

„Lost everyday life” – problems using materials diaries in research on occupational everyday life, based on the example of Krakow – observations on the margins of the study

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Materials about the nature of personal relationships are an important source of information about everyday life. This article brings information on daily life and attention is focused on the city of Krakow. In addition leading themes, personal relationships contain a lot of information about the difficulties with the supply and quality of housing, the attitude towards the changes taking place in the city, functioning within the official public life and privacy. The purpose of this article is not to criticize source materials such as memoirs, or reflections on the formation and functioning of the memory of the war and occupation.

Key words: Everyday life. Krakow. Materials. Diaries. Memory of the war.

There are numerous statements about World War II. and the occupation. This is due to the uniqueness of those experiences. Witnesses desire to recreate the events of that time, the atmosphere, the conditions in which they had to exist, and to present their own activities.

Materials about the nature of personal relationships are an important source of information about everyday life, so a historian with a large number of materials at his/her disposal should feel satisfied. Meanwhile, reading materials, memoirs bring surprisingly little information on daily life and some of its areas in particular.¹ Unfortunately, the specificity of the described period in history – also the city of Krakow – means that people who were writing down their thoughts focused mainly on topics of martyrdom or conspiratorial activity directed against the occupier. In addition to these leading themes personal relationships contain a lot of information about the difficulties with the supply and quality of housing. Other areas of everyday life, especially those concerning the attitude towards the changes taking place in the city, functioning within the official public life and privacy are somehow additional information, left „on the side” of other descriptions, of most important issues, according to the writer. A historian of everyday life has to somehow catch this information within the text. In part of the memoirs, the information does not get mentioned.

1 Definition problems, concerned with terms „everyday” and „everyday life” and their interchangeability were discussed in the book – CZOCHER, Anna. *W okupowanym Krakowie. Codzienność polskich mieszkańców miasta 1939–1945*. Gdańsk : Oskar, 2011, 280 p. in the chapter *Codziennosc – miejsce w historiografii, problemy metodologiczne* on the page: 9-15. For the purpose of this article, the descriptive definition, created by Maria Bogucka, was adopted: Everyday life is the conditions of existence, conditions and methods of work, consumption in all its means (clothes, flat equipment, building, food, etc.), family history, the position of women and children, the situation of the elderly, the sick, the whole sphere of sexual and reproduction, breakthrough moments such as birth, marriage, death and burial, sizes and ways of managing free time, customs, beliefs, views, finally whole mentality. See: BOGUCKA, Maria. *Życie codzienne – spory wokół profilu badań i definicji*. In: *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 1996, no. 3, pp. 251-252.

The purpose of this article is not to criticize source materials such as memoirs,² or reflections on the formation and functioning of the memory of the war and occupation.³ The crucial question is the question of the factors that contributed to the lower than expected presence of everyday life in the sources of memories.

The authors of the memoirs and forms of their expression

In order to be able to answer that question, the memoirs of 80 people will be analyzed. A common feature of all transfers is that in some part each of them refers to the occupied Krakow. The authors of the memoirs had to spend a short period of war in the city. Krakow was their birthplace and the place of residence or just step way of life or war exile. Messages vary in form and character of expression. These are the diaries, autobiographies, memoirs (including competition entries), journals (in fragments, except for Adam Kaminski's diary⁴) and records. Most appeared in print, while the remaining 16 are manuscripts in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, and the Kraków branch of The Institute of National Remembrance.⁵ Despite the diversity of forms, the analyzed messages were treated together, so to determine the analyzed group of personal relationships the following terms will be used interchangeably:

