

Preface¹

Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History

On a miserable mid-afternoon in February 2005,ⁱ in Wrocław, the historical capital of the Silesian region located in modern-day south-western Poland, outside the Gothic and now Catholic church of Saint Elisabeth, I photographed a bronze cross monument. At its foot were tablets in Polish and German describing and honouring the life of the German Lutheran pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

POLISH:

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER
URODZIŁ SIĘ 4 LUTEGO 1906
WE WROCŁAWIU-
EWANGELICKI KSIĄDZ
TEOLOG UCZESTNIK
NIEMIECKIEGO RUCHU OPORU
PRZECIW NARODOWEMU
SOCJALIZMOWI ORĘDOWNIK
EKUMENIZMU I MĘCZENNIK
ZA WIARĘ CHRZEŚCIJAŃSKA
ZAMORDOWANY W OBOZIE
KONCENTRACYJNYM
WE FLOSSENBÜRGU
9 KWIETNIA 1945 ROKU

KOMITET ORGANIZACYJNY
„Dla Dietricha Bonhoeffera”

GERMAN:

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER
WURDE AM 4 FEBRUAR 1906
IN Breslau GEBOREN.
EVANGELISHER PASTOR
UND THEOLOGE MITGLEID
DES DEUTSCHEN
WIDERSTANDS GEGEN
DEN NATIONALSOZIALISMUS,
VORKAMPFER DER ÖKUMENE
UND MÄRTYRER
FÜR DEN CHRISTLICHEN
GLAUBEN. ERMORDET
IM KONZENTRATIONSLAGER
FLOSSENBÜRGU AM 9. APRIL 1945

ORGANISATIONSKOMITEE
„Für Dietrich Bonhoeffer“

Which translates to:

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER
BORN ON 4th FEBRUARY 1906
IN Breslau/WROCŁAW.
EVANGELICAL PRIEST
THEOLOGIAN AND MEMBER OF THE

ⁱ Saturday February 12, 2005 to be exact.

GERMAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT
AGAINST NATIONAL SOCIALISM. (NAZISM)
SPOKESMAN FOR
ECUMENISM AND MARTYR FOR
THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.
MURDERED IN THE
CONCENTRATION CAMP
OF FLOSSENBÜRG
ON 9th APRIL 1945.

ORGANISING COMMITTEE
“For Dietrich Bonhoeffer”

When Dietrich was born, a year shy of one century before my visit, modern-day Polish Wrocław was German Breslau. Poland had officially ceased to exist since its third partitioning of 1795, between the empires of Germanic Prussia, Austria, and Tsarist Russia.² With the collapse of these three empires in the wake of the Great War in November 1918, and the subsequent power vacuum, a fully independent Poland was reborn as the Second Republic,³ only to be extinguished in late September 1939 in the wake of Hitler and Stalin’s dual invasion, precipitating the second world conflict.⁴

The newly independent Poland came very close to being wiped from existence after less than two years, when, in August 1920, during the Polish-Soviet War of 1919-20, the Poles, thanks to the risky but brilliant counter attack conceived by Poland’s father of modern-day independence, Józef Piłsudski, repelled Lenin’s Bolsheviks in the Battle of Warsaw; this became known as the *Cud na Wisła* (Miracle on the Vistula). It not only saved Poland from the terror of Bolshevik occupation, but also saved a chronically chaotic and weak Germany.⁵ Curiously, this fascinating Polish epoch was to play a most significant part in the post-WWII upheaval of Breslau, and in Old Prussia in general. Both lay in what would become known in Stalinist parlance as the “Recovered Territories.”⁶

The body of this book primarily focuses on the Pastor of the anti-Nazi German Resistance, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and the matriarch, Ruth von Kleist-Retzow, a native Silesian of the Old Prussian Junkers (pronounced YUN-kers).⁷ She shared the same birthday as Dietrich,⁸ and came to regard him like a son; she will become part of the story from Chapter 6 onwards. Indeed, Jane Pejsa titled her book about this remarkable lady most aptly as *Matriarch of Conspiracy*, as much of the German Resistance, was in some way, linked to her. As a fellow native Silesian of Ruth, Dietrich was only six years old when the family left Breslau in 1912, yet he retained very fond memories of his birthplace.⁹ Nevertheless, given the history of Wrocław/Breslau over the centuries, and the centuries of bad blood between these great nations of Poland and Germany, the existence of a monument to a German in this modern-day Polish city is remarkable.

The name of this city on the Odra (German: Oder) has many variants amongst the languages of Europe, such as Vratislav in Czech, Vratislav or Vroclav in Slovak, вроцлав (Vroclav) in Serbian, Вроцлав (Vrotslav) in Ukrainian and Russian, and Vratislavia in Latin.¹⁰ But in German it was called Breslau up until the end of World War II in Europe, when *Festung* Breslau (Fortress Breslau) fell to the Soviet Army on May 6 1945, just a couple of days before the end of the war in Europe, and four days following the surrender of Berlin.¹¹ Its origins at the intersection of two great trade routes, the Via Regia and the Amber Road, are strongly debated by historians;¹² however, the majority argue that the dukes of the Czech Přemyslid dynasty, especially Boleslav I the Cruel of Bohemia (915—967) and Boleslav II the Pious of Bohemia (967—999), were the first sovereigns of the Odra (German: Oder) region.¹³

In 966, Mieszko I, the first historic ruler of the Polish Piast dynasty, was baptised at age thirty-six,¹⁴ in the name of the Roman church, and would pass away in 992, to be succeeded by his twenty-five-year-old son Bolesław I the Brave.ⁱⁱ It’s not certain which of these two early Piast monarchs annexed these territories of the Odra late that century, but Bolesław I incorporated them into his realm in 1000 with the establishment of the Bishopric in Wrocław as one of the dioceses of the Archdiocese in Gniezno, the original Polish capital, upon Ostrów Tumski (Island of the Cathedral).¹⁵

The province was again annexed in 1050 by the Piast (Polish) monarch Casimir I the Restorer (1034—1058),¹⁶ and remained under formal control of the Piasts until 1335. Almost a century before that year, the

ii As opposed to Boleslav I the Cruel of Bohemia (915—967). Hence, by 992, Boleslav I the Cruel of Bohemia had been dead for 25 years — the age by then of the Polish Piast monarch Bolesław I the Brave.

