

BETWEEN ASSIMILATION AND EMIGRATION:
JEWS IN WROCLAW FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO 1968

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SETTLEMENT OF JEWS IN WROCLAW AFTER 1945

The 1945 Potsdam Agreements placed Poland's new western border on the Oder-Odra and Neiße-Nysa rivers. Its eastern border was on the Curzon Line, near Grodno-Brest Litovsk-Przemysl, as proposed in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference by the British minister George Curzon. The changes to Poland's borders were accompanied by an exchange of populations in those territories, although in the case of the 'new' Polish territories in the west, the example of Breslau/Wroclaw indicates that Poles in those territories constituted only a small minority before the outbreak of the Second World War, when less than five percent of the city's inhabitants were Poles¹.

After the Second World War, some Polish Jews settled in Wroclaw, which had previously been a German city known by its German name of Breslau. Before 1945 Wroclaw barely existed as a Polish city in Polish collective memory or consciousness. Although the city's ties to various forms of Polish statehood stretched back to the medieval Piast dynasty, this fact was not well-known among Poles at the time, and both Poles and Germans considered the city as German and used its German name². Poles and Polish Jews who settled in Wroclaw after the end of the war came from various regions in Poland, led there by the huge migration movements in east and central Europe after the war which resulted from changes in the borders of the various states in the region. A large number of those who settled in Poland's western territories came from former Polish territories which were annexed by the Soviet Union after the war. Like all the other citizens of Poland, Polish Jews were encouraged to settle

in the new Polish territories in the west because Poland had lost almost half of its pre-1939 territories in the east, leading to a situation where Poles had to settle elsewhere in post-1945 Poland. After ethnic Germans were forced to leave the formerly German territories in post-war western Poland, space was available in those newly-acquired territories for settlement by Poles who were forced to leave the former Polish territories in the east. Wrocław, the capital of Lower Silesia, was one of the main cities in those territories, which were known as the 'Recovered Territories' after the war.

After 1945 there was less competition for property formerly belonging to Jews and Germans in the new western Polish territories, because of the substantial amount of German property available. This was different from the situation in central and eastern Poland, where Poles had acquired Jewish property during the war. Polish Jews who returned after the end of the war to their home cities or regions in the pre-1939 Polish territories were often confronted with hostility, including murder when they wanted to reclaim their property. Consequently, it was better for them to settle in the new western territories, where competition for property was less intense.

Huge migrations of Polish Jews from Poland took place after the war. They left Poland for a variety of reasons, such as the antisemitism manifested in the post-war pogroms committed there. There were also psychological reasons: they did not want to live in the territory where the Holocaust had taken place. Of the almost 240,000 Holocaust survivors on Polish territory after the war, 119,000 left Poland. Those who decided to remain in Poland were forced to accept the new version of the Polish state³.

Under the manifesto of the Polish communists who belonged to the Polish Committee of National Liberation, Jews were guaranteed legal equality in Poland after the war. According to Grabski, Jewish existence in Poland from 1944 to 1949 could be described as national autonomy, because the model of national democracy in the Polish People's Republic was more liberal than the Soviet model. The policy on Jews was designed to win their support for the new political system in Poland. Therefore, in comparison to other minorities, Jews in Poland after 1945 had greater freedom to express their tradition and religion. They were allowed to rebuild their institutions and associations in the years immediately after the war, whereas Germans, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, for example, could only organize in associations after 1956⁴.

The city of Breslau/Wrocław capitulated on 6 May 1945 and was at that time one of the most ruined cities in Europe⁵. After the Red Army

arrived in the city, the German population was forced to work, mainly in making repairs and burying dead bodies. Germans were also forced to rebuild and reconstruct local municipal factories. They were given only half or a third of the food portions supplied to Poles, and were also forced to vacate their flats and houses to make room for Polish newcomers⁶. The settlement of the newcomers in the 'new' western part of Poland began in early 1946. The first trains with newcomers arrived in Wrocław in January 1946⁷, but people were already going west before then, because they knew the Germans were leaving and German property was being abandoned. According to a report written on October 25, 1945, the theft of public property in Wrocław was an everyday phenomenon. At that time, most new arrivals were from central Poland⁸.