2 For more on the topic of definitions and division of narrative diary sources see: WOJTKOWIAK, Zbysław. *Nauki pomocnicze historii najnowszej. Źródłoznawstwo. Źródła narracyjne*. Poznań: Pamiętnik, tekst literacki, 2001, pp. 51-55; WOJTKOWIAK, Zbysław. *O klasyfikacji i interpretacji pamiętników. Uwagi i propozycje*. In: *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1980, no. 25, pp. 163-167; KERSTEN, Krystyna. *Relacje jako typ źródła historycznego*. In: *Pamiętnik Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Lublinie 17. – 21. IX. 1968*, Warszawa: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu, 1968, pp. 316-329; BARTOSZYŃSKA – LUBAS, Regina. *Style wypowiedzi pamiętnikarskiej*. Kraków: Wydawn. Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1983, 223 p.; SYCYPJAŃSKI, Jan. *Pamiętniki a wiedza o polskim społeczeństwie*. In: JAKUBCZAK, Franciszek (Ed.). *Pół wieku pamiętnikarstwa*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1971, pp. 26-28; CIENSKI, Andrzej. *Z dziejów pamiętników w Polsce*. Opole: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2002, pp. 11-79.

3 The problem is the topic of numerous interdisciplinary studies, such as „The World War II. in the memory of the modern Polish society” realized by the Museum of the World War II, see: KWIATKOWSKI, Piotr Tadeusz – MACHCEWISZ, Paweł – KULA, Marcin. *Między codziennością a wielką historią. Druga wojna światowa pamięci zbiorowej społeczeństwa polskiego*. Gdańsk – Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2010, 332 p. There is a lot of literature on the subject, i.e. SZACKA, Barbara. *Czas przeszły, pamięć, mit*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2006, 237 p.; SZACKA, Barbara. *Historia i pamięć zbiorowa*. In: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 2005, roč. 47, no. 4; ROKUSZEWSKA-PAWELEK, Alicja. *Chaos i przymus. Trajektorie wojenne Polaków – analiza biograficzna*. Łódź: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2002, 222 p.; KULA, Marcin. *Między przeszłością a przyszłością. O pamięci zapomnianiu i przewidywaniu*. Poznań: Wydawn. Naukowe PWN, 2004, 481 p.; HALAS, Elsbietta. *Polityka symboliczna i pamięć zbiorowa. Zmiany nazw ulic po komunizmie*. In: MARODY, Mirosława (Ed.). *Zmiana czy stagnacja. Społeczeństwo polskie po czterdziestu latach transformacji*. Warszawa: Scholar, 2004, pp. 128-152; TRABA, Robert (Ed.). *Symbol pamięci: II wojna światowa w świadomości zbiorowej Polaków – Kraina tysięcy granic. Szkice o historii i pamięci*. Olsztyn: Borussia, 2003, pp. 179-196; KĄŻMIERSKA, Kaja. *Biografia i pamięć. Na przykładzie pokoleniowego doświadczenia ocalałych z Zagłady*. Kraków: Zakł. Wydawniczy Nomos, 2008, 416 p.; KORZENIOWSKI, Bartosz. *Transformacja pamięci. Przewartościowania w pamięci przeszłości a wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania dyskursu publicznego o przeszłości w Polsce po 1989 roku*. Poznań: Nauk, 2010, 245 p.; MADAJCZYK, Czesław. *Okupacja hitlerowska w powojennej świadomości historycznej, politycznej i potocznej Polaków*. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (Ed.). *Zbrodnie nazizmu w świadomości i edukacji historycznej w Polsce i Niemczech*. Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1998, p. 166; WÓYCICKA, Zofia. *Przerwana żałoba. Polskie spory wokół pamięci nazistowskich obozów koncentracyjnych i zagłady 1944 – 1950*. Warszawa: Trio, 2009, 415 p.; WAWRZANIAK, Joanna. *ZBoWiD i pamięć drugiej wojny światowej 1949 – 1969*. Warszawa: Trio, 2009, 354 p.; HIRSZOWICZ, Maria – NEYMAN, Elsbietta. *Spółeczne ramy niepamięci*. In: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 2001, roč. 45, no. 3-4; WOLFF-POWESKA, Anna. *Zwycięscy i zwyciężeni. II wojna światowa w pamięci narodów*. In: *Przegląd Zachodni*, 2005, no. 2, pp. 3-40; BERGER, Stefan. *Remembering the Second World War In Western Europe 1945 – 2005*. In: PAKIER, Małgorzata – STRATH, Bo (Eds.). *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010, 372 p.