ethnic balance of Wrocław was transformed when the city was devastated in 1241 during the Mongol invasion of Europe, although not directly by the Mongols. In a bizarre, draconian and extreme but successful measure to persuade the Mongols to withdraw, the townspeople burnt their city to the ground.¹⁷

When the city was repopulated, it was mostly with Germans, who ultimately became the dominant ethnic group. For the first time, the Germanised name of the city, Breslau, appeared in written records, with the city council using Latin and German languages in the town, and adopting German town law in the following year of 1242 in the expanding city. However, in spite of the city's German ethnic dominance, formal Polish sovereignty did not cease until 1335, when, under the mediation of the Hungarian king Charles Robert (Charles I) at a meeting in Visegrád, on the northern frontier of modern Hungary, Casimir the Great (Kazimierz Wielki) purchased the Czech rights to the Polish crown from John of Bohemia for a huge sum, which amounted to twice the annual income of the famous Wieliczka¹⁸ salt mines just east of Kraków. However, on top of the monetary price for the Polish crown, Casimir the Great had to relinquish Polish control of almost all of Silesia, which naturally included its regional capital of Wrocław.¹⁹

This arrangement was formalised in the treaties of Trenčín, in modern-day western Slovakia, and of Visegrád in Hungary; both were ratified in 1339,²⁰ but not finalised until 1372.²¹ While the city lost its political ties to the Polish state, it remained connected to Poland by religious links and the existence of an ethnic Polish population within it.²² Nevertheless, it was well over half a millennia before formal Polish sovereignty would be restored to the city and region, when the Third Reich collapsed at the end of World War II in Europe — albeit under the puppet rule of the Soviet-sponsored Communist regime of the People's Republic of Poland. Regardless of sovereignty, throughout the fourteenth century, fires were commonplace, and floods were a perennial menace. On at least four occasions, in 1344, 1349, 1360, and 1379, fires devastated large sections of the city centre, while in 1464, the city suffered major flooding.²³ Furthermore, leprosy and the plague were a constant menace.²⁴

Eleven years before the flood in 1464, the Jewish community of Breslau suffered a massacre of unspeakable horror at the hands of the 67-year-old Franciscan and former governor of Perugia, Brother John Capistrano (1386—1456), who had been sent to Bohemia as “Inquisitor General” to stamp out heresy.²⁵ Between February 14 and April 27 1453, Capistrano preached three times daily in Breslau (Bohemian Vřetslav), probably speaking in Latin with the help of a German interpreter.²⁶ In May 1453, with the siege and the ultimate fall of Orthodox Christian Constantinople (now modern-day Turkish Istanbul, but then capital of the crumbling relic of the Eastern Roman Empire) to the Ottoman Turks,²⁷ Brother John unleashed his fanatical zeal upon the Jews of Breslau. With the absence of both the heretical Muslim Ottoman Turks and the Hussites — the movement of Bohemian Jan Huss that preceded Europe's Reformation²⁸ — the Jews became his third target.²⁹

That terrible month, Jews were rounded up and their property seized on various trumped-up charges, which included the poisoning of the water supply and the “desecration of the host.”³⁰ Torture was used to extract the desired confessions, with Brother John taking an active interest. This was merely the entrée for the unspeakable horrors to come, when the first fourteen victims sentenced were tied to wooden boards on the Market Square, and their flesh removed with red-hot tongs and thrown into pans over hot coals. Finally, they were quartered alive. For the remainder of the condemned, their choice was to convert or be burned; some, such as the Rabbi, committed suicide. Six weeks later, on July 4 in the Salt Market, another 41 Jews were burned.³¹

Two years later in 1455, the Jewish community of Breslau officially ceased to exist. It was a legal prohibition destined to remain in force for three centuries.³² While not amounting to an absolute ban, it was only various categories of privileged Jews who were allowed to take up residence.³³ For instance, Isaak Meyer, a Jew from Prague, was the Breslauer Münzer or leaseholder/coiner of the mint. Others, such as rich merchants, were only permitted to visit for limited periods on certain business.³⁴ The punishments for failing to leave on time could be severe.³⁵

During Breslau's three annual fairs, Jews were free to enter the city and ply their trade, but they were under strict supervision, and in 1577 were compelled to wear yellow discs for identification.³⁶ This precursor to the Star of David armbands almost four centuries later³⁷ was indicative of centuries of fermented European anti-Semitic sentiment, as exemplified by the horrors of May and July 1453. Such toxic sentiment was exploited by Hitler from around 1919 onwards, in the wake of the Great War and Germany's signing of the humiliating Treaty of Versailles, to ferment his absolutist agenda.³⁸ As Robert Gellately comments:³⁹

Growing up in Austria, Hitler likely did not differ from many of his generation in tending toward anti-Jewish attitudes, though it was not until after the Great War that he became the type of rabid anti-Semite we associate with the Nazi movement.³⁹

According to Michael Berenbaum, in 1919 Adolf Hitler wrote: “Rational anti-Semitism, however, must lead to systematic legal opposition....Its final objective must unswervingly be the removal of the Jews altogether.”⁴⁰ By 1925, this would evolve into *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), further developing the idea of the Jews as an evil race struggling for world domination.⁴¹

Back in 1526, with the Reformation in full swing, and in spite of Johann Heß, a fervent follower of Martin Luther, publicly professing the Lutheran faith for Breslau in 1524,⁴² Silesia came under the rule of the Catholic House of Habsburg (also known as the house of Austria).⁴³ Given that relations between Breslau’s Protestant majority and the Catholic Habsburgs always ranged from lukewarm to openly hostile, it is little wonder that for the vast majority of the city’s Protestant inhabitants, its annexation by the Protestant Germanic Kingdom of Prussia, along with most of Silesia during the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s, was viewed as a liberation.⁴⁴

In January 1762, contemplating suicide in his firewood-bereft, freezing Breslau Spaetgen Palace, Frederick the Great received news of the remarkable political providence of what would be dubbed the “Miracle of Brandenburg,” saving Prussia from virtual political and military annihilation.⁴⁵ This was the death of the Messalina⁴⁶ of the North — the hostile Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna,⁴⁷ daughter of Peter the Great — and the succession of her nephew Peter, who was a great admirer of Frederick. Then in the following year of 1763, the Habsburg empress Maria Theresa formally ceded Silesia.⁴⁸ The history of Wrocław/Breslau thus far had been one of Bohemian, Polish, Austrian and Prussian sovereignty, with periods of Saxon and Swedish occupation thrown in during the devastating Thirty Years’ War from 1618 to 1648.⁴⁹

