

Jews in the Częstochowa Region in the First Years Following World War II

During World War II, Jews were subjected to the Nazis' brutal politics of extermination. Its goal was to murder the entire Jewish population. However, because of the War and the demand for a free workforce, Jews were employed in a variety of armaments factories. They were "lent" to German armaments companies by the SS, which reaped a profit from this practice.

One of those armaments companies which employed Jews was Hugo Schneider AG Leipzig (HASAG). It was the largest employer of Jews in the Radomsk district. Altogether, 14,000 Jews worked in its factories. The following slave labour camps, owned by the HASAG company, operated in Częstochowa: Judenlager Hasag-Apparatebau HASAG-Częstochowianka, HASAG-Raków, HASAG-Pelcery and HASAG-Warta which, together, employed around 10,000 Jews. The labour camps in Częstochowa operated almost to the very end of liberation by the Red Army. When Soviet soldiers were in the vicinity of Częstochowa, and then entered the city on 15th-16th January 1945, two rail transports left the HASAG camps. Those transported Jews ended up in the Third Reich's concentration camps in Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen and Ravensbrück. Barely 5,200 Jews lived to see the liberation of Częstochowa¹.

According to German reports, from the moment Częstochowa was liberated by the Soviet army, the Jews intended fighting German soldiers. These reports came from Technical Inspector Erschner, a weapons inspector. In his report, a Wehrmacht officer quoted from the report of the head of the Roads Office, Vogt, that "liberated Jews had killed around 2,000 Germans and Volksdeutsch using knives and handguns"². It seems unlikely that Jews would fight against the retreating German army. It should be remembered that the Jews took no action against the rail transports leaving on 15th-16th January 1945. Moreover, the Jewish population was exhausted from the hard, physical labour of the armaments factory. Years of occupation, where every moment could be your last, left a mark on them. They were in no fit state for armed fighting. Reports from neither Jews nor Poles mention this event. If, in reality, there had been an organised resistance by Jews in the HASAG camps, there would have been some recollections. The excerpt quoted from the report indicates the author's deep hatred of the Jewish population which was, on the one hand, the result of Nazi propaganda and, on the other hand, the effect of being at the front. It is not out of the question, however, that there may have been isolated instances of guards being disarmed by prisoners in the Częstochowa HASAG camps.

¹ J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik, *Żydowscy robotnicy przymusowi w zakładach zbrojeniowych HASAG w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w czasie II wojny światowej*, (*Jewish Slave Labourers in HASAG Armanents Factories in the General Government During World War II*) [w:] *Z przeszłości Żydów polskich. Polityka - gospodarka - kultura - społeczeństwo*, red. J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik, Kraków 2005, p. 196, 201; F. Koray, *Ekspansja gospodarcza koncernu Hasag w dystrykcie radomskim w latach 1939-1945 i jej wpływ na los żydowskich obozów pracy w Częstochowie*, [w:] *Żydzi częstochowianie - Współistnienie, Holocaust, Pamięć*, red. J. Mizgalski, Częstochowa 2006, pp. 249-253; J. Pietrzykowski, *Cień swastyki nad Jasną Górą. Częstochowa w okresie hitlerowskiej okupacji 1939-1945* (*The Shadow of the Swastika Over Jasna Góra - Częstochowa During Nazi Occupation 1939-1945*), Katowice 1985, pp. 213-214.

² *Dokumenty operacyjne Wehrmachtu dotyczące Częstochowy i okolicy. Część I (Wehrmacht Operational Document Relating to Częstochowa and Surrounding. Part I): 1939, 1944-1945*, „*Studia Claromontana*” 2004, Vol. 22, p. 784.