4 KAMIŃSKI, Adam. *Diariusz podręczny 1939 – 1945*. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2001, 361 p.

5 Although the editing process has a significant influence on the final shape of the publication, analyzed were both the relations published and unpublished, so that the spectrum of analysis was widened.

memoires, relationships, diary materials. The decision about such an approach was made based on the subject – the presence or absence of records of everyday life, not the external criticism or verification of the reliability of the source of the message – and the blurred boundaries between diary genres.⁶

People, whose memories have been used, do not constitute a social representation of the citizens of Krakow. Only 16 of them are women. At the time of writing down their experiences the vast majority of these people were mature or older (about 95 %). About 43 % of them have described their youth, which took place at the time of occupation; the others are people mature or older during the occupation time.

Some difficulties were encountered when trying to identify the authors' received education and their social origin. However, you can venture to say that almost everyone from the group had at least secondary education when creating the narration. A large part of the group had higher education. Approximately 40 % of authors are artists, writers, journalists, academics.

The authors of the memories are persons of Polish nationality. Due to the significant impact of racial segregation on the lives of people lands that were occupied by the Third Reich, it was important that the writers of the memoirs appealed to unified experience, at least in terms of ethnicity. Of course, the fate of the Polish, Jewish and German population living in Krakow was different.

The time of the memoirs' creation – the most important factor influencing the way of the presentation of everyday life

It seems that the most important part of the process of writing about everyday life was the time of creation of memories. This is all the more remarkable, because a significant part of the writing was created in order to be published.⁷ While writing about the war authors often indicate that they would like to keep the fresh look of the there and then without the burden of subsequent evaluations and experiences, they would like their relationship not to be just about the past, but from the past, however, this „historical time fixed in the memories always bears the mark of modernity. (...) The present times strongly interfere with the presentation of the past, and this occurs more strongly in our part of Europe.”⁸

Due to the way of writing the time of creation of memories can be divided into three periods:

- relationships formed during the war or shortly thereafter to 1948
- memories created after 1948 until the end of the 70s
- memories created in the 80s of the 20th century and after that time

The periodisation adopted is associated with the post-war history of Poland, with officially – formed image of occupation and stereotype of German. The experiences of occupation were discounted politically by the propaganda, the vision of the war shaped by school programs, historiography and mass media monopolized by the government.

6 The problem of diary documents classification, their typology and usage are discussed by WOJTKOWIAK, Z. *Nauki pomocnicze historii najnowszej...*, pp. 51-54 and CIENSKI, A. *Z dziejów pamiętników...*, pp. 13-30.

7 In case of memoirs published, the time of their creation will be important, not the date of publication. About the motives for creating memoirs, see. CIENSKI, A. *Z dziejów pamiętników...*, pp. 41-46.

8 MIKULOWSKI-POMORSKI, Jerzy. *Kraków w naszej pamięci*. Kraków : Wydawn. i Dr. Secesja, 1991, pp. 36-37.

War in 1945 – 1948 was still like yesterday, dealing with Germany and Nazism had a wide range, authenticity and spontaneity. The opinions expressed in this period were much more spontaneous and less manipulated or top-down standardized than they were in the later period. On the one hand, the enormity of the crime caused the martyrdom and heroic representation of the past, while on the other hand, people tried to oppose the simplification and mythologizing of war, Polish society, camp experiences, etc. In a short time, a number of publications on the occupation and the interpretation of the phenomenon of Nazism were created.⁹ Also in the reviving education system the teachers were allowed freedom of expression. Students received a message about the occupation based on experiences and perceptions of the teachers and enriched it with their own baggage of experience.¹⁰ During this period, therefore, the individual look at the war, forming image of the occupation dominated and it was the sum of the individual experiences.