While the Thirty Years’ War took its inevitable toll on the city, by the 1670s, when many of its Silesian neighbours were still depressed, Breslau’s population had recovered to its pre-war levels and was at the forefront in reviving the local trade in wool and linen.⁵⁰ The Silesian poet Friedrich von Logau, whose family estate at Nimptsch (Niemcza) had been destroyed by enemy troops, summed up the utter futility of this conflict that was only nominally related to the schism between Protestant and Catholic: “

*Die Welt hat Krieg geführt weit über zwanzig Jahr,
Nunmehr soll Friede sein, soll werden, wie es war.
Sie hat gekriegt um dass, o lachenswerte Tat!
Was sie, eh sie gekriegt, zuvor besessen hat.*

The world has warred for twenty years and more,
Peace will now prevail, all will be as was before,
The joke is this: all that it’s been fighting for,
It already owned before it went to war.”⁵¹

On February 4 1906, the 39th birthday of Ruth von Kleist-Retzow, Dietrich and his twin sister Sabine, the sixth and seventh children in their family, were born in a prosperous and thriving Breslau. This state of prosperity was shared by all cities in Germany at the time, including of course Berlin,⁵² where the family moved in 1912. Two years later, however, a prosperous Germany entered into a devastating war triggered by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by Bosnian-Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.⁵³ Initially, it seemed nothing more than a minor localised spat when Austria-Hungary delivered an ultimatum to the Kingdom of Serbia.⁵⁴ However, the complex web of alliances forged over the previous decades, supposedly to avert major war, precipitated what they were intended to avoid. All warring parties were optimistic about their boys being home for Christmas. Yet this war lasted from late July 1914 to November 11, 1918, and became the most devastating war of all time. The unresolved issues in its aftermath led to another world conflict, two decades later, lasting almost six years, and dwarfing the first in unbridled devastation, cruelty, misery and upheaval.

In the wake of the first world conflict, Germany was descending into chaos amidst the humiliation of defeat. This humiliation was even more acute for Germans in the east of the Reich, such as Breslau;⁵⁵ here, by the winter of 1914—15, with German defences in the east dangerously undermanned, the Russian Imperial army was camped barely eighty kilometres to the east of the city.⁵⁶ It was pushed back 1,600 kilometres east⁵⁷ by the time Russia pulled out of the war in December 1917 following the Bolshevik October Revolution, and was compelled to sign the humiliating peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk four months later in March.⁵⁸ This virtual total victory over the Russian bear, after it came so close to Breslau in the early stages of the war, made the humiliating armistice of November 1918 an especially bitter pill for Breslauers to

swallow. This, followed by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in late June 1919, is a theme frequently revisited in this book; Hitler repeatedly exploited it in his rise to power, in concert with the perception of the *Dolchstoßlegende*,⁵⁹ the “stab in the back myth” to the German military, alleged to have been committed by Germany’s political left-wing, perceived as synonymous to the Jews.⁶⁰

The Kaiser fled into Dutch exile in early November 1918,⁶¹ to the disgust and sense of betrayal of Ruth and her fellow Junkers in the east of the Reich.⁶² The political chaos in post-war Germany centred around the conflict between extreme left- and right-wing factions, with moderate centrist politicians desperately trying to preserve the fledgling democratic republic. Berlin was in the midst of revolution and the Democratic Republic was declared in the relative tranquillity of the Saxon city of Weimar.⁶³ Thus, the much-maligned Weimar Republic was born, but despite its impressive democratic credentials, it was constantly under threat in the maelstrom of post-war German political turmoil and chaos.

On the radical right wing of the Freikorps (Volunteer or Free Corps), the myth of the *Dolchstoßlegende* was born. Conversely, on the extreme left wing, radical Socialists of the Spartacist League eagerly anticipated a quintessential Soviet-style overthrow of the fledgling bourgeois Weimar Republic and the defeat of all far-right elements. In the centre, politicians such as Matthias Erzberger, a warmonger turned pacifist, strove to keep the opposing extremists apart. However, his signing of the armistice placed him in the crosshairs of the *Dolchstoßlegende*, and he was assassinated in 1921.⁶⁴ It was not the first, nor the last political assassination in Germany’s post-WWI chaos, that plagued Weimar in the first five or so years of its existence.

Clearly, Weimar had few champions of its own, and survived its infancy only because militants on either side didn’t want power falling into their opponents’ hands.⁶⁵ The political party that Dietrich’s father Karl supported was the moderate, left-leaning Social Democrats, who had come to power following the November 1918 revolution in the death throes of the Great War.⁶⁶ Neither the violent, extreme left-wing Spartacists, nor the radical right wing, would gain the support of Karl or any of his family. The following letter, written by Dietrich to his Oma (Grandmother) in Tübingen before his thirteenth birthday in January 1919,⁶⁷ makes this clear. It describes the fighting between government troops and Spartacists, after the latter had made two night-time attacks on the Halensee station: “

Early today we heard gunfire. There are some bangs going on now. Karl-Friedrich [the eldest of the Bonhoeffer siblings — he was wounded but survived both wars] has at last been discharged from the Charité [the hospital where father Karl worked]. He would like to be part of this somehow, but Mama and Papa do not yet agree. At present, thank heaven, the government troops are getting the better of it. Our holidays have been extended to 17 January. Either because of the unrest or because of the coal shortage.”⁶⁸

As Robert Gellately commented: “

Worries about a ‘Red scare’ did not go away in Germany, and even if popular support for far-left radicals was minimal, that did not mean there was no basis for concern. After all, the Bolsheviks had little backing in Russia and never intended to wait for a majority to claim all power.

Lenin wanted the world. His idea of a vanguard party, which was to ‘enlighten’ and direct the workers, was not meant to be restricted to the Soviet Union. In March 1919 he created the Communist International (Comintern). He said that the Russian Revolution could not stand on its own and pleaded for the world proletariat to support it. This was the rationale for spreading Russian-style Communism, including by force of arms. At the second annual meeting of the Comintern in July—August 1920, he stipulated that Communist parties everywhere had to agree to twenty-one conditions, accepting ‘iron proletarian centralism,’ that is, subordinating themselves completely to Moscow.”⁶⁹

Weimar was, for almost all Germans, synonymous with betrayal and humiliation, and never had any real friends. This was so even during the so-called golden years from around 1924, in the wake of the republic’s recovery from hyper-inflation of the early 1920s, to October 1929, just preceding the Wall Street crash.⁷⁰ The latter ushered in the Great Depression with its political and economic turmoil, which was what the extremist parties had been waiting for during Weimar’s golden years. Now their moment to seize power and eliminate opponents, both extreme and moderate, had presented itself.

