

A QUESTIONNAIRE INQUIRY INTO THE JEWISH POPULATION OF WROCŁAW*

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INTRODUCTION

BETWEEN the Wars Poland had one of the largest Jewish populations in the world, 3,114,000 Jews having been enumerated in the census of 1931. This was a large Jewry, distinguishable from the rest of the population of Poland in a great number of respects, and culturally very much alive. Many studies were made of its economic problems and social characteristics.

The Second World War shattered it, for the German extermination of the Jews left few survivors on Polish soil. What proportion of Polish Jewry survived the tragedy it is very difficult to say. According to one estimate the remnant amounted to 300,000;¹ other calculations put the figure at 350,000.² And it is even more difficult to determine the present number of Jews in Poland, for some of the survivors settled permanently in the U.S.S.R., some left Poland between 1946 and 1949, and others left after 1956 as a result of the programme of family reunification which started in that year. We are not helped in this matter by the post-war censuses, for none of them divides the Polish population up according to nationality, because, whereas in the inter-war period national minorities made up about one-third of the total population, Poland is now almost entirely a uninationa! state. To have tabulated the population by nationality would not have been of any great use and would have considerably raised the cost of preparing the census results.

We are, of course, faced by a methodological difficulty in deciding to investigate a nationality. In demographic inquiries the question aimed at sorting out different nationalities can be put in different ways. We might ask: (1) what is the nationality to which a person considers himself to belong, or (2) what language he considers to be his mother tongue or the one he uses daily. Neither question is rigorous and each allows considerable latitude in interpretation and subjective choice. In some of the capitalist countries the question could be put in terms of religion,

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but this criterion is also insufficiently precise, and in the conditions prevailing in Poland today, when religion has become a personal matter for each individual citizen, this method of inquiry is completely unacceptable. Things being as they are, anybody interested in national minorities must undertake his own investigation, and for investigations of this kind the questionnaire method is very appropriate.

In order to inquire into various aspects of Jewish life in Lower Silesia we prepared a questionnaire containing the following groups of questions:

- (1) on personal data relating to the respondent;
- (2) on the respondent's family;
- (3) on the respondent's parents, next-of-kin, and spouse;
- (4) on the respondent's occupational training and present occupation;
- (5) on social problems and level of living;
- (6) on cultural problems; and
- (7) on social activities and processes of integration.

This sevenfold grouping contained a total of 130 questions. A feature of the inquiry that caused difficulty while the questionnaire was being prepared was the need to obtain answers not only about the respondent but also about his family. In practice the task of drawing up a family questionnaire was almost impossible, and some questions were therefore omitted in order to avoid overloading the questionnaire with detail.

When we cannot study a whole population we can obtain representative data on it only when the sample chosen is large enough and contains due proportions of all the groups in the total entity. It will be asked whether our sample has fulfilled these conditions. It must be stated (as I have already emphasized) that the number of the Jewish population is unknown. We were forced to resort to an estimate, making use of two figures: the number of repatriates of Jewish nationality and the number of subscribers to the Yiddish periodical *Folks-Shtimme* (*Glos Ludu*). If we assume that among our respondents the proportions of repatriates and subscribers to *Folks-Shtimme* are the same as their proportions in the total Jewish population, then we arrive at a total of 1,325 families (on the basis of the number of repatriates among the respondents) or 1,065 families (on the basis of the number of subscribers to *Folks-Shtimme*). The first figure must be considered too high, because the repatriates were, in general, more reluctant than others to fill in the questionnaire. The second figure, on the other hand, seems to be too low because when the questionnaire was being distributed subscribers to *Folks-Shtimme* were much more easily reached than others. On balance, we consider a reasonable estimate of the Jewish families in Wroclaw to be 1,200.

254 completed questionnaires were returned, which we may take to represent just over 21 per cent of the relevant Jewish population. The

sample may be considered satisfactory as long as we are satisfied that it embraced, in the right proportions, all social groups within the total Jewish population.

But before dealing with the last assumption we should make it clear that there were many different reasons why people did not fill in the questionnaire. In the first place, there is the well-known aversion on the part of our people from all kinds of questionnaires, and in particular from those containing questions of a personal nature. Other obstacles were the difficulty people had in understanding some of the questions and the failure to explain them on the part of those responsible for the distribution. Some people were reluctant to answer questions on their income and to mention who among their relatives had left Poland. It would be difficult to enumerate all the remaining reasons. It is necessary to add that some people were unwilling to reply because they feared that their response might be taken as establishing a link with the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. The point is made quite clear by a member of the liberal professions who, instead of sending back the questionnaire, wrote a letter which included the following passage:

Not being acquainted with either the Yiddish language or culture, I have never had any close and real contact with the Jewish population—except for family ties, of course, and emotional ties which I esteem very highly. In such a situation to take part in the inquiry, which you kindly invited me to do, seems to me not only superfluous, but also pointless.

We quote this fragment of an interesting and fairly long letter because the arguments used in it are certainly typical of a large number of intellectuals of Jewish origin.

It seems that the reasons preventing many people from responding to the questionnaire were so varied that we cannot speak of a single bias in the results we obtained. The range of people who responded is shown in Table 1.

We succeeded in reaching people in almost 90 establishments and institutions, but it is impossible to determine whether we have in fact included all occupational groups in the sample. But it is worth noting that, as far as the sex ratio of children in the surveyed families is concerned, there was a satisfactory balance, for the data show 194 boys and 195 girls.

It is necessary to say something about the way in which the questionnaire was sent out. The distribution was done mainly by members of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland,³ who handed out the copies of the questionnaire in establishments and institutions employing considerable numbers of Jews as well as in the Jewish club named after Joseph Lewartowski. To those people who could not be reached in any other way, questionnaires were sent by post along with a letter of explanation. The Press gave the inquiry much attention.

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TABLE I. *Respondents by branches of the national economy*

<i>Branch</i>	<i>Number of establishments and institutions</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>
1	2	3
1 Industry and crafts	34	117
state establishments	13	24
co-operative establishments	10	82
private establishments	11	11
2 Building	4	4
3 Transport	3	4
4 Trade	14	19
socialized establishments	9	14
private establishments	5	5
5 Housing and local administration	1	1
6 Education	8	21
higher education	4	9
7 Culture and art	3	3
8 Preventive medicine and hygiene	12	16
9 State and communal administration and courts of justice	5	5
10 Political, social and religious organizations	3	9
11 Practising lawyers	4	4
12 Rentiers	—	45
13 Unspecified occupation	—	5
liberal professions	—	1
housewives	—	1

A total of 870 questionnaires were sent out, nearly 30 per cent of which elicited replies. In view of the scattering of the Jews in a city of almost half a million inhabitants, we may take the results to be quite satisfactory.

This paper reports a preliminary inquiry into present-day Polish Jewry; no other investigation of the kind has been carried out since the end of the Second World War. The paper presents an analysis of the most characteristic of the data gathered in the questionnaire inquiry, adding a few explanatory notes. It is not intended to present an exhaustive analysis or set out to analyse the changes that have taken place in the population under investigation or to compare it with other populations of this or other periods. These comparisons will be made after data on other towns of Lower Silesia have been processed.

THE ROAD TO WROCLAW

In order to characterize the Jewish population of Wrocław we need to start the account with an analysis of its origin by regions and types of settlement. Table 2 shows where respondents lived in 1939.