Persons engaged in the occupation logs or writing memoirs after the war, reported on their experiences in an unconventional way. They described the occupation as they saw it or wanted to see, without the pressure of an image recorded in the collective consciousness at a later date. This description also included daily life, and actually those aspects which the authors regarded worthy of commemoration. They were part of an individual tales of war experiences. Writers in this period often admitted that the occupation was not only a time of struggle and heroism, but also of everyday worries and joys. They did not feel too compelled to explain their conduct, even if it was not scheduled between – let's call it in general – the fight against the occupier. It can therefore be concluded that it was for them part of everyday occupational life, something normal. Accounts of this period bring a lot of detail regarding the everyday life during occupation. Even if passed casually, the accounts bring relevant content on particular areas such as the functioning in the public sphere, arranging various kinds of formalities, contact with the occupant, leisure and entertainment. From this period come such accounts as the ways how to seek contacts with people who allow bribes for releasing someone from prison and arranging parties as an integral part of this transaction,¹¹ reaction of the family to a daughter's or sister's relationship with a German¹² or dancing parties for the youth, organized in Kraków.¹³

1948 closed a stage in the history of the Polish People's Republic, ended the first Polish dealings inspired by experiences of war and occupation. The authorities have recognized that „the image of the occupation should rather expose motives of active struggle, guerrilla warfare, and even move the interest to the problems of contemporary times”.¹⁴ New political conditions changed the perspective the German people were looked at from. After the creation in 1949 of the two German states, the blade of propaganda was directed against RFN. The Nazi hated during occupation of Germany – had now become the German from

9 See more: DABROWSKI, Ján. Kraków pod rządami wroga. In: *Biblioteka Krakowska*, no. 104, 1946, 154 p.; Kraków w latach okupacji 1939 – 1945. Studia i materiały. In: *Rocznik Krakowski*, Kraków 1949 – 1957, pp. 185-233; DMITRÓW, Edmund. *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków. Poglądy i opinie z lat 1945 – 1948*. Warszawa : Czytelnik, 1987, pp. 161-162.

10 STEPNIK, Andrzej. Zbrodnie nazizmu w polskich podręcznikach historii. In: KRANZ, T. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, p. 109.

11 KUDLIŃSKI, Tadeusz. *Mantelupa*. Kraków : Księg Czytelnika, 1946, pp. 230, 241.

12 KAMIŃSKI, A. *Diariusz podręczny...*, p. 172.

13 MARCHAJ, Czesław. *Pamiętnik z okresu od 1 stycznia 1939 roku do 14 maja 1940 roku*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska : Oddział Rękopisów, 1993, pp. 185, 189-192, 194-205.

14 DMITROW, E. *Niemcy i okupacja...*, p. 159.

the West.¹⁵ The atmosphere of militancy was perpetuated by the uncertainty as to the borders on the Oder and Neisse rivers. It was changed by neither the message of the Polish Bishops to the German Bishops asking for reconciliation of 18. November 1965,¹⁶ nor the Polish – German treaty of 7. December 1970.¹⁷ Honouring the memory of Nazi crimes, wrongs suffered was about to distract public opinion from repression and crimes of Soviet totalitarianism.¹⁸ What's interesting almost simultaneously judging Nazi war criminals stopped, and the subsequent processes on a larger scale started only in the second half of the 60s.¹⁹

Memories made between the late 40s and early 80s became part of the overall force in the PRL model looking at the occupation, presenting on the one side the Germans – called fairly consistently Nazis and the enormity of the crimes committed by them, and on the other side active fight of Poles against the invaders.²⁰ In this model, there was no room for any cooperation with the occupier, or even agreement to the living conditions offered by the occupier, nor to leisure or entertainment.

The writers in the 50s, 60s and 70s mostly neglected the issues of everyday occupation. Worth noting is the fact that during this period memories created focused on some aspect of occupational activities of the author – on experiences of prison and camp, the fight for independence, a conspiratorial teaching or cultural life, stimulated by numerous competitions advertised or demanded by publishers regarding the relationship of certain persons or groups.²¹ Adopted convention allowed presenting only those threads that were desired by the author and the publisher. The daily life was rarely mentioned putting it in the context of the fight against the occupier and denouncing any attitude that could pass as a sign of approval of occupation orders. One may get the impression that the Poles during the occupation fought only with the occupier or thought how to design new and

15 The hate towards the occupant grew during occupation to the rank of patriotic duty. For more information see SZSROTA, Tomasz. Niemcy w oczach Polaków 1939 – 1945. In: *Odra*, 1977, no. 10, pp. 14-15; MADAJCZYK, Cz. *Okupacja hitlerowska w powojennej świadomości...*, p. 34.