Researchers have difficulty in determining the exact number of Jews who survived throughout occupied Poland. Historians' estimates are divergent, varying from 50,000 to 120,000 individuals. More Polish Jews survived within those territories occupied by the Soviet Union after 17th September 1939 – from 150,000 to 200,000 people. The difficulty in determining the exact number of Holocaust survivors arises from two main factors – the definition of who was a “Jew” by the occupying Nazi authorities and by those hidden on the “Aryan side”. In the first instance, German law under the Third Reich went back three generations to determine Jewish origin. Even those who were “polonised” were also persecuted and murdered. Following the end of occupation, the Jewish Committee registered all those who perished at the hands of the Nazis. In the second instance, Jews who survived the Holocaust on the “Aryan side”, for various reasons, preferred not to display their ethnicity and to be regarded, by their neighbours, as Poles³.

Following the end of World War II, fearing for their own safety, Jews settled in larger communities. Other reasons included the availability of help to find work and the functioning of religious and cultural facilities. For these reasons, in mid-1946, there were 90,000 Jews in Dolny Śląsk, 30,000 in Łódź, 21,000 in Górny Śląsk, 20,000 in Szczecin, 13,000 in Kraków and 8,000 in Warsaw⁴. According to figures from the Municipal Management Board, around 5,000 Jews remained in Częstochowa⁵.

The Częstochowa municipal authorities faced many problems. One of them was to organise assistance, apart from temporary medical aid and legal assistance, for the Jewish population who had survived the Holocaust. The municipal authorities' first and most important task was to provide the Jewish population with replacement identity papers. These were essential, not just from a legal viewpoint, but also for the humanitarian reason of restoring human rights to people who had previously been regarded as merely a “number”. This took place in the first week following the arrival of the Soviet army. From 27th January 1945, the Jewish population were issued with identity papers which enabled them to try to have their property restored and to be registered⁶.

Following the end of World War II, the Jewish community asked itself a question which was significant and which affected their future lives: Do we stay in Poland, in a country which had become a graveyard for our family members and neighbours, or do we leave and start a new life in another country?

The majority of Jews answered this question by deciding to leave, motivated also by an antisemitic mood within Polish society and by a fear that, within a dozen or so years, another tragic world war may break out. From 1945 until December 1946, it is possible to estimate that approximately 119,000 Jews departed. The largest wave of departures was noted straight after the Kielce pogrom. By 1947, the situation had stabilised due mainly to an improved economic environment in Poland. In the process, help increased towards the development of different aspects of Jewish life in the areas of education and productivity. In 1947, the Communists estimated the number of Jews at around 100,000.

³ L. Olejnik, *Polityka narodowościowa Polski w latach 1944-1960*, Łódź 2003, s. 344 - 345.

⁴ Ibidem, s. 346.

⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Częstochowie (dalej: APCz), Zarząd Miejski i Miejska Rada Narodowa w Częstochowie (dalej: ZMiMRN), sygn. 113, Sprawozdanie z działalności Starostwa Grodzkiego i Zarządu Miejskiego, b. dat, b. pag; Według obliczeń Feliksa Tycha w Częstochowie po wyzwoleniu przebywało ponad 6 tys. Żydów. Vide. F. Tych, *Historia Żydów Częstochowy lat Zagłady i okresu po II wojnie światowej w świetle akt Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, [w:] *Żydzi - częstochowianie*.s. 30.

⁶ APCz, ZMiMRN, sygn. 113, Sprawozdanie z działalności Starostwa Grodzkiego i Zarządu Miejskiego, b. dat, b. pag.

However, the improved situation did not result in Jews rejecting emigration. On the contrary, the Jewish population was still active in leaving Poland for Palestine or to western European countries. The establishment of the State of Israel, in May 1948, further enabled emigration from Poland. Thanks to the consent of the communist authorities, it was possible for Jews to leave Poland. Israeli diplomats assisted with the completion of formalities and with the organisation and cost of transport. In this manner, to 1951, 28,000 people emigrated to Israel, leaving 70,600 Jews in Poland⁷.

