

After the Storm

*"The desires in your heart which you want in vain to suppress,
storms, behinds the skies, hidden by the weather
and the stars, whose speech you cannot understand,
Joined by one force, your sails will lead.
So, yield your breast to the storm which blows the clouds,
Look at the fearless sky, thought you do not know what it foretells,
And swim, keeping swimming onward! You, too, will rest,
Big, quiet, calm, like the sea after the storm."*¹

In Częstochowa, despite the difficulties and high risks associated with leaving, the outflow wave increased with the passage of time following the end of the German occupation. The mood to emigrate became particularly common following the "Kielce Pogrom". At that time, whoever wanted to leave and could leave – left. Those, who for some reason could not or did not want to leave, remained and, once again, arranged their lives anew.

Halina Wasilewicz recalled:

*"My father stated his position clearly. During the period of Nazi occupation, when people were being transported from one end of Europe to the other – he had survived in his Częstochowa. His task was to stay here (and, as a sub-text,) [...] one of his relatives might return – one of his daughters [...], because a 'Częstochowianin' should return to Częstochowa or, at the very least, make themselves known [...]. So, he lived in Częstochowa and, with others who were like him, tried to live a normal life."*²

Just like her father, several hundred other Jews from Częstochowa did the same:³

Anna Goldman, who still lives in Częstochowa, explained her parents' decisions:

*"My family didn't think about emigrating. After the War ended, my uncle, aunt and my mother were all in their forties. Their wartime experiences made them feel twice as old. They didn't want to start their lives all over again. In Częstochowa, they had an established social position and work. They didn't even think about the idea of leaving and stating their lives anew."*⁴

The Jewish Committee, the Bund and the Zionists still operated in the city. There were also functional religious structures. However, the Jews did not feel totally safe. Following the wave

¹ J. Lechoń, *Burza* (excerpt). Jan Lechoń (1899-1956) – Polish poet, writer of prose and critic, co-founder of the "Scamander" literary group. He was an anti-communist, remaining in exile after the War.

² H. Wasilewicz, *Moje życie...*, op. cit., p. 396.

³ In October 1946, circa 1,200 Jews were registered with the District Jewish Committee, i.e., 55% of the number who were registered at the end of June 1946. In December 1947, this number of circa 860. From December 1947 to December 1949, 250 Jews emigrated from Częstochowa to Dolny Śląsk (171 people were registered with the Częstochowa *landsmannschaft*), to Łódź and Warsaw, probably seeking a sense of security in larger Jewish communities. So, circa 600 Jews remained in Częstochowa. For more, see, among others: D. Jarosz, *Częstochowa...*, op. cit., p. 38; L. Brener, *The Jewish Settlement...*, op. cit.; F. Tych, *Ocaleni...*, op. cit., p. 106.

⁴ A. Goldman, *Wywiad...*, op. cit., p. 415.

of anti-Jewish events, the Jewish Committee established a branch of the Special Commission (as in other towns, where Jews were living).⁵

Halina Wasilewicz recalled:

*“The tragic events in Kielce, in 1946, had a huge impact on the situation of the Jewish community in Częstochowa. For security reasons, a self-defence was established - my father (a former ŻOB member) and other armed men, stood guard in front of the orphanage”.*⁶



Military training of Jewish self-defence, Częstochowa, 1946.

Photograph: L. Kuszniir

A feeling of insecurity was quite common in the Jewish community. Not only Jews were aware of anti-Jewish sentiments. Their fears were also shared by the then authorities. A. Edelist experienced it himself:

“At that time, there was fierce antisemitism. I felt it in my class, despite having some good friends who defended me. An example of this intense antisemitism could be the fact that I was permitted to take a gun with me to my junior high school matriculation

⁵ The Special Commission – a Jewish paramilitary organisation, which was established after the Kielce pogrom (4th July 1946), with the aim of providing the Jewish population with self-defence. It existed for less than a year, but it had a significant impact upon stabilising the life of this community in post-War Poland. In principle, its branches were created within Jewish Committees. However, this was not always consistent. It, therefore, created its own administrative division, slightly different from that created by the Jewish self-government associated with the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (CKŻP). For more, among others, see: A. Cała, *Ochrona bezpieczeństwa fizycznego Żydów w Polsce powojennej. Komisje Specjalne przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów w Polsce*, Warsaw 2014; A. Grabski, *Żydowski ruch kombatancki w Polsce 1944–1949*, Warsaw 2002.