16 MADAJCZYK, Piotr. *Na drodze do pojednania. Wokół orędzia biskupów polskich do biskupów niemieckich z 1965 roku*. Warszawa : PWN, 1994, 171 p.

17 WOLFF-POWESKIEJ, Anna (Ed.). *Polacy wobec Niemców. Z dziejów kultury politycznej Polski 1945 – 1989*. Poznań : Instytut Zachodni, 1993, p. 432.

18 KRANZ, Tomas. Zbrodnie nazizmu jako doświadczenie historyczne Niemców i Polaków. In: KRANZ, T. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, p. 22.

19 See more: KOTARBA, Ryszard. Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Krakowie 1945 – 1953. In: *Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, 1990, no. 17, pp. 71-73.

20 About the representations of the Second World War and time of occupation in Poland see: RONIQUIER, Jerzy. *Mit i historia. Mitotwórcze funkcje podręczników szkolnych*. Kraków : Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2002, 174 p.; DMITROW, E. *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska...*, pp. 161-162; STEPNIK, Andrzej. Zbrodnie nazizmu w polskich podręcznikach historii. In: KRANZ, T. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, p. 109; MADAJCZYK, Czesław. *Okupacja hitlerowska w powojennej świadomości historycznej, politycznej i potocznej Polaków*. In: KRANZ, T. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, p. 166; WAWRZYNIAK, Joanna. *ZBoWiD i pamięć drugiej wojny światowej 1949 – 1969*. Warszawa : Trio, 2009, 354 p.

21 Z. Wojtkowiak writes that up to 1975 in the PRL there were 1043 contests for memoirs in general – including those about the occupation theme. See: WOJTKOWIAK, Z. *Nauki pomocnicze...*, p. 87. Already in the titles of some contest there was an indication of the desired content and the profile of how the experience should be presented, i.e. „German concentration camp as a school of Slavic characters” – „It is worth focusing that already in the contest titles (...) occupation is emphasized and not the war, German occupation and not the Soviet, whereas in the contests in 1948 the war comes down to partisanship (but only the „folk” and „peasant” one as well as soldiers’ memories (from the so-called „appropriate military”). Quote from: LEONSKI, Jacek. *Konkursy pamiętnikarskie w Polsce. Przegląd problematyki socjologicznej*. In: WOŹNIAK, Robert (Ed.). *W kręgu ludzi morza. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin prof. zw. dr. hab. Ludwika Janiszewskiego*. Szczecin: Wydawn. Nauk. Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1997, pp. 207-208.

better state after the war.²² If the study of everyday life was based solely on the memories that were created during this period, it must be considered that the authors basically had no family life, no need of rest, and even relatively little interest in measures to maintain themselves – including fuel and food. Even the work was an uncomfortable subject, because the authors would have to confront the fact that the employer was often the invader. Their memories prevailed often a didactic purpose and demonstration of the desired behaviour, echoed the veterans' attitude of see how we fought.

The existence of a new model of occupation is confirmed by exceptions – the authors writing from the perspective of a child or a young person.²³ The adoption of this point of view, pointed out even in the linguistic layer (made to resemble the style of a teenage girl) allows for keeping the distance and presenting the content, which are not present in other accounts from this period, such as desire to have fashionable clothes, toys, fascination with the cinema, but also contacts with occupational administration and the attitude of Polish population towards it. Similar tendencies to break away from the current model of writing can be seen in the unpublished memoirs. This style of presentation of the occupation is more typical for the type of memories created after 1980.

