



**Revisiting Jewish Role in Polish Security Service, the UB:
Between Soviet Communist Rule and a Hard Place.**

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Submitted: April 2016

This project was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate Liberal Studies Program in the Graduate School of Duke University.

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Acknowledgement

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor Professor Martin Miller of the History Faculty at Duke University. His skills as a mentor are commendable for having the finesse to fine-tune my writing. He consistently allowed this paper to be my own work. I would also like to thank Professors Donna Zapf and Kent Wicker at the MALS program, who were involved in the validation of this research project. Their passionate contribution and editorial instruction enabled me to hone my writing skills. Lastly I want to thank my friend Carol Winkelman who always had invaluable editorial insights for me.

Abstract

This research paper provides insight into the political considerations and goals of the regime to institute a new order in Poland. It is ironic that after World War II, at the very time when the Jewish people was recovering from near-elimination, they become the enforcers of Soviet authority in Poland. The research challenges the Polish denial of anti-Semitism and false truth by investigating how Jews became the convenient, trusted employees with sensitive positions in Poland's controlled intelligence organization, particularly in the wake of the war's destruction, as well as being regarded as racially inferior and "enemies of the state" in postwar Poland,

The study fills the gaps in the current historiography of the period in understanding the limits of Jewish participation in its service. My statistical analysis of IPN tables shows that Jewish participation in the managerial positions of the security service was not proportionally that high enough to warrant the stereotypical accusation of over representation, but rather it points to other variables that were involved in shaping this stereotype. Ironically, the small fraction of the surviving Jews, who was represented in the new post-war power structure, had limited influence on security issues. Post-war years were marked with intense attacks on Jewish communities, which the government did not succeed to control.

Introduction

Most of the Jews, who were in Poland during the Second World War and the Holocaust, either died or fled elsewhere. Nonetheless, a visible Jewish presence remained, including those Jews who had stayed in Poland, and others who had returned after the war. For reasons that I will discuss in this paper, the Soviet Union's occupation regime in Poland and its security service, UB (in Polish: *Urząd Bezpieczeństwa*¹), hired significant numbers of Polish Jews to gather intelligence on anti-government organizations, in positions of management that came with status, authority and power. A prevalent belief claims the MBP UB was dominated by large numbers of Jews, and that some of these Jewish managers and investigators used violence, imprisonment and other forms of intimidation in the name of security. Rumors claim also that Jews sought revenge against local Poles who persecuted their families. These widespread perceptions, whose truth has not been questioned by the Polish population, among Poles² and Polish Jews, were passed down in church sermons, oral and political culture, and evidenced in historical literature. Stachura points that prejudices and tensions between both sides, Jews and Poles, as a feature of Polish life and social attitudes, paradoxically expressed a "stronger anti-Semitism in Poland in the aftermath of the Holocaust than it had been before it" (107). Checinski claims that the underground movement, for example, at least its extreme rightwing, "considered every Jew, regardless of his political beliefs, an agent of soviet domination and communist rule and therefore fit only to be exterminated" (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism* 63). Indeed at various points in Poland, anti-Semitism entered into the political discourse either as a relic of Polish Catholicism or for the purpose of discrediting political opponents. According to Bibò István (qtd. in Braun 290) the "communicative relations" between

¹ The newly organized internal security service: The Office of Public Security became the Ministry of Public Security (in Polish: *MBP - Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego*).

² I use the terms "Pole" or "Polish" to mean specifically Christian or non-Jewish Poles.

Jews and Poles, with the mutual misrepresentation of the other and of the experience of social political acts, increase the tensions between Jews and Poles. Like Hannah Arendt, Bibò also believes that anti-Semitism of medieval prejudices transformed into a modern one. He sees the medieval prejudices rooted in the teachings of the Catholic Church, which so deeply affected Polish attitudes.

Jews were included by the Soviet regime during a time when many Jews had been massacred and the ones who were still alive were detested for surviving by much of Polish society in the late 1940s. It is ironic that only a few years after Jews had been victimized and almost eliminated as a people by repressive, brutal authoritarian regimes, they also became enforcers of another repressive authoritarian regime—the Soviet Union. The few remaining discriminated Jews of Poland were occupying leading positions, after Stalin eliminated a large part of Polish intelligentsia, and the present intelligentsia was weak to take a role in establishing a new elite. Yet, Jews had no significant influence in the Soviet bureaucratic structure of power contrary to some historical analyses. The Soviet regime vigilantly guarded the transition from what they considered totalitarian regime to a centralized democratic state. Any deviancy posed a serious threat to the new democratic government and Jews were not immune to suspicion or accusation despite their place in the security service. As Michael Checinski describes the years between 1944 and 1947, the justification of the “proliferation of the terror apparatus was: a real opposition, strong, armed and often ruthless” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism* 63).

Moreover, entering the world of government intelligence-gathering did not protect (Gross, Zimmerman, 255- 265) Jews or free them from deeply rooted anti-Semitism and scapegoating, but rather supported the accusation that Jews were motivated by their own personal revenge for family and friends lost to the genocide of the Holocaust, and by serving the agendas of the brutal Communist state for which they worked. Members of MBP forces, the militia and soldiers participated actively in crimes committed against Jews. Yitzchak Zuckerman (qtd. in Zimmerman

255) stated in his memoirs *Surplus of Memory* (613): Those Jews “who came out strongly, with decrees, instructions, and orders to the militia to avoid harming Jews; they were the only ones who sincerely wanted to defend Jews, but they didn’t have much power.” In fact, those who accused Jews of supporting a repressive power were the ones devoted to the repressive system, both Polish members of the Communist party and the UB Polish officers of high and low ranks. They expressed the view that something had to be done to prevent Jewish disproportional participation in the system, and they desired to work only with Poles in the service. The accusation of Jewish high-ranking participation in the Polish security service, and their overrepresentation in the apparatus was a skewed claim. These claims were not an objective truth, or accurate: Jews were involved in the state security apparatus, however, their absolute number of Jews were never that high, and declined rapidly by the beginning of the 1950s. Ignoring the actual small numbers of Jewish employees shows how potent this interpretation of events is in Poland as a form of anti-Semitism. And that their alleged revenge or significant role in repression was more a Polish anti-Semitic distortion of history, perpetrated by Poles and provoked by Soviet rule than historical fact, based on only few cases.

Noteworthy in itself is the fact that some of the biased literature that deals with the political situation in Poland after the war, as Soviets’ goal of building a new Polish state enlisted Jewish participation, is an emotionally laden and a complex subject, with interpretations by different agencies that exaggerated Jewish involvement in Soviet rule, and were clouded by anti-Semitic justifications and feelings. In addition, there are few complete stories of individuals acting in the secret service, such as described in the valuable resource of Michael Checinski’s writings. Of historical value are the memoirs of Stanisław Mikołajczyk, Prime Minister of the Polish government in exile, Josef Stalin, and governmental documents that have been uncovered in the past decade that are now available to the public.

In this study, I examined data about the management cadre of the Security Service in Poland compiled by Szwagrzyk, Krzysztof, with a research team at the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). This compilation has provided me an additional starting point from which to delve into the scholarly historical research about public security in post-war Poland. The analysis of the IPN Management Cadre Table³ reflects the era's political and social participation of security employees. The period of my investigation focuses on 1945-1948, with some comparison to the subsequent period of 1949-1956. Thus, the study uses the key memoirs that relate to this period after the war, with a focus on UB's management staff, and the role of the Soviet regime in implementing its intelligence work to control Polish opposition. My study illuminates the motivations of the Soviets for the recruitment of Jews to the Polish security service during the post-World War II era, and the role they played in the repressive system to further the tyranny upon Polish society. The paper describes the way Jewish operatives fit into the bureaucratic hierarchy of the power structure.

Surprisingly, the research reveals that a disproportionate number of Jews who survived the war or returned to Poland were indeed involved in the Polish internal security agency. This is due to Jewish marginalization in Poland which made Jews useful to both the Soviets and non-Jewish Poles: Jews were allowed to function in a way that helped Poles maintain some power, but also helped the Soviets to tamp down Polish nationalism. Creating this intermediary role both built on existing anti-Semitism and contributed to the more modern anti-Semitic images of the Jews as Soviet collaborators.

Lastly, it is of equal interest to present the sociological and psychological theoretical concepts that explain the phenomena of participation in terror organizations in the service of

³ The IPN Table is a large PDF document available from:
<[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ministry_of_Public_Security_\(Poland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ministry_of_Public_Security_(Poland))>, Reference #3.

regimes, and the psychological mechanisms that facilitate aggressive behavior. I include them in my study together with a survey of their effects.

Procedure

By analyzing the IPN publication "Management Personnel of the Security Apparatus in Poland," I acquired valuable insight into the hierarchy of decision-making in the role played by the operatives of Poland's security services after the war, namely the number of its Jewish, Soviet and Polish personnel, their relationship to the Communist party, and the extent of reliance on Soviet and Jewish personnel.

Dr. Krzysztof Szwaagrzyk, a member of the IPN team that records the management personnel, wrote in the introduction to the compilation that until the mid-1950's, widespread rumor about members and operations of the MBP (Ministry of Public Security) and its subordinate section, the UB (Public Security) "was limited to the circulated opinion, usually formed on basis of testimonies of repressed citizens." Their activities were characterized by the lawless use of terror and became, "a symbol of the first decade of the postwar government." Indeed, this was the result of inadequate access to source material by historians until the last decade. With this newly available information, I hope to provide new insight into the character of the security service, including which nationalities were represented and involved in its activities, thus presenting a complete and balanced picture of the nature of the service.

The first step in my analysis was identifying the national affiliation of the security staff. This turned out to be a complex process, due to my reliance upon the narrow range of the table and its valuable footnotes. However, the available data was informative enough to create as accurate a classification of the national affiliation as possible. I believe that my analysis can serve as a point of departure for further examination of employees' affiliations and additional personal details.

Criteria to Determine Affiliation

I determined the affiliation of MBP employees according to their names compiled in Polish, true to Polish spelling. However, this created some difficulty regardless of the origin of the name. I used several websites for searching the origins of the names including Behind the Name, Family Education Name Lab, Surname Database, Forebears, Genealogy and Ancestry. An analysis of the origins of the names points to the fact that the institution with which the Soviets hoped to exercise power in Poland consisted of Poles, Jews, and Russians,⁴ including other Russian nationalities, such as Ukrainians and Byelorussians. Many, though not all, Jewish employees were listed in the table with their Jewish names in parentheses beside their Polonized names, as witnessed by an intelligence officer, Michael Checinski, in his memoir. I identified other Jewish names by using my own familiarity with the Hebrew language. Paternal names were a significant clue to determine ethnicity for Slavic employees as well. The ascribed affiliations are described as "Possibly Jewish" or "Possibly Soviet" since they were not based on the table's footnotes but rather on analyses of the origins of the names, combinations of an individual's rank and tenure in the system, how often an employee changed his position, and the length of time during which the employee played a role in particular provinces and departments.

⁴ Russians or Soviets - I use interchangeably

The Fate of the Small Polish-Jewish Community That Survived the Holocaust

“Before the German invasion in 1939, Lodz was a multi-cultural town, with a population of about 850,000, one-third Jews and two-thirds Germans and Poles... While some Jewish industrialists were among the richest in Lodz, the majority were hard working and poor people, living in extreme misery” (Checinski⁵ 18).

Almost all pre-war Polish Jewry perished in the Holocaust – which is to say, nearly 3.5 million Jews, who constituted less than 10% of the total Polish population. Polish Jews survived the Holocaust by hiding, fighting in the Polish or the Red Army, fighting in Polish or Russian partisan groups, being exiled voluntarily, by forced resettlement, deportation, labor camps, internment in the Soviet Union eastern lands, or on Polish land. By the postwar period, 1945-46, the surviving small Polish-Jewish community numbered about 220,000, as registered by the Central Committee of Jews, of whom 136,000 had returned from the Soviet Union to rebuild their lives and identities. With the annexation of Poland’s eastern territories by the Soviets, approved and legitimated by the Allied powers, the Polish population found itself in a continuous flux of population migration: returning soldiers searching for relatives, survivors passing through on their way to other countries, and people moving from east to west. These chaotic postwar circumstances enabled recurrent anti-Semitic outbursts of violence, even murder, inflicted on the returning Jews.

⁵ All Michael Checinski’s quotes at the beginning of chapters are from his memoir *Running the Gauntlet of Anti-Semitism, 2004*.

Michael Checinski was born in Lodz, where Jews of Lodz had played an important role in Poland’s economic (specifically in the textile industry), social and cultural life.

When the Soviet army liberated the Lodz ghetto-prison fewer than 800 Jews were found still living, out of an original population of 204,800 that was put in the ghetto. In late 1946 50,000 Jews mostly from the Soviet Union resettled in Lodz. (http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/this_month/resources/lodz.asp)

These historical events shaped the implausibility of Jewish participation in Polish society. In the contemporary physical and social situation that was challenging for all, Jewish survivors struggled to rebuild their lives. They returned to the towns and villages of previously concentrated Jewish communities, only to find resentful and hostile environments, devoid of Jews. Not able to reclaim their homes and properties, many of which had been destroyed or confiscated by Poles who then refused to relinquish them, these Jews also faced death. The authorities, subject to bureaucratic indifference, had not yet instituted any reparations or restitution that would protect the rights of the Jews who had remained in or returned to Poland. When the option of legal emigration from Poland was presented, therefore, a large number of Jews immediately chose to leave behind the inequality, discrimination, and anti-Semitism of Poland, in favor of the chance for a better future in countries such as Israel, Sweden, Great Britain, or the U.S. While those who had lost their entire families were often dependent on help from their new communities, many made new homes for themselves, whether as refugees or as immigrants.

Accepting a New Reality

“I felt that the most important chapter of my life was irrevocably over...I had landed in a different world in which the guidelines, concepts, and customs to which I’d been accustomed for nearly eight years did not apply at all. I was a little over 14 years old when I was pushed into the inconceivable, the indescribably cruel world, in which we underwent all the trials of humanity and savagery. Now things were supposed to be different... All I knew was that I’d have to work out all my plans from scratch, to shuffle the deck of all the values I’d clung to, in order to start over in the familiar, but still foreign world. I knew I could expect no continuity, the old house had gone up in smoke.” The Jewish Committee helped with a place in a hostel with meals until “I would be able to decide what to do with my life” (Checinski 16-17).

In line of my readings of the scholarly history literature (Davies, Snyder) it is possible to qualify Stalin’s alliance with Hitler for the partition of Poland through the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact as a capitulation without objection to German policies of killing Jews and subordinating Poles to the status of slaves. Moreover, it can be explained that Stalin didn’t want to acknowledge as fact or admit publicly that the Jews had indeed suffered a great loss, or even that Poland had suffered a loss. Doing so would have brought both his deceitful agreement with the Nazis and his overwhelming role in the massacres during the war to the forefront, and might even have drawn attention to his own reign of terror during the Soviet Union’s darkest years in the 1930s.

Therefore, Stalin instead diverted the issue into promoting his image of a liberator. When the Nazi propaganda machine claimed that the Allies were fighting for the Jews, one can assume that Stalin saw this notion as an insult to the Soviet Union, where Russians soldiers fought out of loyalty to Mother Russia and to liberate Poland, the latter suggestion was addressed to appeal to the patriotic sentiment of Poles. By that point, Stalin had broken his alliance with Hitler, and could present himself as the liberator of the Jewish victims of the Nazis.

For many years, the Soviet leader had been focused on creating a new world order that was not controlled by capitalist-imperialists who dominated others through the accumulation of property and wealth. He had been preoccupied by the expansion of Soviet revolutionary power, and with assuring his own place in world history. Moreover, Stalin's ambition of spreading communist ideology throughout Europe had dictated his plans in helping the devastated Polish state to recover from the war and establishing Soviet rule in Poland. Soviet propaganda emphasized and instilled a few seminal ideas relevant for his goals:

- The Red Army liberated Poland from the Nazis' devastating war, a view that was shared by many residents of eastern Poland, as well as by the Jews and the Polish communists, who, together with the Ukrainians and the Byelorussian ethnic Poles, constituted the majority of the population of the eastern territories.
- The prolonged presence of the Red Army in Polish lands was justified and worthy because of the (exaggerated) potential threat from the Nazis and the Western imperialistic powers (the latter threat based on information from the Soviet network of spies).
- The Polish people owed the ruling Soviet Communists both gratitude for their experienced guidance, and appreciation for the perseverance of the Soviet Union in successfully negotiating the addition of several Western industrialized territories to Poland's borders.

- Poland was served well by the new changes, especially in light of its shift to becoming a homogeneous Catholic nation, since most of its ethnic minorities had perished or were exiled to the depths of the Soviet Union.

Towards the end of the war, the international community ignored its awareness of Soviet ambitions to establish communist states, and yielded to Stalin's forced expulsion and emigration, as well as his interests in Eastern Europe. In return, each country pursued its own interests in the war.

Stalin understood that, in postwar Poland, even with most of the ethnic minorities wiped out, Poles' attitudes toward the different resident nationalities would intensify again. Recognizing the intense nationalistic sentiments of both Poles and Ukrainians, the Soviet leader resolved the ethnic tensions by assigning the minorities to designated territories. The Jews and their nationalistic, Zionist feelings did not constitute a problem for Poland, however, since, by that time, they were only a tiny minority. In fact, Stalin had always hoped to complete their assimilation (Bauer 43, Miller J. 46) but also he tacitly did not object to the Zionists' aspirations for Israel. Rather, those aspirations were used against the Jews by the Poles to accuse Jews of not assimilating as Poles.

The forced inner emigration to the different territories began without an organized plan. The transfer was marked by lawlessness and exploited by negative elements in the population. The small remaining Ukrainian population of the southern part of Poland, for example, resisted the forced emigration, until they finally gave up when Soviet Ukraine refused to accept them into their territory. The Soviet Ukrainians employed cruel expulsion methods towards Polish minorities, and they influenced the Ukrainian Poles, who, given their smaller population (then), were forced to agree to internal resettlement. Poland achieved its goal of "one Poland only for Poles," with the overwhelming support and coercive control of the Soviet Union. For its part, Russia took possession

of both Polish factories and the German industrial equipment that had been left behind when the Germans vacated these new territories, as part of economic reform, or to cover the costs of the war. Some of the confiscated property was distributed to Poles, and that encouraged other Poles to initiate acts of violence to acquire Jewish property.