⁶ H. Wasilewicz, *Moje życie...*, op. cit., pp. 395-396.

*examinations. I sat for some examinations with a revolver in my pocket. (Let's not forget that these were the times of the Kielce pogrom.)"*⁷

Right after passing his examinations, A. Edelist, just like his entire family, left Poland. A Polish Jew, scarred by the recent past, who did not decide to leave (like Edelist and thousands of others did), had to face his fate as a Jew where he was – whether he wanted to or not.

In October 1946, the 49th anniversary of the Bund was celebrated in Częstochowa. The Bund was consistent in opposing Zionism and advocated for the reconstruction of Jewish life in Poland. Its cultural and information activities continued. Every week, lectures, discussions and talks were held. Artistic evenings were organised with the participation of, among others, the well-known actor Szmulik Goldsztejn.⁸ There were also special interest clubs. The Jewish problems of the day, including emigration, were hotly discussed.

In accordance with Bund tradition, the party endeavoured to be included in all aspects of political and social life. Its activists continued to be involved in the activities of the Jewish Committee. The entire party was involved in the referendum and election agitation⁹, supporting the people's [communist PPR] authorities.¹⁰ Overall, the Bund was getting closer to the PPR.



Częstochowa Bund activists in the May Day parade 1947.

Photograph: L. Kuszniir

⁷ A. Edelist, *Wspomnienia...*, op. cit., p. 208.

⁸ Szmulik Goldsztejn – a Polish-Jewish actor, famous mainly for his roles in pre-War Jewish films and Yiddish-language theatrical plays.

⁹ This concerns the parliamentary elections to the Legislative *Sejm*, held on 19th January 1947.

¹⁰ Among others, for more, see: L. Brener, *The Jewish Settlement...*, op. cit.

In Częstochowa, this took the form of the participation of PPR members in some Bund meetings, in inviting PPR representatives to lectures and talks, in establishing production cooperatives together with the communists or in the party's participation in the May Day parade, in which the Bund marched together with the municipal structures of the PPR.¹¹

The Częstochowa Bund took an active part in the life of the party nationwide.¹² In 1947, it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of its existence. In that same year, party representatives from Częstochowa (M. Kuszniir, M. Lederman, L. Brener) took part in the second party conference following liberation, during which L. Brener was elected as a member of the central authority.¹³ While organising life in Poland, the Bund did not forget about the Jews in Palestine. In March 1947, for example, they organised a rally in support of Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel¹⁴ and began preparations for the May Day parade.¹⁵ Details, in this regard, were determined by M. Kuszniir on behalf of the Bund.

In the 1947 May Day parade, according to witnesses, *"almost all working Jews in the city marched"*.¹⁶ At that time, funds were also collected to support the Palestinian army.

While the Bund pinned its hopes on the democratic development of Poland, the Zionists were working on organising mass emigration to Palestine. During this period, Częstochowa was visited by coordinators of Zionist parties endeavouring to revive the activities of Zionist groups. They were also conducting an ideological battle against the Bund and its concept of Jewish life. Even in 1948, the Union of Zionist Democrats were organising meetings regarding the problems of emigration to Palestine.

Religious life also had not ceased. The Jewish Religious Congregation had circa 120 members.¹⁷ With greater or lesser success, the Jewish Committee endeavoured to coordinate the activity of the Częstochowa Jews. As previously mentioned, that in order to provide jobs, the Częstochowa branch of the Jewish Committee established, among other things, the Tailors and Shoemakers Cooperative. Private tailoring, shoemaking and carpentry workshops were also established.

In December 1946, there were seventeen Jewish-owned workshops in Częstochowa, employing thirty-seven workers and thirty-eight working in cooperative workshops.

¹¹ For more, see: *A New Supplement to the Book „Czenstochover Yidn”*, New York 1958, source:

<https://www.czenstochowajews.org/history/yizkor-books/czenstochov/>,

translated from Yiddish to English, by the Wolf & Dora Rajcher Memorial Fund (accessed: 2nd June 2020).