The number of Jews in Częstochowa fluctuated, but was consistently falling. For example, in June 1945, there were around 3,500 individuals⁸. The fall in the Jewish numbers was caused by the factors already mentioned. But antisemitism and a dislike of Jews by the Polish community were also important factors. In Częstochowa, there was a mood of strong hostility towards Jews which influenced their decision to leave Poland. It reached such a situation that some Jews, living in Częstochowa, received anonymous letters containing death threats. This was frequently the actual reason for leaving the country. Usually, it was people who were perceived to be rich who received those letters. The departure of Jews to western European countries supported the spreading of the opinion, not entirely true, that Poland was a country full of antisemites. There also was illegal emigration by Jews, made possible with the help of Red Army officers and soldiers. Of course, each act of "help" was paid for by those leaving. In December 1945 alone, 100 Jews left Częstochowa⁹. With the help of Soviet soldiers, further departures also continued into the following month¹⁰.

The issue of Jewish departures depended upon the antisemitic mood of the Polish community. When that mood subsided, Jews felt safer and did not leave. But when the mood grew, so did the wave of departures. It reached such a situation in February 1946 that the Director of the Department of Information and Propaganda, Kazimierz Jurak, noted, "The Jewish population is not fleeing, rather they are returning"¹¹. However, the biggest wave of emigration from Częstochowa followed the Kielce pogrom. During the course of one month, around sixty families left. In July 1946, more than 30 agreements for the sale of property, belonging to Jews, were prepared by notary offices¹². Fears for their lives and their possessions were understandable after the Kielce pogrom. It should also be noted that, due to the need for a quick sale of this property, it was bought by Poles at prices very much lower than their actual value. In the process, some of the Polish community benefitted from the rapid exit of Jews.

The mood of the Jewish population calmed only by the autumn of 1947 when the number of departures fell. However, they continued selling their real estate¹³. The selling of their property attested to the fact that these people were preparing for departure and were not tying their future to Poland.

⁷ A. Stankowski, *Nowe spojrzenie na statystyki dotyczące emigracji Żydów z Polski po 1944 roku, (A New Look at the Jewish Emigration From Poland Statistics After 1944)* [w:] G. Berendt, A. Grabski, A. Stankowski, *Studia z historii Żydów w Polsce po 1945 roku (Studies in Jewish History in Poland After 1945)*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 107-117.

⁸ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 242, Situation Monthly Report for June 1945, k. 2.

⁹ Kielce State Archives (dalej: APK), The Provincial Department of Information and Propaganda in Kielce (Further: WUiIP), Ref. 26, Reaction Activities for December 1945 r., k. 13.

¹⁰ APK, WUiIP, Ref. 20, Minutes of the 10th Conference of Information and Propaganda Department Directors, 7th-8th January 1946, k. 54.

¹¹ APK, WUiIP, Ref. 20, Minutes of the 11th Conference of Information and Propaganda Department Directors, 8th-9th February 1946., k. 94.

¹² APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 243, Situation Monthly Report for July 1946, k. 268.

¹³ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 243, Situation Monthly Report for October 1946, k. 119.

Not every Jew leaving Poland decided to remain in exile. After the wave of antisemitism died down in June and July 1947, twenty people, who had left following the Kielce pogrom, returned to Częstochowa¹⁴. Perhaps they returned from the west due to difficulty in finding work or in adjusting to life in another country. Maybe it was the result of patriotism and an attachment to the country in they and their ancestors had lived and worked.

Following the waves of emigration, by 1949, 649 Jews lived in Częstochowa. By comparison, many times more Jews lived in Łódź (14,000), Wrocław (12,300), Szczecin (5,860), Kraków (5,700), Warsaw (5,000) and Katowice (1,300). There were also cities where there were fewer Jews than in Częstochowa, for example, Strzegom (500), Świebodzice (417), Bydgoszcz (268), Zabrze (314) and Opole (232)¹⁵. Amongst those cities, Częstochowa was somewhere in the middle. It should be remembered that, at that time, it was not a big city and, as mentioned earlier, Jews preferred to live within larger communities, from the viewpoint of safety, assistance that they could receive from the state, etc.