Two features of the data need to be stressed. First, the information is

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TABLE 2. *Structure of respondents by residence, 1939*

<i>Region; country</i>	<i>%</i>
Poland within 1939 boundaries	90.8
Central region	38.6
Eastern region	10.7
Western region	3.6
Southern region	37.9
Abroad	9.2
U.S.S.R.	6.8
Total	100.0

derived from individual informants, a fact which accounts for the high proportion of people living in the U.S.S.R. in 1939. Second, the proportion of the respondents from the eastern part of Poland is much lower than the proportion of the Jewish population living there in the inter-war period. A more detailed characterization is given by Table 3 in which the respondents are traced to settlements of different size. Only one respondent in five came from a small town or village, a fact which may help explain why the Jewish population was able speedily to adapt itself to the living conditions of a large city.

TABLE 3. *Structure of respondents by size of settlement inhabited in 1939*

<i>Type of settlement</i>	<i>%</i>
Towns	
over 100,000 inhabitants	41.2
100,000-50,000 inhabitants	8.8
50,000-10,000 inhabitants	29.8
less than 10,000 inhabitants (including villages)	20.2
Total	100.0

The flow of the Jewish population into Wrocław has been continuous, but we may distinguish three main phases of the influx. 54 per cent of the respondents arrived in Wrocław in the years 1945 to 1948. 19.6 per cent were people who had come from other towns in Lower Silesia (and to a small degree from other regions of Poland) in a continuous flow since 1948—a process which has not stopped. 26.4 per cent of the respondents were repatriates during the period 1956-60.⁴ The data show that the majority of the population being investigated has been connected with Wrocław for a long time. It is interesting to note that, just as in the inter-war period, so now too, there is a steady movement of Jews towards the large towns. One-third of the sample population came to Wrocław either in the first period (1945-8) via smaller settle-

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ments and not direct from their original places of residence, or in the years 1948-60.

Table 4 shows where the respondents were during the German Occupation.

TABLE 4. *Structure of respondents by place of residence during the German occupation*

	%
U.S.S.R.	88.8
Territories occupied by the Nazis	5.6
Concentration camps	3.2
Ghettos	0.8
Other countries	1.6
Total	100.0

The majority escaped death only because they found themselves in the U.S.S.R. It is worth noting that almost 6 per cent of this group had been demobilized from either the Red Army or the Polish People's Army before reaching Wrocław. During the German Occupation nearly 6 per cent of the respondents had been in hiding (some behind 'Aryan papers') or had fought in partisan units. Only 4 per cent had been in concentration camps and ghettos.

The experience gained during the war by the people who found refuge in the U.S.S.R. (where they witnessed the heroic struggle of the Russian people) exerted an enormous influence on the minds of the Jewish population. The appalling German atrocities, which to us are only sad statistics, were to them immediate experiences.

TABLE 5. *Losses among close kin* suffered by the Jewish population of Wrocław*

	<i>Percentage of persons who perished during the Occupation</i>						<i>Total</i>	
	<i>All perished</i>	<i>100-80</i>	<i>80-60</i>	<i>60-40</i>	<i>40-20</i>	<i>20-0</i>		<i>Nobody perished</i>
Percentage of respondents	48.4	19.0	11.2	10.0	3.9	1.4	6.1	100.0

* Parents, brothers and sisters, spouses, children.

Almost half the respondents and their spouses lost all their relatives. Almost nine-tenths suffered the loss of more than half their relatives, and it should be explained that the majority of those relatives who survived had gone abroad before the outbreak of the Second World War.

This tragic remnant explains many of the facts which follow and makes us realize that a population which suffered so grievously cannot

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be identified with the inhabitants of pre-war Nalewski Street or Solski Square, or with the Jews of the small towns where 'the shoemaker was a poet, the watchmaker a philosopher, the barber a songster'. The population with which we are dealing is not only a mere remnant of pre-war Polish Jewry but also a radically different entity.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The wartime and post-war movements of the population left an indelible mark on its demographic composition. Beginning with the question of sex ratio, we may note the predominance of males. They form 57 per cent of the population investigated. For every 100 males there are only 75 females. The imbalance is explained by the fact that men were quicker in deciding to leave their homes and to try to flee before the flood of Hitler's barbarity. The influence of the war on the sex ratio becomes even more evident if we limit ourselves to the replies of people who were adults (20 years old and above) when the war broke out. Among them, for every 100 males there are only 45 females. Fig. 1 displays the age-pyramid of the sample population.

It should be noted first that children and young people up to the age of 20 form 43·1 per cent of the sample. But the numbers in this group are not evenly distributed. After an intense compensatory post-war increase in births there was a considerable decline; the age-group 10-19 represents 29·3 per cent, while children up to the age of 10 form only 13·8 per cent. These parameters show that there was a great decrease (by more than half) in the number of births. In the second place, the proportion of people in the age-group 20-40 is comparatively small. For both sexes it is only 17·5 per cent.

TABLE 6. *Civil status of the Jewish population of Wrocław**

	<i>Married %</i>	<i>Single %</i>	<i>Widowed %</i>	<i>Divorced %</i>	<i>Total</i>
Males	77·3	20·6	2·1	—	100·0
Females	71·9	24·1	3·0	1·0	100·0

* Persons aged 15 and over.

Table 6 shows the sample population distributed by civil status. The proportion of married males is higher than that of married females despite the fact that the sex ratio is 100 : 68 among people over 15. The disparity is accounted for by the high incidence of nationally mixed marriages, illustrated in Fig. 2 and Table 7.

As Table 7 shows, mixed marriages were very infrequent before the war. During and after the war such marriages considerably increased. Clearly, the nationality of the non-Jewish partner depended to a great