Amidst the immediate post-Great War chaos, tensions in Breslau were now especially acute, given that it was now only forty kilometres or so from the border of a newly independent enemy of Poland. Silesia was a veritable powder keg, with three uprisings taking place in August 1919, August 1920, and March 1921.⁷¹ The first and last were pro-Polish, but the second, pro-German one occurred during the Battle of Warsaw of the 1919-20 Polish-Soviet War.⁷² Then it appeared inevitable that Lenin's Bolshevik horde would seize the capital of the fledgling Polish state, with the rest of the country soon to follow.

Western opinion across the entire political spectrum was divided on the "merits" of the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, there was a common belief that the territory of the former Russian (Tsarist) Great War ally should remain intact. So when the Poles in early May 1920 joined the independent government of Ukraine in driving the Bolsheviks from the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, with the Bolsheviks having planned an invasion of Poland,⁷³ there were angry shouts of "Hands off Russia!" from Western Europe.

The Communist propaganda skilfully exploited German sensitivities, even though the Bolsheviks were no less hostile to the "bourgeois" Weimar Republic than they had been to Imperial Germany and the newly independent Poland.⁷⁴ They espoused the notion that the Red Army was marching to Berlin in order to "liberate" it and overthrow the yoke of oppression of the Versailles Treaty. Thus many Germans cheered them, and ethnic German dock workers in Danzig⁷⁵ (Gdańsk) refused to unload shipments of weapons bound for Poland. Such was the enthusiasm for anti-Polish feeling that German newspapers, including some in Silesia, announced in August 1920 that Warsaw had fallen, even though it had not.⁷⁶

In Breslau, motivated by German anger over the Allied terms of the carve-up of Upper Silesia with Poland,ⁱⁱⁱ there was widespread rioting, directed mainly against the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission, and specifically the French. The Polish Consulate was damaged, the French Consulate looted, eight of the Commission's ten cars were destroyed, and the French Consul was forced to flee.⁷⁷ The "Breslau Incident" soon escalated into a full-scale diplomatic incident, with terse cables being transmitted between Berlin, Paris and Warsaw. Already, the notion of the "war to end all wars" was proving to be an illusion in the post-war power vacuum.

The third, pro-Polish Silesian rising proved by far the most serious. In the Upper Silesian plebiscite of March 1921, 59.4% of the vote was for Germany and 40.5% for Poland.⁷⁸ However, outraged voices protested that the voting had been distorted by a mass influx of Germans from outside Silesia. The Polish Silesian leader, Wojciech Korfanty, raised a force of 40,000 Polish volunteers to contest the result. The Freikorps, the sole German military force available after the withdrawal of Reichswehr units from the plebiscite zone, faced the Poles. Two months of skirmishing followed, including the inconclusive pitched battle of Annaberg (Góry Święty Anny), until the Freikorps were dissolved by the Weimar Chancellor, Ebert, in June.⁷⁹ In October 1921, a new carve-up of Upper Silesia was decreed by the Allied Powers,^{iv} with 61% of the province to remain in Germany, while four-fifths of the industrial installations, most of the coal fields and the cities of Königshütte (Królewska Huta) and Kattowitz (Katowice) were to be ceded to Poland.⁸⁰

These borders would remain until September 1, 1939, when Hitler's army invaded Poland. However, before the Third Reich invaded Poland and precipitated the second world conflict, there were two chilling events that were co-ordinated nationally, following Hitler's rise to power on January 30 1933.⁸¹ These events chillingly illustrated the regime's readiness to go outside the law and norms of civilised society and to use murder and intimidation as political tools. The first event became known as the *Nacht der Langen Messer* "Night of the Long Knives" or "*Röhm Putsch*" in 1934. Silesia witnessed the nationwide slaughter of Ernst Röhm's SA (Sturmabteilung, meaning Storm Troopers) at first hand,⁸² during Dietrich's eighteen month London pastorate, from October 1933 until April 1935.

This purge occurred in the summer of 1934, but already in April 1933, less than three months after Hitler ascended to power, ideological cracks were surfacing within the Brown Shirts. For example, SPD (Socialist Party) sources reported a gun battle on the streets of Breslau between rival units of the SA.⁸³

From February 4 to 11, 1945, in the Black Sea resort city of Yalta (modern-day Russia since 2014), on the Crimean Peninsula, the three chief Allied leaders, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, met to discuss the final defeat of Nazi Germany, and the post-war order for Europe.⁸⁴ It was at this conference, in Poland's absence,

iii Upper Silesia is upstream on the Odor (Polish: Odra) River from Lower Silesia. Breslau/Wrocław is in Lower Sielsia. See footnote ^{Error: Reference source not found} for Polish WWII Supplement II "The Gleiwitz (Gliwice) Incident" for further clarification.

iv Upper Silesia is upstream on the Odor (Polish: Odra) River from Lower Silesia. Breslau/Wrocław is in Lower Sielsia. See footnote ^{Error: Reference source not found} for Polish WWII Supplement II "The Gleiwitz (Gliwice) Incident" for further clarification.

that the uprooting of Poles from Lwów was agreed upon.⁸⁵ However, at Potsdam in July, just five months later in the immediate aftermath of the war in Europe, “The Big Three” of the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union, saw the need for Poland to be “compensated” in some way.⁸⁶ Thus was born the dubious concept of the so-called “Recovered Territories,” with a defeated Germany the obvious sacrificial lamb for Polish western territorial “compensation.” German guilt associated with Nazi war-time atrocities would furnish the “legitimacy” or justify the means. For Poland, however, even with the “compensation” of territory from pre-war Germany’s east, there was an overall loss of 80,000 square kilometres in its westward post-war translation.⁸⁷ In the territorial upheaval, four centuries of national history were erased in Germanic Breslau and Polish Lwów, with the attendant human suffering.