¹² Bring the Bund closer to the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) and the policy of centralising social and political life, pursued by the Polish communists, first resulted (in 1948) the merger of part of the Bund with the PPR, the creation of the PZPR Fraction in the CKŻP, and then the dissolution of the party. In January 1949, the Extraordinary Conference of the Bund adopted a resolution to dissolve the party and called upon its members to join the PZPR. The activists, who did not agree to the merger, mostly emigrated to France. The Bund now survives as a small political movement, operating in countries such as Australia, the USA and Israel. For more, see J. Mizgalski, *Tożsamość polityczna polskich Żydów w XIX i XX wieku na przykładzie Częstochowy*, Częstochowa 2008; A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi w Polsce 1944–2010*, [in:] *Dzieje Żydów Polskich*, Second edition, Warsaw 2019; [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bund_\(partia\)](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bund_(partia)) (accessed: 2nd June 2020).

¹³ For more, see: R. Federman, *The “Bund” in Częstochowa in the Years Following the Second World War*, [in:] *A New Supplement...*, op. cit.

¹⁴ It was also an opportunity to raise funds to support the Palestinian army.

¹⁵ For more, see: R. Federman, *The “Bund”...*, op. cit.

¹⁶ For more, see: *ibidem*.

¹⁷ For more, see: D. Jarosz, *Częstochowa...*, op. cit., pp. 62–63.



In 1947, well-known Zionist leader, Luis Segal, visits the "Ichud" *kibbutz* in Częstochowa.

Photograph: probably L. Kuszniir.

Source: <https://www.czestochowajews.org/history/yizkor-books/czenstochov/>

In 1948, there were thirty people working together with the workshops. Seventy-three were employed in thirty-four workshops.¹⁸ The Committee was patron of these undertakings and, as far as possible, tried to support Jewish activities in this area. It also supported all activities to do with maintain Jewish culture, including the study of Yiddish.

With particular reverence, it cared to preserve the memory and the honouring of victims of German Nazism and of Jewish heroes of the occupation period. One of the Committee's important undertakings was organising the first national conference (reunion) of Częstochowa Jews in Poland, which took place in June 1948. Preserved meeting minutes¹⁹ shows that twenty-six delegates and forty-two guests (including representatives of the Central Committee of Polish Jews) attended the conference.²⁰

Above all else, those minutes are the quintessence of information about what the Jewish Committee managed to achieve after liberation. Secondly, thanks to its records, we know the list of places in Poland to which Częstochowa Jews left in large numbers. Thirdly, thanks to the data contained in the minutes, we have the possibility to learn the names of some of the most active Częstochowa Jews.

During the conference, the situation of Jews in Poland was discussed, with particular emphasis on the state of "*landsmannschaften*"²¹ scattered around the country. The minutes

¹⁸ For more, see: L. Brener, *The Jewish Settlement...*, op. cit.

¹⁹ For more, see: *Protocol of the First National Conference of Częstochowa Jews in Poland*, [w:] *A New Supplement...*, op. cit.

²⁰ For more, see: *ibidem*.

²¹ *Landsmannschaften*, loosely translated, an association of people from same region of the country, and their descendants identifying with that region of origik.

of this two-day meeting (19th-20th June) are, basically, a summary of the efforts of Częstochowa Jews, who had tied their lives to what was described as “Democratic Poland”.

They spoke of the presence of Jews in Częstochowa and their achievements – from the 18th century to the present day [authors: contemporary times, of course]. Speeches raised the issue of the productivity of Częstochowa Jews and thanked all Częstochowa Jews abroad for their help who, since liberation, had “*spiritually and materially supported the building of a new life in Democratic Poland*”.

During the conference, L. Brener and Kac (Chairman, Częstochowa *Landsmannschaft*) updated all participants with a detailed report on the social and financial activities of the Jewish community of Częstochowa since 17th January 1945.

Similar reports were presented by the chairmen of other *landsmannschaften* - Fuks (Łódź), Brum (Wałbrzych), Jakubowicz (Niederschlesien)²², Granek (Społeczność Religijna), Fridman (Szczecin), Biber (Oberschlesiu)²³. The report from Częstochowa Jews, in Warsaw, was presented by Mrs Lewartowska. The minutes show that there was a lively discussion of the presented reports in which, among others, “*Kempner, Izraelewicz, Rozański, Kuszniir, Landau, Horowicz, Wolf, Jakubowicz and Szychatow*” took part²⁴. The discussion endeavoured to outline the upcoming tasks and goals of the Jewish community associated with Częstochowa. The conference expressed its full support for all the activities undertaken by the Jewish Committee over the three and a half years since liberation.