AGE STRUCTURE

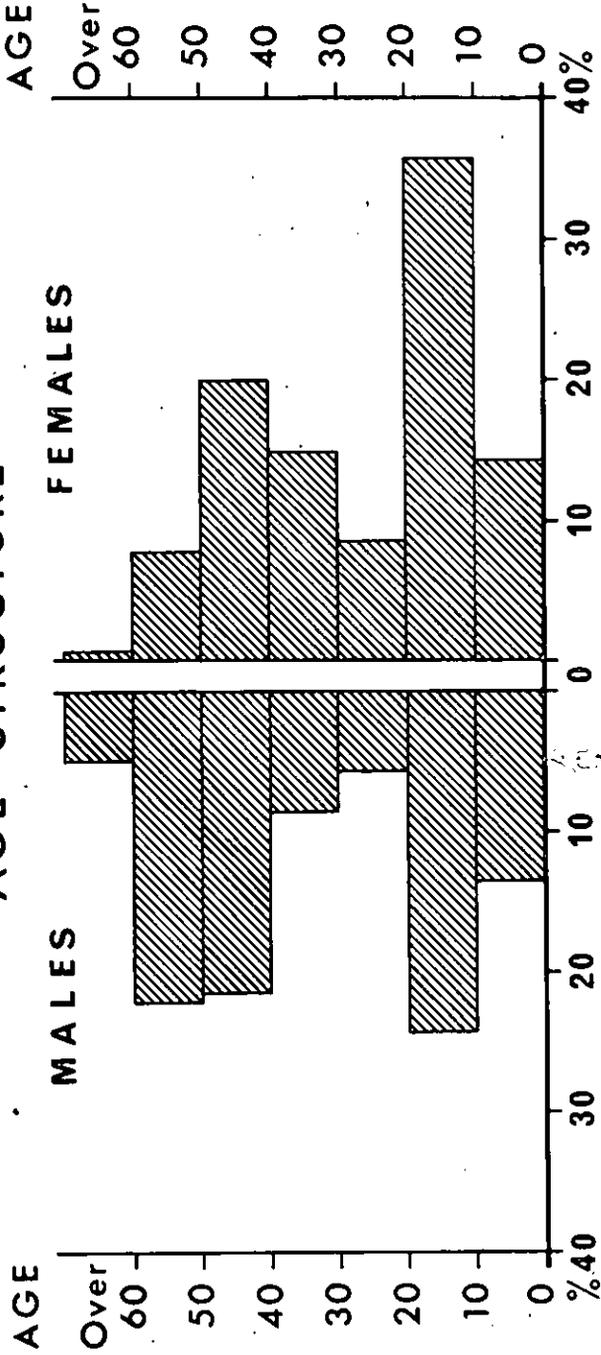


FIG. 1

extent on the period during which the marriage was contracted. During the war the majority were Russians, after the war Poles. Of these mixed marriages the vast majority (94.7 per cent) were contracted by Jewish men. We should note that mixed marriages did not take place in any one social stratum. They were found in all social groups. If we divide the sample of mixed marriages by educational attainment we get the

FAMILIES BY NATIONALITY OF MARRIAGE PARTNER

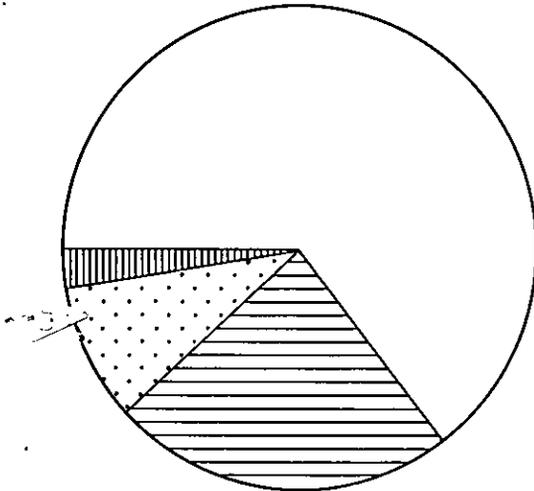


FIG. 2

following distribution of mixed marriages (Table 8). It should be added that the educational structure of those who are partners in mixed marriages does not differ significantly from that of the total sample of the adult Jewish population of Wrocław.

The small size of respondents' families is shown in Table 9. The average family size is 3.24 persons and certainly small. The size of the Jewish family was decreasing even before the First World War, but the process of reduction was intensified by the Second World War. Our respondents tended to marry quite late in life: the median age of marriage was 33.2 for men and 26.1 for women.

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TABLE 7. *Marriage partners by nationality*

<i>Nationality of the marriage partner</i>	<i>Marriage contracted (percentages)</i>		
	<i>before end of 1939</i>	<i>1940-1945</i>	<i>1946 and later</i>
Jewish	96.5	65.1	57.4
Non-Jewish	3.5	34.9	42.6
Polish	3.5	12.7	31.9
Russian and Ukrainian	—	22.2	7.4
German and Greek	—	—	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. *Educational attainment of respondents with non-Jewish spouses*

	<i>Elementary</i>		<i>Intermediate</i>		<i>Higher</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Not completed</i>	<i>Completed</i>	<i>Not completed</i>	<i>Completed</i>	<i>Not completed</i>	<i>Completed</i>	
Percent structure	19.5	23.4	18.2	16.9	3.8	18.2	100.0

TABLE 9. *Family structure by size*

	<i>Number of persons in the family</i>								<i>Total</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	
Percentage of families	12.2	12.2	26.8	40.1	5.9	2.4	—	0.4	100.0

EDUCATION

The analysis made here of the educational attainments of the Jewish population of Wrocław is largely confined to the people who have completed their education.

In this table 'veterans' are distinguished from repatriates. Among the repatriates there were fewer people in the first and last categories (i.e. of people who failed to complete their elementary education and of people who have had a higher education). This difference is balanced by the number of repatriates who completed their intermediate education. In the sample as a whole, one-fifth of the respondents did not complete their elementary education. This last point needs to be examined more closely, for the level of education reached must depend to a large degree on the age-structure of the sample.

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TABLE 10. Educational attainment of respondents, spouses and grown-up children*

	Elementary %		Intermediate general %		Intermediate technical %		Higher %		Total
	Not completed	Completed	Not completed	Completed	Not completed†	Completed	Not completed	Completed	
Total sample	19.4	25.7	7.3	11.1	10.8	7.6	4.8	13.3	100.0
'Veterans'	21.7	25.5	6.0	8.5	11.3	7.1	5.0	14.9	100.0
Repatriates	13.9	26.1	10.4	17.4	9.6	8.7	4.3	9.6	100.0

* Children living with their parents and no longer at school.

† Including those who had completed elementary technical school.

TABLE 11. Age of persons with no elementary education

Age group	Percent structure
Less than 30 years of age	1.5
30-39	5.9
40-49	39.6
50-59	42.6
60 and over	10.4
Total	100.0

In Table 11 more than half of the people who have had no elementary education are more than 50 years of age. (The median age is 50.7.) Only 7.4 per cent of the population in this table are under 40. In these circumstances it is very doubtful whether action aimed at improving the level of education would be successful. A large proportion of people in this group are artisans and tradesmen, a group for whom it is very difficult to provide any sort of adult education programme. The group also includes a number of people who describe themselves as being self-educated.

We must now turn to the question of vocational training and professional education, beginning with higher education.

Table 12 shows training in law, medicine, and economics to be dominant. The first two kinds of training reflect traditional Jewish inclinations, while the high percentage of people choosing to study economics is an aspect of social and economic change in Poland and of Jewish participation in that change. The small number of people with a training in agriculture is due not simply to the slight interest shown by Jews in this branch of study but also to its lack of relevance to people living a highly urbanized life. A similar line of reasoning cannot, how-

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TABLE 12. *Persons who completed higher education by course of study*

<i>Course of study</i>	%
Technical	5.7
Agricultural	5.7
Legal	20.8
Economics	20.8
Humanities	11.3
Maths-physics	7.5
Medical	20.8
Not specified	7.4
Total	100.0

ever, explain the small number of people with a technical education, most of whom have now left the country.

Table 13 shows the distribution of adults who have received a primary or intermediate education.

*TABLE 13. *Courses taken in elementary and intermediate technical education*

<i>Courses</i>	%
Technical	48.0
building	8.2
mechanical	8.2
electrical	4.1
Economics	17.8
Education	8.2
Health services	5.5
Clothing	6.8
General	2.7
Artistic	1.4
Not specified	9.6
Total	100.0

Almost half the people shown in Table 13 received a technical education, in contrast to the small percentage revealed in Table 12. In this connexion it is important to mention the education programmes conducted in recent years by O.R.T. (the Jewish organization for crafts and technical training). Of all respondents to the questionnaire and their spouses (including non-Jewish), 17.8 per cent took part in various courses organized by O.R.T. after its re-establishment in Poland. The courses were very popular among the repatriates. 27.2 per cent of the adult members of this latter group completed O.R.T. courses, while of the people who settled in Wroclaw before 1956 the percentage of those who had completed such courses was only 14.5. Women formed almost three-quarters of those who attended O.R.T. courses. Table 14 shows the distribution over the various courses.