Before the outbreak of war, Poland had made no serious claim in regard to Breslau. Yet now it was to be the jewel for communist Poland in the so called “Recovered Territories” to the west of pre-war Poland. Put another way, Wrocław, in May 1945 was a Soviet aspiration, not a truly Polish one.⁸⁸ This is a relevant point in a balanced appraisal of the claims of some ill-informed commentators who maintained that the Poles seized Breslau, and were responsible for many of the serious offences and injustices that followed on the German population.⁸⁹ Bolesław Drobner and most of his associates were certainly Polish, and always thought of themselves as such. Drobner had once fought with Piłsudski’s Legions in Poland’s pre-independence era, and had served the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) for decades, and worked for years in the local government of his native Kraków. However, in post-war Poland, all political entities such as those Drobner ran were devoid of popular support.⁹⁰

Drobner had been a prisoner in the Soviet Gulag two years earlier. So too was his close colleague, Alexander Zawadzki, who had been put in charge of Upper Silesia (more or less Polish Silesia pre-war)^v and who, in 1952, would become President of the Polish “People’s” Republic. In order to avoid a repeat of this terrible fate, they and others like them resorted to unscrupulous opportunists or the dregs of society to do the bidding of their Stalinist overlords.⁹¹ Drobner had even proposed the purest implementation of the Socialist system by suggesting a moneyless economy, along with dividing the city into German and Polish sections. It was colloquially dubbed “The Drobner Republic,”⁹² but with the ultimate Soviet objective of evicting the entire German population from Wrocław and Silesia in general, the Soviets would not have found this proposal appealing. Moreover, even in the Soviet Union at the height of Stalinist rule, and at the zenith of its 1917 to early 1920s revolutionary fervour, money was still essential in its planned economy. Hence, Drobner’s days in Silesia were numbered.⁹³ While superficially, the moneyless system seems utopian, in practice, one only has to look at the heinous Khmer Rouge regime imposed on Cambodia in the mid to late 1970s.⁹⁴

In the very early post-war years, the formation of a fully-fledged Polish communist regime was nigh on impossible; Stalin likened the task to “putting a saddle on a cow.”⁹⁵ For one thing, Communism had always been repugnant to the overwhelming majority of deeply Catholic Poles, with the still recent memory of Bolshevik-perpetrated massacres in the 1919-20 Polish-Soviet war,⁹⁶ including Polish prisoners being used by the Bolsheviks for “sabre practice.”⁹⁷ Moreover, this feeling was greatly magnified after the Soviet atrocities of 1939—41, such as the April 1940 Katyń Wood massacre⁹⁸ among numerous others, before the Barbarossa campaign. Coupled with this was the murder of Polish communists in the Soviet Union during Stalin’s Great Purge of 1937-39.⁹⁹ This meant that by the end of World War II, there were not enough trained Polish Communists around to run a factory, let alone a country of thirty million people.¹⁰⁰ Hence, Stalin had to make do with an almost interminable series of fake front organisations, which professed to be “Polish” and representative of the aspirations of the Polish people, but were anything but.

Arguments in favour of the Stalinist-perpetrated mass evictions of eastern Germans and eastern Poles have been put forward. From the exclusively Polish perspective, it has been argued that Poland acquired much more advanced German infrastructure for the loss of much poorer and backward regions in the east.¹⁰¹ This notion, however, is questionable, given the mass devastation in the wake of the Soviet advance. The other argument put forward is the elimination of centuries of ethnic tensions between Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Belorussians that existed in Poland’s pre-war eastern Borderlands. Certainly, post-war Poland is much less ethnically and culturally diverse,¹⁰² and thus, free of the old eastern ethnic violence.¹⁰³

Moreover, it has been stated that the borders of post-war Poland closely resemble those of 966 AD,¹⁰⁴ at the founding of the Polish Christian nation. After centuries of Polish borders moving east, they had reverted back to their frontiers almost a millennia earlier. However, was this worth the human suffering and upheaval for both eastern Poles and Germans in the aftermath of the world’s most devastating conflict? And

^v Upper Silesia is upstream on the Odor (Polish: Odra) River from Lower Silesia. Breslau/Wrocław is in Lower Sielsia. See footnote Error: Reference source not found for Polish WWII Supplement II “The Gleiwitz (Gliwice) Incident” for further clarification.

do these arguments justify or legitimise the German loss of 100,000 square kilometres of eastern territory? Both questions will be examined from both the German and Polish perspectives.

In post-war Wrocław, the displaced Borderland Poles from the east, with their still fresh and terrible memories of the war and the even more recent ordeal of their Stalinist perpetrated displacement, were unwilling to acknowledge the history of German Breslau; they wanted to declare that every brick in their newly Polish Wrocław only lived and spoke Polish.¹⁰⁵ To the north, in Oma (Grandmother) Ruth's Pomeranian village of Kieckow, now Polish Kikowo, while the church remained to be used for Catholic services, all German headstones in the cemetery were removed.¹⁰⁶ For the displaced Borderland Poles, historical nuances were irrelevant as they tried to preserve a true Polish consciousness¹⁰⁷ amidst the squalor¹⁰⁸ of Soviet oppression.¹⁰⁹ By the 1960s, however, long after the deaths of the mass murderers, Stalin and his faithful Polish stooge Bolesław Bierut,¹¹⁰ the economy of Wrocław was modernised and diversified; by early the following decade, Wrocław was producing 2.8% of Poland's GDP. This was a slice twice as large as its population justified. At the same time, its population was still growing; from 400,000 in 1958, it passed 600,000 in the late seventies.¹¹¹

With the subsequent collapse of the Communist regime in August 1989,¹¹² a Polish acknowledgement of Germanic Breslau has finally surfaced. A symbol of this is the building of the bronze cross monument to Dietrich Bonhoeffer,¹¹³ acknowledging the gentle but yet resilient Lutheran pastor and son of Breslau, who died, like so many Poles, in resisting the terrible evil that was the Third Reich. Upon this lesser known fault-line in history, it is to him and his fellow countrymen and women, including the extraordinary matriarch and fellow native Silesian, Ruth von Kleist-Retzow and her kin, who dared to uphold everything that was decent in an a world of indecency and injustice,¹¹⁴ that this story is dedicated.

SOURCES AND ENDNOTES

Preface - Birth and Memory upon the Lesser Known Fault Line of History

² Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Concerning the three stages of Poland's partitioning in 1772, 1793 and 1795, see the book, *God's Playground A History of Poland: Volume 1: The Origins to 1795*, by Norman Davies, published by Oxford University Press Oxford, 2005, ISBN 0199253390, 9780199253395, in particular, page 386. As well, page 245 onwards of the book *The Polish Way* by Adam Zamoyski (a friend of Norman Davies), published by John Murray Publishers Limited, 1989, ISBN 10: 0719546745 ISBN 13: 9780719546747.