Even with the focus on this nationalistic relocation, the Jews continued to suffer from anti-Semitism in Poland after the Holocaust. The generation of Poles who had lived through the Nazi war were the victims of the Soviet regime (who had enabled savage killings by those who were desensitized to violence). During 1945-46, a wave of violence and terror took the lives of 1,500 Jews (Weinryb 252). According to Smolar, the actual number of victims was higher. The murderers were Poles. They had been sent by the occupying power, with the tacit agreement of the Polish political elite, who enabled criminal elements and organized groups of anti-communist underground to carry out operations that benefited the interests and political motivation of those in power. However, the murder of individuals and entire families, and the small and large pogroms, possibly point to economic motivations, or anti-Semitism, and not just political motives (Smolar 31-73). Gross points that not all Jews were hated or feared as supporters of communists, but “rather as embarrassing witnesses to crimes that had been committed against the Jews. They could also point to the illicit material benefits that many continued to enjoy as a result of these crimes. Their existence was a reproach, calling forth pangs of conscience, as well as a potential threat” (151).

Some writers argue that if the Soviet troops had not been present to enforce the new political borders, violence on both sides would have ensued. Note, however, that the ethnic conflicts of the immediate postwar period were remarkably similar to those that preceded it. According to Kramer, it was widely believed that “only forced migration could remove the source of serious internal and international strife” (Kramer 77). Also, Krystyna Kersten argues further that “the nation became the most frequently used term ... it superseded all terms relating to class or society. All wanted to reinforce the nationalism created during world war two” (52). Yet, one cannot forget

how much the Nazis and the Soviets shared the same ambition of forming a new world order - through ethnic and racial cleansing.

During post-war period, underground groups, such as the outlawed NZS,⁶ as well as the soldiers of the Polish Army, continued their violence, they attacked, injured, shot, and killed Jews returning on trains and buses, near their homes or in their homes. Synagogues were set on fire in Klementow, Czestochowa, Kazimierz, Lublin, the Zamość area, Radom, Ostrowiec, Krakow, and Kielce, and even in the new territories of Silesia and Pomerania. Anti-Jewish political slogans were heard before the elections of January 1947, after which, finally, strong measures put a stop to these attacks upon Jews.

In addition, Post-war reality suffered from a recurring spread of untrue rumors among Poles against Jews that served to promote local interests. Rumors of 1945-1948 have the same contradiction to reality as the ones which contradicted the reality in the Jedwabne affair of the 1940. Gross explains how despite the fact that in June 1940 the Jews from Jedwabne were not connected to the destruction of the Polish underground organization by the Soviets, Poles executed a mass murder of the Jews in July 1941 as a revenge. In fact there were Polish collaborators who revealed information about the underground headquarters (Gross 53). Revenge and rumors were based on the anti-Semitic stereotype that saw Jewish role in the UB as a culprit and Jews as collaborators with the Soviets, as expressed by one Pole: it is a "well-known secret. This is what people said. Well, someone had to do it" (Gross 46). According to Gross such individuals had been collaborators themselves, motivated to cover up their role in the previous German regime. Now they collaborate to avoid being an easy target for blackmail if that past role would become known to the new Soviet ruler (156).

⁶ National Armed Forces (Narodowe Siły Zbrojne)

Stalin's Records with Jews

To understand Stalin's ongoing embrace of Polish Jews for his immediate purposes, consider his record of including Jews in the Soviet Union's power structure. He took a utilitarian view, seeing Jews – and other nationalities of the Soviet state – as temporary tools to further his ends. Those ends were designed to control the tracks of history, as he understood them. Thus, people in both the multinational Soviet Union and Poland were used to create a multinational apparatus of repression, through deportation and killing, to implement Stalin's economic policy of agricultural reform that excluded the land-owning Russian peasants, also known as *kulaks* (Snyder 25). In furthering this economic vision, human life was of no value, and he ignored the genocidal impact of these policies. Moreover, what functioned as the politics of the economy no longer addressed the issues of the class struggle that one might expect; rather, what mattered was loyalty to the system, which one proven by having no ties to any foreign state. Thus, Stalin was not caught up in the anti-Semitism prevalent in Poland that cast Jews as the agents of both finance capitalism and communism. (Only at the end of his career, in the final years of his life, those who were close to Stalin expressed anti-Semitic attitudes to justify anti-Jewish actions).

However, the demand for loyalty nonetheless led to killings of secret policemen who were Jewish, due to their connections outside of the Soviet Union, echoing the period of the Great Terror of the 1930s when national elites were killed: "The only national minority that was highly over-represented in the NKVD at the end of the Great Terror were the Georgians – Stalin's own" (Snyder 109). Stalin's utilitarian policy also meant that any "mistake" in the bureaucratic process justified the killings of a third of the higher ranking officers of NKVD secret police, who were Jewish by nationality during the Great Terror. This helped to pacify the Russians, who benefited from the killings as the frequent moves within the secret police ranks opened new positions for them. Thus Stalin implemented "national killings" by killing large numbers of people who shared a nationality,

and by using others of the same nationality as the killing instrument. "In carrying out these ethnic massacres, which of course they had to if they wished to preserve their position and their lives, they comprised an ethic of internationalism, which must have been important to them. They were killed anyway, as the Terror continued, and usually replaced by Russians" (Snyder 108).

This utilitarian use of whichever nationality was in favor, characteristic of Soviet policies and attitudes, continued to allow Jewish participation in politics after the war, though their involvement was of short duration. In Poland, under Stalin, this practicality typified the Soviet leader's methods of masking his people's nationalities and using their connections and power for the promotion of controversial policies in Poland. It was, after all, similar to what had occurred in the Soviet Union.

Short Historical Review of Previous Soviet Terror

The Soviet government's repression throughout the 1930s was designed to neutralize potential disloyal elements of the population. In 1935, based largely on accusations of ideological deviancy, and espionage from Poland, there was a purging of Polish spies from the party, with the focus on those in the border areas of Ukraine and Belorussia. The purge can certainly be classified as ethnic cleansing. Indeed, no one was safe from the periodic bureaucratic party purges and loyalty verification campaigns of the Russian party and the Comintern apparatus, during the late 1920s and onward, especially in the mass terror of the years 1936-38, as recounted by Kevin McDermott (111-130). That history haunted the Polish welcome of Stalin; indeed, the Polish Communist Party's long-established ties with the Bolsheviks, closer than those of any other foreign communists, raised Stalin's suspicions. Stalin was convinced that subversive elements conducting anti-Soviet espionage were present in the Comintern, and he ordered to "shoot, destroy Trotskyites; they are worldwide provocateurs, the most vile agents of fascism." He was also quoted as saying before a private reception that "anyone who attempts to destroy the unity of the socialist state...is an enemy" (McDermott 114). The Soviet secret service police therefore went after the Polish Communist Party, and were able to expand their own operations into the international communist domain. That is, international communists disappeared, all parties suffered, and targeting the helpless appears to have been one of the NKVD's operating principles.

Though all foreign communist parties suffered during the purges, the Polish Communist Party (KPP) was the only one to be completely disbanded. People informed on each other in fear, bitterness, conviction, fanaticism, servility and hypocrisy. According to McDermott, "It has been argued that a form of 'collective psychosis' was generated, making accomplices in crime...thousands of officials from top to bottom. Certainly, the drive for personal survival must have been compelling, and partly accounts for such grim spectacles as long-time colleagues

accusing each other of 'vile attacks' on the party line" (124-5). Approximately 5,000 Polish communists were arrested and killed in the spring and summer of 1937.

Moreover, in that same year, a broad-based operation was directed toward the complete liquidation of local Polish military organizations (POV) in the U.S.S.R., and specifically the espionage cadres employed in industry and transport. All the active members of the POV, veterans of the Polish army, Polish refugees, political émigrés, and anti-Soviet Polish nationalist elements were arrested. They were then either shot, or put in prisons or camps. By the purge's conclusion in November 1938, it had claimed the lives of 111,091 victims, and ruined the lives of countless more (James Morris, 756-760). McDermott points out that it was safer to be languishing in a Warsaw jail during this time than to be at liberty in Moscow (116).

After the partition of Poland, the Soviet government ordered the NKVD to deport hundreds of thousands of Poles out of its newly conquered territory in eastern Poland to Central Asia. These deportations, combined with massacres of Poles by Ukrainian nationalist partisans in World War II, and the final wave of Soviet deportations in 1944-46, constituted an ethnic cleansing of the Polish population from a territory that Poles, including Polish Jews, had inhabited for centuries. Most notoriously, NKVD officers secretly murdered and buried thousands of Polish military officers in the Katyn forest in 1939. Then, early in 1944-1945, the NKVD and SMERSH - Soviet secret police and counter-intelligence agencies of the Red Army were sent to eliminate the Polish Home Army.

These principles of long-standing, planned, repressive actions to eliminate all real and potential opponents were evident in the Soviet leaders' demands for total unity behind the Party's general line. They appeared to many as familiar, and functional Soviet tactics, and were applied in Poland even after the war.

The Catholic Church and Anti-Semitism

“This was the country of my birth, my homeland, the place to which I had returned to share the pains, the sorrows and joys of the new tomorrow. Frightening stories kept coming in of murders committed on trains and in little towns only because the victims ‘looked Jewish’... Awakening from the naïve notions concerning the ways of liberating the country from its bleak past” (Checinski 20-22).

The causes and consequences of anti-Semitism are accorded prominence in the historiography of Europe, as well as in understanding Europe’s political and economic development, and its social and cultural histories. Note, however, that subjects that intersect with anti-Semitism are ignored. For example, anti-Semitic views were rampant among the Polish Security Service, but the subject is minimized, with no explicit or direct address in the historical account. In this case, both the anti-Semitism and the marginalization may well be thanks to the Catholic Church, which promoted anti-religious hatred of the Jews, and cooperated tacitly with the regime’s security service.

For centuries, the Church was the central institution of world Christian spirituality and morality, and it had maintained imperial aspirations to make all of humanity its subjects, even as it blended anti-Semitism into its doctrine. That is, the party line, known as “teachings of contempt,” regarded Jews as “Christ killers, followers of the devil,” and “the deicide race.” There were times when active persecution of Jews was officially sanctioned, though at other times, it was only indirectly encouraged, or at least tolerated. The combination of concentrated temporal power together with theology in the hands of the powerful ruling few made it easy to mix the nationalistic component of anti-Semitism with a socio-economic one. Indeed, the Church wielded enormous political influence - despite the fact that it did not possess a means of physical coercion, such as

military might - and it shaped the politics of Europe, its institutions, and people's values and beliefs, for centuries.

One could argue that the Church accomplished this enormous influence over the masses in Poland by using the same methods of other authoritative powers. But, indeed, that power went beyond the political structure, status, and the authoritative structure, to a culture of "infallibility" - which enabled the Church to deny any errors or even admit to any transgressions, particularly any that had been perpetrated against the Jews, in accord with the repressive methods of the regime. If one takes a long, historical view, as Daniel Goldhagen does, then it was this anti-Jewish violence by the combined forces of the anti-Semitic German Church together with anti-Semitic Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Poles, and France (and others) that eventually culminated in the Holocaust. But even afterwards, the Church still came after the Jews in the Kielce pogrom of 1946, and with the medieval charge of ritual Christian murder. The Vatican knew about the murder of Jews. On May 1943 an official of the Vatican Secretariat of State summarized the Church's extensive knowledge about the genocide in Poland, (this document appears in several other books):

"In Poland, there were, before the war, about 4,500,000 Jews; it is calculated now that there remain (including all those who came there from other countries occupied by the Germans) only 100,000. In Warsaw many Jews ...by their deaths... Special death camps at Lublin (Treblinka) and near Brest Litovsk... where they die by gassing" (Goldhagen 150).

The Catholic principle of "every attitude and word likely to cause...unjust injury" violates "the respect for the reputation of persons" that was abused by its own hateful conduct (Goldhagen 129).

Indeed, the Church, including the various national churches, and its many crimes and the number of bishops and priests who took part in them, are beyond the scope of this work. Yet, I bring Goldhagen's argument that, "in many ways, Catholic bishops and priests across Europe

supported political transgressions. Many supported the destruction of democracy and the establishment of persecution's dictatorships, which they continued to support as they watched the persecution" (130). Priests continued to evoke in their sermons an image of Jews as God-killers, now, a perennial occasion for anti-Semitic violence was not just Easter (Gross 38).

Stalin and Gomulka understood the Church's hostility to modernity, particularly to modern political and cultural democratic ideas, and its belief that Bolshevism must be fought ruthlessly. They understood that the Church did not hesitate to support fascist repressive regimes when it saw fit, especially when it had supported Germany's campaign to exterminate the Jewish people, at the cost of other people's lives. The popes and clergy identified communism with Jews, and considered communism to be their greatest political enemy. They understood Germany's war to be against both communism and the Jews - as a fight against "Judeo-Bolshevism." Therefore "local [Polish] residents promptly established administrative bodies compliant with German will and joined in the Vernichtungskrieg directed against the "Jews and the Commissars" (Gross 154).

Moreover, the Church believed that Jews promoted trends that were contrary to Catholicism, to social and religious moral well-being, and that they inspired Bolshevism and therefore engendered Catholics' hostility toward themselves. "Bolshevism was conceived as a 'satanic' force bent upon annihilating not only all of Christendom but European civilization itself" (Goldhagen: 141). To prevent any direct confrontation, therefore, Stalin's plan was to work against the enduring Church institution in gradual stages. Initially, he used the help of clergy to infiltrate the churches with a network of spies, while yielding to some of its demands; he also ordered control of its press and the content of sermons.

The influence of Church attitude toward the Jews on the social environment atmosphere is evident in what historians notice regarding the Jewish question in Poland: the contradictory

policies characterize the postwar Polish government. For example, both the Committee of National Liberation, in a July 1944 manifesto, and the Provisional Government, in December 1944, declared tolerance and equal rights for all citizens, regardless of creed or nationality, and race, and acknowledged that Jewish suffering requires full rehabilitation. Yet, anti-Semitism was only regarded as reactionary and fascistic. The legal system continued its anti-Semitic aspects of refusing to annul Nazi anti-Jewish laws (encouraged to confiscate Jewish property), and denying Jews any restitution of property. On June 13, 1946, the decree of September 16, 1945 against anti-Semitism was amended in general legal terms to mean one of several dissident activities. Incongruent terms were used: "religious, racial strife and nationalist," when, in fact, in Poland, the homogeneous country with small groups of Jewish survivors, the consideration should have been instead to treat anti-Semitism as a crime against the state, especially when taking into account that the penalties for the anti-Semitic transgressions of killing were rarely implemented. In 1946, the League to Combat Racism was formed using government sponsorship for the purpose of fighting anti-Semitism. Prominent people in politics and science were active in publishing pamphlets against anti-Semitism. Indeed the Polish government announced to the world its guarantee of absolute equality for the Jews, including rehabilitation, the possibility of receiving financial relief from abroad, and choosing emigration without obstacle. However the government's declaration of its commitment to fight against the anti-Semitism of the opposition was not carefully followed. The opposition who turned away from the fact that it did encourage hostility and did nothing to prevent anti-Semitism treated anti-Semitism as a political tool in the hands of the Soviet regime, designed to discredit the opposition. Thus the initially Church-originated anti-Semitism that justified acts of robbery and murder later those energies were used by both, the regime and Polish opposition, as a political weapon of nationalist subversion in order to produce a change in the political power structure

Catholic Poles' continuing anti-Semitic assaults were not concentrated only on the communists, but also on democrats, labor leaders, socialists, and/or members of the peasant party,

as the government was “waging a ruthless and uncompromising and determined battle against reactionary groups.” (Weinryb 261) Regardless of political affiliation, Jews were persecuted for the simple reason that they were Jews. Michael Checinski tells of a friend’s experience that prompted her to leave Poland for Israel: “Now she has been harassed and even threatened that if they didn’t leave one day they might lose their lives. Local Police advised her to move to a larger town since they could not guarantee their safety” (*Running the Gauntlet* 50).

Taking into consideration that Catholic Poles already harbored anti-Semitic feelings and that they perceived the regime to be occupied by Jews, the power structure of the communist government was careful in defending Jewish survivors, lest anything be perceived as too Jewish and reinforce the false impression of a Judeo-communist character of the regime. This policy was employed not only as a result of the influence of the Catholic Church’s values, but also as the Church did not want to risk losing its own central status in the hearts of its faithful followers (Bauer 54). The Polish government tacitly acquiesced to act incompetently to prevent anti-Semitic attacks by Poles, and it concentrated instead on accusing of anti-Semitism elements in the party, political and military realms.

In the difficult postwar years, August Hlond, the Cardinal of the Catholic Church did not condemn hatred and anti-Jewish violence. When approached by many parties, including the Jews, both before and after the Kielce pogrom, he replied that the deterioration in Polish-Jewish relations was the fault of the Jews, a consequence of Jewish participation in the communist government: “Anti-Jewish incidents were provoked by the presence of Jews in the structures of power imposed on Poland against the will of Polish society” (Bauer 206-211). The Cardinal ignored the small number of Jewish participants in the power structure, and rather presented the view that the hostility to the Jews was neither because of anti-Semitism, nor because of racism, but that it simply represented a political approach. At the same breath, he projected the traditional attitude

that promoted anti-Semitism by instilling into the public's mind the perception of high involvement of Jews in the security apparatus, completely averting the role of the church in its reinforcement.

Only after the 1946 Kielce pogrom did the Polish government modify its stance of leniency against anti-Jewish acts. This led to a death sentence for four police and militia officials who were accused of failing to prevent the violence (Weinryb 263), and the authorities finally yielded to the Jewish communities' ongoing requests for permission to bear arms and organize their own defense. The anti-Jewish incidents ended in 1947. Although it is difficult to know why they stopped, it seems that, as the number of Jews dropped radically, the anti-Jewish sentiment declined as well. Perhaps just as importantly, the extreme right-wing underground that had contributed to the violence against the Jews had been liquidated (Smolar 51-53).

Consistent with Catholic Poland's wishes for homogeneity, the government insisted on solving the Jewish problem by abolishing any signs of Jewish culture. Thus, in November 1948, a step of transforming "people's democracy" to a "socialist state" was announced; emphasis was put on class struggle, and Jewish nationalists were accused of nationalistic deviation. Jews were promoting national cultural autonomy and being influenced by reactionary nationalistic elements of American imperialism that tried to minimize the unique status of Jews in the socialist countries.

Weinryb also argues that the party line used Jewish culture as an efficient tool in the struggle against nationalism, and separatist tendencies of its cultural work. As a result, a number of Jewish employees were dismissed from the power structure. The Catholic Church continued to mobilize peasants with anti-Jewish feelings, which had profound consequences for the Jewish community. The Bund was accused of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, and was dissolved. In order to retain their control, and the support of the Polish population, who were led by the Catholic

Church, the communist regime yielded to Catholic anti-Semitic attitudes through implementing a policy of anti-Jewish nationalism.