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TABLE 14. *People who have completed O.R.T. technical courses*

<i>Type of course</i>	<i>%</i>
Cutting and sewing	37.4
Leather articles	12.0
Staymaking	7.2
Knitting	7.2
Book-binding	4.8
Electro-technical work	4.8
Weaving	3.6
Ladies' hairdressing	3.6
Bookkeeping	3.6
Plumbing	2.4
Carpentry	2.4
Driving	1.2
Chemical laboratory work	1.2
Linen manufacturing	1.2
Brushmaking	1.2
Purse-making	1.2
Cosmetics	1.2
Not specified	3.6
Total	100.0

It will be seen that over 45 per cent of all the O.R.T. trainees attended sewing and tailoring courses (including dressmaking and corset-making). To a large extent these courses provided skill for use in the home, for 71 per cent of the people who completed them did not earn their living. The same can be said of the courses in cosmetics and ladies' hairdressing. But the opposite is the case with trainees in plumbing, cabinet-making, and electrical work. All the people who completed these courses are at work in the trades for which they were trained, as are the great majority (83 per cent) of the trainees in leather work, book-binding, knitting, and textiles. These people were employed in the first instance by co-operatives set up under the auspices of the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. 53 per cent of the trainees are at work in their newly acquired trades, although in this respect the 'veterans' differ from the repatriates. The percentage among the former is only 44, but among the latter 67.

The great majority (69.6 per cent) of the children of our respondents fall outside the scope of the inquiry into education; they are either not yet at school or only at an early stage of elementary education. Of the secondary school pupils the majority attend schools which provide an all-round education. The types of higher schools most favoured by Jewish students in Wroclaw may be better illustrated by the distribution of the scholarships awarded by the Social and Cultural Association of the Jews in Poland than by data drawn from the questionnaire inquiry (see Table 15).

The most popular choice is medicine, one-third of the students opting

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TABLE 15. *Students in receipt of scholarships given by the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland in the academic year 1960-1*

<i>Courses of study</i>	%
University	24.5
maths, physics, chemistry	10.5
Institute of Technology	28.1
communications	14.0
Higher School of Agriculture	7.0
Higher School of Economics	3.5
Medical Academy	33.3
School of Music	1.8
Academy of Arts	1.8
Total	100.0

for this course of study. Medicine is followed by polytechnical studies. It is also worth noting the interest shown in the natural sciences: 10 per cent of all the recipients of scholarships are studying mathematics, physics, or chemistry.

OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF LIVING

Data on employment occupy a central position in the information collected in the course of this inquiry. Occupational structure and working conditions determine many other parameters characteristic of a given group.

We may begin the review of problems relating to employment by attempting to arrive at the general degree of economic activity. The value of such an index calculated as the ratio of economically passive to economically active persons, lies in the fact that it allows us to state how many people without a source of income are dependent on a person who is either employed or has some other source of income (e.g. rent, retirement pension, etc.). In the families of our respondents (including non-Jewish spouses) there were 358 economically active and 461 economically passive people. The index of economic activity ($\frac{461}{358}$) is 1.29. This is a very low index indeed and can be explained only by the small size of the respondents' families and by the quite considerable percentage (14.5) of rentiers among the economically active.

But it must be emphasized that the index calculated for the 'veteran' inhabitants of Wroclaw is radically different from that calculated for the repatriates. For the former group it is 0.86 and for the latter 2.57. The basic reason for this striking divergence lies in the different age-pyramids of the two groups and their different structures of civil status and family size. The majority of the repatriates are young people, most of them married; only 7.1 per cent of this group are single. Among the

TYPE OF OCCUPATION

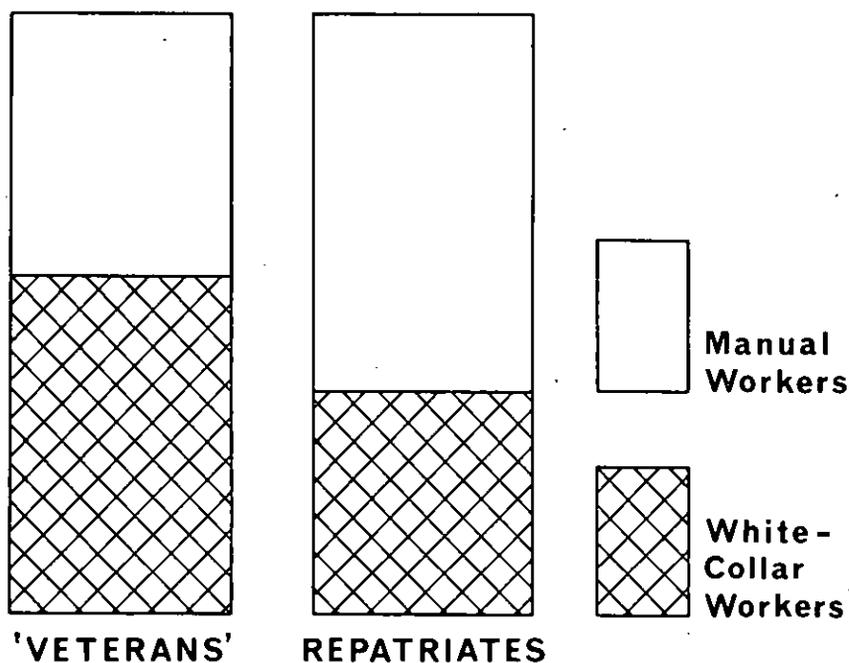


FIG. 3

'veterans' the percentage is nearly twice this figure (13.9). Furthermore, the majority of the repatriates' children are of school or pre-school age, a fact which prevents their mothers from taking up employment.

14.5 per cent of the economically active 'veterans' and 14.4 per cent of the economically active repatriates are rentiers. Consequently the employment indices of the two groups do not differ significantly from their indices of economic activities. The employment index (the ratio of employed to non-employed) is 1.17 for the 'veteran' inhabitants of Wroclaw and 3.16 for the repatriates. For the whole of the population investigated the figure is 1.67; that is, for every ten persons nearly four are gainfully employed.

We come now to the kinds of occupation taken up by the respondents and members of their families (excluding non-Jewish spouses). There is very nearly a perfect balance between white-collar workers and manual workers (51 and 49 per cent respectively) among those working in nationalized establishments and institutions, in social bodies, and the liberal professions. But (see Fig. 3) the 'veterans' and the repatriates

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TABLE 16. *Occupational structure of the Jewish population of Wroclaw*

Occupation	%	Occupation	%
Industry and building	56.3	Transport (including railways) drivers	1.2
Leather and shoemaking	12.7	Trade	6.1
furriers	4.6	salesmen in socialized establishments	3.5
shoemakers	1.8	private traders	1.8
gaiter makers	1.4	Housing and local administration	0.5
leather goods	3.9	Education, science and culture	9.9
Clothing	12.4	research workers	3.9
tailors	8.8	teachers in intermediate schools	2.1
Textiles	3.3	general and technical manual workers in schools	0.7
weavers	1.4	white-collar workers in schools	0.7
Printing	2.9	journalists	0.7
book-binders	2.1	Health services*	6.1
Woodwork	2.6	doctors of medicine	2.5
carpenters	1.8	doctors of stomatology	1.8
Meat industry	0.8	Public administration and justice	3.3
Brush-makers	1.2	lawyers	1.8
Electro-technicians	3.3	Political, social and religious organizations	2.9
Plumbers	1.9	Hairdressers	2.6
Metal-workers	1.5	Manual workers (work not specified)	1.5
Industrial and building painters	1.5	White-collar workers (work not specified)	9.9
Transport workers	0.8		
Industrial workers (occupation not specified)	1.6		
Engineering-technical workers	1.2		
Administration in industry and building	4.9		
economists	1.4		
book-keepers	0.7		
store-keepers	1.1		
supplies and sales	1.1		
White-collar workers in industry and building (type of work not specified)	3.6	Total	100.0

*Excluding research workers in the Medical Academy.

differ markedly in this respect. Manual workers predominate among the repatriates, while there is a slight majority of white-collar workers among the 'veterans'.