Way of looking at the occupation began to change in the late 70s and 80s. Interests of the society moved to the Soviet occupation. Nazi crimes were ousted from the popular consciousness by the crimes of Stalinism.²⁴ Unofficial publishing played an important role, as well as the penetration of prohibited content to the official documents published.²⁵ The writings on the occupation began advocating better recognition of the era and relieving emotions, in order to „create works more objectified, in-depth and reliable”.²⁶ Attempts were made to verify the stereotypes.²⁷

Authors writing in 1980, returned to issues related to daily life. However, in comparison with the accounts before 1948, their memories were burdened with more value judgments, justifications of this or that course of action. Relationships are heavily processed / worked through. After all, the authors looked at the occupation from a distant perspective. In addition to presenting the facts, they made their evaluation, sometimes referred to the opinions of others. The memories of this period often lack these aspects of everyday life, which relate to the occupier, for example, work in offices, arranging various kinds of formalities, official entertainment, Polish-German relations, etc. It should be stressed that such a way of describing experience during occupation in principle existed also after 1989.

22 This type of writing includes, i.e. the memoirs of Prof. BOLEWSKI, Andrzej. The chapter „Life in occupational Kraków”, where you would expect to find information on the everyday life, he devoted to the description of the beginnings of his research on the economy of the Third Reich, as well as to the memory of people who helped him after his arrival in Kraków. Some attention was paid to the description of the jobs he had during the occupation. There was an enigmatic mention of the lack of supplies for maintenance and his wife's illness. See BOLEWSKI, Andrzej. *Z drogi do Poczdamu*. Kraków : Wydawn. Literackie, 1977, pp. 26-37.

23 These are the competition memoirs of Zenona Stróżyk and Irena Bundzewicz. The first one wrote down her memoirs in 1974, and published in 1975. See: STRÓŻYK, Zenona. *W Krakowie i gdzie indziej*. In: TURSKI, Marian (Ed.). *Byli wówczas dziećmi*. Warszawa : Książka i Wiedza, 1975, pp. 205-265. The latter wrote down her memoirs in 1967, without publication. See RIBICKI, Hieronim – STEPINSKI, Włodzimierz. *Utracona młodość: wspomnienia i refleksje z okresu wojny i okupacji 1939 – 1945*. Kraków : Akademia Pomorska, 2013, 149 p.

24 KRANZ, T. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, p. 25.

25 STEPNIK, A. *Zbrodnie nazizmu...*, pp. 130-131.

26 MAŃKOWSKI, Zygmunt. *Działalność eksterminacyjna Niemców wobec narodu polskiego w latach II wojny światowej (zarys koncepcji syntezy)*. In: *Stan i perspektywy badań historycznych lat wojny i okupacji 1939 – 1945. Sesja 14. – 15. listopada 1985 roku*. Warszawa : GKBZHWP-IPN, 1988, p. 112.

27 See more: MATELSJI, Dariusz. *Niemcy w Polsce w XX wieku*. Warszawa-Poznań : PWN, 1999, pp. 263-265.

To illustrate ways of writing in different periods three examples will be presented, examples of persons who, during the occupation, published their works in official publications, meaning those issued with the consent of the occupier. It should be emphasized that none of these people published the texts of propaganda.

For the period up to 1948 an example will be Prof. Odo Bujwid, bacteriologist. In his journal in 1941 he concluded the following statement: „*For a few days I was busy working. I am writing an article on the proposal of Mr. L. Kierzyński that publishes „Apothecary News” for the General Government. It is published in Polish for pharmacists and contains the information they need.*”²⁸ In the next part he does not comment on this fact – but points out that it occurred to him that he would get accused of unpatriotic behaviour – merely states that it is useful to inform pharmacists towards hygiene and prevention.²⁹

An example of writing from the period 1949 – 1980 may be Witold Zechenter, Krakow writer whose memoirs, written in 1969, were issued in 1971. In the memoirs he described, inter alia, the activities of unofficial bookstore where he worked. There is no mention of his fairy tales for children, written during the occupation and issued with the approval of the occupation authorities, although it was a profitable occupation, and certainly influenced his occupation existence.³⁰