Plans for Jewish settlement in Poland after 1945 in the 'new' territories in the west in general, and in Lower Silesia in particular, were developed by the Jewish fraction of the Polish Workers Party. The aim was to keep Jews in Poland⁹. The Polish Communist Party in particular, and political parties on the left in general, wanted to liquidate antisemitism, because it was associated with political parties on the right, their goal being to bind Jews to the new Polish state¹⁰.

By July 1946 16,057 Jews had arrived in Wrocław, which at that time was the second biggest city in Lower Silesia where Jews settled, after Dzierżoniów. Jews in Wrocław made up about 12.5-13.5 percent of the city's inhabitants¹¹. Jews and the other inhabitants of the city were confronted with signs of the presence of Germans there before 1939. Jews participated actively in the "de-Germanization/Polonization" of Wrocław. For example, Goldberg, who was a Jew, submitted an application for the removal of all German inscriptions in the city¹². The process of changing street names took place immediately after the war. In 1945 alone, 1,500 street names and geographical descriptions were "Polonized"¹³. All in all, the situation in the city immediately after the war was difficult, due to the extensive destruction it had suffered during the war, but, in the immediate post-war years Lower Silesia became the centre of Jewish settlement in Poland, and by 1947 there were 20,000 Jews in Wrocław alone¹⁴, out of a total population at that time of 224,800¹⁵.

The Jews who settled in Wrocław were given the local synagogue, the White Stork Synagogue, and nearby buildings which had belonged to the former German Jewish religious community. After 1945 the Jewish religious community in Wrocław was established in Włodkowica Street, where the White Stork Synagogue was situated. This synagogue, established between 1827 and 1829, was a house of prayer for the reformed Jews of

Breslau before 1939¹⁶. In 1946 it was officially transferred to the new Jewish community¹⁷. There were also a *mikvah* or ritual bath, a kosher kitchen, a Talmud-Thora school and a set of offices for the community. Polish Hassidim attended the synagogue after 1945. Zygmunt Dzieganowski witnessed the aftermath of the war in Wroclaw, and saw a Tsaddik and Hassidim inside the synagogue when he checked to see who was praying there¹⁸.

There were German Jews in the city after the end of the war. Szaynok estimates a total of 400¹⁹. According to Hofmann, Bronsztejn, and Zirkowski, there were 135 German Jews in Wroclaw after the end of the war²⁰. Carla Wolf wrote in a letter to Szaynok that the post-war situation in Wroclaw was especially difficult for German survivors of the Holocaust, as Poles who came to the city were hostile to Germans because of the war and everyone regarded German Jews as Germans. As Wolf explains, it was not possible to make clear to everybody that she was not really German, but only spoke German²¹.

The Polish authorities in Wroclaw had difficulty deciding whether to treat German Jews as Jews or as Germans. German Jews were treated differently in different circumstances, sometimes as Germans and sometimes as Jews. In general, starting from October 1, 1945, they were resettled by force like other German inhabitants of the city. In some cases they even chose to leave because they were discriminated against by Polish Jews entering the city. It is important to note that German Jews were not forced to work in the city as other Germans were²². In the immediate aftermath of the war, there were German Jews in Wroclaw who had been liberated from the concentration camps of Auschwitz–Birkenau and Mauthausen. The Polish authorities refused to provide them even with food supplies²³.

ANTISEMITISM IN WROCLAW IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

In the immediate post-1945 period, antisemitism was less prevalent in the so-called new Recovered Territories in the west than in other parts of Poland. This was due mainly to the lack of organized groups (for example, the National Armed Forces) whose members were sometimes antisemitic, but also to the absence of the most antisemitic social group in Poland, the lower middle class or *petite bourgeoisie*, which made up only a small percentage of the newcomers in western Poland²⁴. However, it is important to note that in Wroclaw the building of the new Jewish community took

place amidst some Polish antisemitism. According to a document quoted by Thum, Poles in Wroclaw regarded Jews negatively, as speculators. This was because they started business ventures, whose prosperity provoked hostility²⁵.