Poland's Tradition of Repression of National Minorities

Poland's history is full of repressive attitudes. For my purpose, I will present several examples from the twentieth century to illustrate how Poles have used violent measures to enforce their power on their own population. This tradition of discriminating against ethnic minorities indicates, on the one hand, that some Poles easily embraced oppressive policies, not only toward different nationalities, but also towards each other. On the other hand, this also explains the justification by some Poles for joining a repressive new regime, whose policies promised a change of the Polish economic situation. The prevailing political-backed repression of minorities in Poland has been pointed out by historians who saw how Poland "failed repeatedly to respect the formal statutory guarantees that had been introduced after 1918, notably through the Minorities' Treaty of 1919, the Treaty of Riga (Article VII) in 1921, and the Polish constitutions of 1921 and 1935" (quote from Stachora's memoir).

During the short period of 1918-1926, following victory in the war with Russia, Poland was a parliamentary democracy and was overconfident in its ability to solve the problem of its nationalities. In the 1920s, the political policies of forced assimilation and repression were applied against one-third of its population: German, Jewish, Ukrainian, and other ethnic minorities. Ukrainians, who were poor peasants, resented their Polish landlords, and the government's policy of Polonizing them. Alienated, marginalized in politics, and denied rights, Ukrainian nationalists (OUN) saw Poland as the occupier of their land. However, their resistance to Polish domination took the form of very extreme terrorism and sabotage. In response, Piłsudski, the first Marshal of the Second Polish Republic, ordered a police action in which Ukrainians were beaten and arrested, their property destroyed, and Ukrainian lives were lost. From that point on, the relationship between Polish authorities and Ukrainians deteriorated even more.

With frequent changes of governments, and multiple political parties with very different ideologies, agreement on how to fix Poland's social challenges could not be reached. The National Democracy (ND) party, led by Dmowski, envisioned an ethnically homogeneous Polish nation. This political condition enabled Piłsudski to take power in a 1926 coup d'état to become a Polish military dictator who employed authoritarian methods. Despite the fact that his rule was controversial, Piłsudski is still highly regarded in Poland for his role in regaining Polish independence after World War I. The contradictions in his rule are reflected by, on the one hand, the establishment of a prison for political prisoners, where some prisoners were brutally mistreated, including Jews; and on the other hand, by his tolerance for minorities. He extended a "state-assimilation" policy to Polish Jews, a policy that opposed the "ethnic-assimilation" of National Democrats; thus, citizens were to be judged by their loyalty to the state. With Piłsudski's death in 1935, the Polish government became increasingly authoritarian and conservative, his group of colonels politicized the army, and increasingly suppressed the threat posed by alienated minorities.

Almost ten years later, Gomułka, the secretary of the communist party, expressed his views about the surest way of "getting elected, by physical support of the Red Army," which was consistent with Soviet views (Bethell 70). Although Marx condemned capitalism as the exploitation, alienation, and oppression of man by man, in practice, his prescription for a future society negated moral values. That is, the principle that helped the revolution was moral, and what hindered it was immoral. All means were justified. Communism applied the same reasoning: What helped to build communism was moral, and what hindered it was immoral. In his letter to Moscow on January 12, 1944, Gomułka stated that the PPR saw the Red Army's pursuit of the German enemy on Polish land, resulting in a political power balance, as desirable. Gomułka stated, "this will greatly facilitate the struggle of the freedom-loving, democratic and progressive elements against

the fascist and reactionary elements that still linger within the Polish people, both at home and abroad (Bethell 70).

According to Mikołajczyk, the leader of the PPS and premier of the government-in-exile, when he confronted Gomułka, he threatened him in a rage with words and body language: “You watch your step or you’ll be sorry one of these days, as they are... [Referring to the Polish people]⁷. He [Gomułka] leaped from his chair and charged me, his hand on the revolver in his pocket and the outline of the gun pointed at my chest...” Mikołajczyk describes Gomułka as a “maniac and a fanatic.” his words also reflect the hatred of liberal Poles towards everything “red” (110-111). Both men expressions, Gomułka words and Mikołajczyk’s description, indicate a mindset open to the use of force when needed.

Checinski points how fifty years later, Lech Wałęsa, the president of democratic Poland, was commemorating the repressive rule in Poland after Stalin, by decorating past aggressors with medals (*Running the Gauntlet* 38).

⁷ My insert

Polish Tradition of Rebellious Sentiments toward the Regime.

The resistance movements in Polish history developed with Poland's partitions, and that spirit of resistance in turn fueled designs on independence. Stalin regarded the Poles as eternally ready for a fight, and specifically compared them to the Jews, who were not good soldiers in Stalin's eyes, and did not know how to fight. Each party had its own army during the prewar period, so there were many military and paramilitary organizations too. Eventually, all of these military and paramilitary organizations were unified to become the ZWZ⁸ – the Union for Armed Struggle, a Polish underground army that was established by Sikorski, headed by Sosnowski, and later subordinated to the AK (Home Army in Polish: Armia Krajowa). In this way, ZWZ became the Home Army after February 1942.

The military groups that joined the ZWZ/AK included:

- The General Government, such as the Security Corps (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa -- KB) and the Secret Military Organization, which were responsible for sabotage and diversion techniques.
- An intelligence organization, the Musketeers, a group of young people who had political ambitions.
- The military groups of the three major political parties: The Socialist Fighting Organization (SOB); the Peasant Battalions (BCh, who were strong in Lublin, Warsaw, Krakow, and Radom); and the National Military Organization (NOW) of the National Democratic Party, which was split on the issue of merger. From them, a small faction left and formed their own army (NSZ - National Arms Forces), which operated independently from the AK, not only against the enemy, but also against communists and democratic elements of the AK. They

⁸ In Polish: *Związek Walki Zbrojnej*

often engaged in warfare against Jewish officers who worked for the AK. One faction joined the ZWZ in 1944, and another faction of NSZ migrated in early 1945, with German protection, through Silesia to Czechoslovakia.

- Women, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts also played a role in the work of the ZWZ/AK, acting as couriers and gathering intelligence. These young groups participated in killings of Jews on busses and trains (Gross).

With the consolidation of the resistance, ZWZ/AK became a large umbrella structure for the underground military, consisting of numerous groups with different political views. It is reasonable that this disunity of different factions created a chaotic army, which in itself, made the task of eliminating their resistance easier for the Soviet regime.

Polish Police Security of Prewar and Pre-Soviet Control

There were professional ties between the Polish army, specifically the military intelligence, and the police force, that contributed to hiring police officers from the military intelligence. Poland's dream to lead a bloc of neutral nations in Eastern Europe was a prime motivator in developing an intelligence agency that would prevent any adversarial obstacles. Section II of the intelligence service had an extensive network of agents in the 1930s, who operated at its borders, gathering information especially on Soviet troops and the Soviet population (prewar and during the Nazi occupation, their accurate picture of German capabilities was instrumental to the Allies). Intelligence Section II cooperated with a number of both civilian and military institutions, such as the police, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Border Protection Corps, and others. Since 1932, it also concentrated some of its efforts on industrial and trade espionage. Thus, the recruitment of police and intelligence members was desirable to the Soviets. Unfortunately, some of them found themselves arrested, imprisoned, and sentenced to death on charges of collaboration with the enemy.

During the German occupation, a professional local police force named the Blue Police was formed, an organization whose purpose was to keep law and order in the German General Government territory. (It was dissolved by the Polish Committee of National Liberation on August 27, 1944.) The blue Police dealt with criminal activities, property crimes, and common banditry in occupied Poland, and later was used also to prevent underground smuggling. According to Timothy Snyder, during the Nazi occupation a majority of about 100,000 Jews were killed, probably by Poles who were members of the collaborationist Blue Police. Emmanuel Ringelblum, a Polish-Jewish historian of the Warsaw Ghetto, wrote about Polish policemen taking part in street roundups, carrying out extortions, and beatings of Jews.

Another police force was a Polish underground force, the National Security Corps (PKB - Państwowy Korpus Bezpieczeństwa or Kadra Bezpieczeństwa), organized by the Home Army (AK - Armia Krajowa), and the Government Department of the Internal Affairs of the Delegate's Office (the Government Delegate was an auxiliary of the Polish Government in Exile). The PKB trained its members from the pre-war Polish police and volunteers to be the future police forces after the liberation. Its duties included investigation and criminal intelligence, as well as gathering reports about the Gestapo. The PKB also executed the orders of the Directorate of Civil Resistance and Underground Resistance's Special Courts.

At the end of the war, the Soviet-controlled new regime accepted some former members of the Polish police force (state "policja") into the newly formed national force, now named Citizens Militia (MO - Militicia Obywatelska). These citizens would play a role in ensuring the communists' oppressive political reforms.

Stalin's Preliminary Plans to Take Control of Poland

Stalin's ambitious plan for Poland had already started in the 1932 purges of the Polish communist party, with his order to dissolve the distrusted Party with its Trotskyite elements in 1938. Then, at the end of 1941, with the plan of liberating Poland from the German Occupation, he entrusted a pro-Soviet Socialist Wanda Wasilewska⁹ to organize Polish Communists in Russia, who understood the nascent political order under Soviet control. From that point on, to preempt the possibility of any ambitious Polish communists gaining power in Poland, Stalin conducted parallel political plans for Poland: one in Poland, and the other in Moscow. Later, he supported the union of the clandestine survivors of the old KPP (Komunistyczna Partia Polski), with the small group of communists from Russia that had parachuted into Warsaw, Poland in January 1942. The new party avoided using a communist title, and was named the Polish Workers Party (PPR - Polska Partia Robotnicza). Committed to an independent Poland, they needed to help the Soviet Union, which was in danger from the Germans, even at the cost of Polish lives. FINDER and Gomułka wrote its manifesto in 1943 – "What Are We Fighting For." The manifesto stressed the twin goals of national independence and social revolution, thereby breaking with the anti-nationalist ideology of the KPP, and initiating the characteristic blend of nationalism and Leninist Socialism (Bethell; Davies 92).

The epidemic of German nationalism had been infecting Poland, as it were, and was the cause for this newly adopted ideology. Once the Party and its ideology were formulated, and Gomułka became the leader (following FINDER's execution by the Gestapo), the Union of Polish Patriots (ZPP¹⁰) in Russia was created by Wanda Wasilewska, Andrzej Vitos (the peasant party leader), Jacob Berman, Stanislaw Radkiewicz, and Roman Zambrowski, who together were to

⁹ Her unique background as a Polish nationalist, patriot, and a pro-Soviet communist, made her the perfect combination to be trusted.

¹⁰ In Polish: Związek Patriotów Polskich

constitute the political administration in Poland. Consistent with Stalin's political scheme to divide the Poles against themselves, immediately after General Andres' Polish Army was evacuated to the Middle East, Stalin ordered the massacre of the Polish elite - military officers in Katyn Forest, and a formation of a military division of Poles in Russia, to be led by General Kosciuszko.

Continuing with plans for countering the anti-communist government in exile, in the beginning of 1944, a pro-Soviet Council of National Liberation-KRN¹¹, a body planned to be the future government, was formed¹² in Poland with Boleslaw Bierut as its president. After only a few months, it sent representatives to Moscow to make contact with the Union of Polish Patriots (ZPP). In July 1944, in the already liberated Lublin, which had been announced as Poland's temporary capital, the groups formed the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN or KRN) to govern the freed areas. The Committee consisted of Edward Osobka-Morawski, from the pro-Soviet Socialist splinter group. The other cooperating communists in the Socialist faction were the Zionist Emil Sommerstein, and the former anti-Semite and organizer of "Polish Aryans," Jan Michal Grabecki (Weinryb 253). By gathering the PPR, KRN, and ZPP, a new Polish authority was formed. The PKWN issued a manifesto against Germans, and called for collaboration with the Red Army, declaring democratic and agrarian reforms. Poland's eastern border was to be decided on an ethnic basis, while the western territories were to be included as part of the new Polish frontier. The land reform decree was also a step to gain acceptance from the masses, as land was taken from landowners and divided among peasant families on September 6, 1944.

Once Moscow recognized the new authority PKWN, Mikołajczyk fled the country. Bierut became the chair of PKWN and its KRN president. In October 1944, the Polish Committee of National Liberation set up an office for repatriation and registration of 1.5 million deported Poles

¹¹ In Polish: Krajowa Rada Narodowa. At the same time, the exiled government set up its own council.

¹² Of which Stalin was notified only later, because of the broken radio contact with Moscow. However, this plan was most likely established ahead by Stalin, and should not be looked at as if the step was done without Stalin's approval.

and Jews. On December 31, 1944, the Lublin PKWN declared the Provisional Government of Poland with the cooperation of Mikołajczyk and his peasant party. The NKVD, at the same time, continued the arrests of political military non-communist resistance leaders because of crimes against the Red Army. Stalin's recognition of the new Provisional Government did not fail to arrive on January 5, 1945. According to agreement at the Potsdam conference with the western powers, it intended to govern the country temporarily until a free election could be held.

Rehabilitating Poland, according to the communists' ideas and principles, began with an administration structure of national councils, formed at the provincial, local and factory levels. They administered land reform, nationalized the key industries, started the school system, and, most importantly, built a police and security apparatus. In line with Stalin's psychological strategy of preparing for the communist regime in Poland, and in order to assure Soviet rule following a victorious war, he refused Allied help, and delayed the Red Army from entering Warsaw until January 18, 1945. He watched helpless Warsaw failing to defend itself, falling into complete ruin; then, he was proclaimed as its liberator.

In the Yalta conference of February 1945, the US and Great Britain, that is, Western powers, recognized Poland's new borders, accepted the policy of forced minority emigration, with the Provisional Government in Poland contingent on Polish reorganization and free elections. Stalin's people proceeded to fulfill the Yalta demands by achieving a Provisional Government of National Unity, which was constituted through a coalition of all the parties in July 1945.

Consolidation of Power and Challenges

The presence of the Red Army on Polish lands was justified in case it would be needed, and it played an integral part in aggressive Soviet support of Poland. However, as soon as the Soviet army entered Poland, with the NKVD's (the Soviet security service) help it began to disarm, arrest, and deport soldiers of the AK, who had been faithful to the government in exile. The Soviet forces took part in the process of preparing for voting, such that Peasant party members were intimidated, beaten, imprisoned, and tortured, while undesirable socialist party members were wiped out. After the long-awaited elections took place, the committees reconstructed and falsified the results, so that a coalition ministry was divided between the parties in such a manner that communists controlled more than the six ministries of their own party, since communists also dominated the others.

Now, the new government was strengthened not only by the support of the Red Army, but also by the office of the Ministry of Security, known as the UB, which began to prepare for civil strife and continual challenge from the opposition.

In addition to the legal opposition of the political anti-communists of the Peasant party, there were violent anti-communist groups. Several militant anti-communists turned to violent civil dissension. AK was disbanded in January 1945, and some of its officers formed the underground WiN¹³ (Freedom and Independence) organization, after the amnesty of the provisional government in August 1945. They operated throughout 1946. The second group was the right-wing fascist NSZ (National Armed Forces); some of its members were anti-Semites known to have collaborated with the Nazis. The third group was the Ukrainian separatists of the Ukrainian Uprising Army (UPA), and the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The government referred to all these groups as "bandits," who

¹³ In Polish: Zrzeszenie Wolność i Niezawisłość

supported each other despite their differences. Their violent attempts against communist leaders and activists led the Security Ministry (UB) to apply repressive methods even toward bandits' sympathizers (Bethell 108-109). Most of the resistance was put down by February 1947, and the Ukrainians were either deported to the U.S.S.R., or were dispersed over the new territories. However, in 1948, the small remaining underground resistance still continued its bloody fights. Scholars are divided regarding the numbers of the remaining underground that warranted repressive measures (see Kersten 175).

Part of the political struggle to reform Polish society and politics according to communist ideals included a consolidation of power, particularly in the arena of agrarian reforms and nationalization of industry. The land aristocracy and industrial capitalists were liquidated as social classes by land parcelization. "Over one million peasant families benefited from the agrarian reforms ... in which 814,000 new farms were created," and industrial enterprises were placed under state control (Schatz 204).

The regime imposed its power with a mixture of cajoling and force. In order to establish legitimate authority with some cohesiveness among the civil population, the dominant view was to emphasize the future: to put the war behind them, forget perpetrated crimes, identify traitors to be punished, tried and imprisoned, and to reward the heroic ones and participate in rehabilitation of the country together with Soviet soldiers.

In parallel to the above security steps, political steps during elections ensured a leading majority of the communist party. Members of the electoral committees who did not belong to the government bloc were prevented from participation by arrest; ballot boxes were removed from polling places, and official PSL¹⁴ members were intimidated and arrested or murdered. In theory,

¹⁴ In Polish: Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, abbreviated to *PSL*, translated in English to *Polish Peasants' Party*.

fundamental civil rights such as equality before the law; liberty of person, life, and property; freedom of conscience, speech, association and assembly -- and still others -- were violated. In practice, the secret police conducted multiple arrests. The goal of the public security forces was to protect new democratic political institutions, at times by justifying unconstitutional use of natural justice and private violence, before legitimate postwar institutional law was enforced. Therefore, at the immediate post-war time, the period's law was referred to be a pliable law, an unsophisticated, as the metaphor of the time characterizes it by the color green to indicate its stage of development.

Through the support of the pervasive army and the powerful security forces, the consolidation of power was complete by totally suppressing the opposition of rival parties¹⁵. Moreover, the sense that it was necessary to eliminate the anti-capitalist element gave way to anti-nationalist feelings. As had happened several years previously, anti-capitalist attitudes were used against poor Jewish merchants; now, they were used to attack Jews as a national group. It is no coincidence, of course, that at this time, Jewish Poles were targeted to be eliminated from power. Jewish marginalized status in Polish society forced their flexible adjustment and their tacit acquiesce to continue to answer the Soviet regime demands. Intensified pressure from both Polish comrades and the non-communist population, who appeared to have been swayed by Church influence, used anti-Semitic sentiment against the Jews in power. Stalin's plan, however, was not ready for complete elimination of Jews; they were still needed and instrumental for the continual change of Poland's economic and cultural reformations, as they were fitted ironically by Soviet system's standards and intentions and not according to those of its Jewish operatives

Initially, during 1945, Soviet forces liquidated the conspiracy movement and partisans. Later, operations were carried out by the security service with the MO and KBW, and regular

¹⁵ Suppressing the potential opposition from the Church would be the regime's next step; although interesting, my focus is on the period up to this plan.

troops. In May 1945, joint operations by the Polish Army and NKVD units were carried out, and subsequent operations took place in February 1946, without the NKVD, when KBW troopers were deployed in three provinces. According to Dudek and Paczkowski, without the KBW and army participation, it would have been impossible to destroy anti-communist partisan units or effectively intimidate the populace, especially those people who were living in villages and small towns of eastern and central Poland. Similarly, it would have been impossible to liquidate Ukrainian nationalist partisan units while at the same time resettling 140,000 Ukrainians to northern and western borders via Operation "Vistula" of April to June, 1947.