The representative of the third period is Tadeusz Kwiatkowski, also a Krakow writer, who wrote and published memoirs in 1986. He also published a fairy tale for children during the occupation. In his book he mentions this, however, by focusing on the description of his own hesitations and scruples: „*Despite (...) the occupation atmosphere, good fees and many persuasions for me to write something else, I decided not to commission a new fairy tale. Children are children, demand is demand, Polish language is Polish language, but I had a feeling that one should not, even in such a way, enjoy the grace of the Germans and their censorship. These fairy tales could be attributed to the Nazi propaganda that in the General Government normalized conditions prevailed where culture develops and the German Government cares about the education of Polish youth.*”³¹

The age of the author during the war and his/her part in the presentation of everyday life

Another important factor that influenced the way of writing memoirs was the age of the author during the war. People mature or older in the occupation, if they write about everyday life, focus on procedures related to the provision of basic living conditions, occupational handicaps and the workplace. An interesting example is „The Notebook” by Franciszek Kusia (in 1939 he was 63 years old), in which you can find detailed information on food prices, weather conditions – especially in winter, and the ability (or lack thereof) of travel.³² Related areas, though in a different style describes Tadeusz Seweryn (in 1939 he was 45 years old). Although his memoirs are entitled „Everyday life during occupation” the author’s interest focused mainly on (apart from the descriptions of conspiratorial activity and terror of occupant) on trade in food, impoverishment of society and health issues and treatment, and (this last topic expands on issues of mental health, alcoholism

28 BUJWID, Odo. *Osamotnienie: pamiętniki z lat 1932 – 1942*. Kraków : Wydawn. Literackie, 1990, p. 320.

29 BUJWID, O. *Osamotnienie: pamiętniki z lat...*, pp. 320, 327.

30 See: ZECHENTER, Witold. *Uptywa szybko życie. Książka wspomnień*. Kraków : Wydawn. Literackie, 1975, 398 p.

31 KWIATKOWSKI, Tadeusz. *Płaci się każdego dnia*. Kraków : Wydawn. Literackie, 1986, 180 p.

32 KUŚ, Katarzyna. *Pamiętnik*. In: *Roczniki biblioteczne*, 1971, no. III, sign. 9067, pp. 313-327.

and benefits that can be derived from occupational humour).³³ In turn, those whose youth fell on the occupation time more often speak of socializing, entertainment and recreation. It is particularly well seen in the example of writing about the official cultural life, authorized by the occupant.

Older people frequently omitted this aspect of the reality of occupation or stated that the Poles almost never took part. Those benefiting from this type of entertainment they called „the war start-up „or“ the non-critical part of the audience”.³⁴ Among those who admitted to have benefited from some forms of entertainment, permitted by the occupier, only two people during the occupation were older (it is worth noting that those who „confessed” to participate in the screening cinema, theatre show or concert, performed with the authorities’ consent, wrote down their memoirs before 1948 or after 1980). This can be concluded that memoirists writing about their youth, admitted the right to rest, leisure, and the right to make mistakes. „It is true that since 1939 I have recognized the principle „Pigs in the cinema, the Poles in Auschwitz”, but I did not make any contribution for the German army” – explains Stanisław Strzelichowski – during the occupation a teenage boy – his stay in the cinema illegally for free.³⁵ „Where was the Pole to go? To the cafe? Well it’s not the same as the cinema” – writes George Semilski, then a teenager.³⁶ In the memoirs, the statement that was often repeated was: we were young; we wanted to live and enjoy life despite the occupation. The claim that only degenerate youth participated in the official cultural life is refuted by their CVs – some of those who benefited from the forms of entertainment, permitted by the occupier, acted in conspiracy or at least tried it.

The accounts written by the people, who were young during occupation, especially men, resonate with adventure elements, which are generally not present in the relationships of older people. One of the authors recalls visiting a German bookstore, from which he and his colleagues simply stole military manuals they needed,³⁷ another author mentions rich served parties with a numerous group of friends,³⁸ even other trips to Zakopane ski slopes and beating records, and a trip to Warsaw casino.³⁹ Describing their experiences in the adventure convention they are willing to leave out information on the history of everyday life.