Consequently, in general it was assumed that in 1946 Poles in Wroclaw had strong negative feelings towards Jews. According to a report produced by the political and pedagogical section of the Militia in Wroclaw Voivodship (a voivodship is an administrative unit), between April 15 and May 15, 1946 (shortly before the pogrom at Kielce in July 1946), there were officially no signs of antisemitism in Wroclaw. However, according to 'confidential' information, some antisemitic remarks were heard in Rychbach, Lignica, and Wroclaw. They were blamed on 'reactionary elements' who allegedly thought it was wrong for Jews to participate in the rebuilding of the local industry and economy²⁶. The adjective 'reactionary' suggests that those accused of expressing antisemitism were possibly members of the Polish Home Army, which strongly opposed the new political system and the dependence of Poland on Moscow. Furthermore, between July 15 and August 15, 1946, shortly after the pogrom at Kielce, 15 members of the militia were dismissed for 'active carrying on of antisemitism' in the Wroclaw Voivodship. Eight more people were arrested for their participation in antisemitic riots. Attempts were made to combat antisemitism in the militia by giving seminars and presentations on the 'lack of enlightenment' among officials²⁷.

After the pogrom at Kielce, attempts were made to provoke riots by circulating rumors about a ritual murder in Wroclaw, but the rumors were stopped²⁸. In Wroclaw, as in Poland in general, the Central Committee of Jews in Poland organized Jewish self-defense committees after the pogrom at Kielce²⁹. In Wroclaw, near the building housing the Jewish Committee on Wlodkowica Street, which was also close to the synagogue, Jews were given carbines, machine guns, and other weapons to protect themselves against possible attacks³⁰.

THE LIFE OF JEWS IN WROCLAW BETWEEN 1945 AND 1968

The Jewish community in Wroclaw came into existence during the establishment of a new political regime. Later in the 1940's, the policy toward Jews in the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union changed. After Israel was founded in 1948, Zionist parties and secular institutions in Poland were closed down. Emigration to Israel was also limited and the

expression of Jewish tradition was discouraged. In the Polish People's Republic and other countries in the Soviet zone of influence, an anti-Zionist policy was implemented³¹. However, Polish anti-Zionist policy differed in many respects from that in Moscow. In short, after 1948, Jewish activities in Poland lost the partial autonomy they had previously enjoyed. However, although after 1948 there were anti-Zionist campaigns in Moscow and Prague, politicians in Poland resisted this phenomenon. Nevertheless, the partial autonomy of Jews in Poland had ended by 1948. For example, at that time Zionist political parties and the Central Committee of Polish Jews were dissolved.

As a result of the political, social and economic changes that took place in Poland after the war, the situation of Jews changed. Polish Jews could participate as equals in political, intellectual and social life in Poland and they were included in Polish society, but they also had their own associations and co-operatives. By taking part in organized Jewish life, for example by belonging to the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland, which was established in 1950, Jews could express their desire to belong to a Jewish group without being forced to participate in Jewish religious life. In Wrocław there was the opportunity to observe the Jewish faith, tradition, and customs, but not everybody wanted to practice the religion. Having Jewish ancestry did not necessarily translate into a desire to express belonging to the Jewish community through membership in organizations or religious groups. Therefore, in the larger scheme of things, a process took place between the end of the war and 1968 during which Polish Jews assimilated with the ethnic Polish majority. They were also, however, the objects of policies which had different aims at different periods. For example, Jews who belonged to the Social and Cultural Association of Jews from 1950 onwards were the targets of a policy which aimed to convince them that, for example, it was highly desirable for them to belong to the Communist Party. After changes in 1956, this institution evolved ideologically, and tried more and more to achieve the aim of cultivating Jewish national identity³². In general 1956 was a very significant year in the history of Poland, and therefore also for Polish Jews. For example, Khrushchev's "revelation" that year at the 20th. Soviet Party Congress of the crimes of Stalinism led to a burst of antisemitism, because Jews were held responsible for those crimes in Poland. Thus in the Polish People's Republic 1956 also had an antisemitic dimension.