According to Mikołajczyk, the Soviets employed tactics to persuade conspirators and partisans to come out, only to be liquidated later. Amnesties were offered in order to build up records and for arrests. Of the 90,000 who had been freed from the army, nearly 33,000 people were arrested again anyway, and tens of thousands were sentenced to jail. By 1947, all the central and regional underground had been liquidated (Kersten 186, Schatz 201). In 1948, MBP department III carried out Operation Cesar against the Polish underground, setting up false headquarters of WiN to attract hundreds of people, who were arrested. Thus, by 1948-49, the BP, together with MO¹⁶ and KBW¹⁷, were successful in combating banditry attacks; liquidating independent movements and Ukrainian nationalist partisans; destroying legal political opposition, primarily the PSL; spying on foreign diplomats; and penetrating political emigration (those who were forced to migrate because of state policies). They subordinated all political parties to the PPR, and their security apparatus also resettled Germans, aided the PPR in its takeover of state administration, and suppressed more than 1,200 strikes during 1945-1948, according to Paczkowski. In parallel, military information services and military intelligence carried out their

¹⁶ In Polish: Milicji Obywatelskiej, translated to English Citizen Militia.

¹⁷ In Polish: Korpusu Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego – Translated to English: Internal Security Corp.

own operations. By late 1948, government power was consolidated fully, and the first three-year plan was over. It was time to realize the next step: the six-year economic plan.

Ministry of Public Security (MBP - Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego), Known as Bezpeika or UB¹⁸

Soviet-backed Polish communists started planning and organizing Polish security structures while under the Nazi occupation. Right after taking all power in 1944, they started to put these plans in place. The Soviet model structure had been changing depending on external political factors such as Soviet orders, and internal political factors such as inter-party fights, or changes in the administrative system in the country. According to Podolski, those factors acted in parallel and complemented each other so that it would be hard to isolate a single factor of each structural change. In general any impact on the system was enforced by Russian orders and suggestions (12). On behalf of the overarching authority of the organizational structure, all civilian intelligence, counterintelligence, investigative and security services had been united in one apparatus. Since the initial title of "state security" implied connection with Nazi Gestapo and Soviet NKVD, the new title of "common security" attempted to mask its repressive security principles. Thus, "common security" was introduced as a goal to protect against war- criminals, Nazi collaborators and other enemies. The new "public security" structure continued to fulfill the definition of "common security" to protect and defend with the help of all security structures such as the police, namely, Civic Militia (MO -- Milicji Obywatelskiej) and the Security Offices, which were under one structure of the Security Department, later, Ministry of the Public Security (RBP¹⁹/MBP).

The security apparatus differed from the Soviet model in its military counterintelligence that was included in the Army, rather than within civilian security service. Moscow's system of control enforced its power through the Political Bureau,²⁰ the Central Committee of the Polish

¹⁸ The initials UB and MBP are used interchangeably.

¹⁹ In Polish: RBP -- Resort Bezpieczeństwo Publicznego, Department of Public Security

²⁰ The chief executive body of the ruling Polish Communist apparatus.

United Workers Party, the PUWP²¹ – the ruling Communist party, and the government. In Gomulka's view, the security apparatus was the most important instrument of power in the state machinery, which is why the party controlled it. Security services were part of the state structures while the Party was superior to the all-state machinery, but formally was separated from the security services. According to Paczkowski and Dudek, the leadership of the Communist Party defined minute details of the scope and framework of the security apparatus, which in turn was dependent on the political line of the Party.

Checinski describes that the political communication channel had direct contacts through a huge network of advisors, strategically placed in all the ministries. Numerous Russian army commanders were employed to overlook operations of the army, and administrative departments of the Central Committee for the Polish Communist Party took control of using information that had been systematically supplied by the Main Directorate of the Military Counterintelligence and the Ministry of Public Security, as well as in delivering it to the proper KGB²² bodies. Moreover, most useful services were rendered to Moscow through the silent channel. From the day the Red Army entered Poland, Soviet special services began setting up a network of KGB residents and agents, placing them in key and sensitive party and government institutions (*Running the Gauntlet* 85). Furthermore, direct personal communication facilitated party directives to the Security apparatus. The Special Bureau (later Department X) provided reports, gathered information from interrogations (having prepared lists of interrogation questions), and kept ties with the Military Information Services, as well as the Intelligence Services. Some UB and Military Intelligence executives shared professional and social contacts with the Communist Party elite.

²¹ In 1948, PPR, Polish Worker Party, the predecessor of the PUWP, was the Polish Workers Party (Polish: Polska Partia Robotnicza); it merged with the Polish Socialist Party to form the PUWP. -- Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, or its polish initials PZPR.

²² Soviet Union's main security agency.

According to Paczkowski, the Communist Party controlled appointments of senior positions of the Security apparatus. That is, PPR leadership handled appointments for the Security apparatus, the army and the Citizens Militia. The Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee decided on the ministerial appointments, and on posts of MBP departments' directors and their deputies. Even recruitment of the heads of Personnel sections in the WUBP²³ and the lower posts in the Security apparatus were determined by the party, and not by the regional administration. The local PPR/PZPR had little influence in setting policies. A limited direct communication between the party powers and the First Secretaries of the Provincial Committees led to routinely ignore directives, and at most, those were only followed in cases of large-scale operations or in regard to recruiting secret collaborators.

The feasibility of implementing independent policies of the Security apparatus was made possible by its politicized management cadre, while the local party cells and the local MBP security offices carried out the ideological training and social matters.

There was no parliamentary control over the Security apparatus. KRN did not question it. The PSL²⁴ (Peasant Party) did not have representatives in the MBP leadership. The judicial system, including the Public Prosecutor's office, kept a close contact with the Security apparatus. The Regional Military Courts and the Regional Military Prosecutors' offices took over most political cases that were considered "crimes against the state."

Orders were issued through a tightly linked chain of command. Jews were under particular pressure to act according to the chain of authority and Soviet instructions. There was pressure not only to acquiesce and be loyal to the system, but also to show gratitude. Moreover, Stalin's

²³ In Polish *Wojewódzki Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego*, translated to English as Voivodship/Province/District Office of Public Security

²⁴ In *Polish*: Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, translated to English as The *Polish* People's Party

demands for accuracy and efficiency in execution of his orders for the regime were taken on the context of the Great Purges of the 1930s, when many were eliminated because of deviation from the line of command. Jews were expected to express loyalty to the system's party and administration, or be again accused of cosmopolitanism, with severe punishment. The pressure on the Jewish officers in the lower offices and the local government was even greater, where usually police officers and soldiers were the ones who displayed anti-Semitic feelings, and were the ones who initiated or participated in racial hatred or even pogroms against Jews.

Manheim explains how a significant structural stability of a regime is achieved through enforced interdependent lines of conduct. The control of key positions with their accompanying opportunities for influence and power requires a range of activities. The more interconnected the nature of an activity is, the more its complete execution through the particular positions, along with their associated social opportunities, is assured (240).

Indeed, professional and ideological connections existed between the political ministry and the Communist Party. Furthermore, Gomulka's actions reflected the union of the legislative function with the administrative one in the pursuit of its opponents, despite his contradictory statement that called Poland a parliamentary democracy that had no need for the dictatorship of a single party. Gomulka, as the leader of PPR, dictated a ruthless policy of terror and intimidation by the UB. In effect, Gomulka robbed Poland's organizations of the right to oppose. As Bethell argues, "the PSL was being terrorized and Gomulka was one of the main instigators of the terror." Gomulka expressed this contradiction in the justification for use of violence against another party:

"... For the security apparatus is a sharp tool in the hand of democratic Poland in her fight against reactionaries. The Peasant Party would like to disarm the democrats, to deprive them of power ... This we shall not allow. There are no unjustified arrests of Peasant Party members ... No government and no social

system sympathizes with those who oppose them. Nor [do] we have sympathy for the PSL, who oppose us. But we do not wish to take away anybody's democratic right of opposition..." (Bethel 125).

It is not surprising that the Ministry of Public Security apparatus was the third largest spender (8-11%) of state budget in 1944-1949. The MBP apparatus was responsible for both intelligence and counter-espionage, as well as suppression of dissent and surveillance of citizens. The MBP employed a vast network of secret collaborators, who facilitated the notorious system of repression. Julia Brystiger, a UB functionary, said of the mass recruitment of agents, that they served to keep people dependent by way of "humiliating, [and] creating an aura of fear." Smersh and the NKVD school officers guided agents. The agents included secret informers, those who controlled them, and those who gathered information and prevented the suspects under surveillance from carrying out their work. To illustrate the role of the latter agents: the central records office was opened in 1945; by 1949, it housed 1.2 million report files from agents who gathered information on "hostile elements." For the parliamentary election of 1947, thousands of agents were recruited to influence the population. Most of the agents came from the Military Information Service, which included Polish army soldiers as their secret collaborators, since the Polish People's Army operated within the structure of the Ministry of Public Security, together with its civilian intelligence branch, Department VII – though the name of that branch was changed over the years.

Methods of Recruiting

“[They] have renounced their former selves? To make easier their fight for the better tomorrow in which [they] had so fervently believed? Possible that ambition and career prospects had become their dominant motivation? (Checinski 22).

The Receptive and Amenable State of Jewish Survivors

The postwar period saw various responses to the new alliance of the Soviet force with the Communist Party in Poland. According to Schatz, a small number of communists, who had survived physical hardships and death, returned from the Soviet Union - only a little more than 2,000 refugees (Schatz 151). These postwar communists, who had been very young communists in 1938 when Stalin disbanded the Polish Communist Party, were now approaching age 30 or older, and were either largely indifferent to any political affiliation, or were thirsty for an opportunity to actively participate to bring about the desired change for Poland. Being a communist meant having a sense of participation in historical events, and in the revolutionary social upheaval of the world (Schatz 46-47).

The backdrop of communism reflected the strong influence of Polish secularization and acculturation. Communism stood against the Jewish experience of poverty, inequality, injustice, a lack of prospects, and hopelessness. These experiences had been evident before the war, but they cast a greater shadow afterwards. Some people felt hope intensely -- aiming to make changes that would seriously reduce all social ills, even those who did not belong to the communist movement. As Checinski expresses it: “they were given the illusion of building something radically new which would make a repetition of their personal disaster impossible” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 64). They honestly believed that the new regime “would bring Poland social justice, welfare, and progress” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 63). In fact, whether one felt disillusionment or hope

influenced people's decisions to stay or to leave Poland. For that matter, a search for existential meaning after the Holocaust was often followed by a search for new moral values. Communism and the Soviet Union were perceived as being able to provide those values, with successful resolutions for both class and ethnic conflicts. The ideology of the new regime was to build a society free from both national and class oppression – an attractive, utopian vision. But the attraction went beyond ideology. Large numbers of Jews had been offered equal opportunities at the state and party positions in Soviet society, and that was proof positive to many that freedom from anti-Semitism was possible. And at that time, anti-Semitism was a main issue dictating Jews' choices.

But not everyone shared communist ideals.²⁵ There were those who did not want to have to contend with the potential suspicions of the Polish nationalistic element that their political affiliation was anything less than sincere. Others were anxious to begin their postwar life without political interests. Yet, there were also many young Jews (late teens and older), whose fate it had been to fight during the war in the Red Army. They had gone through a process of indoctrination into the Soviet way of life, including new values, and social norms with a new code of behavior that governed the new social environment. In addition, for some, a newly developed devotion to the U.S.S.R. arose from a heightened perception of fear and caution from the multiple arrests around them. They thought that the new regime was the only power that might be able to help them (Bauer 64), as compared to being unprotected from the anti-Semitic danger.

Even those apolitical Jews, who were struggling with their present and long-term life plans, had been shaped by their aspirations for a purposeful future, and not only by their desire for immediate survival. Indeed, those who stayed in Poland did so because of the prospect for social mobility as well. Long-term goals of restructuring Polish society opened possibilities for upward

²⁵ The movement had very limited support among Polish Jewry, only about 5% of the small community of Jewish voters (Schatz 91).

mobility, especially for those whose loyalty could be trusted (Bauer 64). The country was in desperate need of a new working force. Jews wanted to prove that a Jew could be as good as a worker as anybody else. The war had depleted the country's intelligentsia, cultural elite, and technical administration. At least, Jews could offer some degree of formal education, intellectual sophistication, and loyalty -- all the ingredients to fulfill positions of leadership.

Thus, existing social factors and conditions in Poland, combined with the Soviet influence, often tipped the scale for Jewish Poles' willingness to undertake a position of responsibility and power, just as Catholic Poles were ready for the same. Moreover, those very conditions were perceived as an opportunity to change and rebuild Poland's society that, after the war, might be able to acknowledge its readiness for a change.

Indeed, the provisional government not only allowed Jewish representation of Jewish interests in Jewish parties, which renewed their activities, but a number of Jews were included in the government: "Jews were admitted to a variety of government offices except where local anti-Semitism interfered" (Weinryb 259).

According to Scheler's sociological analysis (qtd. in Mannheim 167) each period and civilization has a specific mission, and a concrete system of norms, that historically and sociologically determine human standing within history. Each age has its own system of values, which are also time-bound values, in accordance with the period's style. According to his analysis it is reasonable to assume, that the environmental demands for a partner to meet the challenges of the times forced many to join or oppose the regime. In addition, we can see that, social environmental demands are linked with certain styles of thought, whether reactionary or progressive. These thoughts, truths exist in relation to the culture, the society and the historical context.

Scheler's analysis and use of thought "currents" helps to understand people's responses. Polish citizens who participated in the social structure through occupying positions of power were exposed to a knowledge that promoted their social and intellectual ends, or their political impulses were influenced by the role they fulfilled. Gross compares Poles with different common Polish responses: "a murderer in uniform remains a state functionary acting under orders, and he might even be presumed to have mental reservations about what he has been ordered to do. Not so a civilian, killing another human being of his own free will-such an evildoer is unequivocally but a murderer" (133). These contradictory and heterogeneous trends of responses existed side by side in postwar Poland, and claimed, each one on its own to embody greater absolute truth than the other dominant one. The trends were also inconspicuously interconnected. Anti-Semitism, that was promoted by Catholic obedience, or the trend of communism, that supported the arrival of the proletarian age after the collapse of capitalism, or the thought current, which rejected Catholic backwardness, and called for the integration of sciences in Polish culture. (Scheler in Manheim 240, 297). Poles, Russians, and Jews were caught in the whirlpool of these currents, coping with the best of their convictions.

Motivation

Checinski's memoir, *Running the Gauntlet of Anti-Semitism*, is an account of a Jewish Polish officer in the military service under Soviet rule, I consider a representative case study of motivation, dilemmas, and effects of working under repressive authorities. He examines diverse aspects of personal traumatic history during postwar Polish political development. Checinski gives a clue to the devastating complexities of the status of working under Soviet rule in occupied Poland by the Soviet Union. The phrase, *Running the Gauntlet*, the title of the memoir, vividly evokes an image of the blows of anti-Semitism, which were collectively delivered by Catholic Poles and by Soviet Communist rule. The memoir is a record of running between two rows of powerful men in authority, who were both intimidating and dangerous, and whose blows had been received with considerable pain and suffering. Despite his contribution to the system, he was also, as a Jew, a victim of its repressive authoritative powers and their accomplices.

Checinski delivers the motivation, thoughts, and actions of a Jew who was coerced into joining the Soviet counterintelligence service. He gives an account of his own recruitment, which followed the pattern of recruiting Jews and others to the service, and he describes the different ways that Jews were manipulated into the ruling power structure of the Soviets in Poland. This personal history and documentary describe the unique role Polish Jews played in Polish-Soviet relations. Specifically, Soviet rulers were aware of the hatred and animosity felt by the Polish people toward the Soviets, because of the Soviets' long history of mistreating Poles. Prewar mass violent deportations of Poles from Ukraine and the liquidation of Poles in the Communist Party were conducted in Poland and in the Soviet Union. The echoes of Stalin's violent reign of terror during the years between the two World Wars had been felt in Poland for all these years. The Great Terror was not erased from the memories of Soviets, as well as Poles, who both were deeply affected by the brutal massacres.

The atmosphere of Stalin's terror permeated Polish life. The memories of the Great Terror of the 30s, the murder of Polish soldiers (Jewish too) in the Katyn forest, the deporting Poles, and the inner threat from Soviet spies' infiltration, remained in Polish consciousness.²⁶ When the Soviet regime used Jews in different power roles in their effort to consolidate their own power in Poland, they were motivated by the realization that objection and opposition to their rule can be diverted to hatred toward the Jews. One can assume how the Soviets, therefore, manipulated the unique status of the Jews in Polish society to soften the opposition to their own rule. The ruling power hoped that at the right time, the imposed power structure would eliminate Jewish participation, and the turnover to Polish autonomy would be untainted by the Soviet policies, since a scapegoat would take the blame. In addition, according to Michael Checinski "Jews were placed in most controversial posts (for example, those dealing with Church affairs or the campaign against the political underground) and thus deflect anti-regime feelings into anti-Semitism" (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 63). As the newly imposed Soviet rule after the war could not rid itself of the mechanism of control and coercion that was so characteristic to it, and consistent with Stalin's rule of terror, it continued to intensify even after his death in 1953. In fact, it continued eliminating the so-called foreign enemies – the Jews continued to be its proxy. Furthermore, with the presence of Jews, Soviet rule could avoid any real ties to the local Polish populace. This was in line with keeping the traditional policy that had always been promoted by the ruling classes in the Soviet Union.

²⁶ Despite the fact that Polish intelligence was spying on the Soviet Union as well; see discussion later.

Recruitment

In order to expand their power, the Soviets absorbed not only the old communist members, but also anyone who was “politically reliable,” and who agreed to cooperate. Gomulka and the Soviets were suspicious of the Polish patriotic intelligentsia who also were not yet ready to join forces. Young uneducated Poles, Jewish and Christian, embraced this process of recruitment, as they were somewhat malleable to the communist ideals and principles. Those recruits who came from communist partisans of the People’s Army (AL- Armia Ludowa) were, as a rule, put at the district level, and at the lower posts at the WUBP’s provincial Public Security Offices. Jews were rarely employed in the lower levels posts, which were guilty of brutal and ruthless vendettas. Those were usually uneducated and politically inexperienced who could use physical violence (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism* 64).