We need finally to turn to the occupational structure of the sample. Certain cautions must be entered. First, we do not know how far we succeeded in reaching all sub-groups of the relevant population. Second, the questions put in the questionnaire did not provide sufficiently precise definitions of the kinds of work performed; in consequence, we cannot determine the character of the occupations of a large group of people.

It will be seen from Table 16 that we are unable to place just over 11 per cent of the sample in a particular branch of the economy. Within industry we cannot place just over 8 per cent in a particular sector or occupation. But this shortcoming, while casting some doubt on the indices calculated, does not invalidate the generalizations to be made from the data.

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We may deal first of all with the hierarchy of sectors of employment according to the number of Jews employed. In industry (including building, in which a negligible number of Jews are employed) we find six out of every ten employed persons. One-tenth of the sample is employed in education, science, and culture. The next two places in the hierarchy are taken by the health services and trade. Before the war, trade played a preponderant role in Polish Jewish occupational structure; it has now greatly receded.

Of the industrial workers the most frequently represented are tailors, furriers, leather workers, and electrical technicians. The first pair of these occupations are traditional among Polish Jewry; the present role of the second pair shows how change has taken place. It is also worth noting that the representation of medical practitioners and scientific research workers in the sample is comparatively large.

TABLE 17. *Length of employment*

	Length of employment period, in years (percentages)									Total
	Less than 1 year	1-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30 and over	
Total sample	7.5	16.6	5.9	5.3	16.0	13.3	8.1	5.9	21.4	100.0
'Veterans'	6.6	9.6	4.4	5.9	19.8	14.7	5.9	7.3	25.8	100.0
Repatriates	9.8	35.3	9.8	3.9	5.9	9.8	13.7	2.0	9.8	100.0

Table 17 shows the length of time spent in present occupations. It will be seen that very few of the respondents are newcomers to their present occupations. Almost 65 per cent of the sample have been employed in the same occupation for over ten years, but there is a marked difference in this respect between 'veterans' and repatriates. The median length of employment for the 'veterans' is 16.3 years, that for the repatriates only 5. The difference is due not only to the younger average age of the repatriates but also to the fact that most of them had to be trained and to start a new trade when they got to Wroclaw.

Are our respondents satisfied with their present jobs? 77 per cent of them said they were. Of those who said they were not satisfied, the majority were repatriates, 30 per cent of whom said they were dissatisfied, as against some 20 per cent of the 'veterans'. The reasons for dissatisfaction are varied. Of the dissatisfied, 60 per cent expressed the wish to change their employment. The vast majority of the dissatisfied are people not employed in the jobs for which they were trained. For example, a repatriate shoemaker who has been working for the past year as a leather-worker wants to return to his original trade; a white-collar worker would like to work as a motor mechanic, and has indeed started to learn this trade in an O.R.T. course; a shopkeeper would like

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to go back to his work as a building technician; a repatriate cashier who has had a higher education says that he would like to be a librarian.

Some people are dissatisfied because they find the work too heavy, as in the case of a taxi-driver of 63. Some people want to change their jobs because of low wages. For example, a storekeeper earning 1,500 zl. a month, on which he has to keep a family of six, says that he would like to take any job which would give him a living wage for his family. A repatriate worker with three people to support and earning 700 zl. a month expressed the same desire. (It should be noted that the questionnaires were completed before the general increase in wages on 1 August 1961.)

TABLE 18. *Families by average monthly income per person*

	<i>Income in zl.</i>								<i>Total</i>
	<i>Up to 400</i>	<i>401 to 600</i>	<i>601 to 800</i>	<i>801 to 1,000</i>	<i>1,001 to 1,200</i>	<i>1,201 to 1,500</i>	<i>1,501 to 2,000</i>	<i>Over 2,000</i>	
Percent of families	15.3	28.0	21.6	16.1	5.8	7.0	2.9	3.3	100.0

The distribution of incomes is given in Table 18. The data show that the median income per person is 663 zl. per month. More than 40 per cent of the families do not have more than 600 zl. per month for the maintenance of one person, while only about 20 per cent receive 1,000 zl. per month per person. Is the material reliable? Data on income, and not only those derived from questionnaire inquiries, give rise to all sorts of misgivings, but there is in fact nothing to suggest that the indices derived from our data are more erroneous than those derived from other inquiries of the same kind. There seems to be no reason, therefore, to question the validity of our data. Let us turn to the discussion of the levels of monthly income postulated by our respondents. The answers received to the question, 'What sum, in the respondent's opinion, is necessary to maintain his family?' were quite uniform. All the respondents understood that the question concerned the income needed to secure a minimum standard of living. The median level of postulated

TABLE 19. *Incomes postulated for support of one person per month*

	<i>Postulated incomes in zl.</i>								<i>Total</i>
	<i>Up to 400</i>	<i>401 to 600</i>	<i>601 to 800</i>	<i>801 to 1,000</i>	<i>1,001 to 1,200</i>	<i>1,201 to 1,500</i>	<i>1,501 to 2,000</i>	<i>Over 2,000</i>	
Percent of respondents	—	12.4	28.0	30.6	9.3	11.4	4.7	3.6	100.0

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income is 863 zł. per month, that is to say, 30 per cent more than the income received, a difference which does not seem very great. There is a strong relationship between the income postulated and that received: higher postulated incomes correspond with higher received incomes, as Fig. 4 shows. With one exception (due probably to the small number of families in this group: 17) the curve of postulated incomes rises with that of incomes received.

Before we conclude the review of this part of our survey it is worth seeing how the respondents evaluate their present jobs and incomes in relation to their previous conditions. More than half the repatriates

TABLE 20. *Comparison of working conditions in Wrocław with those in previous place of residence*

	<i>Opinion of working conditions</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Worse</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Better</i>	
Total sample	31.4	6.8	61.8	100.0
'Veterans'	23.4	7.0	69.6	100.0
Repatriates	51.0	6.4	42.6	100.0

consider their present working conditions worse than those of their earlier homes. In contrast, two-thirds of the 'veterans' are satisfied. As one might have assumed *a priori*, the complaints come mainly from those who have moved from the towns of Lower Silesia.