During the period known as de-Stalinization, the issue of the presence of Jews in the structures of the Polish communist party was used in the conflict within the party itself (it is, of course, incorrect to call Khrushchev's 1956 speech 'secret', because its contents were known

immediately in the Soviet satellite states, as they were in the west). The Jews became an 'enemy' because they were made responsible for the crimes committed in Poland during Stalinism, although of course very many people, Jews and non-Jews, were involved in committing those crimes. Consequently, in general all Jews or Poles of Jewish descent were seen as representative of the Jews who did in fact hold positions of power in the structures of the state, and were therefore viewed as responsible for the crimes.

1956 marked the beginning of Khrushchev's thaw, during which movements which opposed the existing system came into existence in some Soviet satellites, including Hungary and in Poland. For instance, in June 1956 strikes manifesting disagreement with the communist system took place in Poland. In Poznań the breaking-up of the strikes led to some deaths. In Poland the events of 1956 had also an antisemitic aspect ; for instance, flyers with antisemitic contents *such as 'Jews out!' [Precz w Øydami]* circulated in Wrocław at that time. During the internal party struggles for power, antisemitism was used as a tool. For example the Party Central Committee discussed the need to regulate the party's structures according to nationality³³. This issue was not in fact exploited, but only discussed; however, many Jewish members of the party and the Security Service were dismissed at that time from their posts. Antisemitism was certainly in fact among the reasons for the dismissals³⁴.

The example of Wrocław makes it clear that Jews in Poland were given the chance to work in trades that were not available to them before the war. The new political system created Jews of a new kind, i.e. workers' leaders. The active commitment of Jewish workers to rebuilding the Polish economy and their political engagement in Poland after the war were supposed to provide an alternative to departure for Palestine or Western Europe. The result of the establishment of Jewish cooperatives was that Jewish workers and craftsmen remained in their own Jewish milieu. This prevented integration with non-Jews at work, but was at the same time a factor that created a community of belonging among the Jews themselves.

According to Szaynok, the cooperatives were small centers of Jewish culture and language³⁵. In Wrocław there were not only many cooperatives and shops in which the items produced by Jews were sold, but also a department store which opened in 1947 on International Cooperatives Day³⁶. There was also, for example, a cooperative that produced leather goods, which opened in the second half of 1946. Its success is shown by the fact that while it employed 25 people at the start of its operations, two years later the number of workers had reached 269³⁷.

1968 – THE CLOSURE OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN WROCLAW

The 'events of March 1968' were triggered by controversies caused by the staging of Adam Mickiewicz's famous play 'Dziady' (Forefathers' Eve). The play was taken off the stage of the National Theatre in Warsaw because of the public's lively reaction to the anti-Russian statements in its text. When 'Dziady' was last performed on January 30, 1968, students started to demonstrate round the statue of Adam Mickiewicz. The demonstration resulted in 35 arrests. The student protests were used politically by General Moczar and the nationalistic fraction of the PZPR (Polish United Workers Party) to distract public attention from the dire political and economic situation in Poland, Jews were attacked in public. This was the beginning of the 'anti-Zionist campaign' of 1968, when many Jews and Poles of Jewish descent were dismissed from their posts in the administration and at universities. Antisemitism, disguised as anti-Zionism, was used to conceal the real reasons for the crisis facing the country. The campaign forced many Jews to leave Poland because they were made scapegoats for the ills of the Polish system. After 1968, only 400 to 500 Jews remained in Wrocław³⁸. Those who did not leave were further assimilated into the ethnic Polish majority.

