport. The local population generally treated them with friendliness. The Sikorski-Mayski Agreement of July 1941 brought some improvement to the situation of Poles in the depths of the USSR. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the territories annexed by the USSR in 1939 fell under German occupation [21].

The last textbook described here is the textbook by Antoni Dudek Łukasz Kępski Jakub Polit, *Historia. Ślady czasu. Podręcznik do liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy i rozszerzony II wojna światowa i współczesność* (*History. Traces of time. Podręcznik do liceum i technikum. Primary and extended scope WWII and the present day. First edition*) published in 2023. This book is equipped with a large number of source texts and additional supporting materials. First and foremost are the well-chosen illustrations. Thus, in topic 8 «Poland and Poles under Soviet occupation,» we have pictures of Soviet soldiers distributing propaganda newspapers to Polish citizens in area under occupation, and Polish prisoners in a Soviet forced labour camp. In the subsection Soviet repression, we read about the arrest of enemies of the people, who were above all representatives of the Polish elite. We have a description of the gulags, or a source text concerning a report by Polish general Michał Tokarzewski Karaszewicz describing the situation of Poles under Soviet occupation in March 1940. The authors include information that Poles were sent to NKVD forced labour camps and, of course, a description of mass deportations of Poles in February April and June 1940. In this excerpt from the text, we read who was sent in the first deportations, i.e., intelligentsia, foresters and the families of officers held in Soviet POW camps. A very interesting and important element concerns the comparison between the deportation of Poles by the Soviets and the deportation of Poles by the Germans from the General Government. In both cases, the deportees had a few dozen minutes to pack their personal belongings. Poles deported from the General Government had a short journey ahead of them to Germany, while those from the Soviet occupation faced a journey of several weeks under very difficult conditions. Poles under German occupation were looked upon with contempt and superiority by the Germans, while those deported to the Soviet Union faced hostility from the Soviet authorities, but were most often received with compassion and sympathy by the local population. In addition to short source texts and text questions, the theme includes photographs of Polish workers most likely in Kazakhstan posing with a camel. On page 98, there is a very clear map of Poland from interwar period, showing the areas occupied by Germany and the USSR, with arrows indicating the directions of deportation and the number of people deported in each wave of deportation [22; 97-98].

Between 1999 and 2017, the Polish education system included a third stage of education, the so-called *gimnazjum* (middle school), which served as a transitional phase between primary and secondary school. An example of a history textbook for this stage is Jan Wendt's *Przez wieki. Podręcznik do historii 3 (Through the Ages. History Textbook 3)*, published by M. Rożak, Gdańsk, 2004. Issues related to the deportation of Polish citizens are covered in Chapter VI, *Polska w okresie II wojny światowej (Poland During World War II)*. The author discusses the formation of the Polish Army in the USSR, the so-called Anders Army, noting that it included Poles in the USSR, among them 30,000 civilians, primarily soldiers' families. However, the author does not explain how these civilians ended up in the USSR [23; 161]. In the section *Polska pod okupacją (Poland Under Occupation)*, before introducing new material, students were tasked with recalling the goals set by Germany and the USSR when attacking Poland in 1939 and how Polish territories were divided between the aggressors that year. The arrests of Poles and deportations to the USSR are addressed in the subsection *Polityka radziecka wobec Polaków (Soviet Policy Towards Poles)*. The author states that approximately 1.5 million people were deported, with the operation directed by Lavrentiy Beria, the Soviet Commissar for Internal Affairs, who was also responsible for the Katyn massacre. Some of those arrested were executed on the spot. The topic includes a glossary of terms explaining *deportation*, *requisition*, and *indoctrination*. Additionally, there is a high-quality photograph depicting a group of Poles deported to Kazakhstan in April 1940 [23; 167].

### Conclusions

In the last years of the Polish People's Republic (PRL), textbook authors presented events in the eastern territories of the Republic of Poland, occupied by the USSR, in a highly concealed manner. They did not explicitly write about these events. Information about the deportations of Poles was vague and veiled, leaving inquisitive students to wonder about the origins of Poles in the USSR, the nature of the arrests on April 10, 1940, and similar questions. During the late PRL era, authors described the behavior of the local population in the USSR toward the deportees as friendly and supportive. By contrast, Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski, writing after the fall of communism in the 1990s, noted that local residents often captured escapees and handed them over to Soviet authorities. In the 1990s and 2000s, every textbook mentioned deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan. However, these topics were not discussed in detail, and no textbook devoted an entire section to them — at most, one page was included. Photographs depicting Polish deportees were rarely included, despite their availability in photographic archives. Maps showing the locations where Poles were deported were also uncommon. Among Stalinist crimes against the Polish nation, the Katyn massacres received the most attention, overshadowing other atrocities such as the deportations. Textbooks for schools from the late communist era clearly differ in graphic design and production quality. However, books from the transitional period between communism and democracy should be rated highly in terms of content. The 2000s marked the era of the free market. Many commercial publishers emerged, producing textbooks that varied in their academic quality.