From the moment that the War ended, Jewish Holocaust survivors had to rebuild the very foundations of their existence, namely, rebuild, from scratch, new political parties, new educational, religious and cultural organisations, etc. The Communists, taking power on the orders of Stalin, established the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (CKŻP) on 4th November 1944. The plan was that this institution would look after and supervise the functioning of the Jewish community. In the process, it meant that the administrative apparatus of the Polish state would not have to deal directly with Jewish matters. At the same time, the communists gained credence with western public opinion as they had showed that, in Poland, a democratic government was operating and was providing autonomy to an ethnic minority¹⁶.

Apart from providing themselves with the very foundations for their existence, there was also the matter of the reconstruction of Jewish religious life. Three months after the establishment of the CKŻP, a circular, dated 6th February 1945 from the Ministry of Public Administration (MAP) decided to give permission for the formation of Jewish religious associations. However, due to concerns regarding the taking up of positions of rabbi by persons not acceptable to the authorities, MAP reserved the right to approve all rabbinical appointments. Apart from looking after the Jewish community's religious affairs, they were required to maintain a marital register. Local associations had a wide scope of responsibilities – they cared for people returning from the concentration camps and from the Soviet Union, as well as running boarding houses, aged care homes and orphanages. Besides their religious activities, these association had productivity responsibilities. They were created to find jobs for unemployed Jews¹⁷.

With varied degrees of success, Jews in Częstochowa endeavoured to build anew the foundations for their existence. In mid-1945, the District Jewish Committee (*Okręgowy Komitet Żydowski*) was active and acted as an intermediary between the municipal authorities and the Jewish community. Its main task was to assist Jews living in Częstochowa. Those murdered by the Nazis were not forgotten and to honour the memory of those who perished, a memorial service was organised¹⁸.

Following liberation of the city, the Jewish community of Częstochowa dealt with organising their existence anew. Issues of property were crucial and so action was taken for the return of estates, homes, workshops and the like¹⁹. In this, they were assisted by the aforementioned Jewish committee.

¹⁴ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 244, Situation Monthly Report for July 1947, k. 139.

¹⁵ A. Stankowski, *Nowe spojrzenie...*, (*A New Look at ...*) p. 114.

¹⁶ J. Adelson, *W Polsce zwanej Ludową*, (*In the So-called People's Poland*) [w:] *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie (do 1950 roku)* (*An Outline of the Newest History of Jews in Poland – to 1950*), rd. J. Tomaszewski, Warsaw 1993, p. 426.

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 429-430.

¹⁸ APCz, ZMiMRN, sygn. 242, Situation Monthly Report for June 1945, k. 5.

¹⁹ Ibidem, k. 5

One sign that life was being rebuilt was the establishment, in Częstochowa, of the Jewish Religious Association. On 1st April 1946, the Jewish population elected Noa Edelist as its chairman and Chil Landau as his deputy²⁰. However, the two elected were only approved by the municipal district administration on 28th September 1946. The delay of a few months was due to the administration's lack of consent to the Jewish population's choice.

The further development of Jewish autonomy which took place in those first years following World War II was the activation of eleven political parties, only eight of which were legal. For a political party to be active on the socio-political scene, it had to be registered. Approval for registration was issued by the Department of Jewish Minority Affairs, part of the Political Department of MAP.

Nevertheless, the Jewish community's autonomy lasted for three years following the War. This was due to the fact that, in those first few years, the basis for the communist system was still being built and both a political and armed opposition was being fought. As mentioned earlier, it was essential that Poland display, to international opinion, its attempts at creating a democratic country. Moreover, with Israel being established in May 1948, it was counted upon that Israel would tie its existence in the Middle East to the Soviet Union. When this did not happen, the communist authorities began to gradually dissolve political parties and religious associations, and to put schools under the control of an educational civil service. A symbol of the end of Jewish communal autonomy came in October 1950 with the creation of the *Social-Cultural Association of Jews in Poland*²¹.