According to research conducted by Ilicki on Polish-Jewish immigrants who moved to Sweden after being forced to leave Poland by the 1968 antisemitic campaign, 37 percent were born and brought up in mixed marriages, and the vast majority had a non-Jewish mother and a Jewish father. Almost half the Jews who came to Sweden after 1968 lived in Warsaw before they were forced to emigrate. Some also came from the territories of Lower Silesia and Łódź. There were substantial differences between the occupations and social status of emigrants from Warsaw and from Lower Silesia. Those from Warsaw had a higher social status: for example, they were senior officials, professionals and members of the intelligentsia, whereas those from Lower Silesia were mostly craftsmen and lower-ranking officials³⁹. This difference in status must be stressed, as it is very important for the history of the Jews in Wrocław. The Jews from Warsaw tended to identify themselves more often with Polishness. Conversely, the degree of identification with Jewishness was higher in Lower Silesia than in Warsaw. Moreover, almost three quarters of the migrants had adopted the cultural traditions of the Polish majority, for example by putting up Christmas trees and giving Christmas gifts. This, according to Ilicki, was a manifestation of the process of acculturation, and showed that Poles of Jewish origin at least occasionally absorbed some aspects of non-Jewish traditions, without, adopting all the other elements

of the Polish and/or Catholic tradition. Only one third of those studied had adopted other aspects of Christian celebrations such as singing traditional Polish Christmas carols and breaking and sharing the sacramental wafer (This is a Polish Catholic Christmas Eve tradition with some similarities to the Eucharist). As this second type of traditional practice required greater knowledge of the Polish Catholic tradition, this suggests that at least one member of the family must have had such knowledge and been able to pass it on. Traditions such as the Christmas tree and Christmas gifts do not require detailed knowledge of specific Polish Christmas customs.

As noted above, Ilicki found some evidence that families with a higher social status from Warsaw had adopted the "extrinsic" aspects of the Christian tradition to a greater extent than those with a lower social status from Lower Silesia. As might be expected, there is also evidence that families from mixed marriages observed the "intrinsic" aspects of Christmas more than families where both parents were Jews. Moreover, the group who settled in Sweden after leaving Poland was very secularized. 75 percent of those who emigrated from Poland by 1968 and settled in Sweden were atheists, and 14 percent were agnostics. The extent to which Christian religiousness existed among the migrants of 1968 – those from mixed marriages – depended on the social status of the family from which they came. Jewish religiousness was inversely proportional to the family's social status. However, the non-religious percentage was higher among those whose parents were Jewish than among those from mixed marriages⁴⁰.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite many achievements supported financially by the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JOINT), for example, the freedom to organize religious and secular activities for Jews, Wrocław Jews wanted or had to leave the country for political and social reasons articulated and expressed in antisemitic slogans and actions. These included pogroms in Poland in the immediate post-war period, the events of 1956 and the increase in antisemitism and, finally, the 1968 anti-Zionist campaign.

Jews who decided to remain in Poland rather than emigrate after the war very often lost the ties that bound them to Jewish religion and tradition. This happened for a variety of reasons. First of all, the number of Jews who decided to remain in Poland after the war was not very large, and they made up only a very small percentage of the population in the

larger Polish cities. Indeed, Jewish communities did not even exist in all Polish cities. In cities where Jews made up a sizable group, as for example in Warsaw, Łódź, Szczecin, and Wrocław, Jewish secular and religious organizations were established. Consequently, participation in organized Jewish cultural life was only possible in localities where Jews were present in significant numbers.

Moreover, from the end of the war until 1968, anti-religious policy and Polish official propaganda contributed to reducing the interest shown by Jews and non-Jews in religious activities. Further, the nature of activities organized for Jews in synagogues depended on whether a rabbi was present. In Wrocław rabbis were present in the synagogue until 1968 ; so it was possible to attend prayers, but not many people there were interested in doing so. There is evidence that after being subject to the Holocaust during the war, some Jews had problems with their relation to religion. Irena Hurwic-Nowakowska, who studied survivors of the Holocaust immediately after the War, came to the conclusion that some Jews had 'returned' to Judaism and established a new relation to Judaism on the basis of ethics. On the other hand, there were also Jews who 'escaped from the Jewish group' after the War⁴¹.