³ Page 324 of *The Polish Way* by Adam Zamoyski.

⁴ Concerning Hitler's invasion of Poland on September 1 1939, followed by Stalin's invasion sixteen days later on the 17th, see Polish WWII Supplement I "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact"^{Error: Reference source not found} and pages 361 and 385 of the book *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler* by Robert Gellately, published by Vintage 2008, ISBN 9780712603577. See also, the Washington Post online article by Eugene Volokh, dated September 2, 2016 at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2016/09/02/saying-that-the-ussr-and-nazi-germany-jointly-invaded-poland-is-a-crime-in-russia/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.2a88ae8b2663. See also the English language online article at <http://khpg.org/en/index.php?id=1472775460> on the website of *Human Rights in Ukraine — Website of the Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group* also dated September 2, 2016, which documents the danger of stating the fact of the Soviet September 1939 invasion of Poland in Putin's Russia. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

⁵ For information on the 1920 "Miracle on the Vistula" — "*Cud na Wisła*" see page 225 of *White Eagle Red Star*, by Professor Norman Davies, published in 2003 by Pimlico, Random House UK Limited, ISBN 9780712606943 and the book *Warsaw 1920, Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe*, by Adam Zamoyski, paperback published by William Collins 2014, ISBN 9780007225538.

⁶ Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Page 8 of the book *Recovered Territory: A German-Polish Conflict over Land and Culture, 1919-1989* by Peter Polak-Springer, published by Berghahn Books, 2015, ISBN 1782388885, 9781782388883. See also the map on page xix.

⁷ Position 636.2 of the ebook *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy A righteous Gentile vs, the Third Reich*, by Eric Metaxas, published by Thomas Nelson Nashville Tennessee, 2010, ISBN 9781595551382, 9781595553188(IE), 9781595552464(TP).

⁸ Pages 14 to 15 of the book *Matriarch of Conspiracy : Ruth von Kleist 1867-1945* by Jane Pejsa, originally published by Kenwood Publishing, Minneapolis, Minnesota 1991 and in 1992 by The Pilgrim Press, Cleveland Ohio 44115, ISBN 0829809317 document Ruth's ancestral home in Silesia, while page 213 writes of Ruth sharing the same birthday as Dietrich. Moreover, page 213 also states that this date of February 4 was the date of her wedding anniversary in 1886.

⁹ Position 46.5 of the ebook *Dietrich Bonhoeffer 1906-1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance* by Ferdinand Schlingensiefen, translated by Isabel Best, first published in 2010 by Continuum, but since 2011, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, ePub-ISBN 9780567217554, ePDF-ISBN 9780567357755.

¹⁰ The numerous variants of the name for Wrocław over the ages is given on page 2 of the paper *Wrocław — Cultural Semantics of the Contemporary Urban Embedding* by Marcin R. Odelski, MA High School NR 2, Wrocław, Poland. It can be downloaded from <http://journals.univ-danubius.ro/index.php/communication/article/view/144/137/144-555-1-PB.pdf> from the journals repository of the Danubius University of Galati in Romania. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. Moreover, the cover of the ebook *Microcosm: A Portrait of a Central European City*, by Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, published by Jonathan Cape 2002, Epub ISBN 9781448114085, gives nine variants of the city's name over the ages.

¹¹ The fall of Festung Breslau (Fortress Breslau) on the May 6 1945, is documented on page 265 of the book *Red Storm on the Reich: The Soviet March on Germany, 1945* by Christopher Duffy, published by Atheneum, 1991, ISBN 0689120923, 9780689120923. As does position 1112.0 of *Microcosm*. Position 1118.0 states that peace was declared in Europe on May 8 1945. In regards to the fall of Berlin, see page 13 of the book *Berlin 1945: End of the Thousand Year Reich*, by Peter Antill, published by Osprey Publishing, 2005, ISBN 1841769150, 9781841769158 which gives a timeline stating the surrender of Berlin taking place on May 2 1945. That being, four days before the surrender of Breslau.

¹² Pages 13 to 14 of the book *Cuius regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000-2000) Volume 1* edited by Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik. This **Volume 1** is entitled *The Long Formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000—1526)* edited by Przemysław Wiszewski, translated by Katarzyna Hussar. published by eBooki.com.pl, ISBN 9788392713210 (print) ISBN 9788392713227 (online). It can be viewed online at http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/49790/Cuius_regio_vol_1.pdf or downloaded from the University of Wrocław at <http://www.slasknasz.uni.wroc.pl/Cuius-Regio-Ideological-and-Territorial-Cohesion-Historical-Region-Silesia-c-1000-2000-vol-1-Long>. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

¹³ Ibid. The Odra (German Oder) River, is the dominant river of this region.

¹⁴ The online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Mieszko I at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mieszko-I> states that Mieszko I was born in 930, and died on May 25, 992. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

15 “*Ostrów Tumski*” from Old Polish translating to “Cathedral Island” in modern English, literally translates to modern English as “Island Cathedral.” The modern Polish translation is “*Wyspa Katedralna*,” with a clear similarity to modern English. See <http://www.britannica.com/place/Wroclaw> and <http://library.eb.com.au/levels/adults/article/77571>. They also mention the founding of the city in the 10th century, along with the fortifications on Ostrów Tumski (“Cathedral Island”) built by Bolesław I (the Brave) when he founded the Bishopric in 1000. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

16 Page 14 of the book *Cuius regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000-2000)* **Volume 1** edited by Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościław Żerelik. This **Volume 1** is entitled *The Long Formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000—1526)* edited by Przemysław Wiszewski, translated by Katarzyna Hussar. published by eBooki.com.pl, ISBN 9788392713210 (print) ISBN 9788392713227 (online).

17 Position 82.6 of the ebook *Genghis Khan & the Mongol Conquests 1190-1400* by Stephen Turnbull, published by Osprey Publishing Limited 2003. ISBN 9781472810212.

18 I visited these fascinating 90 metre subterranean mines in June 2008, which since their cessation of mining operations in 1996, now attract over one million tourists annually. Dating back over 7 centuries, the present day tourist section only covers 1% of the original mining operations and its magnificent underground salt (literally) cathedral, ninety (90) metres below the surface, is a sight to behold. A timeline of the Wieliczka Salt Mine can be found its official website at <http://www.wieliczka-saltmine.com/about-the-mine/the-mine-of-the-past-and-of-today>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

19 Pages 173-174 of the book *Historia małych krajów Europy (The history of the small countries of Europe)*, by Józef Łaptos, published by Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2007, ISBN-10: 8304049376, ISBN-13: 9788304049376.