A similar picture emerges from the replies on earnings. About 70 per cent of the repatriates in Wrocław earn less than before, and only one person in five says that his material position has improved. Among

TABLE 21. *Wages and salaries in Wrocław compared with those in previous place of residence*

	<i>Level of present income is</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Lower</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Higher</i>	
Total sample	46.5	4.5	49.0	100.0
'Veterans'	37.6	2.4	60.0	100.0
Repatriates	68.6	9.8	21.6	100.0

those longer settled in Wrocław the situation is somewhat different, although those now earning less are more numerous than those whose working conditions are worse. Among those whose earnings are now smaller, 64 per cent are immigrants from other settlements in Lower Silesia. It is clear that the continuous flow of the Jewish population into

RECEIVED AND POSTULATED INCOMES FOR MONTHLY
UPKEEP OF 1 PERSON

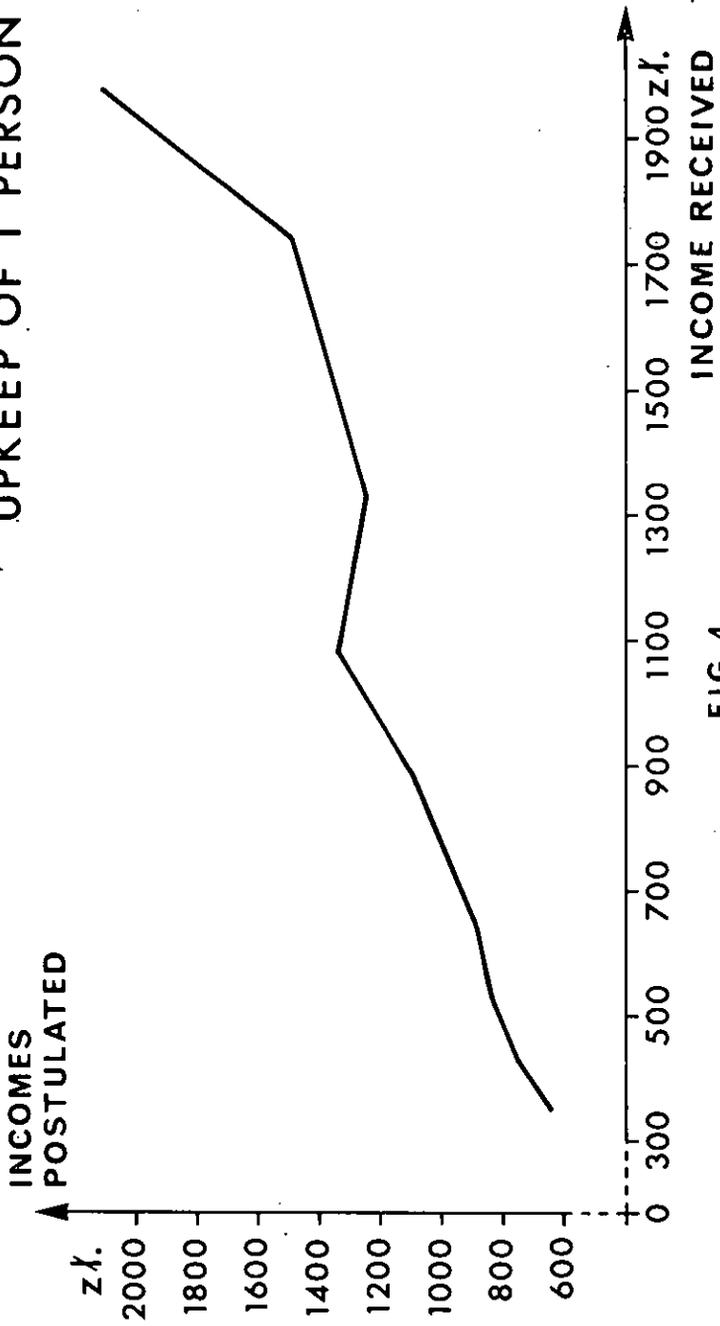


FIG. 4

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Wrocław is due in the main to the amenities and cultural and scientific attractions of a large town.

CULTURAL INTERESTS

Let us begin with the readership of daily papers and periodicals. The respondents mentioned over a hundred papers and periodicals read regularly. Among the papers and periodicals mentioned were not only those in Polish, but in Yiddish, Russian, English, French, German, Hebrew, and Esperanto. Of the Wrocław dailies, *Gazeta Robotnicza* is more widely read (158 respondents) than *Słowo Polskie* (129 respondents). (Some respondents mentioned both papers.) Of the Warsaw dailies, the most popular is *Trybuna Ludu*, read by 69 respondents; it is followed by *Kurier Polski*, taken by 29 respondents. The Yiddish paper *Folks-Shtimme* has the largest number of permanent subscribers among our respondents.

Among the Russian dailies the most popular is *Pravda*, which is read by five times as many respondents as *Izvestia*. *Przekrój* is the most popular of the magazines (mentioned by one in four of the respondents), followed by *Panorama* (32 readers). One in six of the respondents mentioned the women's weekly *Przyjaciółka*. The following literary and cultural periodicals are read: *Polityka*, *Przegląd Kulturalny*, and *Nowa Kultura*.⁵ Very few people read the Wrocław literary periodical *Odra*. On the other hand, the atheistic *Argumenty* enjoys wide popularity. Among political periodicals *Nowe Drogi* is widely read. The Yiddish literary periodical *Yiddishe Shriftn* is regularly read by 35 respondents. Naturally, nearly all the lawyers mention *Państwo i Prawo*, the doctors *Służbę Zdrowia*, and the economists *Życie Gospodarcze* and *Ekonomiście*.

We did not ask the number of books recently read, but we did ask the number of books bought (excluding textbooks) and whether the respondent or a member of his family made use of the public libraries. The median number of books bought in the course of the previous year is 15. It is interesting that the repatriates, having a smaller number of intellectuals among them and being worse off materially, should buy

TABLE 22. Families by number of books* bought in the course of the previous year

	Number of books bought (percentages)							Total
	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31 and over	
Total sample	21.4	7.5	9.5	12.4	14.9	15.3	19.0	100.0
'Veterans'	24.3	7.7	10.5	10.5	15.6	14.3	17.1	100.0
Repatriates	13.1	6.6	6.6	18.0	13.1	18.0	24.6	100.0

* Excluding school textbooks.

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more books than the 'veteran' inhabitants of Wroclaw. The influence of age structure on readership is shown in this apparent paradox. One-fifth of the whole sample do not buy books at all, but it does not follow that they do not read them. 57.3 per cent of the repatriates and their families use the public libraries. It is again worth noting that the proportion is higher among the repatriates (62.9 per cent) than among the 'veterans' (55.5 per cent).

TABLE 23. *Families buying books in various languages in the course of the previous year*

	Language of publication	Percentage of books bought in given language						Total
		0	0-25	25-50	50-75	75-100	100	
Total sample	Polish	12.8	12.3	27.9	22.4	10.2	14.4	100.0
	Yiddish	32.7	10.7	24.0	16.0	6.4	10.2	100.0
	Russian	55.7	25.1	12.3	5.3	1.6	—	100.0
	Other	80.2	17.1	1.6	1.1	—	—	100.0
'Veterans'	Polish	8.9	6.7	26.7	25.9	12.6	19.2	100.0
	Yiddish	40.0	11.1	20.0	14.1	5.9	8.9	100.0
	Russian	65.1	20.8	11.9	1.5	0.7	—	100.0
	Other	78.5	17.8	2.2	1.5	—	—	100.0
Repatriates	Polish	23.1	26.9	30.8	13.4	3.9	1.9	100.0
	Yiddish	13.4	9.6	34.7	21.2	7.7	13.4	100.0
	Russian	30.8	36.5	13.4	15.4	3.9	—	100.0
	Other	84.6	15.4	—	—	—	—	100.0

TABLE 24. *Attendance at theatres, operas, and concerts⁶*

	Frequency					Total
	None	Very rare	Rare	Frequent	Very frequent	
Total sample	20.3	17.3	12.9	12.9	36.5	100.0
'Veterans'	20.7	15.4	9.5	12.4	42.0	100.0
Repatriates	19.1	22.2	22.2	14.3	22.2	100.0

Table 23 shows the percentages of books bought in various languages. Most of the families buy Polish books. In only 12.8 per cent of the questionnaires is this language not mentioned. Naturally, among the 'veterans' the percentage is even lower. The proportion of those buying only Polish books needs to be emphasized. The large number of books bought in Russian, especially by the repatriates, is not surprising. Apart from books in Polish, Yiddish, and Russian, people mostly buy books in English, but also in French, German and Esperanto.