Following the official closure of the conference, guests visited the recently-walled cemetery, as well as memorial sites, where the martyrs and heroes of the ghetto were honoured. Of course, there was a visit to the orphanage, an occasional ceremony and a discussion on culture and education.²⁵

At this point, it is worth looking a little wider at everything that was happening in the city and in Poland at that time. The new government had, in its own way, just conducted a referendum and elections. It had almost succeeded in defeating the armed underground, who were opposed to the political changes. Regarding the economy, the country was struggling, but also with an optimism, which was used by the authorities to lift itself from the ruins of war.

At that time, the state was placing an emphasis on allowing Jews to join into all areas of production, counting on their loyalty in exchange for equality and for the eradication of antisemitism. In post-War Poland, Jews found employment in various sectors of the economy – perhaps, for the first time, in the administration, police and army²⁶.

²² Niederschlesien – Dolny Śląsk.

²³ Górny Śląsk.

²⁴ *Protocol...*, op. cit.

²⁵ For more, see: *ibidem*.

²⁶ We add, here, that this also applied to the structures of political power and the security apparatus. The latter was not so much connected with Jewry, because the leading politicians or security officials did not represent the Jewish community, nor did they defend their rights. They were simply functionaries of the new government, who had Jewish origins. They were declared communists, concerned with their own careers, who had nothing to do with Jewry apart from their origins.

Jewish citizens, who had decided to remain in the country, had reasons to believe that, under the new system, their lot would improve. Following the hell of the Holocaust, they associated the Red Army with freedom and the Soviet soldiers seemed to be their saviours and the avengers of the deaths of their loved ones.²⁷ The splendour also fell upon soldiers of the Polish Army, who had accompanied them. So many Jews had willingly joined this army. It is no wonder that a large section of the Jews, in a completely different manner to that of the Poles, perceived the new system and the authorities as having willingly, in accordance with the officially proclaimed ideology, extended them helping hand.

After the War, in Poland, Jews basically had two choices – to take a chance on Zionism and leave or to stay and join into the construction of a new, political reality. Communism was attractive – it preached full equality of all people and the eradication of religious, racial and ethnic prejudices.

In the first post-War years, this was confirmed in practice. Immediately after the War, Jews were the only ethnic minority in Poland to enjoy a considerable autonomy. They had the right to associate together, create their own education system, enjoy religious freedoms and to run their own cooperatives. They were not prohibited from maintaining contacts with Jewish organisations in the West. Their choices, regarding decisions “to stay or leave Poland”, were respected. In order to increase their sense of security, the authorities even permitted the operation of an armed Jewish self-defence.

The main organiser of Jewish community life in Poland was the Central Committee of Jews in Poland. It became the platform for both cooperation and competition for all Jewish parties and political groupings. The main dispute, which was fought over, concerned the fundamental question – whether to stay or leave Poland. The Zionists urged people to emigrate to Palestine, while the Bund supported integration, while retaining one’s own Jewish identity.

The Bund understood that, as a party, it needed allies. Tactically, it was closer and closer to the PPR but, in terms of its program, it was closest to the PPS.²⁸ For that reason, during the 1947 parliamentary elections, the PPS and the Bund stood for election on a joint list.²⁹

The opposition to the Bundists were the Zionists, the most important group among them being *Ichud*. *Ichud* stood for the establishment of an independent state in Palestine. Particular currents of Zionism³⁰ wished to build this state based on an alliance with the USSR, the USA or Great Britain. Without resolving these differences, the Zionists organised emigration³¹ to

²⁷ “I was liberated on 16th January 1945. I was liberated, by the Red Army, from terrible German captivity, after which few Jews in Poland had survived. I saw my liberators in a different light from that of the majority of Poles. The later experiences of all of us Poles – Jews [and] Christians – could relate to the Soviet occupation, which was not as tragic as the German occupation. That is why I, as a boy, and we liberated Jews, saw the Red Army soldiers as great heroes, who had fought and lost millions of people in order to defeat the Nazis.”: Z. Rolat, *Mój wyjazd i powroty do Polski*, [in:] J. Mizgalski (ed.), J. Sielski (ed.), *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 17–18.

²⁸ Polish Socialist Party. Even before the War, together with the PPS, the Bund co-created the anti-Sanacja opposition. For more, see: J. Mizgalski, *Tożsamość polityczna...*, op. cit., pp. 235–261.

²⁹ It is worth noting here that, at that time, it was already evident that the programs of both the Bund and the PPS were included PZPR slogans.

³⁰ From ultra-orthodox to communist.