When the Soviets favorably absorbed Jews into the new political elite of Polish power apparatus they considered a change of these elite cadres in the long-term. The Jews were only temporary intermediaries whose inferior and marginalized status was utilized in Poland to turn away opposition to the Soviet regime to an opposition against the Jews. Aleksander Smolar argues that the Soviet power structure perversely used charges of anti-Semitism to compromise the opposition and undesired elements, both at home and abroad. The communist authorities put to use the real and imagined anti-Semitic attitudes that were widespread by the Catholic Church in Poland. The church did not take a stand for the Polish Jewish community, so as not to compromise its faithful Polish public. Consequently, Jews were accused of being the culprits of the ruthless persecution by the regime. In fact, the Catholic Church avoided formal public support for the communists for fear they might disclose its ties to the Soviets. According to Checinski, Church

members were recruited as Soviet spies²⁷ (*Running the Gauntlet* 75). Consistent with its longstanding doctrine of anti-Semitism, specifically Judeo-communism, the belief that there were many Jews in the power structure was perpetrated and reinforced by the Church. This should not discount the Church's shortfall of addressing the existing hatred towards the Jews. Its failure to address this reflected the Church's hateful views of communism and associating Jews with it. The commander-in-chief of the Polish Home Army, in July 1941, expressed these perceptions when commenting about the Poles who greeted the invading Germans as liberators from the Bolshevik oppression, in which the Jews had played a great part; and thus, later Jews were also seen as collaborators of the Soviet regime (Smolar 40).

The small minority of the survivors of the Holocaust emerged from their complete isolation in the camps and hiding places, where they had been at loose ends culturally, and were grateful to the Soviet Red Army for saving their very lives. They reciprocated with naïve faith in the system that was about to betray them.

Checinski described the way he was being recruited to the system while he worked in a factory. After other serious candidates in his area had been accepted into communism, he was invited to join in a military service leadership role, where idealistic people, ardent communists, were needed. He recalls this experience of the persuasion tactics that were employed to appeal to Jewish interests.

Checinski's friend, Heneik, is a typical example of how a helpless surviving Jew was cajoled into the system, and how psychological methods of pressure and influence were employed. In the most vulnerable time, in following the fulfillment of some basic physical needs of first aid, food and shelter, there was an implicit expectation for gratitude in return – accepting a job offer, and

²⁷ During the war, there was a non-military organization, Fatherland, led by a priest who carried out intelligence work while teaching class and social welfare.

availing one's help for the system's needs. Heneik had survived miraculously; he had been saved by the Red Army. Heneik's emaciated body was found lying in the bay of the Althammer Concentration Camp, near Gleiwitz in Upper Silesia, when units of the Soviet Army liberated the area. After a few days of eating and regaining enough strength, he dragged himself to the Katowice city council, asking for help -- some clothing, a place to get warm and to sleep but he was turned down. Since he maintained trust in the Red Army, he went to see the Soviet city commandant, who sent him to someone in the city council. Thus, Heneik was given a room to stay, and an officer of the NKVD summoned a physician, who brought medicine and personally took care of him for two weeks. He tells Checinski about his work for the security service. He was sent out for operations: "There is a civil war going on" (*Running the Gauntlet* 12). Poland was on the verge of civil war by the armed resistance to the new regime. Although the accounts vary as to the exact numbers (8,000 or 20,000) of communists, police functionaries and soldiers who were killed by the underground, many of them (20%) were innocent Jews (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 64).

Checinski joined the service after being promised that he would be allowed to continue his own studies, as planned. He was recruited to the counterintelligence school with other young people between 18 and 20 years of age. During the two courses in the school, he was the only Jew. The recruits came from poor, honest Catholic families, and who now were afforded not only an opportunity to break out of the circle of hopeless poverty, but also to avenge the wrongs suffered by their parents or relatives. Holyoak and Thagard (qtd. in Crenshaw 416) point out that personally experienced events that are emotionally compelling may be a cause for action. It seems that the Soviet intelligence used the fact that an event can stimulate a desire for revenge to solve their particular problems. These young recruits with time became agnostic as a result of the pressure of the system (*Running the Gauntlet* 56).

Some recruited agents were motivated by patriotic or idealistic principles, truly believing in the new social system that was to help them break away from debilitating poverty or hopelessness. Most agents, however, were recruited through direct and indirect coercion measures: blackmail, promise of promotion, transfer to a better garrison, or the allocation of a dream-apartment. Each of these enticements was intended to persuade a young recruit to join the power system (*Running the Gauntlet* 65). Checinski points to the rapid growth and development of the apparatus. In 1945, 18 percent of functionaries were under 22 years old, with 47.5 percent of them aged between 22 and 30 (*Running the Gauntlet* 67).

System of Repression

“Close friendships, a shared path of suffering and hope: All these carried significance only to the extent that they were subordinated to the higher goals of the communist idea” (Checinski 29).

Principles of Repression

Since the Communist party was weak in Poland, the security service essentially served to consolidate power. Once the stage of take-over was over the regime begun the “mobilizing stage” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 66) - terror. Resorting to victimizing, arresting of enemies, political partners, quasi-legal opponents and finally the members of the party, the state, military, and police hierarchies. No one of the high officials was free from constant police surveillance. The mass arrests served to perpetrate terror among the population and to transform the lower level security officials into ruthless executors of directives “from above” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 65). Or, in case of a Jewish official at a higher post, to transform him to a supervisor of a purge of other Jews.

Jeffrey Klugman’s research highlights the principles of repressive terror from above and offers an additional layer of understanding the Soviet system of repression in Poland. According to Klugman’s analysis, the actions of those in power are fundamentally established through terrorism, which, in its nature, entails control, both political and symbolic. The ruling authority conditions its constituency to a control-dependency relationship that is integrated with full identification of the individual with the state. Yet, only members of the party are considered an elite vanguard that encompasses both control and dependency, while members outside of the party or the bottom of the hierarchy are dependent and lack any control. What sustains the official power is conformity and blind acceptance of the authority, and that is achieved through detailed

expectations and rules, where any deviance is punished by exclusion from the group. This model illustrates how dissidents are dangerous: they challenge the integrity, cohesion, and authority of the very system in power. Nonetheless, everyone is bonded to the state as a whole. Private needs serve public ends, as the individual is happy when he contributes to the successful functioning of the state. Emphasis is placed on direct loyalty toward the highest authority without intermediate loyalty.

Thus, the mechanism of Stalin's repressive terror of the Communist Party was based on control and dependency. The necessary component of the nascent apparatus of terror was an emphasis on always telling the truth. The edict to tell the truth and to unconditionally obey instructions was instrumental in integrating the lower echelons into the complex structure of "legal" terror. Moreover, it was impressed upon cadets at the military school, who were warned about lying as a matter of honor, and as a critical factor in the victory of the world revolution. This practice was applied and rationalized to Poland's counterintelligence officers to abide by the code of officers' honor and army ethic, since without this effort, Poland, and even the entire world, would be pushed into darkness. Naturally, in these circumstances, blind faith in the importance of the assigned mission was of greater significance than acquired knowledge (*Running the Gauntlet* 54).

The Stalinist apparatus was successful in its cohesion of the diverse masses, of careerists, hustlers, cynics, or people bereft of any moral and/or national values, through instilling fanaticism and faith in the mission for which they sacrificed their youth, family life, and educational opportunities. Sprinzak (qtd. in Crenshaw 410) argues that a common belief that the enemy is illegitimate, and thus not human, results in resorting to violence and terrorism, as the group feels threatened. The employees of the service were therefore trained to believe, that on the one hand, they contribute to the efficiency of the army as an instrument of the revolutionary power, and on

the other hand, the fear of a new invasion of Poland determined that the fate of the country, as a whole, was dependent on them (*Running the Gauntlet* 55).

In addition, the regime used a variety of psychological factors in training and keeping recruits. Tapping into the psyche of its young leaders who were determined to help the regime's problems, Holyoak and Thagard's 1995 (qtd. in Crenshaw 416) theory explains how stimulating a desire for revenge, by associating it with personally experienced events or incidents, can be emotionally compelling to the extent that the invested individual may act. Bandura's approach (qtd. in Crenshaw 409-410) explains how an individual resorts to terrorism as emanating from a "principled resort" to destructiveness, rather than restraining its impulse. He identifies three major views that develop during the self-regulatory process: The reprehensible conduct can be construed as justifiable, its detrimental effects minimized or distorted, and the victim blamed or devalued. Bandura also noted that the responsibility is displaced onto the enemy or diffused within the group. The individual then disengages his internal regulatory mechanisms that usually serve to restrain him from violence.

System of control

According to the Soviet model, the Communist party controlled the state, with no difference between party and state. Indeed, the Soviet secret services were services of the state, as a part of government structure, separated from the party apparatus yet formally fully controlled by the Party.

Thus Moscow employed three systems of control that each operated independently of the others. The Political Bureau operated through direct contact via a huge network of advisors

strategically placed in all the ministries, especially in the army, where numerous Russian army commanders masqueraded in Polish uniforms. The Third Directorate of the Main Directorate of Counterintelligence of the Polish Army (MDCPA), where Checinski worked in 1950, also saw this kind of control, generating all the instructions and decrees signed by the Soviet boss. Inspectors were dispatched to counterintelligence units to mobilize officers to become more involved in their operational work, and to uncover enemies, real or imaginary, in the system. Here too, the most secret information was compiled into a special bulletin for the Polish political leadership (*Running the Gauntlet* 81-2). Lastly, the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers Party (KRN of UPWP), the ruling Communist Party, supplied information systematically to the appropriate KGB bodies by the Main Directorate of Military Counterintelligence and the Ministry of Public Security.

The silent channel of the network of KGB agents rendered to Moscow most useful services while being placed in key and sensitive Party and government institutions (*Running the Gauntlet* 85). The top-secret Surveillance and Requirement Section of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the Polish Army, where Checinski was placed (*Running the Gauntlet* 56) in his first position, operated, and carried out “deplorable activities” of camouflaged “reconnaissance missions” and “entrapment.” The employees, dressed in civilian clothes, worked in secret apartments that were scattered all over the city.

The dictatorial character of the Soviet regime was evident in the case of an official who was discharged from the army, and kicked out of the party because he was known to have expressed an unfavorable opinion about the Soviets, calling them “barbarians.” The charges against him regarded this expression as an “anti-Soviet attitude” (*Running the Gauntlet* 67-8). This case signified the first party purge, in the fall of 1948, after the communist takeover began.

Working for the Eighth Department of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the Polish Army gave Checinski access to the most classified secrets of the highest party and government in Poland since before the war, as well as to the identities of Polish agents abroad, and of Poles who infiltrated political parties and national minorities' religious communities. The Eighth Department uncovered the fact that the prominent officials of communist Poland, Lechowicz and Spychalski, both were prewar Soviet spies. In prewar Poland, only a few government officials were willing to support the Communist Party. Yet, prewar Polish intelligence agents infiltrated the illegal Communist Party; therefore, Soviet intelligence countered their infiltration by recruiting party members, who were in the government and the military or armament industry, as agents on behalf of the homeland, of the world working class, and turned these party candidates into spies. The prewar intelligence agents did not suspect them, since the Soviets usually used Catholic high officials and intellectuals as spies, and not communist leaders. By contrast, the Polish Communist Party had only a few Catholic Poles, but many Jews in the party gave rise to the myth of Judeo-Communism (*Running the Gauntlet* 75).

Social Repression

Repression in the Stalinist terror machine took different forms: dismissal from positions, removal from place of residence, expulsion from the party, arrest by the Secret Service (NKVD), internal exile and deportation to the Gulag system of labor camps, and judicial and non-judicial execution.

The UB system developed secret detailed reports about people, called "opinions," based on denunciations. Personnel officers handled these "opinions." "Spread rumors" was a crime;

discussing news from Western radio could be used as the basis for mass arrests (Lewis 10). Instead, house committee meetings were organized in apartment buildings, and material against the West was read widely, especially from 1948 onwards.

Effects

The party's blind obedience perception was "the party knows better" (Lewis 91) what is good for Poland. Checinski describes Polish society response as a mixture of resistance and passivity. The ubiquitous corruption of the Soviet regime, cynicism, Great Russian chauvinism, the terror and the deceitfulness of the Soviet Party and functionaries of its administration contributed to people's disillusionment (*Running the Gauntlet* 35).

The systematic and deliberate violence performed to intimidate the populace by harming only a few in its midst had devastating effects also on the individuals who were to impose the terror. Martha Crenshaw studies terrorism. In an attempt to find a psychological explanation for terrorism, she points to the profound social and psychological link the individual has to a group and to society (405). Crenshaw cites Braungart's research, which emphasizes how participation in a group, socialization, and learning experiences further shape terrorists' behavior. What enabled those in the Soviet power structure to impose repressive terror from above was enabled by a shared ideological commitment and group solidarity. The training that the security apparatus received was an important determinant for sustaining its repressive system. Checinski, as well as others, experienced the shared ideological commitment and group solidarity with those in power, as it was viewed, as more important than any individual traits. Checinski had an opportunity to protest the authority by refusing to recommend a promotion of a Soviet officer whose character did not merit it. In this exceptional incident, he was successful. He kept his own integrity, while

remaining loyal to the system, even though he antagonized some who did not place a value on individual character in the process.

Overcome by mixed feelings toward the ugly reality, Checinski rationalized his participation in the system: “After all, I myself was one of those who desired to destroy at any price the enemies of the system which was destined to bring happiness, possibly in my lifetime. The system would change people for the better” (*Running the Gauntlet* 66). If the individuals had to pay a price so that a just society would remain, then there would be no need to deprive people of respect and dignity. His consolation was that he was not the only one who was willing to sacrifice his young years to strengthen the existing system at any price.

Evidence from Donatella Della Porta (qtd. in Chrenshaw 409) points that those who possess well-established political identities, and who have experienced prior socialization into the use of terror, are the ones who have a persistent commitment to underground organizations with an intense identification with the group. The evidence shows how fanatic identification and justification of vile criminal acts coexist and are enmeshed together, despite their attached irreconcilable feelings that are raised to the surface, splitting the mind and precluding normal judgment – to the extent that dissociation of the self begins.

Statistical Results of the IPN Table

MBP -- The Ministry of Public Security

As mentioned previously, the Polish security apparatus was built in mid-1944 by the Polish communists, based on the Soviet model. The Department of Public Security (RBP²⁸) absorbed the Citizens Militia (MO -- Milicja Obywatelska), as well as the Polish prisons and camps to its force, while the Internal Security troops integrated the Polish Army and the Polish Independent Special Battalion to its force. In January 1945, the name of the apparatus was changed by the KRN to Ministry of Public Security, and is known by the Polish initials of Security Services: UB, or in short, Bezpeika – Security (Antoni Dudek and Andrzej Paczkowski 1).

My research focuses on the UB's activities during 1944-1948, with some comparison to subsequent years when needed. These years show that total annual Jewish participation progressed from 12% at its time of establishment, to almost 16% in 1948. Subsequent years show a consistent reduction, reaching 8.93% in 1955, and the overall percentage during 1944-1956 was 11%.

Total Distribution for 1944-1948

	Jewish	Soviet	Polish
1944	12.43%	15.82%	71.75%
1945	12.61%	8.44%	78.95%
1946	15.03%	9.82%	75.23%
1947	15.42%	10.84%	75.80%
1948	15.95%	11.23%	73.23%

²⁸ in Polish: Resort Bezpieczenstwo Publicznego

The total number of employees of several national affiliates in the Security Service in Poland during the decade of 1945-1956 was 4643 persons. In this study, I have identified three groups: Polish, Jewish, and Russian (In my analysis' tables I organize the latter group as a group category of Soviet to include all Soviet/Russian nationalities in it without further distinction). The IPN tables compiled and provided the identification of fewer than 300 Jews over the twelve years. They were identified in the tables by their parentheses, which mostly specify Jewish names. However, examination of all names revealed additional names associated with the group, thus providing a more accurate picture of the Security Service employees of Jewish origin. With Soviet prompting (although more common in the army, but not exclusively), many Jews "Polonized" their names, while leaving their original names known to personnel (consequently Jewish names appear in parentheses). However, many also kept using only their original Jewish names. The phenomenon of concealing national identity was adopted by Soviet officers as well. It seems that some Soviet names, those that could be perceived to be of Polish origin, or those who used a typical Polish nickname, were also specified in parentheses. In managerial posts, direct Soviet participation in the system was of higher numbers according to the literature. However only 44 Soviet officers and three NKVD functionaries were identified by the IPN footnotes (only 6 of them had been identified as trained by NKWD). The appearance of names connoting Greek origin and a frequent repetition of names such as Jan or Josef (applied to fathers' names as well as the employee), draw my attention to question the Soviet identity, however further research needs to support this to expand on the information provided in IPN tables. I include in the category of Possibly Soviet (318) based on names, ranks, tenure, and the footnotes: NKWD functionaries including the instructors in the NKWD, and those who went through an NKWD training or were send to courses specifically for the MBP, and those who left back to Soviet Union (30). 9 trained employees were possibly Soviets. Thus the combined numbers of Soviets was 362.

When looking into the origin of names, I also took into consideration additional variables such as rank, duration in the system and department, and what role an officer fulfilled. Apparently, some of the employees fulfilled two different positions in different departments simultaneously. The phenomenon was possible, as required by the system at the time, probably for purposes of supervising and instruction. A director in one department could act at the same time as assistant/deputy in another. Consequently, the remaining deputy took on the responsibility of the director.

I created a category of Combined Affiliation that combines the identified affiliation in the IPN tables with the additional affiliations that were identified through researching names, thus, increasing the number of each group of affiliation. The IPN table resulted in Jewish and Soviet participation of 526 and 362, respectively.

Total distribution of Affiliation

Combined Affiliation	Affiliation	Total
Jewish	Jewish	294
	Possibly Jewish	232
	Total	526
Soviet	Possibly Soviet	318
	Soviet	44
	Total	362
Polish	Polish	3781
	Total	3781
Grand Total		4669

Six Jewish employees out of the 294 Jews were NKWD trained, (one was identified by the IPN table as an NKWD functionary), and five trained employees are possibly Jewish. Eighty two trained employees were Poles.

I am referring to the combined affiliation of 526 Jewish employees in the Security system, who constituted 11% of the total employed through the years 1945-1956. Over the years, the management cadre of the Security apparatus shows somewhat even distribution of Jewish and Soviet functionaries in the system, while the Polish partners overtook more than half of the positions. Soviet involvement during this period was stable, at around 10%, while the number of Polish participants increased to over 72%.