20 Position 307.2 of the ebook *Microcosm: A Portrait of a Central European City*, by Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, published by Jonathan Cape 2002, Epub ISBN 9781448114085.

21 Position 307.9 of *Microcosm*.

22 Position 309.0 of *Microcosm*.

23 Position 399.3 of *Microcosm*.

24 Positions 400.3 and 400.8 respectively of *Microcosm*.

25 Error: Reference source not found See position 369.3 to 369.9 of *Microcosm* for details of these unspeakable atrocities in Breslau in May and July 1453. See also position 513.7 in regard to their restricted access and existence in the city.

26 Position 368.5 of *Microcosm*.

27 Page 410 onwards of Chapter 24 “The Fall” in *BYZANTIUM THE DECLINE AND FALL* by John Julius Norwich, published by Penguin Books London 1996, ISBN 0140114491, 9780140114492.

28 See article on the Hussites at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hussite>.

29 Position 369.4 of *Microcosm*.

30 Position 369.5 of *Microcosm*.

31 Error: Reference source not found Position 369.6 to 369.9 of *Microcosm*.

32 Position 513.7 of *Microcosm*.

33 Position 513.8 of *Microcosm*.

34 Position 514.2 of *Microcosm*.

35 Position 515.0 of *Microcosm*.

36 Position 514.8 of *Microcosm*.

37 Position 714.1 of the ebook *Dietrich Bonhoeffer 1906-1945: Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance* by Ferdinand Schlingensiefen, translated by Isabel Best, first published in 2010 by Continuum, but since 2011, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, ePub-ISBN 9780567217554, ePDF-ISBN 9780567357755 documents the decree of German Jews being compelled to wear the Star of David from September 1941, followed by deportations east the following month. See <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Star-of-David> for more information on the “Star of David.” Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

38 See also pages 11 to 12 of *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler The Age of Social Catastrophe* by Robert Gellately, published by Vintage 2008, ISBN 9780712603577.

39 Ibid page 12.

40 <https://www.britannica.com/event/Holocaust#ref716460> by Michael Berenbaum. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.

41 Ibid. See also pages 164 to 169 of Jane Pejsa and endnote Error: Reference source not found in Chapter 9 “The von Kleists and the Prophecy.”

42 Error: Reference source not found Pages 33 to 34 of the book *Symphonia Catholica: The Merger of Patristic and Contemporary Sources in the Theological Method of Amandus Polanus (1561-1610)*, *Volume 30 of Reformed Historical Theology* by Byung Soo Han, published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, ISBN 3525550855, 9783525550854.

43 <https://visitwroclaw.eu/historia-wroclawia> (in Polish) from the official municipal website of the city of Wrocław in an article by Krzysztof Popiński, Ph.D, accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020, dealing with the history of Wrocław, states the rule over the city by the Austrian Catholic House of Habsburg commencing in 1526. However, the article also mentions the continuation of Protestant dominance of the city for centuries to come even in the face of Catholic Habsburg rule. See also position 431.0 onwards of Chapter Four of *Microcosm* “Presslaw under the Habsburg Monarchy.”

- 44 Error: Reference source not found Position 480.8 of *Microcosm*.
- 45 Positions 580.5, 581.9 and 582.5 of *Microcosm*. This will not be the last time the Miracle of Brandenburg will be mentioned in this Preface.
- 46 Messalina Valeria, third wife of the Roman emperor Claudius, notorious for licentious behaviour and instigating murderous court intrigues. See <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Messalina-Valeria>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 47 Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Page 457 of *Frederick the Great: King of Prussia* by David Fraser, published by Fromm International, 2001, ISBN 0880642610, 9780880642613.
- 48 Position 580.6 of *Microcosm*.
- 49 Position 474.6 onwards of *Microcosm* implies the Swedish and Saxon occupation of Breslau during the Thirty Year's War (1618-1648).
- 50 Position 462.1 of *Microcosm*.
- 51 Position 448.1 of *Microcosm*. Note as well the authors' use of "Presslaw" for the spelling of the city's name during this period of history.
- 52 The prosperity of Germany in the years just preceding the Great War, is documented on page 325, of the book *Health and Welfare during Industrialization* by Richard H. Steckel and Roderick Floud, editors, published in January 1997 by University of Chicago Press, © 1997 by the National Bureau of Economic Research, ISBN 0226771563. This being Chapter 8, "Heights and Living Standards in Germany, 1850-1939: The Case of Wurttemberg" by Sophia Twarog. This book can be downloaded from the website of National Bureau of Economic Research at <http://papers.nber.org/books/stec97-1>, while its Chapter 8 can be downloaded from <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c7434.pdf>. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. Position 770.7 of *Microcosm* states how the economy of Silesia, with Breslau at its hub, grew exponentially in the decades following the founding of the German Empire (Second Reich) in 1871.
- 53 Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Pages 24 and 29 of the book *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992* by Dejan Djokić, published by C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2003, ISBN 1850656630, 9781850656630.
- 54 Error: Reference source not found The online article entitled the *July Crisis 1914* on the website of the International Encyclopedia of the First World War at https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/july_crisis_1914, by Annika Mombauer, documents and describes the events that led to the outbreak of war in 1914. The credentials of this website can be viewed at <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/project/overview/>. Both links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 55 Error: Reference source not found Position 886.0 of *Microcosm* in the last paragraph of Chapter 6 "Breslau in the German Empire, 1871—1918."
- 56 Position 760.2 of *Microcosm*
- 57 Position 886.0 of *Microcosm*.
- 58 Error: Reference source not found The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk at <https://library.eb.com.au/levels/adults/article/treaties-of-Brest-Litovsk/16373> describes the position of major weakness for Bolshevik Russia and its eventual compelled acceptance of the treaty's humiliating terms. The text of the peace treaty can be read online on the website of Avalon Project of the Yale Law School at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/brest.asp, while a brief summary of its dire implications for Bolshevik Russia is given at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/bl36.asp. All links accessed on Saturday February 27, 2021.
- 59 Position 887.7 of *Microcosm*.
- 60 Error: Reference source not found See pages 83, 414, 427 and 568 of *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler The Age of Social Catastrophe* by Robert Gellately, published by Vintage 2008, ISBN 9780712603577, in regard to Hitler's perception of the synonymous Jews and left-wing of politics.
- 61 Pages 118-120 of the book *The Second Reich: Kaiser Wilhelm II and his Germany Macdonald library of the 20th century*, by Harold Kurtz, published by Macdonald in the British Commonwealth, and by American Heritage Press in the USA, both in 1970, ASIN: B008T1517M, ISBN-10: 007035653X ISBN-13: 9780070356535, detail the Kaiser eventually abdicating at the German Army Headquarters in the Belgium town of Spa, in early November 1918, followed by his flight to neutral Holland by train. See also the beginning of Chapter 7 "Breslau before and during the Second World War, 1918—45" in *Microcosm* from position 887.0.
- 62 Page 144 of Jane Pejsa.
- 63 Position 887.5 of *Microcosm*.
- 64 Position 888.1 of *Microcosm*.
- 65 Position 888.2 of *Microcosm*.
- 66 Page 30 of *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography* by Eberhard Bethge, edited by Victoria J. Barnett, published by Fortress Press, 2000, ISBN 0800628446, 9780800628444.
- 67 Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Oma is the German diminutive of grandmother and it will not be the last time it is used in this book.
- 68 Error: Reference source not found Error: Reference source not found Page 30 of *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography* by Eberhard Bethge, edited by Victoria J. Barnett, published by Fortress Press, 2000, ISBN 0800628446, 9780800628444.