Even between the two world wars, there was a tendency toward assimilation by Jews into Polish culture. Assimilation meant acquisition of the standards and norms of the Polish educated class. This trend continued after the war, not only among those educated in institutions of higher education, but also among workers. This was because between 1945 and 1968, Jews participated actively in almost all the country's important spheres.

It is evident that Jews, although equal citizens in Poland with equal rights and opportunities for employment and work, were often discriminated against socially. This discrimination is sometimes referred to in written sources such as memoirs, and also sometimes in oral sources such as interviews. It is important, however, to note that both those who described themselves as Jews and those who were considered as Jews by non-Jews were in fact very often married to non-Jews. The post-war rate of inter-marriage in Poland was circa 25 percent with regard to Polish-Jewish marriages, but there were also some Jewish-Ukrainian and Jewish-Russian marriages. This was a sign that Polish Jews were coming out of isolation⁴².

Under the new political regime in Poland after 1945, there was no real choice of organizations to which Jews could belong ; they could only

choose between the secular Jewish organization, the Social and Cultural Association of Jews, and the religious community. The work of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews depended heavily on official demands that it should use propaganda to influence Jews and Poles of Jewish descent ideologically⁴³, and diffuse socialist slogans in localities where Jews made up a substantial percentage of the inhabitants. By toeing the official line, the association expressed its willingness to convince Jews that the ideology of the new regime was correct and that it was good to follow it, for a variety of reasons. Some Jews were even members of the organization because they were involved in the 'home action', during which 86 agitators visited 950 apartments in Wrocław in which Jews lived, with the aim of persuading them to join the organization⁴⁴. It is interesting to note that in 1953 the organization, as a secular organization of Jews, tried to obtain money for organizing food treats and presents for Jews at Christmas⁴⁵. This shows that the Jews of Wrocław who were members of the Social and Cultural Association wanted to celebrate a Christian festivity in a non-religious way. The organization also made attempts to organize cultural events under the banner of 'culture performed in the so-called Socialist manner or style'. Although it was strictly secular and was responsible for spreading anti-religious slogans among Jews, it was the only secular organization in which Jews could participate. Consequently, Jews could use it, for example, to learn Yiddish and obtain information about Jewish history, but information was disseminated in the way that suited the norms of the regime and its ideological viewpoint.

The lack of education on the causes of the Holocaust, and of research into the roots of the problems of Polish-Jewish cohabitation were the reasons for the violent antisemitism seen after the war, together with other more important factors such as the acquisition of Jewish property by the Poles during the war, as well as the way in which Jews were viewed changed and evolved over time, for instance the association of Jews with Communists. Additionally, belief in the old clichés of Jews who allegedly kidnapped Christian children for ritual reasons was widespread among the inhabitants of the smaller towns where pogroms took place. This antisemitism was expressed not only in pogroms, but also in other ways, especially in 1956 and 1968. Moreover, political changes and the struggle for power added to the antisemitic mood among Poland's inhabitants. Many Poles associated the ruling party and the system with Jews, because some leading communists during the interwar period and after the war were Jewish. Indeed, some Jews, such as Jakub Berman, were leading members of the ruling party. Thus antisemitic resentment was coupled with anti-communism.

There were huge migratory movements by Jews from Poland immediately after the war, especially after the pogrom at Kielce in 1946. The Holocaust and post-war pogroms prompted some Jews to assimilate fully into Polish mainstream society. This included a decision to make their surnames and first names sound Polish. For those who decided not to assimilate fully, it was possible in Wrocław to attend prayers in the local synagogue and a school for Jews. It was also possible if desired to study and learn, for example, the Polish language. As there was no way to integrate with Poles without learning their language, Jews who wanted to stay in Poland had to learn Polish.