We may now turn to attendance at the theatre, opera, concerts, and the cinema. A special question was put about attendance at the State Yiddish Theatre from Warsaw which comes to Wroclaw as a guest company. It will be seen from Table 24 that one-fifth of the respondents

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are not interested in the theatre at all, while one in six attends performances very rarely. On the other hand, there is an almost equally large group of people (36.5 per cent) who go to the theatre very often, and a considerable proportion of this group do not miss a single performance. On some of the questionnaires returned by people who do not go to the theatre at all, we noted such remarks as 'Tickets are too dear for us'. The expense explains to a great extent why the proportion of those not attending the theatre or attending only rarely is almost similar in both groups ('veterans' and repatriates), a marked divergence appearing only among those who go to the theatre very often.

Table 25 shows attendance at the State Yiddish Theatre. If we com-

TABLE 25. Attendance at the State Yiddish Theatre⁷

	Frequency					Total
	None	Very rare	Rare	Frequent	Very frequent	
Total sample	9.1	5.2	13.3	23.7	48.7	100.0
'Veterans'	11.2	5.9	12.4	24.9	45.6	100.0
Repatriates	3.2	3.2	15.8	20.6	57.2	100.0

pare Tables 24 and 25 we see that the Yiddish Theatre is more popular. It will be noted that almost half the respondents go regularly to the Yiddish Theatre, which is especially popular among the repatriates.

We come now to cinema attendance. About one-third of the re-

TABLE 26. Cinema attendance

	Average per month				Total
	Once or less	2-3	4-5	6 and more	
Total sample	31.4	29.0	26.5	13.1	100.0
'Veterans'	32.6	32.6	24.8	10.0	100.0
Repatriates	28.1	18.8	31.3	21.8	100.0

spondents go to the cinema sporadically. Almost 40 per cent are regular cinema-goers. Of course, the spread of television has lowered cinema attendance markedly; one family in every five in the sample owns a set.

The Jews of Wroclaw also take advantage of the cultural activities organized by the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. There are regular 'Friday evenings' of lectures and entertainment, and recreational facilities provided in the Lewartowski Club. Table 27 shows the popularity of the 'Friday evenings'. Over half the re-

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TABLE 27. *Number of times in the course of the previous year the respondents attended 'Friday evenings'*

	Number of 'evenings'							Total
	0	5 or less	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-29	30 and over	
Percent of families	33.5	23.2	10.5	6.3	6.3	1.3	18.9	100.0

spondents do not take part in these 'evenings', but there is a large number who are regular participants. Table 28 shows the frequency of

TABLE 28. *Number of visits by respondents to the Lewartowski Club during the course of one month*

	Number of visits							Total
	0	1-2	3-4	5-7	8-12	13-16	17 and more	
Percent of respondents	35.0	17.3	13.6	7.8	9.0	4.9	12.4	100.0

visits to the Lewartowski Club. Over half the respondents do not go to the Club at all, while one person in four visits it rarely and one in five habitually. It is worth noting that one respondent in six visits some club. It can be seen from the data in Tables 25, 27 and 28 that the theatrical performances are the most popular of the activities designed for the Jewish population.

ATTACHMENT TO WROCLAW

It is not easy to discover the extent to which particular groups of its population are attached to the city of Wrocław. The links binding people to its life are highly complex and of different kinds. A population made up of people coming from many different parts of the country will undoubtedly become more and more unified, but in the earlier years the various groups of settlers not only lived in isolation from one another but were also mutually antagonistic. A person's attitude is shaped by his past experience, by the milieu from which he comes, and above all by his family and social ties. The society of the immediate post-war years was atomized because of differences in education and occupation. People were cautious in making new friends; they lacked confidence and were sometimes frightened.

The political and economic changes of the last two decades have

exerted an enormous influence on the development of social relationships. Economic factors have undoubtedly been at the root of the process of integration, helping along the development of a sense of belonging to the new urban entity. The most important social bond is work. Working conditions, the attachment of a man to his job, the satisfaction it gives him, relations with fellow workers and managers, and the level of earnings—all these unite the workers with the establishment in which they are employed and help them to form a stable entity. From this attachment flows local patriotism. And it is obvious too that housing conditions play a role.

It would be absurd, however, to see this question exclusively in the light of economic factors. Other elements are involved, such as the formation of new family ties, the making of new circles of friends, involvement in social activities, participation in the cultural and intellectual development of the city, the formation of new sentiments, and so on. And new social ties are made not only by reason of regular contacts but also as a result of occasional encounters.

If the stability of the whole population of Wrocław is a complicated matter, that of the Jews of the city is a hundred times more complicated. The Jewish population was brutally uprooted from its original home by the war. No Jew moved of his own free will. All were forced. Mass extermination led to the total disruption of traditional and family ties, which were eventually replaced by new friendships and by contacts with relatives abroad. It must be stressed that the absence of family ties in the country was not conducive to the stability of the Jewish population. As our material shows, 45 per cent of the respondents and their spouses have their next-of-kin abroad.

The bitterness of the relationship between Poles and Jews in the past had a disturbing influence on the stability of Jewish life in post-war Poland. We must view this problem through the wartime experiences of both parts of the population and in the light of the social and political changes brought about by the destruction of the war. Complexes and animosities that have been formed and cultivated for generations cannot simply be removed by the touch of a magic wand. It is a long business, and neither an act of will by an individual nor a single piece of legislation can remove the trouble; for this reason the course of events has not been smooth. One must be very shortsighted not to see the difficulties, but at the same time one would need to be a malicious enemy of the regime not to see that an enormous change for the better has been brought about since the Liberation of Poland.

Some of the ways in which Jews are tied to the city have already been discussed. The occupational structure shows that the age-old isolation of the 'occupational ghetto' has disappeared. Material and working conditions reveal that the situation of the respondents has been improved. Adaptation to the city has been made easier by the fact that

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the majority of the respondents came from big cities and sizable towns; the survey of cultural interests demonstrates that our informants take full advantage of the amenities of a big city.