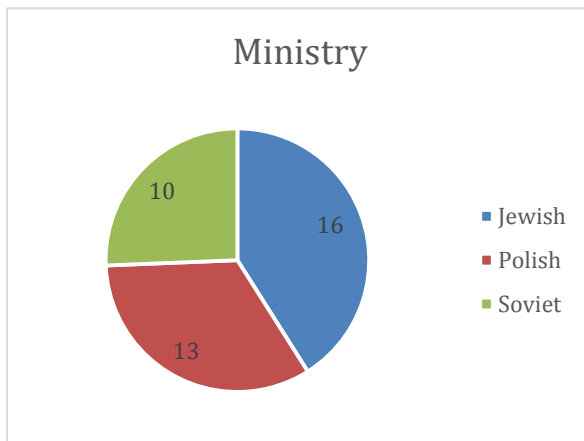
In the beginning I also fell into a common assumption about this under-investigated topic: that Jews predominated in the Security system. However, after asking whether the Jews were a major force in the UB, I found instead a high percentage of Polish participation in the Soviet-controlled UB. I believe the numbers derived from my research are close to the true picture. Even if my research has missed as much as 10 to 15 percent in each category, it still provides an interesting picture of the Soviet and Jewish participation along with Polish participation. It is also reasonable to conclude that the Soviet leaders were installing a new Polish elite with whom they could consolidate their power in Poland. Capturing the hearts of the Polish citizens for the managerial cadre was of utmost importance, considering the fact that seizing power over Poland applied very repressive measures. Therefore despite Soviet trust in Jews and the special status Jews carried in the Polish society that was utilized by the Soviet regime to promote its rule, it was not in Soviet's interest to allow a relatively high number of Jews. Moreover, a small number of Jews were present in the different districts in Poland that would fulfill many security positions.

Paczkowski (2008) referred to a report of October 20, 1945 by Nikolay Selivanovsky, the chief Soviet adviser at the Ministry of Public Security. According to this report, Jews made up 18.7% of the ministry's workforce, and held half of the managerial positions. I am using this report's results for do a comparative analysis with the results of the IPN tables. The IPN Tables include all the MBP sections: Central Ministry departments (later converted to the Committee), the local Provinces, and Prisons and Camps in Poland. When taking into account the Ministry of BP as a whole system, my calculation shows, in the MBP management cadre in 1945, Jews constituted only 12% (142 Jews in the MBP out of all 1194 MBP employees). However when calculating only the numbers of participants in the Central Ministry departments, we see that there was a participation of 42.86% Jews. Out of the 42 employees in the Central Ministry, 18 were Jews. (16 plus additional two that were identified as Possibly Jews). Soviet participation was at 26.19%.

1945	Jewish	Polish	Soviet
BIAŁOSTOCKIE	11.86%	69.49%	18.64%
Camps In Poland	9.38%	87.50%	3.13%
GDAŃSK	12.00%	85.33%	2.67%
Kielce	5.26%	88.16%	6.58%
Koszalin	6.25%	90.63%	3.13%
KRAKOW	17.65%	75.29%	8.24%
LODZ	16.87%	77.11%	6.02%
LUBELIN	11.69%	79.22%	9.09%
Ministry	42.86%	30.95%	26.19%
OLSZTYN	11.54%	82.69%	5.77%
OPOLE	21.88%	71.88%	6.25%
POMORSKIE / BYDGOSKIE	16.90%	80.28%	2.82%

POZNAN	11.54%	82.05%	6.41%
Prisons in Poland	5.05%	85.86%	9.09%
RZESZOW	6.67%	85.33%	8.00%
ŚLĄSK/KATOWIC/STALINOGROD	11.25%	80.00%	8.75%
SZCZECIŃSKIE	8.82%	76.47%	14.71%
WARSAW	11.21%	81.90%	7.76%
WROCŁAW	12.50%	77.50%	10.00%
ZIELONOGÓR	0.00%	94.44%	5.56%
Grand Total	12.20%	80.62%	7.35%

1945



Interestingly, in 1944, the previous year, the percentage of Jews in the Central Ministry departments reached 47.06, filling almost half of the managerial positions in the Central Ministry, as reported by Nikolay Selivanovsky.

Ministry Departments 1945	
Department / Department of Government Protection	6
MBP Headquarters	5
Department of Prisons and Camps / Prisons	4
Economic Department / Department III (Supply) / Directors' Sourcing / Purchasing Department	4
Department for Fighting banditry = Department of III / Department VII	3
Department of Human Resources / Personnel Management Bureau / Office of Personnel / Human Resources Department	3
Censorship Department / Central Officer of Censorship	2
Counterintelligence = Department I	2
National Economy = Department IV	2
Investigation = Department VI Independent	2
Directors / Department of Health	2
Foreign Intelligence = Division II Independent / Department VII	2
Financial Department / Office of Finance and Budget / Finance Department	2
Minister Cabinet	2
Officers' Department.	2
Operational Technology & Files = Department II	1
Legal Political Parties = Department V	1
Surveillance = Department III - Independent Department "A"	1
Grand Total	42

In 1945, it is an interesting fact as well that Jews of the Central Ministry constituted only 3.5% of the total of MBP's management cadre (42 Jews in the Central Ministry out of 1194 MBP employees). It is noteworthy, as well, that the Central Ministry, with Jewish participation at 40 plus percent, was the only section of the power structure of the system where Jewish participation was the highest. Jewish participation in each department of the Central Ministry was distributed as follows: Two functionaries of Jewish origin were employed in each of the following departments:

Censorship Department, Counterintelligence/Department I, Department of Government Protection, Independent Department IV, Directors Department of Health and Division II/Department VII.

One employee of Jewish origin was employed in the following departments: Department IV, Department V, Department VI, Department of Human Resources/Personnel Bureau, Economic Department / Department III (Supply), Finance Department, Minister's Cabinet and Officers' Department.

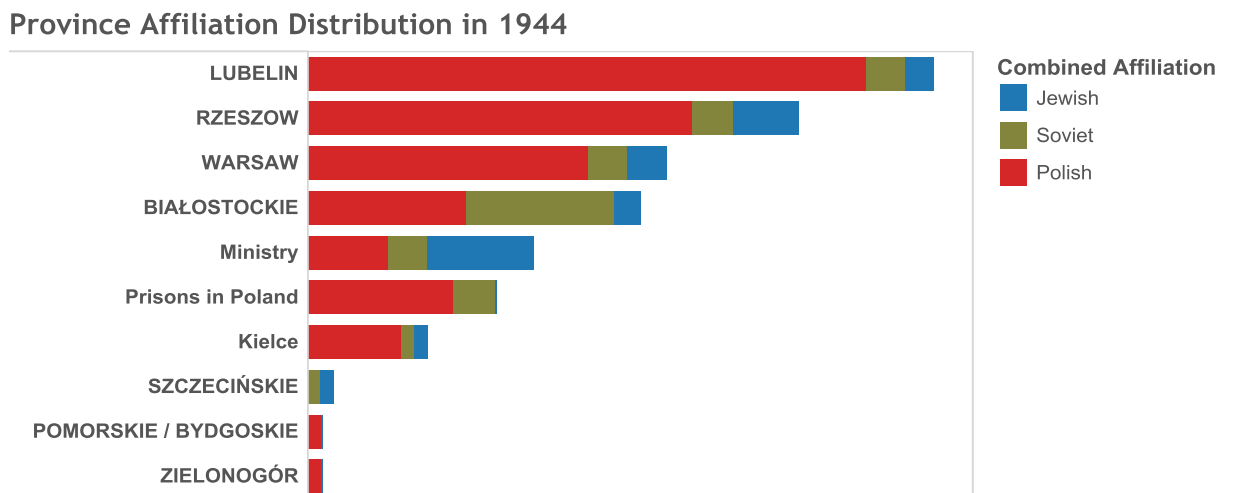
Obviously, Poles appeared in some of these departments in an equal number to the Jews, but they were also highly employed in other ones, such as four Poles in the Department of Prisons and Camps, two in each of the following departments: Department of Government Protection, Department for Fighting Banditry, MBP Headquarters (where Jews were absent), and one Polish employee in: Department IV, Department III, Economic Department/Department III (Supply), Minister's Cabinet, and Officers' Department; a total of 13 Polish employees.

In 1945, Jews occupied the two available managerial positions at the Counterintelligence Department of the Central Ministry. In regard to the claim in Nikolay Selivanovsky's report that the presence of Jews in counter-intelligence/Department I of the Ministry was even greater, making up 27% of the staff, and occupied all of the managerial positions,

my calculation found 23.68% of Jewish participation in Counterintelligence departments of the MBP (while Polish and Soviet participation was at 65.79% and 10.53%, respectively). However, participation of Jews gradually decreased over the years, and in 1955 reached 9%. The percentage calculation showed an even affiliation distribution in the Departments of: Government Protection, Department IV, Economic Department, Minister’s Cabinet, and Officers’ Department.

The graph for Affiliation Distribution in Provinces during 1944 (Graph 1) reflects the initiation year of the Security Service when only the Ministry of the Security, eight provinces, and Prisons were active. The graph shows that Jewish participation in the Ministry was relatively higher than the number of Jews employed in the Provinces (and in Poland’s Prisons, employees of Jewish origin were absent). In 1944, there were eight employees of Jewish origin (possible affiliation category identified two more Jews, bringing it to eight), three Soviet, and six of Polish nationality. The total of 17 Jews employed thus reached 47% of Jewish participation, while the participation of Poles was at 35%, and the Soviets was at 17.6%.

Graph1: Affiliation Distribution in the Provinces’ System During 1944



The next 12 years are marked by a shift every 3-4 years, with a wave of increased and decreased participation for both the Jewish and the Polish groups. From 1944 till 1948, the percentage of Jewish participation gradually decreased to 34%, while Polish participation increased to 42%. The following four years, till 1951, were marked by a rise again in the numbers of Jewish participation, to 49%, while the Polish participation moved between 37% and 33%. Again in 1955, the wave changed its peak when Polish participation reached 54.5%, while the Jewish one was at its low of 27%, and in 1956 the movement was reversed. Evaluation of the average percentage of Jewish participation, during the entire period of 1944-1955, shows that Jewish participation stood at 32% compared to the 45% of the Poles and 23% of the Soviets.

On the surface, as a residue of the anti-Semitic rumors, the question still remains of why postwar Jewish participation was reflected in such relatively high numbers. The prevalent misconception about the number of Jews participating in the UB was based on a number that did not reflect the actual number of Jews in the Polish population, or falsely assumed a larger number of Jews in Poland. However, no reference was made to the proportional representations of both groups in their populations, which provide a clear picture. Representation of Poles relative to the total population of Poland is equivalently low. The question should have been who had more stake in the future of Poland. Obviously, the Poles aspired for an independent Polish nation, with the destruction of all other nationalities. When subjective hatred turned into a collective hatred, it superseded and arrested common sharing in the advancement of social, economic, and political goals of Poland, for which both peoples were aspiring to reformulate for their own good. Instead, the Polish people were actively fighting against other nationalities, in an attempt to redefine their own national identity. While identity elements were not clear and not defined, the only ultimate resort was to hatred, with its derivative violent expression. The imposition of inhuman Nazi propaganda did not arouse an organic moral core within the self to contain a good image of the "inner other" so it can be projected onto fellow others. One can assume an immediate paralysis

that engendered only a trend to acquiesce to Nazi propaganda against the Jews. Later, under the new Soviet regime, hostility continued to prevail together with the anti-Soviet attitudes, which were displaced further toward the Jews. These learned hostility and transference could not have aspired to create a congenial common denominator. Only the communists had an ideological vision for a classless society; however, all means were morally justified for achieving their goals. Those Poles who chose to participate in the regime did so not out of trust, but more out of opportunistic reasons, and some, perhaps, even wished to be able to fight it from the inside.

Control Sections in the MBP

The MBP was able to control information through the intensive work of various censorship departments. A censorship section cooperated with military censorship. In 1946, it had a title of a department, and later as a Bureau B, and was incorporated into Department II. In 1944, censorship department was controlling public correspondence, aided by secret collaborators to target the activity of the underground organizations. The censorship department had control over post office employees, and it also organized professional training courses for censors. Letters were confiscated to prevent “spreading false information” or “cutting off” suspicious contacts. From October 1944 to April 1945, around 4.4 million letters and 179,000 telegrams were censored. The censorship section also followed people’s views about political issues, and their attitudes toward authorities, the political system, and the Soviet Union.

In 1945, department II started eavesdropping, telephone tapping and room bugging, although the latter was less frequent department II planted them in offices under surveillance, usually in diplomatic, consular and trade missions of western countries and in certain hotels.

External observation was a standard procedure by MBP Department I. However, functionaries involved in observation (surveillance) were also active in other areas: assisting those planting eavesdropping devices and arresting, co-organizing traps, or carrying out secret searches. In 1946, Division/Bureau B was responsible for clandestine photography, mainly to identify those who took part in riots. Photographs were taken relatively frequently to provide documents of dead or arrested partisans, uncovered armories (sometimes faked), radio stations, dollar stashes, and jewelry. Such documentation, in the form of photographs and films of certain trials, were used more for propaganda than for operational proposes.²⁹

²⁹ Seen in a documentary of IPN.

In 1945, Jewish employees filled positions in the Censorship departments³⁰ of the Central Ministry, and as well as positions in the MBP provinces of Gdansk, Rzeszow, Warsaw, and Poznan Voivodships, and in the County and City UBP/UdsBP of Warsaw Voivodship. However, Poles and Jews shared the Censorship departments equally, at 50% each, in MBP provinces such as Lodz, Bialistock, and Krakow. During 1946, neither Jews nor Poles participated in the Censorship of Bialistock, Kielce, County and City UBP/UdsBP of Warsaw, they were absent from the Ministry's censorship as well. By 1947-48, Rzeszow and Lodz were 100% Jewish. Throughout the years, in Lublin, Jewish involvement decreases and increases between 33% and 50% until 1948, when there is no more Jewish presence. From 1944-1956, Jews made up 11% of the total managerial positions (518 out of 4643) in the MBP workforce.

Provinces

Security service followed the structure of the existing territorial division of Poland into provinces³¹. The security apparatus operated and employed Jews in all 17 provinces. The province with relatively high numbers of Jewish employees, compared to other provinces, include Szczecin, which in 1944 had the highest percentage at 50%. However, in 1945, this percentage decreased to 8%, and in the following year, Jews were at 20%. In 1945, Lodz, Krakow, and Opole employed almost 19% Jewish employees. Kielce had the lowest percentage, at 3.95%, which changed slightly in the next few years. In 1946, Krakow reached 26% and Szczecin 22%; Rzeszow also had a very low percentage, at 3.08%. In 1947, Wroclaw reached 24%, and Olstyn and Kozalin reached a low of

³⁰ See Tables in the Appendix

³¹ See map of Provinces in the Appendix

7-8%. In 1948, Gdansk and Wroclaw reached 23% and 26%, respectively. Poznan kept a steady number of Jewish employees at 14-15% over these years, as did Warsaw, at 10-14%.

In all the MBP Provinces, Polish employees constituted the majority, between 71-89%. The combined numbers of Jewish and Soviet employees reached 20% - 40%. The number of Jewish employees in relation to the total employed in the particular provinces never reached more than 20% (except Krakow at 26% in 1946, Wroclaw at 24% in 1947, and Gdansk at 23% in 1948). I believe that the prevalent assumption about the high proportion of Jews in the UB emanated from its presence in the Central Ministry, which employed, in 1944, 47% employees of Jewish origin (8 out of 17), while the Polish percentage was 35%. However, in subsequent years, their relative number had been decreasing up to 34% in 1948, while Polish participation increased to 42%. In addition, the Committee for Public Security that was opened in 1951, Soviet regime transferred the still remaining core loyal group of Jews to constitute 100% of its employees. However this proportion decreased by 1954, and reached 30% in 1956.

Bialystok Voivodship also reflected a gradual growth from 4% to 13% in 1956, while the County and City UBP of the Bialystok province growth was from 1.61% to 9.88%.

A decrease in the recruitment of Jews to the system is seen when examining the development of the provinces over the years. Steady numbers of Jewish participation are seen in few provinces, with a jump in participation in the first 2-3 years, but, after 1947, the numbers decrease gradually.

Kielce Province

The irony of the Kielce pogrom in the year of 1946 is the little presence of Jews in the District. The Kielce province table reflects a low participation of Jews: 4% in the Kielce Voivodship, and 1.49% in the Kielce County and the City UBP³². Yet, this almost total absence of Jews in the province did not help the small transient Jewish community that was present in Kielce in 1946. The cruel attacks on the tiny Jewish population in Poland culminated in the Kielce pogrom. Again, postwar Polish attitude did not change toward the helpless small group of surviving Jews. Here, in Kielce, the attack was indicative of its anti-Semitic community with its Cardinal, disregarding the low presence of Jews in Kielce's political power structure. A comprehensive study of response and behavior of people during wars and crisis explains the psychological mechanism used by people imbued with hatred to carry out murderous acts.

³² In Polish: Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego – *UBP* – are the regional offices, translated to English as Office of Public Security.

MBP Camps and Prisons in Poland

MBP Camps

The 30 camps in Poland were located in the following provinces: 9 in Katowice, 5 in Krakow, 5 in Wroclaw, 4 in Bydgoszcz, 2 in Opole, 1 in Poznan, 1 in Lodz, 1 in Lublin, 1 in Rzeszow, and 1 in Warsaw. Only a few Jews were involved in the repressive system of camps and prisons in Poland. Out of all Jewish employees, the percentage of Jews working for the camps reached almost 1%, and the percentage of Jews working for the prison category was also low, almost 3.5 percent. Over the years, employees of Jewish affiliation in Polish camps constituted 6.76%, while employees of Polish affiliation constituted 89.19%. The low Jewish percentage in the camps and prisons during 1944-1948 decreased still further in the next period, and by 1952 had fallen to zero in the camps.

Jews occupied positions in the camps of Jaworzno-Chrusty (in the province of Krakow), Miłecin (in the Włocław county of the province of Bydgoszcz), Świętochłowice-Zgoda (in the province of Katowice), and in Łęgnowo (in the province of Bydgoszcz).