Table 1. Jewish Political Parties in Poland 1944-1950

Political Party	Ideological Character	Legality
PPR Faction of CKŻP	Communist	Legal
Bund	Socialist	Legal
Poale Zion – Left	Communist-zionist	Legal
Poale Zion - Right	Socialist-zionist	Legal
Hashomer Hatzair	Zionist-communist	Legal
Ichud	Zionist-social democrat	Legal
Hitachdut	Zionist	Legal
Mizrachi	Religious-zionist	Legal
Agudah	Othodox	Illegal
Democrats	Nationalist-religious	Illegal
Revisionists	Nationalist-zionist	Illegal

Source: J. Adelson, *W Polsce zwanej...*, p. 434.

Amongst those political parties listed in Table I, the United Organisation of Democrats *Ichud* was active within the Jewish population in Częstochowa from August 1945. Apart from its political activity, it organised a vocational school for youth where they could prepare themselves to go into various trades²².

²⁰ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 282, A letter from Municipal District Administrator Dr T. J. Wolański to the Jewish Religious association in Częstochowa, dated 28th September 1945, b. pag.

²¹ J. Adelson, *W Polsce zwanej...*, pp. 433-147, 475-477; G. Berendt, *Życie od nowa. Instytucje i organizacje żydowskie 1944-1950 (Life from Scratch – Jewish Institutions and Organisations 1944-1950)*, [w:] *The Results of the Jewish Holocaust. Poland 1944-2010*, ed. F. Tych, M. Adamczyk - Garbowska, Lublin 2011, pp. 200-204, 211-213.

²² APCz, ZMiMRN, sygn. 78, A letter from the Mayor of Częstochowa, Dr T. J. Wolański to the Provincial Authorities in Kielce, dated 13th September 1945., b. pag.

In exchange for the possibility for the free development of Jewish life in several areas, the Jews supported the communist system. On matters important to the system, the Jewish minority was called upon to speak in support of the totalitarian system. It was to ignore features of totalitarianism and that it was enslaving Polish society. One such significant event, when the Jewish population supported communists, was the elections to the *Sejm*. In Częstochowa, on 5th December 1946, the District Jewish Committee resolved to support parties within the *Democratic Block*. It called upon Jews to do their duty by voting and to support the *Democratic Block* list²³.

Following World War II, antisemitic sentiments spread within Polish society. There were a few reasons for this. One of them was the reluctance of owners to return homes and workshops which were owned, before the War, by Jews, and which were taken over during the German occupation when the Jewish population was being closed into ghettos and being murdered. People, who had taken over Jewish property, had no legal right to it. In order to prevent the misappropriation of and speculation in Jewish property, on 6th May 1945, the Communists issued a law regarding abandoned property. According to that Act, heirs were limited to relatives closest to the deceased, e.g. parents, spouses, etc. In reality, however, it turned out that various state institutions had taken over vacated tenements and they had no intention of returning them to their rightful owners. The provisions of the Act were directed at Poles who had for example, taken over a home or workshop which had earlier belonged to Jews. This was the reason for the overt dislike which had manifested itself in, for example, the driving out of Jews from a town or even in manslaughter. Poles did not wish to return property which they had seized unlawfully²⁴.

Polish society's dislike and hostility towards Jews were due to the Jews linking their future with the communist authorities. Despite understanding the characteristics of a totalitarian system such as was communism, the Jewish population placed its hopes with it for the granting of equal rights and for conditions for assimilation. However, a basic condition of the communist authorities was a total support for the new system. Jewish organisations, which agreed to cooperate with the authorities, were loyal and obedient to its decisions. It should be stressed here that not all Jews supported the Communists²⁵.

From the very moment of liberation in January 1945, the Jewish population in Częstochowa was confronted with antisemitic sentiments. Even some of the Catholic clergy were unfriendly towards them. In his diary, one of the Jasna Góra monks noted, "Even the jews have now shown themselves (in the original "jews" written with a small "j" - A. S.), when it was thought that there weren't any "²⁶. The above quotation points to the fact that Poles did not expect that Jews, who had survived the Holocaust, would return. During the German occupation, they had got used to an absence of Jews in the public sphere. Now that the War had ended, the reappearance of the Jews was met with surprise. No one was pleased by their return.