- 94 See the article *The Riel Value of Money: How the World's Only Attempt to Abolish Money Has Hindered Cambodia's Economic Development* by Sheridan T. Prasso on the East-West Center website at <https://www.eastwestcenter.org/system/tdf/private/api049.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=31779>, issue #49, dated January 2001. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 95 Position 1123.4 of *Microcosm*. See also page 183 of the book *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw*, by Professor Norman Davies, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404. Note the underwhelming figure for the communist *Armia Ludowa* (AL) of 800 in Warsaw in 1943, as compared to the Home Army (AK — *Armia Krajowa*) with 40,330 men!
- 96 See for example, pages 105 to 106 of *Warsaw 1920, Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe* by Adam Zamoyski, paperback published by William Collins 2014, ISBN 9780007225538, documenting the massacre perpetrated by the *konkorpus* (cavalry) of Ghaia Dmitriyevich (born as Gaik Bzhishkian, at Tabriz in Persia in 1887, the eldest son of an exiled Armenian socialist — see page 51) in the picturesque Polish Renaissance town of Płock on August 18 1920.
- 97 Error: Reference source not found See the description for photo #60 after page 220 in *White Eagle Red Star* and position 635.8 in the ebook.
- 98 In regard to Katyń, see Polish WWII Supplement III “The Katyń Wood Massacre”Error: Reference source not found and pages 44, 48, 115 to 116 of Norman Davies’ book *Rising '44: The Battle for Warsaw*, published by Penguin Books; Reprint edition (October 4, 2005), ISBN-10: 0143035401, ISBN-13: 9780143035404. On page 48, Davies states that Stalin personally signed the order for their execution. The article at <https://library.eb.com.au/levels/adults/article/Katyn-Massacre/44867>, states that in all likelihood, over 20,000 were executed. See also the Central Intelligence Agency report online by Benjamin B. Fischer at <https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/winter99-00/art6.html>. All links accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 99 Position 1123.6 of *Microcosm*.
- 100 Position 1123.7 of *Microcosm*.
- 101 Page 100 of the publication *The Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western border: As postulated and made a reality*, appearing in the periodical *Geographia Polonica Vol. 88 No. 1 (2015)*, author Piotr Eberhardt (1935-), published by IGiPZ PAN Warsaw 2015, downloaded from the Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes at http://rcin.org.pl/Content/53298/WA51_72321_r2015-t88-no1_G-Polonica-Eberhardt.pdf. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 102 See the comparative map on page 372 of the book *The Polish Way* by Adam Zamoyski, published by John Murray Publishers Limited, 1989, ISBN 10: 0719546745 ISBN 13: 9780719546747. Read also the author's comments from pages 371 to 372.
- 103 Error: Reference source not found Page 217 of *Minority Rights and Humanitarianism: The International Campaign for the Ukrainians in Poland, 1930—1931* by Stefan Dyroff in the *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift Für Moderne Europäische Geschichte / Revue D'histoire Européenne Contemporaine* 12, no. 2 (2014): pages 216-30. It can be viewed online at JSTOR at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26266131>. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. During the early 1930s, their were acts of terrorism perpetrated by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), with the subsequent retribution of Polish authorities.
- 104 See the opening page and page 81 of the publication *The Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western border: As postulated and made a reality*, appearing in the periodical *Geographia Polonica Vol. 88 No. 1 (2015)*, author Piotr Eberhardt (1935-), published by IGiPZ PAN Warsaw 2015, downloaded from the Digital Repository of Scientific Institutes at http://rcin.org.pl/Content/53298/WA51_72321_r2015-t88-no1_G-Polonica-Eberhardt.pdf. Accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020.
- 105 Position 1198.7 of *Microcosm*.
- 106 See page 387 in the Epilogue of Jane Pejsa and the end of Chapter 26 “Oma Ruth's Progeny After Death” in regard to the cemetery post-war at Kieckow (now Polish Kikowo).
- 107 Position 1172.4 of *Microcosm*.
- 108 Position 1245.6 and 1220.6 of *Microcosm*. The latter describes conditions in 1946.
- 109 Position 1243.5 onwards describes the Stalinist period from 1949-1956.
- 110 See the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Bolesław Bierut at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Boleslaw-Bierut>, accessed on Saturday July 25, 2020. It states that Bierut was “Always a loyal follower of party directives from Moscow.”
- 111 Position 1276.3 to 1277.1 of *Microcosm*.
- 112 See endnote Error: Reference source not found for Polish WWII Supplement IV “AK and 1944 Warsaw General Uprising — Stalin's mass murder by German proxy.”
- 113 See the photos and description on page 403 of the book *Uprooted: How Breslau Became Wrocław during the Century of Expulsions* by Gregor Thum, published by Princeton University Press, 2011, ISBN 1400839963, 9781400839964.
- 114 See the last page before the contents in Jane Pejsa. It reads; “*This book is dedicated to men and women in every age and place who have acted to uphold decency and honor amid indecency and dishonor, and especially to those who, in so doing, have perished.*”

Chapter 1 - Roots, Genesis and Moulding of the Pastor