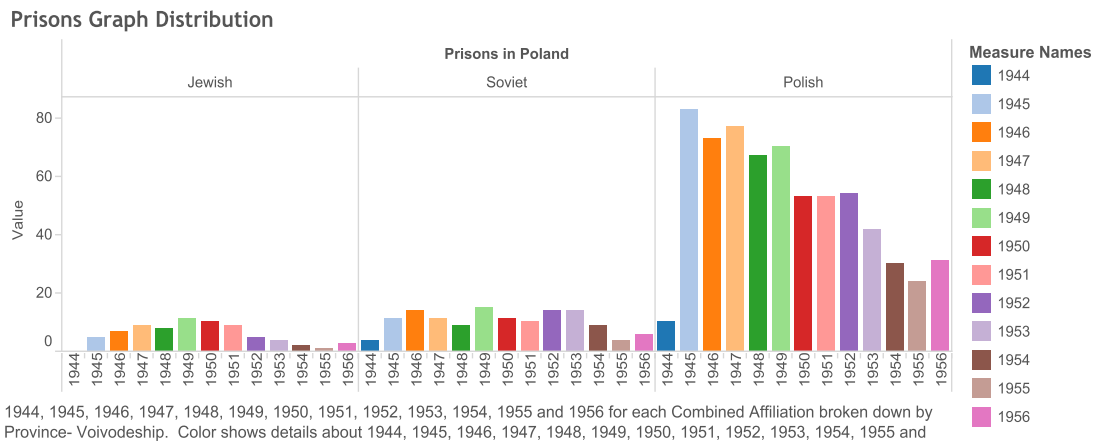
Soviets were in the camps of Krzesimów (in the county of Lublin), Wilków (in Złotoryja County of the province of Wrocław), Wojcieszów (in Złotoryja County of the province of Wrocław), and Zaręba Górna (in the Lubań County of the province of Wrocław).

Poles occupied the camps in the provinces of Wroclaw, Poznan, Lodz, Opole, Lublin, Warsaw, and particularly in Katowice, Bydgoszcz, and Krakow.

Prisons

There were 127 prisons in all the Provinces. Most of the prisons concentrated in the Provinces of Poznan (20), Lodz (15), Katowice (14), Wroclaw (13), Warsaw (11), Krakow (7), and Bydgosk (7). Employees of Jewish origin were employed in 3 of 9 Katowickie prisons, in 3 of 5 Wroclawskie prisons, 2 of the 5 in Krakowskie prisons, in the 2 in Olsztyńskie, and in 2 of the 7 in Bydgoskie. The percentage range of participation in the prisons: Jewish employees 11% -50%, while 50% were only in 4 prisons out of the 33 prisons where Jews were employed. Polish 25% - 100%, while only 10 prisons have less than 60% Poles, and in the rest of the 115, they constituted over 75% (no Poles in Lublin or Olsztyn). Soviet participation fluctuated between 12%-100%, with 100% only in Olsztyn and Lublin.

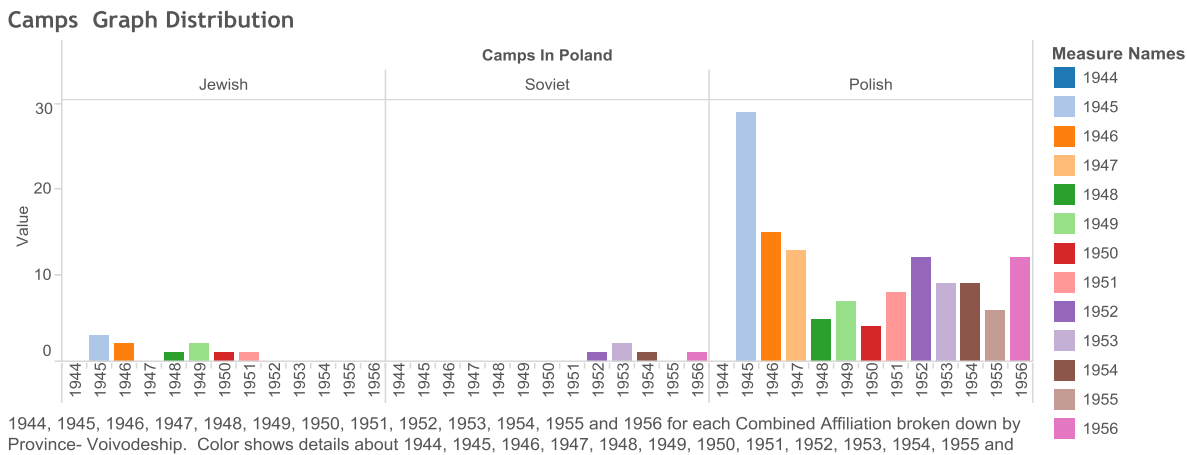
Graph 2



Graph 2 shows the difference in employment in the prisons over the years. While Jewish low involvement in the system grew very slightly, and fell off by 1956, the Soviet control fluctuated

over those years, and Poles were with a relatively steady high percentage until 1952, when it seems to decrease, probably because the Red Army had departed by then.

Graph 3



In Graph 3, the distribution over the years needs some verification with additional data, since it points to the absence of Soviet officers in the camp system, especially in the years until 1952, and in 1955, while there were also no Jewish employees in 1947 and after 1952. Combined management of Jewish and Soviet employees can close the absence gap, but when compared to the Polish presence it seems that the system was operated with considerable Polish participation in the administration of the camps.

In the table below, it is interesting to look at the numbers added by the additional category of possible affiliation, despite the fact that this needs to be verified. What is striking is that without this category, Soviet participation in this repressive system is low. Since 1944, the prisons of Lublin (Zamek, and the ul. Swietoduska) were under NKVD management, it is reasonable to assume that with the centralized system, the instructions required strict adherence, yet staff were needed for monitoring with forceful instruction, on one hand and the identification of those who

executed it, on the other. Advisers were distributed throughout the regime, but not all were included in this Table.

Camps & Prisons / Combined Affiliation- Affiliation

Year	Camps In Poland					Total	Prisons in Poland					Total
	Jewish		Soviet		Polish		Jewish		Soviet		Polish	
	Jewish	Possibly Jewish	Soviet	Possibly Soviet	Polish		Jewish	Possibly Jewish	Soviet	Possibly Soviet	Polish	
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	10	14
45	2	1	1	0	28	32	4	1	0	10	84	99
46	2	0	0	0	15	17	5	2	2	12	73	93
47	0	0	0	0	13	13	9	0	3	8	77	97
48	1	0	0	0	5	6	7	1	2	7	67	84
49	2	0	0	0	7	9	7	4	2	13	70	96
50	1	0	0	0	4	5	4	6	0	11	53	74
51	1	0	0	0	8	9	4	5	0	10	53	72
52	0	0	0	1	12	13	3	2	0	14	54	73
53	0	0	0	2	9	11	3	1	0	14	42	60
54	0	0	0	1	9	10	2	0	0	9	30	41
55	0	0	0	0	6	6	1	0	0	4	24	29
56	0	0	0	1	12	13	3	0	1	5	31	40

The IPN counted only 45 Soviet advisers, however, it seems to me that the need for daily oversight required physical presence in the administration so as to provide daily problem solving by the NKVD advisers. Podolski (12) quotes Paczkowski, about the existence of at least 300 Soviet advisers of different nationalities at different levels, and 6.9 % of the Polish security high rank officers were Russian, Ukrainian or Bellorussian nationality (this % makes 321 high ranking officers in the IPN table), and 9.4% were members of the Soviet Communist Party which put in the IPN table comes to 437 communist members during the years 1944-1956.

MBP in the New Territories

Indeed the annexed cities of Wroclaw, Poznan, Gdansk, Szczecin, and Katowic, which were formerly German cities, were rebuilt completely to absorb inner emigration to the new territories (Krakow, as well). The surviving employed Jews are reflected with an increased number of Jews during 1945-1947. However, their number decreased in the subsequent years, except in Wroclaw, where Jewish numbers decreased after 1952.

MBP Provinces of new territories during the years 1944-1956 show a gradual increase in the number of employees in the system. The Provinces³³ table shows the percentage of Polish employees in the annexed cities. There is overall trend of steady increase in the number of Poles in the system in these Provinces. About 2095 were employed in the system, fluctuating between 414 and 749 employees per year during the decade. The year 1944 began with a minimum of 3 employees, with an even distribution between Polish, Jewish, and Soviet national affiliation. During this period in the new territories, employees of Jewish origin constituted 11.84% (248 out of 2095). Their number gradually increased between 1945-1948 and decreased from 1949 to 1956, when it reached 8.52% in 1955, and 10.65% in 1956. Soviet involvement, which started at 33% in the first year, continued steadily at around 10%, and in the last year actually decreased to 7.83%.

The highest presence of Jews in the provinces of the new territories was seen in the Wroclaw Voivodship, where in 1945 they constituted 15% (12 out of 80), and continued to increase until 1948 to 26% (25 out of 96). Next was Poznan, where their presence was steady somewhat, from 14.10% in 1945 to 15.63% in 1948. In addition, Slanski province had in 1945 only 10% Jews, which almost doubled by 1948 to 19.75%.

³³ See Appendix

In comparison, the lowest presence was in Zielonogor, to which Jewish emigrants appeared only in 1946 with 5.56%, and 12.12% in 1948.

Department III had a high percentage of employees of Jewish origin. In Department III, the total percentage for the period 1945-1956 is 21%. However, the decade's years can be divided to distinct periods by its numbers: The period of 1944-48 was marked by a high Jewish presence of 21-42%, while the next period, 1949-50, was marked by gradual decrease to the low teens.

Department II had a total percentage of 19.74% during 1945-1954. The period of 1945-1948 has a high percentage of Jewish participation that fell in the second period to 4.76% in 1956 (except in 1951, when a surprising percentage of 53 is due to the high presence of Jews in the provinces of Wroclaw and Szczecin). Department IV has a total of 16.87% Jews in the provinces of the new territories. In the first period, the number is climbing gradually, and dropping in the second period, with zero and 6% in 1955 and 1956, respectively. Counter-intelligence had a total of 17% for the decade, and again the first period is marked by a higher percentage, at 21-41%, and the second period at 13-19%.

The relative percentage numbers shows that Polish participation is no less than 71%, up to 94%, over the years when Jewish participation is only in the range of 1%-20%. In Wroclaw, Gdansk, and Szczecin, the numbers are around 20-27% for only a few years, but in all provinces, the percentage reached the teens, or was even lower. Looking at the difference between Voivodship centers and its County and City UBP, the picture changes to show the number of Jewish participation in the County and City UBP to be lower than in the Voivodship itself: For example, in Wroclaw Voivodship the percentage spread in the ten years is 13-36%, relative to the Wroclaw County and City UBP, which is 9.8-15%. Another example is Gdansk at 6-17% in the County and City UBP, and between 9-32% in the Gdansk Voivodship .The same in Krakow County and City UBP, the percentage is 3-10%, compared to Krakow Voivodship, at 2%-40% over the twelve years.

Why Memoirs and Testimonies Are Required to Understand Polish Historical Events

Over the past decades, discussions about history created an intellectual space in which the past can be explored and shaped. The multiple expressions, as they are negotiated and used within different political and social environments, show a link between the past and contemporary political situation, and point to feelings of ambivalence toward the events of Poland's past. The process of conceptualizing and analyzing history is one by which people's memories of events are transferred to the public domain and the institutionalized culture. Attention to diverse memories of Poland's Jews is important, since in homogeneous postwar Poland, religious affiliation was more important than the shared experience of war.

The lack of a sense of shared experience represented an important component of national identity, as people defined themselves against the "other" – the Jewish Poles. Moreover, early past events and their legitimization in Polish history were used to emphasize differences, while the memory of positive social and cultural interactions with the Jewish minority was ignored. Even the shared experience in the power structure did not unite Poles with the other, nor did it arouse feelings of empathy toward them. Rather, the Jewish Poles were identified with Soviet authority, under whom they all had been employed. The non-Jewish Poles saw the Jews in the high positions as close to Stalin, and as representing the perceived Jewish tendency to communism, without looking at their own subservient responses to the imposed regime. Poles' strong emphasis on an authentic native Polish identity prevented them from recognizing Polish-Jews as such, despite the fact that they both had been shaped by the same Soviet rule. Thus, the concept of the Jewish communist was a by-product of a skewed perception of the popular religion; the attributed Jewish-communist identity substituted for the national identity of Polish-Jew, instead of creating a new cultural shared humanistic identity grounded in the memory of war experience.

According to a functionalist theory of Durkheim (qtd. in Misztal 55), the official management of collective memory is designed to legitimize power of authority. Essentially, this management revolves around “two poles of censorship and celebration, or socially organized forgetting and socially organized remembering” (Misztal 56). The manipulative instrument of controlling collective memory to justify a new political reality imposes an ideology and socializes a population toward a common culture, and may promote cohesion, but may also result in divisiveness. The Soviet policy of legitimating only the Russian memory of the war and of focusing on a narrow religious belonging only sharpened the animosity among the Poles who were competing for recognition of their suffering, and strengthened the local discrimination against Jews.

Contemporary historiography discourse must continue to engage with the past in order to integrate all silenced voices. Bearing witness to historical events means not only speaking for those who can no longer speak against political power that exerts false measures of control, but also providing an opportunity for expressions of identity and dignity. As was pointed out by Booth (qtd. by Misztal 138), Jews perceive memory to be an important element in their identity, so that “to rob us of memory is to destroy a part of us, something essential to who we are, something arguably crucial to our Jewish identity as our physical person.” This profound response was a reaction of the persecuted and discriminated war generation who, postwar, did not meet a Polish outstretched hand, in order to weave into the tapestry of identity another layer of a new shared identity.

I believe that it is important to understand how World War II and postwar events are constantly written, replaced, and revised, in an attempt to represent past history accurately. Individual, communal, and state experiences contribute to the historiography that constructs history and memory. Testimonies and memoirs, as expressions of remembered experienced events, link the inner world of memory and the actual historical events. Perceptions and images of testimonies are repeated differently, and entered into the history narratives in order to preserve

society's moral order. They are a valuable resource that not only gives evidence and meaning to events imposed by political orders, but also facilitates articulation of the true historical processes that occurred, and their memory. For example, a generation is "a key aspect ... of knowledge, its members need to share more than just demographic characteristics" (Misztal 85), it is the "concrete unit of authentic historical chronology" in view of Marias (qtd. in Misztal, 84).

In addition, Paul Antze and Michael Lambek argue that history and the past are never completely over; they continue to shape the present. Memory "is available to be addressed by the present. Conversely, remembering entails engagement with the past" (243). People's views of themselves, their ethics, and intentions link the private and the public realities. They illuminate people's responses to events, and their recollection of them, by explaining the link between the individual and social representation, and between culture and history, by bringing to play their views of memory. According to a Platonist view of memory, people have *a priori* knowledge of everything, and learning new knowledge is in fact recalling truths they already knew. Thus, when experiencing "injurious events people should retain their human identity and protect the true knowledge of the events" (Antze & Lambek 219). By taking an Aristotelian view of memory (namely, that people are a product of their learned knowledge), the learned knowledge shapes people to continue actively making choices "about good events so as to be continually created and recreated, made and remade through practical reasoning in the process of history" (Antze & Lambek 219). To form a historical record, the factor of time plays an important role in the memory equation - it determines how one experiences and understands historical events. The concept of time encircles three overlapping elements: the age of the participating actor - which reflects belief system, the specific date of the event - which reflects a stage in the world's social, cultural, and political development, and the time-proximity of the hind sight reflection on the past - which reflects the accumulated perceptions of its event. The result product is a distinct memory that is fine-tuned by its experienced lessons. Such a memory of a society can be conceived as a collective voices and sounds. And just as in a Jazz

music -which improvises distinct sounds that are rooted in experience and mirrors the individuality of its performer - everything in the history of a society is in tuned to echo early and late voices to one harmony.

Conclusion

The goal of my study was to revise one of the central tropes of scholarly literature on post-holocaust Poland, which has emphasized Polish anti-Semitism as complicit with the Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews. This paper is a first step in the direction to conceptualize a framework of research on the subject of Jewish role in the Soviet regime in Poland after the war. The study sheds light on postwar Polish political culture in general, and the role of the Jewish recruits in the state secret security bureaucracy in particular. The scholarly literature has been written with silent hostility to the topic and my analysis frees it from publication biases in order to open it to further discussion. The paper corrects the wrong assumptions and misconceptions that characterize some historical writings about the history of Jewish role in Poland. The issues with the opinions of post-World War Two Polish society commonly held among scholars were inaccurate and false and were believed to be absolute truth. In fact, what influenced the attitude of Poles towards the Jews was not the disproportionate number of Jewish employees, but the tradition of using of anti-religious and anti-Semitic attitudes as a political tool to make the Jewish minority group a scapegoat. Secular and religious political institutions used this tool alike. My analysis provides a new interpretation of Polish history by considering the benefits from perpetrating anti-Semitism by both political and religious institutions. As Michael Checinski states that “Jewish officials were often placed in the most conspicuous post; hence they could easily be blamed for all the regime’s crimes. As a result, the spurious equation of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism with anti-Semitism persisted for decades” (*Poland, Communism, Nationalism* 62).

Throughout the course of concluding this research, I gained an insight into the political considerations and goals of the regime to institute a new order in Poland, and an understanding of the limits of Jewish participation in its service. The evidence that I analyze (and placed in tables) shows what we have not known until now. Ironically, the statistical analysis shows that Jewish

participation in the managerial positions of the security service was not proportionally that high to warrant the stereotypical accusation of over representation but rather points to other variables that were involved in shaping this stereotype. In addition, revisiting the misconception regarding Jewish presence and role in the UB reveals that only for a limited time in the Soviet-controlled UB, did the Ministry office of the UB itself have a high Jewish presence. However, majority of the Ministry of Security Service sections had a small Jewish presence. Moreover, the similar ratios of Jews and Poles among their own populations points to equal interest to change the political and social situation in Poland. This is not surprising since Polish society had been predominantly rural for a long time. Seventy five percent of the population living in small rural villages and only twenty five percent in urban centers. Jewish people mostly concentrated in cities, which were centers of radical ideas and where politics thrived (only 4.3% were occupied in agriculture). This explains the relatively high ratio of Jews in the Ministry of the UB in the early years. Of course, a balanced picture is created by taking into account the relationship between the total number of UB employees, and the distribution of each of the national employees in its apparatus.

The complex issue of Jews in the Polish Security Apparatus (Urzedz Bezpieczenstwa, UB) combines political, social and religious aspects. The subject touches upon the relationships of Jews, the Soviet Union and communism, Polish-Jewish relations, and the relationship between Catholicism and Judaism. The ways in which the historiography of the war and postwar era has dealt with the issue indicates an unresolved problem with Jewish-Polish relations. The question of national representation in state power structure could have become of quantitative insignificance and irrelevance for those Polish citizens who share the task of reshaping the social and economic state of their country.

My contribution to the understanding of Polish anti-Semitism, the complex, silent chisel that carves the hearts of politicians and believers to limit the chances for Jews to integrate into society, demonstrates, what I have come to refer to as a utilitarian nationalism, a dangerous function of separation that should never again impede and break the integrity of an entire society. The overarching moral culture during this period enabled the atrocities of Polish murders, collaborators and Jewish victims under the occupying power. Poland's desire for a homogenous catholic society did not allow Jewish existence, as they were displaced by this nationalism, or Jews were forced to be at odds with their self-definition, as they could not be identified with the catholic society. Religious Nationalism was used to glorify Poland and argue against an inclusive Jewish presence.