²³ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 243, Situation Monthly Report for December 1946, k. 328; regarding elections to the Sejm on 19th January 1946. A broad range of literature arose on the subject of the Sejm election on 19th January 1946. Amongst examples of this: *The End of Yalta Illusions: the Falsified Elections – 19/01/1947*, ed. M. Wenklar, Kraków 2007; M. Skoczylas, *Election to the Sejm on 19th January 1947 in the Light of the Population's Complaints*, Warsaw 2003; J. Wtorkiewicz, *The Propaganda Activity of the Polish Army at the 1947 Sejm Elections*, Warsaw 2002; Cz. Osękowski, *Wybory do sejmu z 19 stycznia 1947 roku w Polsce*, Poznań 2000; *Kampania wyborcza i wybory do Sejmu Ustawodawczego 19 stycznia 1947.*, oprac. J. Wrona, Warszawa 1999.

²⁴ M. Pisarski, *Emigracja Żydów z Polski w latach 1945-1951 (Jewish Emigration From Poland 1945-1951)*, [w:] *Studies in Jewish History in Poland After 1945*, ed. J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1997, p. 40; A. Grabski, *Działalność komunistów wśród Żydów w Polsce (1944-1949) (Communist Activists Amongst the Jews in Poland 1944-1949)*, Warsaw 2004, pp. 171-173.

²⁵ K. Kersten, *Polacy Żydzi komunizm. Anatomia półprawd 1939-68*, Warszawa 1992, s. 84-86.

²⁶ Archiwum Jasnogórskie (Jasna Góra Archive) (AJG), The notes of Augustyn Jędrzejczak, Ref. 2878, 16th January 1946, k. 211.

An indicator of the dislike of Jews by Poles in Częstochowa was the spreading of various kinds of rumours and gossip²⁷. They were based on unsubstantiated information often contrary to the truth, such as that the Jews, as a group within society, were happy to support the government and had been given certain privileges. One rumour, which appeared in January 1946, was that all high positions of state were held by Jews who, in turn, were to make it difficult for Poles to engage in commerce. Moreover, Jewish people did not work in industrial plants but engaged in trade. As a result of this fact, there was to be a market shortage, for example, of coal²⁸. The next rumour was circulated two months later. The reason behind it was a shortage of flour and, in the process, of bread also. Rumours circulated in the district that the Jews had caused it due to their demand for matzah for the holydays. The authorities managed to eradicate it when transports of milled wheat arrived from the Soviet Union²⁹.

The causes of the rumours were not only the bad state of the economy and the resultant food shortages. The unstable political situation, following World War II, and the actions of the authorities, which were resisted by political and armed opposition, were also sources for rumours. Prior to the June 1946 referendum, rumours spread that Jews held all the positions of state³⁰.

This unverified information, which provoked the rumours, could have turned into a pogrom against the Jews. In Częstochowa, it did lead to such a situation on 18th June 1946, when the body of a fifteen year old girl was found. A Jew was suspected of the murder. He was arrested and placed into custody. For fear of the possibility of a pogrom against the Jews, the municipal authorities took cautionary measures³¹.

Following the Kielce pogrom, the situation in the Częstochowa district was so sufficiently serious and, in order to prevent another pogrom, that the authorities decided to issue a joint public statement with Bishop Teodor Kubina³². Apart from propaganda, the security services were to undertake protective measures. They acted only after the Kielce pogrom. Already, on the day following the Kielce pogrom, 5th July 1946, seven scouts were arrested for complicity in the assault of Jewish train passengers on the route between Częstochowa and Kielce. Not all of them could be proven guilty despite the brutal interrogation methods of the Częstochowa Security Service (UB). Five of them were released³³.