³¹ Hashomer Ha’Tzair (the Young Guard) as well as Poale Zion-Left (Workers of Zion) wanted to rebuild social life in Poland and then create the possibility of legal emigration to Palestine. The first goal was the reconstruction of Jewish community life in Poland.

Palestine. This was done by, among other things, establishing *kibbutzim*³², in which Jews were trained and prepared to leave for the Middle East.

Jewish left-wing activists saw, in the PPR government, a way to implement their social program and so supported communism for ideological reasons. If not ideological support, for its actions, the new authorities could count on the Jews' pragmatic support. Zionists, right-wing Jewish activists and even the religious orthodox assumed that, by supporting the new government, they were providing support to the Jews who had survived the Holocaust.

Taking advantage of the autonomy offered by the government, in the first years after the War, the Jews undertook the post-Holocaust resurrection of religious and political life, the revival of their own educational institutions, health protection³³ and links to economic³⁴ and cultural life.³⁵

Jewish parties operated freely, including those which promoted leaving Poland. In the Jewish community, despite the tragic experiences of the Holocaust, or perhaps because of them, pre-War political disputes were revived with full force. The dividing lines were traditional – religious or secular and emigration to Palestine or not.

As written above, each of these elements operated in Częstochowa. Was what was occurring, inside the Jewish community, important to the life of the city? Certainly, it was but, as in the whole country, at that time, it was on the margins. The Jewish community was relatively small. It was losing its numbers as well as its cultural and traditional coherence. It was “dissolving” into the general mass of society. In the visible landscape and, thus, in a social sense, the Jews had lost their difference from the rest.

Only the anti-Jewish riots, which took place at that time, reminded them and also the Poles that the pre-War demons could not, once and for all, be defeated, even after changing the government and the system. This was of huge importance to the Jews and to their choices. But post-War Poland and Częstochowa were living with different issues. Post-occupation reality was not easy. Destruction, supply shortages, in many cases the poor distribution of necessities, the shortage of raw materials, etc., became the causes for social tensions and economic difficulties.³⁶

Despite these adversities, the city fought for normality. Immediately after the Germans had been driven out, a City Council was “constituted” and began functioning. Following a period when there was a lack of raw materials, machinery and auxiliary materials, as well as provisioning problems, there was a certain normalisation and a time of reconstruction. The new social and organisational conditions, which emerged and gradually developed in the first year after the end of the War, inspired factory workers with a new strength for hard work.

³² Agricultural or production cooperatives.

³³ The activities of the Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population (TOZ) were reactivated which, in 1949 in Poland, ran a hospital, two sanatoriums, sixteen children's nurseries, an orphanage and four outpatient clinics. For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 399.

³⁴ Of great importance, and at the forefront, was the cooperative movement from the “Solidarity” Food Manufacturing Cooperative. At the beginning of 1949, it comprised 166 cooperatives, employing 14,000 people, half of whom were Jews. For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 399.

³⁵ In this respect, the Jewish Cultural Society had impressive achievements.

³⁶ It is sufficient to mention that, in June 1945, due to a lack of coal, the blast furnace, in the steelworks, was shut down.

Accumulating differences were overcome. Industrial plants, beginning with the larger ones, were gradually being socialised and entered the overall trend towards an orderly economy.³⁷ In the first three post-War years, industry in Częstochowa was mainly focussed on reconstruction, the removal of [the debris from] damages and losses. In March 1946, in Częstochowa, there were fifty state-owned plants employing nearly 13,000 workers, thirteen cooperative plants with nearly 280 employees, one local government (118 employees) and 175 private plants with over 2,600 employees.³⁸ Resulting from the government's preference for state-ownership, private initiatives retreated decisively.

The year 1949 was especially important for Częstochowa. The Government Presidium approved a long-term plan for the expansion of the city. This included a program to transform the Hantke Steelworks (from April 1952, known as the Bolesław Bierut Steelworks) into the second largest metallurgical plant in the country.³⁹ The construction of this plant was a decisive factor in the development of the city. Częstochowa, not only became economically ever more dynamic, but also expanded in area and institutionally. The industrialisation of the city resulted in a significant increase in the number of its inhabitants. In 1946, there were 102,000 citizens. In 1950, there were more than 112,000 and, a year later, almost 120,000.⁴⁰

This and other development of the city was decided by the central authorities in the "command and distribution" system. The characteristic feature of "the people's power" was, to be precise, centralism, which also left its mark on the fate of Polish Jews. The desire to supervise all areas of social life, despite the autonomy granted to Jews, could also not be avoided by this community.