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Abbreviations

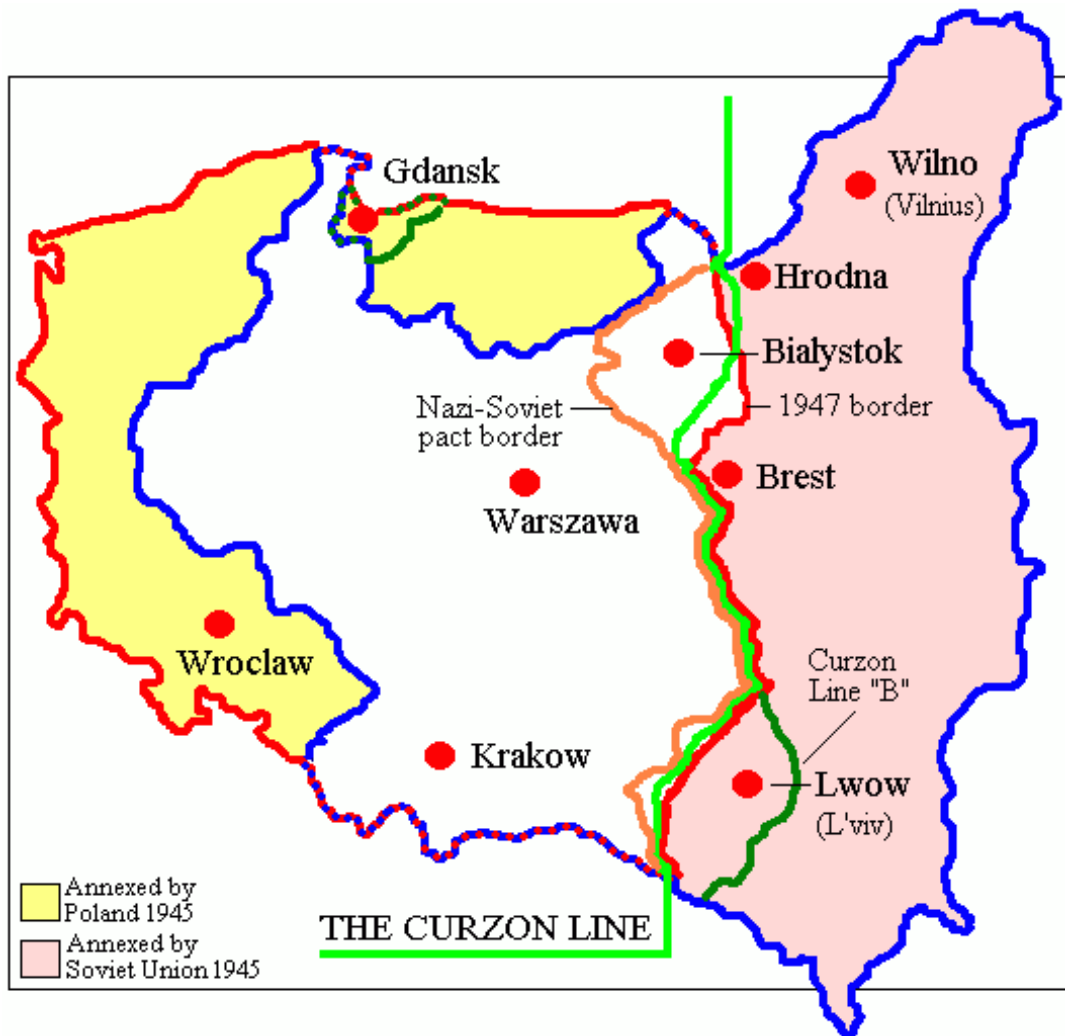
Translation from *Polish* are italicized

AK	Home Army - <i>Armia Krajowa</i>
AL	People's Army - <i>Armia Ludowa</i>
BCh	Peasant Battalions
IPN	Polish Institute of National Remembrance
KB	Security Corps - <i>Korpus Bezpieczeństwa</i>
KPP	Polish Communist Party - <i>Komunistyczna Partia Polski</i>
KRN	Council of National Liberation - <i>Krajowa Rada Narodowa</i>
MBP	Ministry of Public Security - <i>Ministerstwo Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego</i>
MDCPA	Main Directorate of Counterintelligence of the Polish Army
MO	People's/ Citizens Militia - <i>Militicia Obewateska</i>
ND	National Democracy party
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet security service
NOW	National Military Organization
NSZ	National Arms Forces
OUN	Ukrainian nationalists
PKB	National Security Corps - <i>Państwowy Korpus/Kadra Bezpieczeństwa</i>
PKWN	Polish Committee of National Liberation
POV	Polish military organizations
PPR	Polish Workers Party - <i>Polska Partia Robotnicza</i>
PPS	Polish Socialist Party

PZPR	Polish United Workers' Party
RBP	Department of Public Security - <i>Resort Bezpieczenstwo Publicznego</i>
SOB	Socialist Fighting Organization
UB	Public Security - <i>Urząd Bezpieczeństwa</i>
UPA	Ukrainian Uprising Army
WiN	Freedom and Independence - <i>Zrzeszenie Wolność i Niezawisłość</i>
WUBP	Provincial Public Security Offices
ZIH	Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw
ZKN	Jewish National Committee
ZOB	Jewish Fighting Organization
ZboWiD	Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy
Zegota	Council for Aid to the Jews
ZPP	Union of Polish Patriots - <i>Związek Patriotów Polskich</i>
ZWZ	Union for Armed Struggle - <i>Związek Walki Zbrojnej</i>

Appendix

Maps & Tables



MBP Province Affiliation Distribution over 1944-1948

Province-Voivodeship	1944			1945			1946			1947			1948		
	Jewish	Soviet	Polish	Jewish	Soviet	Polish	Jewish	Soviet	Polish	Jewish	Soviet	Polish	Jewish	Soviet	Polish
Ministry	8	3	6	18	11	13	21	12	19	21	13	19	17	12	21
RZESZOW	5	3	29	5	5	65	2	3	60	3	2	65	3	4	57
WARSAW	3	3	21	12	10	93	13	12	93	16	16	95	17	19	86
BIALOSTOCKIE	2	11	12	7	13	39	6	10	46	7	8	52	10	11	52
LUBELIN	2	3	42	10	9	58	11	11	52	11	11	46	9	9	45
Kielce	1	1	7	3	5	68	3	5	59	4	8	53	5	5	52
SZCZECIŃSKIE	1	1	0	3	5	26	13	6	38	14	5	44	13	7	44
Camps in Poland	0	0	0	3	0	29	2	0	15	0	0	13	1	0	5
Committee for Public Securi..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GDAŃSK	0	0	0	9	4	62	12	6	60	17	7	52	20	10	51
Koszalin	0	0	0	2	2	28	3	5	33	2	5	20	2	5	15
KRAKOW	0	0	0	16	6	63	26	8	66	20	9	63	14	6	50
LODZ	0	0	0	16	5	62	12	6	59	10	5	54	9	8	56
OLSZTYN	0	0	0	7	3	42	8	6	57	7	11	64	7	9	62
OPOLE	0	0	0	6	2	24	7	5	29	5	4	33	5	2	26
POMORSKIE / BYDGOSKIE	0	0	1	12	4	55	14	9	51	14	9	54	15	7	55
POZNAN	0	0	0	11	6	61	14	6	75	18	9	91	15	10	71
Prisons in Poland	0	3	11	5	10	84	7	13	74	9	9	79	8	8	68
ŚLAŃSK/KATOWIC/STALINO..	0	0	0	8	10	62	17	12	86	14	16	62	16	13	52
WROCLAW	0	0	0	12	8	60	21	10	70	26	12	70	25	8	63
ZIELONOGÓR	0	0	1	0	1	17	2	4	30	4	4	37	4	2	27
Grand Total	22	28	127	147	102	945	196	133	994	202	144	988	195	139	898

Distribution of National Affiliation in the Provinces New Territories.

Province- Voivodeship	Combined Af..	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
GDAŃSK	Jewish	0	9	12	17	20	16	15	16	16	15	12	7	5
	Soviet	0	4	6	7	10	6	9	14	18	20	14	8	4
	Polish	0	62	60	52	51	62	58	56	54	52	59	63	38
Koszalin	Jewish	0	2	3	2	2	4	7	6	5	1	3	2	4
	Soviet	0	2	5	5	5	4	5	7	8	8	7	8	8
	Polish	0	28	33	20	15	14	43	45	65	70	64	52	45
KRAKOW	Jewish	0	16	26	20	14	16	13	11	12	14	14	9	3
	Soviet	0	6	8	9	6	7	6	8	7	5	3	4	8
	Polish	0	63	66	63	50	57	67	76	91	93	96	93	85
OPOLE	Jewish	0	6	7	5	5	2	3	5	6	6	7	3	4
	Soviet	0	2	5	4	2	3	7	7	7	8	7	6	7
	Polish	0	24	29	33	26	20	41	47	55	61	60	63	51
POZNAN	Jewish	0	11	14	18	15	15	11	12	10	9	6	7	6
	Soviet	0	6	6	9	10	9	9	8	9	9	11	10	8
	Polish	0	61	75	91	71	74	95	99	97	105	102	97	82
ŚLĄSK/KATOWIC/STALINO..	Jewish	0	8	17	14	16	13	12	10	9	10	9	9	18
	Soviet	0	10	12	16	13	12	13	14	13	18	16	15	24
	Polish	0	62	86	62	52	45	47	61	83	94	86	91	96
SZCZECIŃSKIE	Jewish	1	3	13	14	13	11	14	14	13	13	11	7	8
	Soviet	1	5	6	5	7	5	6	6	7	8	9	5	4
	Polish	0	26	38	44	44	53	65	57	57	61	55	61	54
WROCLAW	Jewish	0	12	21	26	25	21	29	28	27	19	18	18	10
	Soviet	0	8	10	12	8	10	9	11	13	11	12	10	3
	Polish	0	60	70	70	63	69	68	64	83	79	74	74	61
ZIELONOGÓR	Jewish	0	0	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	6	7	6
	Soviet	0	1	4	4	2	0	2	3	1	2	3	3	2
	Polish	1	17	30	37	27	29	59	66	74	78	66	65	48

Percentage Distribution of National Affiliation in the Provinces New Territories.

Province- Voivodeship	Combined Af..	1944 %	1945 %	1946 %	1947 %	1948 %	1949 %	1950 %	1951 %	1952 %	1953 %	1954 %	1955 %	1956 %
GDAŃSK	Jewish		12.00%	15.38%	22.67%	26.32%	19.28%	18.29%	19.05%	18.18%	17.24%	14.12%	9.09%	10.64%
	Soviet		5.33%	7.69%	9.33%	13.16%	7.23%	10.98%	16.67%	20.45%	22.99%	16.47%	10.39%	8.51%
	Polish		82.67%	76.92%	69.33%	67.11%	74.70%	70.73%	66.67%	61.36%	59.77%	69.41%	81.82%	80.85%
Koszalin	Jewish		6.25%	7.32%	7.41%	9.09%	18.18%	12.73%	10.34%	6.41%	1.27%	4.05%	3.23%	7.27%
	Soviet		6.25%	12.20%	18.52%	22.73%	18.18%	9.09%	12.07%	10.26%	10.13%	9.46%	12.90%	14.55%
	Polish		87.50%	80.49%	74.07%	68.18%	63.64%	78.18%	77.59%	83.33%	88.61%	86.49%	83.87%	81.82%
KRAKOW	Jewish		18.82%	26.00%	21.74%	20.00%	20.00%	15.12%	11.58%	10.91%	12.50%	12.39%	8.49%	3.13%
	Soviet		7.06%	8.00%	9.78%	8.57%	8.75%	6.98%	8.42%	6.36%	4.46%	2.65%	3.77%	8.33%
	Polish		74.12%	66.00%	68.48%	71.43%	71.25%	77.91%	80.00%	82.73%	83.04%	84.96%	87.74%	88.54%
OPOLE	Jewish		18.75%	17.07%	11.90%	15.15%	8.00%	5.88%	8.47%	8.82%	8.00%	9.46%	4.17%	6.56%
	Soviet		6.25%	12.20%	9.52%	6.06%	12.00%	13.73%	11.86%	10.29%	10.67%	9.46%	8.33%	11.48%
	Polish		75.00%	70.73%	78.57%	78.79%	80.00%	80.39%	79.66%	80.88%	81.33%	81.08%	87.50%	83.61%
POZNAN	Jewish		14.10%	14.74%	15.25%	15.63%	15.31%	9.57%	10.08%	8.62%	7.32%	5.04%	6.14%	6.25%
	Soviet		7.69%	6.32%	7.63%	10.42%	9.18%	7.83%	6.72%	7.76%	7.32%	9.24%	8.77%	8.33%
	Polish		78.21%	78.95%	77.12%	73.96%	75.51%	82.61%	83.19%	83.62%	85.37%	85.71%	85.09%	85.42%
ŚLĄSK/KATOWIC/STALINO..	Jewish		10.00%	14.78%	15.38%	19.75%	18.57%	16.67%	11.76%	8.57%	8.20%	8.11%	7.83%	15.25%
	Soviet		12.50%	10.43%	17.58%	16.05%	17.14%	18.06%	16.47%	12.38%	14.75%	14.41%	13.04%	20.34%
	Polish		77.50%	74.78%	68.13%	64.20%	64.29%	65.28%	71.76%	79.05%	77.05%	77.48%	79.13%	81.36%
SZCZECIŃSKIE	Jewish	50.00%	8.82%	22.81%	22.22%	20.31%	15.94%	16.47%	18.18%	16.88%	15.85%	14.67%	9.59%	12.70%
	Soviet	50.00%	14.71%	10.53%	7.94%	10.94%	7.25%	7.06%	7.79%	9.09%	9.76%	12.00%	6.85%	6.35%
	Polish	0.00%	76.47%	66.67%	69.84%	68.75%	76.81%	76.47%	74.03%	74.03%	74.39%	73.33%	83.56%	85.71%
WROCLAW	Jewish		15.00%	20.79%	24.07%	26.04%	21.00%	27.36%	27.18%	21.95%	17.43%	17.31%	17.65%	13.89%
	Soviet		10.00%	9.90%	11.11%	8.33%	10.00%	8.49%	10.68%	10.57%	10.09%	11.54%	9.80%	4.17%
	Polish		75.00%	69.31%	64.81%	65.63%	69.00%	64.15%	62.14%	67.48%	72.48%	71.15%	72.55%	84.72%
ZIELONOGÓR	Jewish	0.00%	0.00%	5.56%	8.89%	12.12%	12.12%	6.15%	5.48%	5.06%	3.61%	8.00%	9.33%	10.91%
	Soviet	0.00%	5.56%	11.11%	8.89%	6.06%	0.00%	3.08%	4.11%	1.27%	2.41%	4.00%	4.00%	3.64%
	Polish	100.00%	94.44%	83.33%	82.22%	81.82%	87.88%	90.77%	90.41%	93.67%	93.98%	88.00%	86.67%	87.27%

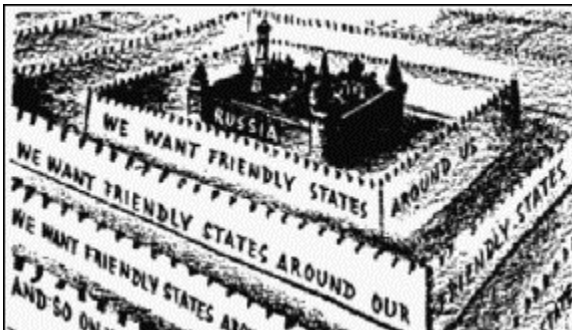
Province- Voivodship	Year	Jewish	Soviet	Polish
GDAŃSK	1944			
	1945	12.00%	5.33%	82.67%
	1946	15.38%	7.69%	76.92%
	1947	22.67%	9.33%	69.33%
	1948	26.32%	13.16%	67.11%
KRAKOW	1944			
	1945	18.82%	7.06%	74.12%
	1946	26.00%	8.00%	66.00%
	1947	21.74%	9.78%	68.48%
	1948	20.00%	8.57%	71.43%
Koszalin	1944			
	1945	6.25%	6.25%	87.50%
	1946	7.32%	12.20%	80.49%

	1947	7.41%	18.52%	74.07%
	1948	9.09%	22.73%	68.18%
OPOLE	1944			
	1945	18.75%	6.25%	75.00%
	1946	17.07%	12.20%	70.73%
	1947	11.90%	9.52%	78.57%
	1948	15.15%	6.06%	78.79%
POMORSKIE / BYDGOSKIE	1944	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	1945	16.90%	4.23%	78.87%
	1946	18.92%	10.81%	70.27%
	1947	18.18%	11.69%	70.13%
	1948	19.48%	9.09%	71.43%
POZNAN	1944			
	1945	14.10%	7.69%	78.21%
	1946	14.74%	6.32%	78.95%
	1947	15.25%	7.63%	77.12%
	1948	15.63%	10.42%	73.96%
SZCZECIŃSKIE	1944	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%
	1945	8.82%	14.71%	76.47%
	1946	22.81%	10.53%	66.67%
	1947	22.22%	7.94%	69.84%
	1948	20.31%	9.38%	70.31%
WROCLAW	1944			
	1945	15.00%	10.00%	75.00%
	1946	20.79%	9.90%	69.31%
	1947	24.07%	11.11%	64.81%
	1948	26.04%	8.33%	65.63%
ZIELONOGÓR	1944	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	1945	0.00%	5.56%	94.44%
	1946	5.56%	11.11%	83.33%
	1947	8.89%	8.89%	82.22%
	1948	12.12%	6.06%	81.82%
ŚLĄSK / KATOWIC / STALINOGROD	1944			
	1945	10.00%	12.50%	77.50%
	1946	14.78%	10.43%	74.78%
	1947	15.38%	17.58%	68.13%
	1948	19.75%	16.05%	64.20%





Poland's 17 Provinces



A Cartoon from 1940s that expresses Stalin's security measures and policies to ensure a safe Moscow rule. Available on

https://www.google.com/search?q=cartoon+from+WwII+stalin+safe+moscow&safe=active&espv=2&biw=1920&bih=979&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwju_rT738HMAhUHFh4KHVgtCcsQ_AUIBigB#safe=active&tbn=isch&q=cartoon+protecting+Moscow+stalin&imgsrc=xP7KRyvTF9UzvM%3A