²⁷ Dariusz Jarosz and Maria Pasztor defined rumours in this manner - as certain *believable proposals* [...] usually spread from person to person, mainly (though not necessarily) by mouth, relating to events important to society events or to his group. So it is information neither proven nor defended. Plotka w tym ujęciu to <<pogłoska z małej litery>>. It usually contains unimportant, trivial and malicious comments, as a rule, about other people, often of a personal nature, circulated within a small group. [D. Jarosz, M. Pasztor, *W krzywym zwierciadle. Polityka władz komunistycznych w Polsce w świetle plotek i pogłosek z lat 1949-1956*, Warszawa 1995, s. 10-11]; confer. Ł. Kamiński, *Polacy wobec nowej rzeczywistości 1944-1948. Formy pozainstytucjonalnego, żywiołowego oporu społecznego*, Toruń 2000, s. 11-12.

²⁸ APK, WUiP, sygn. 28, Kwestionariusz sprawozdawczy za miesiąc styczeń 1946 rok, k. 4. APK, Kielce Province District and Municipal Departments of Information and Propaganda, (PiMOiPWK), Ref. 61, Report of the Częstochowa Municipal Department of Information and Propaganda for the month of March 1946., k. 7.

²⁹ APK, WUiP, Ref. 3, Minutes of the 15th XV Conference of Information and Propaganda Department Directors, 18th June 1946, k. 129.

³⁰ APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 207, Letter by the Mayor of Częstochowa to the Provincial Government in Kielce, 9th July 1946 r., k. 3;

³¹ APCz, ZMiMRN, sygn. 243, Monthly situation report, June 1946, k. 248.

³² J. Związek, *Ostatnie lata życia i działalność biskupa Teodora Kubiny (The Last Years and Activity of Bishop Teodor Kubina)* „Wiadomości Archidiecezji Częstochowskiej”, 2001, No. 2-4, s. 55; J. Związek, *Odezwy biskupa częstochowskiego dra Teodora Kubiny po pogromie kieleckim*, [w:] *Żydzi częstochowianie...*, s. 219222; o pogromie Żydów w Kielcach vide. *Wokół pogromu kieleckiego*, red. Ł. Kamiński, J. Żaryn, Warszawa 2006; K. Kersten, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach 4 lipca 1946 r.*, Warszawa 1996; *Antyżydowskie wydarzenia kieleckie 4 lipca 1946 r.*, t. 2, oprac. S. Meducki, Kielce 1994; B. Szaynok, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach 4 lipca 1946r.*, Wrocław 1992.

³³ Institute of National Remembrance Archives in Katowice (AIPN Ka), Ref. 011/1, t. 1, cz. 1, the ten-day report regarding Work of the MUBP investigator in Częstochowa between 27th June and 7th July 1946, k. 155.

Several days later, on 25th July, there was another attack on a Jew. This time, three Poles attacked J.J. on ul. Wilsona, with the intention of robbery. The assailants were apprehended by the militia and arrested³⁴. Both arrests could not be viewed in the same manner. The first arrests, a day after the Kielce pogrom, were an attempt to prove that the murder of Jews was the responsibility of the independence underground. The security services regarded the commendable work of the *Szare Szeregi* (*The Grey Ranks*), with the underground during World War II, as part of the armed underground. They were innocent, so five of them had to be released. The other two were probably released later. The second assault was predatory and had nothing to do with triggering a pogrom against Jews.

Jews, who survived the Holocaust and wanted to rebuild their lives in Poland, did not anticipate antisemitism. Many members of the Jewish community were convinced that it was just impossible to rebuild some form of everyday life – culture, religion, trade - similar to that which existed prior to World War II. In that situation, many Jews made up their minds to leave for Palestine.

³² AIPN Ka, sygn. 011/1, t. 1, cz. 1, the ten-day report regarding Work of the MUBP investigator in Częstochowa between 17th and 27th July 1946. , k. 153; APCz, ZMiMRN, Ref. 201, Situation report dated 25 June 1946, b. pag.; confer A.Szczypka, *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w powiecie częstochowskim w latach 1945-1956 - struktury i działalność*, (*The Security Apparatus in the Częstochowa District 1945-1946 – its Structure and Activities*) „Zeszyty Historyczne”, t. X, ed. M. Cetwiński, Częstochowa 2009, pp. 144-145.