A manifestation of central management was the establishment of the CKŻP [Central Committee of Polish Jews] which, itself being controlled by the authorities, was to supervise all aspects of Jewish communal activity. However, the religious sphere, which was very important to a large section of the Jewish community, remained beyond the reach of the CKŻP. That sphere was under the care of the Jewish Religious Association.⁴¹ In June 1946, at the request of religious activists' referring to tradition, the name was changed to the Jewish Religious Congregation.⁴²

The dominant political force, within the Congregation, was the *Mizrachi* religious party. Thanks to great support from Jewish communities in the USA and Western Europe, the party and the Congregation were able to conduct large-scale charitable activities, which won them over supporters. The communist authorities did not trust the Congregation, so they were constantly seeking ways to subordinate it, pressuring it to enter into the CKŻP structures. For mainly ideological and religious reasons, the Congregation did not wish to do so because of the Committee's decided secularism.

³⁷ H. Paronowski, *Przemysł i rzemiosło w powiecie częstochowskim w latach 1945-1970*, [in:] M. Stańczyk (ed.), "Ziemia Częstochowska" 1974, vol. X, p. 300.

³⁸ See: J. Naumiuk, *Początki władzy ludowej na Kielecczyźnie 1944-1947*, Lublin 1969, p. 169.

³⁹ See D. Jarosz, *Częstochowa w okresie stalinizmu 1948-1955*, [in:] K. Kersten (ed.), *Częstochowa, Dzieje Miasta...*, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴⁰ I. Walczak, *Sytuacja demograficzna Częstochowy w latach 1950-1970*, [in:] M. Stańczyk (ed.), "Ziemia Częstochowska" 1976, vol. XI, p. 43.

⁴¹ They operated on the basis of Circular No.3, issued on 6th February 1945, by the Ministry of Public Administration, on the "provisional regulation of religious matter of the Jewish population". For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, p. 400.

⁴² For more, see: *ibidem*.

Eventually, it did join the CKŻP and changed its name to the *Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego* (ZRWM) [the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith].⁴³ That whole process ended with the ZRWM being completely subordinated to and controlled by the Religious Affairs Office.⁴⁴

The People's Poland had now entered the decisive moment in the centralisation of the country's entire socio-political life. The symbol of this was the merger of the PPR and the PPS into the Polish United Workers' Party.⁴⁵

The dismantling of Jewish autonomy began with the reorganisation of the Jewish committees in such a way that the Zionists lost their advantage to the Jewish communists.⁴⁶ Subsequently, almost all Jewish organisations and political entities were liquidated or nationalised.⁴⁷ A corresponding move was made relating to finances. In December 1949, the activities of the JOINT in Poland were blocked. Thus, the aid, that Jews abroad were sending to Jews in Poland, was cut off, thereby condemning all Jewish organisations in the country to the "state pot".



1949 - Learning Yiddish at the District Jewish Committee.

Photograph: L. Kuszniir

At the turn of 1949 and 1950, most Jewish institutions and centres in Częstochowa, just as in the whole of Poland, were liquidated or nationalised.

⁴³ The ZRWM united Jewish religious congregations. The ZRWM's first chairman was Dr Szulim Treistman, Chief Rabbi of Dolny Śląsk. For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 401.

⁴⁴ For more, see: *ibidem*.

⁴⁵ PZPR – the Polish United Workers' Party – a communist party, established on 15th December 1948, through the merger of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party, following a purging of members in their ranks. It ruled the People's Republic of Poland in the years 1948-1989.

⁴⁶ For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 405.

⁴⁷ Jewish education, a separate health service and a separate cooperative headquarters were nationalised. Zionist organisations were ordered to self-liquidate. For more, see: A. Grabski, A. Rykała, *Żydzi...*, op. cit., p. 405.

On the wave of centralisation and the “*liquidation of the institutional separatism of the Jewish population in Poland*”⁴⁸, in 1948-1949, the People’s Poland authorities contributed to the ending of the activities of all Jewish parties and organisations in the country.

Apart from the still-functioning ZRWM, the exception was the Social-Cultural Association of Jews in Poland (TSKŻ). It officially began its activities on 25th October 1950.⁴⁹ A branch of the TSKŻ was in Częstochowa.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ For more, see: J. Mizgalski, *Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów w Polsce*, Warsaw 2010, p. 24.