We must now turn to other matters bearing on the stability of the Jews of Wroclaw. Everyone concerned with resettlement knows the importance of housing, and this question must be discussed. The average (median) density per room is 1.26 persons. These conditions are some-

TABLE 29. *Families by average number of persons per room*

	Number of persons per room							Total
	0.8 and less	0.8 to 1.2	1.2 to 1.4	1.4 to 1.8	1.8 to 2.0	2.0 to 3.0	Over 3.0	
Percent of families	8.1	34.9	25.5	12.8	13.2	3.7	1.7	100.0

what better than for the city as a whole as established by the population census taken in December 1960. Obviously, the housing of the repatriates is worse than that of the people established in Wroclaw before 1956. The comparison between present and past housing conditions is given in Table 30. Two points need to be emphasized. First, contrary to

TABLE 30. *Housing conditions of respondents in Wroclaw compared with those in previous place of residence*

	Worse	Same	Better	Total
Total sample	33.0	6.1	60.9	100.0
'Veterans'	31.6	3.8	64.6	100.0
Repatriates	37.0	13.0	50.0	100.0

their experience in respect of earnings and working conditions, the repatriates have improved their housing by coming to Wroclaw. Second, among the 'veterans' 60 per cent with worse housing conditions came from other towns.

TABLE 31. *Relations with neighbours*

	Opinion of relationship						Total
	Very good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very bad	No relations	
Families	12.8	71.4	6.0	4.7	1.7	3.4	100.0

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A factor closely connected with housing and bearing on the stability of the population is the relations formed and maintained with neighbours. Almost 85 per cent of the respondents state that their relations with their neighbours are 'good' or 'very good'. Some of those who gave opposite answers stated their reasons. One of our informants writes: 'Bad because of a common kitchen.' Another says: 'Get on well with the Poles and badly with the Jews.' As we can see, the animosities which occur in every group make their appearance here. There were a few more specific reasons given. One brief remark was: 'Teasing the child.' A fuller statement read: 'Unfortunately our relations with our neighbours leave much to be desired. The trouble stems, as is well known, from the backwardness of some people who want to look upon me as their inferior. Let us hope, however, that in the end their attitude will change and that we shall respect each other.'

In this context we must ask whether the Jewish population is still

TABLE 32. Respondents by percentage of Jews among the total number of people with whom they maintain friendly relations

	100·0	100-75	75-50	50-25	25-0	0	Total
Total sample	19·5	16·5	36·0	21·5	6·0	0·5	100·0
'Veterans'	16·4	16·9	36·6	22·2	7·2	0·7	100·0
Repatriates	29·8	14·9	34·0	19·2	2·1	—	100·0

isolated. The large number of mixed marriages gives a decided answer to this question. We have already referred to this matter and can now offer some additional data. It appears that every fifth informant makes his friends exclusively among Jews; there are practically no respondents who do not have Jewish friends. There is, however, a large group

TABLE 33. Families among whom the percentage of Jewish friends is less than 50

	Percentage of families	Indices
Type of work		
manual workers	29·5	0·60
white-collar workers	70·5	1·38
Nationality of spouse		
Jewish	42·3	0·65
Non-Jewish	57·7	1·63

(nearly 30 per cent) whose Jewish friends account for less than half their close friends. It was to be expected that the percentages would differ as between repatriates and 'veterans', but it appears that the

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proportion of non-Jewish friends depends essentially on two things: occupation and spouse's nationality (see Table 33). The indices shown in the last column of the table express the divergence between the total sample population and the particular sub-group. An index of less than 1 indicates that the size of each sub-group is less than its proportion of the total sample. It is clear that the proportion of Jewish friends is larger among workers and their families in which the spouse is Jewish than in the other sub-groups. It is to be noted that, while Poles predominate (see Table 34) among non-Jewish friends, there are also

TABLE 34. *Proportion of Poles in the total number of non-Jews with whom respondents maintain friendly relations*

	<i>Percentage of Poles among friends</i>						<i>Total</i>
	<i>0</i>	<i>0-25</i>	<i>25-50</i>	<i>50-75</i>	<i>75-100</i>	<i>100</i>	
Respondents	6.2	1.2	4.3	9.3	10.6	68.4	100.0

non-Jewish friends of other nationalities. As a more detailed analysis reveals, the proportion of friends of these other nationalities—Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks and occasionally Germans—depends on the spouse's nationality.

In a moment we shall be considering our respondents' views of their experience in Wrocław. Before doing so we should deal with a few figures on social activities. 25 per cent of the adults are members of the Polish Workers' Party. Of the total number of social activities mentioned in the questionnaires 32 per cent arose from participation in the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland; 16 per cent of the respondents are secretaries and leaders of the P.O.P. local groups (party units); 10 per cent are members (other than secretaries) of various party units; 4 per cent belong to branches of the T.P.P.R. (Polish-Russian Friendship Society).

TABLE 35. *Satisfaction and dissatisfaction with residence in Wrocław*

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total sample	86.7	13.3	100.0
'Veterans'	91.4	8.6	100.0
Repatriates	73.0	27.0	100.0

Table 35 shows how the respondents regard their stay in Wrocław. The data in this table reveal the differences between the 'veterans' and

the repatriates. The repatriates are less stabilized than the Jews who came to Wrocław earlier. The following remarks appear in the questionnaire sent in by people dissatisfied with living in Wrocław: 'I should prefer Warsaw'; 'I am dissatisfied with my flat'; 'I should have liked to join my brothers', the respondent having two brothers abroad.

The process of social integration in the western territory has engaged the attention of many research workers. Two chief problems have emerged in their publications: the adaptation of the rural population to city life, and the co-existence of settlers coming from various parts of the country. Our survey throws but little light on these questions from a quantitative point of view, but qualitatively it has its importance. A fundamental change in small entities is no less significant than a gradual change in large social groups.

The personal motives of the Jewish population for settling and remaining in Wrocław are varied. Some of them made their choice in the inter-war period in order to take part in the fight for social justice, while others came during the struggle against the Nazi invaders. Still others decided to join the fight for a new social justice and fraternity in the difficult post-war period. The formation of a new society is by no means easy. Victories are accompanied by losses. Family ties with people living abroad, alluded to earlier, and the friendships still kept up with people scattered all over the world as the result of the war, were not conducive to the stability of the Jewish population in Wrocław. Equally unfavourable to this stability was the moral shock brought by the exposure of the faults of our party. If, despite all the difficulties, bad traditions, and surviving animosities, the integration of the Jewish population into Wrocław society has been brought about, and if Leninist principles of the co-existence of different nationalities have been triumphant, the success both justifies Marxist ideology and makes evident the tremendous transformation that has taken place in our social consciousness.

NOTES

¹ F. Friedman, 'Zagłada Żydów polskich w latach 1939-1945' (The extermination of Polish Jews 1939-1945), *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badań Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce*, No. 1, 1946, p. 206.

² M. Kopcé, *Źjawiska demograficzne towarzyszące zmianom granic Polski* (Demographic phenomena attending the changes in Poland's boundaries), Cracow, 1946, p. 44.

³ I should like to express my thanks to

all those who took part in the distribution of the questionnaire, and especially to the Secretary of the Association, Mr. Leon Draetwko.

⁴ In tabulating the results of the inquiry I have distinguished between two groups: the 'veterans', who moved into Wrocław at various times before the period of repatriation, and the repatriates.

⁵ The questionnaires were completed

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before *Polytyka* (Nos. 20-25, 1961) began to serialize the Eichmann memoirs, which must have considerably increased its Jewish readership.

⁶ Excluding the performances by the State Yiddish Theatre. The following scale is employed in the table:—very rare: once or twice a year; rare: 3 to 4

times; frequent: 5 to 6; very frequent: 7 and more times.

⁷ Because of the infrequent visits made by the Yiddish Theatre to Wroclaw a different scale is used:—very rare: once a year; rare: twice a year; frequent: 3 to 4 times; very frequent: 5 and more times.