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Рафал Рогуски

## Тарих бойынша орта мектепке арналған поляк окулықтарындағы 1940-1941 жж. КСРО-ға поляктарды жер аудару туралы: таңдамалы мысалдар

Мақалада поляктардың Кеңес Одағына, оның ішінде Қазақстанға 1940-1941 жылдары орта мектептерге арналған поляк тарих окулықтарында жер аударылуының тұсаукесері ұсынылған. Зерттеудің хронологиялық шеңбері коммунистік биліктің соңынан бүгінгі күнге дейінгі жылдарды қамтиды. Бізді қызықтыратын мәселе жеке мысалдарда көрсетілген. Жұмыстың бірінші бөлімінде автор XX ғасырдағы Польша тарихындағы ең қайғылы оқиғалардың бірін, яғни КСРО басып алған

екінші Поляк Республикасының Шығыс аумақтарынан бейбіт тұрғындарды депортациялау туралы айтады. Олар сталиндік биліктің екінші Польша Республикасының қоғамын жою механизмінің бөлігі болды. Автордың мақсаты — коммунистік кезеңдегі тарихты бұрмалау механизмін және саяси жүйе өзгергеннен кейін жадты қалпына келтіру процесін көрсету. Коммунистік кезең тарихындағы кейбір поляк оқулықтарында депортация туралы айтылды, бірақ қайтыс болғандардың саны, зорлық-зомбылық және поляк ұлтының жойылуы туралы ақпарат жетіспеді. Тек поляк құрбандарының саны 60 %-ды құрайтынын, жергілікті тұрғындар, оның ішінде Қазақстанда да қоныс аударушыларға мейірімді екендігі айтылды. Тіпті кеңестік оккупация туралы да жазылған жоқ. Басқа нәрселермен қатар, коммунистік басқару кезеңі қатаң цензурамен сипатталды. Негізгі оқу бағдарламасы Коммунистік партияның саяси бағытына бағынышты болды. Саяси жүйе өзгергеннен кейін ғана поляк азаматтарына қарсы кеңестік қылмыстар туралы ашық айтуға және жазуға мүмкіндік туды. Бұл ақпарат орта мектептің негізгі бағдарламасына енгізіліп, барлық оқулықтарда пайда болды. Оқулық авторлары Польша азаматтарына қарсы сталиндік қылмыстар туралы білімді әртүрлі тәсілдермен, азды-көпті егжей-тегжейлі, әдетте шектеулі көлемде жеткізген. Онда поляк офицерлерін кеңестік НКВД-Катын қырғынынан жоюға басты назар аударылған.

*Кілт сөздер:* сталиндік қылмыстар, депортация, шығыс шекара, Сібір, Қазақстан, білім, мектеп оқулығы, орта мектеп.

Рафал Рогуски

## Польские учебники истории для средней школы о депортации поляков в СССР в 1940-1941 гг.: избранные примеры

В данной статье представлена презентация того как депортация поляков в 1940-1941 годах в Советский Союз, включая Казахстан, представлена в польских учебниках истории для средних школ. Хронологические рамки исследования охватывают годы с конца коммунистического правления до настоящего времени. Проблематика исследования будет представлена на отдельных примерах. В первой части работы автор представил одно из самых трагических событий в истории Польши XX века — депортации гражданского населения с восточных территорий Второй Польской республики, оккупированных СССР. Они были частью механизма уничтожения общества Второй Польской Республики сталинскими властями. Замысел автора — представить механизм фальсификации истории в коммунистический период и процесс восстановления памяти после смены политической системы. В некоторых польских учебниках истории коммунистического периода упоминались депортации, но отсутствовала информация о количестве погибших, насилии и уничтожении польской нации. Указывалось лишь то, что число польских жертв составляло 60 % и что местное население в Казахстане, среди прочих, дружелюбно относилось к переселенцам. Не было написано даже о советской оккупации. Помимо прочего, период коммунистического правления характеризовался жесткой цензурой. Основная учебная программа была подчинена политической линии коммунистической партии. Только после смены политической системы стало возможным открыто говорить и писать о советских преступлениях против польских граждан. Эта информация была включена в основную программу средней школы и появилась во всех учебниках. Авторы учебников передавали знания о сталинских преступлениях против польских граждан различными способами, более или менее подробно, обычно в ограниченном объеме. Основное внимание уделялось уничтожению польских офицеров советским НКВД-Катынской резне.

*Ключевые слова:* сталинские преступления, депортации, восточное пограничье, Сибирь, Казахстан, образование, школьный учебник, средняя школа.

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