By and large, despite many efforts, autonomous Jewish political parties and activities ended in 1948 when the autonomous Jewish institutions were nationalized. The Polish government in fact tried to achieve a mono-ethnic and secular state. This meant gaining control over the Jewish milieu in Poland, which involved shutting down the Central Committee of Jews in Poland and the dissolution of the Zionist parties. This resulted in a huge emigration movement from Poland after 1948, which was also the year in which, on 14 May, the state of Israel was established.

From the example of the history of Jews in Wrocław from 1945 to 1968, it is clear that although at first the new political system in Poland guaranteed Jews social advancement, career-building and legal equality, by 1968 it had led to disastrous consequences when antisemitic resentment became a tool of the so-called anti-Zionist campaign. This caused a huge wave of emigration of Jews from Poland. Between 1968 and 1971, 13,000 inhabitants of Poland who were Jews or categorized as Jews had to emigrate because of the so-called anti-Zionist campaign. By 1968 there were only around 25,000-30,000 Jews in Poland. They made up only 0.1 percent of the country's 32 million inhabitants⁴⁶. After 1969 only 400-500 Jews remained in Wrocław. Of the 1,500 Jews who lived in the city and were members of the officially existing organizations for Jews before 1968, approximately 1,000 left the city and the country after the 1968 so-called anti-Zionist campaign⁴⁷.

NOTES

* Editor's note : Izabela Kazejak's Master's thesis entitled « Zwischen Assimilation und Emigration. Die Breslauer jüdische Minderheit in den Jahren 1945 bis 1968 », which is summarized in this article, was submitted as an entry for the 2007-2008 Prize of the Auschwitz Foundation. It was particularly appreciated by the members of the jury, who decided the author should benefit from Article 4 of the prize rules, allowing the Board of Management of the Auschwitz Foundation to grant her a subsidy to continue her research. This article is the result of that research.

¹ Gregor Thum, *Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945*, Berlin, Siedler, 2003, p. 15.

² Padraic Kenney, « Polish Workers and the Stalinist Transformation », in Norman Naimark, Leonid Gibianskii (eds.), *The establishment of the Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944-1949*, Boulder, Colo., Westview Press, 1997, p. 139-166.

³ Albert Stankowski, « Nowe spojrzenie na statystyki dotyczące emigracji Żydów z Polski po 1944 roku », in Grzegorz Berendt, August Grabski, Albert Stankowski (eds.) *Studia z historii Żydów w Polsce po 1945 r.*, Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2000, p. 103-151, p. 109.

⁴ August Grabski, « Kształtowanie sił pierwotnego programu żydowskich komunistów w Polsce po Holokauście », Grzegorz Berendt, August Grabski, Albert Stankowski (eds.), *Studia z historii Żydów w Polsce po 1945 r.*, Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2000, p. 67-110, p. 67.

⁵ Gregor Thum, *Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945*, op. cit., p. 30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁷ Włodzimierz Borodziej, Stanisław Ciesielski, Jerzy Kochanowski, « Wstfł », in Stanisław Ciesielski (ed.), *Przesiedlenie ludności polskiej z kresów wschodnich do Polski, 1944-1947*, Warszawa, Neriton, 1999, p. 6.

⁸ Archive of the Polish Institute of the National Remembrance, AIPN KGMO 35/922 Report on the situation in Lower Silesia between October 25 and November 10, 1945, written by the vice-president of the Militia for political and social matters in Wrocław.

⁹ Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1950*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000, p. 23.

¹⁰ Alina Cala, Helena Datner-spiewak, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce 1944-1968: Teksty źródłowe*, Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 1997, p. 11.

¹¹ Szyja Bronsztejn, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku po drugiej wojnie światowej*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1993, p. 12.

¹² Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 151.

¹³ Gregor Thum, *Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945*, op. cit., p. 352.

¹⁴ Padraic Kenney, « Polish Workers and the Stalinist Transformation », op. cit., p. 139-166, 156.

¹⁵ Janusz Albin et al., *Wrocław: rozwój miasta w Polsce Ludowej*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971, p. 77.

¹⁶ Jerzy Kos, « Synagoga pod Białym Bocianem we Wrocławiu », *Sobótka: Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny*, n° 2, 1991, p. 191-203.

¹⁷ Ewa Waszkiewicz, *Kongregacja wyznania możeszowego na Dolnym Śląsku na tle polityki wyznaniowej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej 1945-1968*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999, p. 81 and 87.

¹⁸ Zygmunt Dzieganowski, *Wrocławska szansa*, unpublished diary, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Dział Rękopisów, ZNIO, Akc. 46, 2004 / 1, p. 511.

¹⁹ Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁰ Szyja Bronsztejn, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym Śląsku po drugiej wojnie światowej*, op. cit., p. 8, Leszek Ziatkowski, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Breslau*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2000, p. 113, Andreas Hofmann, *Nachkriegszeit in Schlesien: Gesellschafts- und Bevölkerungspolitik in den polnischen Siedlungsgebieten 1945-1948*, Köln, Weimar, Wien, Verlag Böhlau, 2000, p. 371.

²¹ Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 43.

²² Andreas Hofmann, *Nachkriegszeit in Schlesien: Gesellschafts- und Bevölkerungspolitik in den polnischen Siedlungsgebieten 1945-1948*, op. cit., p. 375.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

- ²⁴ Józef Adelson, « W Polsce zwanej ludowa », in Jerzy Tomaszewski (ed.), *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce (do 1950)*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993, p. 387-477.
- ²⁵ Gregor Thum, *Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945*, op. cit., p. 127.
- ²⁶ Archive of the Institute for National Remembrance, AIPN KGMO 35 / 922, Report by the Militia of the Wrocław Voivodship for the period from April 15 to May 15, 1946.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 82.
- ²⁹ Danuta Blus-Więgrowska, « Pogrom. Stimmung », in *Karta: Zeitzeugnisse aus Ostmitteleuropa*, No. 3, 2002, p. 161-182.
- ³⁰ Norman Davies, Roger Moorhouse, *Mikrokosmos: Portret miasta úrodkowouropejskiego. Vratislavia, Breslau, Wrocław, Kraków, Znak, 2004*, p. 546.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- ³² Grzegorz Berendt, *Życie żydowskie w Polsce w latach 1950-1956: Z dziejów Towarzystwa Społeczno-Kulturalnego Żydów w Polsce*, Gdansk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006, p. 9.
- ³³ Paweł Machcewicz, *Polski rok 1956*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Mówia Wiek, 1993, p. 219, 217.
- ³⁴ Andrzej Paczkowski, « Żydzi w UB: próba weryfikacji stereotypu », in Tomasz Szarota (ed.), *Komunizm: ideologia, system, ludzie*, Warszawa, Nerition, 2001, p. 204.
- ³⁵ Bożena, Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 69.
- ³⁶ Michał Grynberg, *Żydowska spółdzielczość pracy w Polsce*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986, p. 70.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- ³⁸ Leszek Zirkowski, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Breslau*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2000, p. 116.
- ³⁹ Julian Ilicki, « Changing identity among younger Polish Jews in Sweden after 1968 », in *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 4, Poles and Jews: Perceptions and Misperceptions, p. 270-271.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270-271.
- ⁴¹ Irena Hurwic-Nowakowska, « Jeszcze raz o kwestii żydowskiej », *Wiź*, No. 7-8, 1986, p. 98-99.
- ⁴² Szyja Bronsztejn, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Dolnym śląsku po drugiej wojnie światowej*, op. cit., p. 29.
- ⁴³ See Statute of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland, in Bożena Szaynok, *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym śląsku 1945-1950*, op. cit., p. 195.
- ⁴⁴ Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, 324 / 1190, Letter of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Wrocław to the Main Executive Committee in Warsaw, March 31, 1954.
- ⁴⁵ Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Section: The Social and Cultural Organization of Jews, No. 65, Correspondence.
- ⁴⁶ Dariusz Stola, « The Hate Campaign of March 1968: how did it become anti-Jewish ? », *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 21, 2009, p. 16-36, p. 18.
- ⁴⁷ Leszek Zirkowski, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Breslau*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2000, p. 116.