Male and female way of writing about everyday life

Women write more about the occupational everyday life.⁴⁰ It was so probably due to the fact that during the occupation women, of the need of the moment, „spurred” and took in all or part of the responsibility for keeping the home and its maintenance. The

33 SEWERYN, Tadeusz. Okupacji dzień powszedni. In: *Przegląd Lekarski*, 1970, no. 1, pp. 178-197.

34 See: JAKÓBIEC, Ján. *Na drodze stromej i śliskiej. Autobiografia socjologiczna*. Kraków : H.U.P.-B. Gąsiorowska, 2005, p. 181.

35 STRZELICHOWSKI, Stanisław. *Dwa lata grudzień 1942 – październik 1944*. Wrocław : Ossolineum, 1972, p. 27.

36 SEMILSKI, Jerzy – SOSNOWSKI, Andrej. Kina przetrwały. In: SEMILSKI, Jerzy – TEOPLITZ, Jerzy (Eds.). *Owoc zakazany*. Kraków : Dyskusyjny Klub Filomowy Kinematograf, 1987, p. 48.

37 STRZELICHOWSKI, S. *Dwa lata...*, p. 335.

38 KWIATKOWSKI, T. *Płaci się...*, pp. 106-108.

39 STOCKI-SOSNOWSKI, Jacek – SZCZEPAŃSKI, Jan J. *Jedno życie cztery światy*. Kraków : Wydawn. Baran i Suszczyński, 1994, pp. 80-89, 105-107.

40 The differences between the accounts of women and men are discussed by, e. g. SZACKA, Barbara. *II wojna światowa w pamięci rodzinnej*. In: KWIATKOWSKI, Piotr Tadeusz – MACHCEWICZ, Paweł – KULA, Marcin (Eds.). *Między codziennością a wielką historią. Druga wojna światowa pamięci zbiorowej społeczeństwa polskiego*. Gdańsk-Warszawa : Scholar, 2010, pp. 116-118.

loss of a husband / father, for example, because of their arrest meant for the women an „upside down“ overturn of all their existence. They want to preserve this „extraordinary“ effort in their memoirs.

Janina Hetm-Pirgo after the arrest of her husband states: *„During the day I do not belong to myself – without the maid, with the mother (...), with children, with the disease at home, with thoughts of the imprisoned (...).“*⁴¹ Kazimiera Treterowa, describing the period of separation from her husband recalls: *„We had masses of snow to clean from our huge terrace and in front of the house, which I did. (...) At home we arranged this in this way with my sister, she's petite, doing the housework, and I was acquiring food for the family and took care of everything which required physical strength.“*⁴² In the women's relationships we can also find an attempt to talk about the emotions that accompanied the occupation and collective experiences and their impact on daily existence. Halina Kwiatkowska, when mentioning a period of detention in prison at Montelupich wrote, among others: *„I go every Tuesday to the prison in a green little hat, which Tadeusz likes and I walk back and forth, back and forth, under the glare of the German soldier holding a vigil at the gate. I see Tadeusz's tiny head high above the „crate“ obscuring the barred window of his cell. I feel like an idiot, my walk is only humiliating, absolutely powerless and passive activity.“*⁴³ In contrast, Zenona Stróżyk noted the emotional impact of the liquidation of the Krakow ghetto had on the fate of her family: *„My dad has seen it all and (...) was pretty crazy. He also lost weight and completely blackened on the face and my mother weighed only fifty four kilos of the ninety from the pre-war period.“*⁴⁴

Native inhabitants of Krakow and war migrants – different perspectives

Differences in the way of writing about everyday life are also visible when we compare the accounts of people native of Krakow or persons rooted in the city before the war with the relations of war migrants. Although the daily concerns touched both, they looked at them from different perspectives.

People who came to Krakow during the occupation pay attention to details, which – obviously – escape the native Cracovians. For example, Karolina Lanckorońska describing the first days in the occupied city said: *„Most of the friends still live in their own homes, invited for breakfast, sometimes modest, but served on normal porcelain, with silver spoons and forks“,*⁴⁵ whereas the memories of the Kraków natives relating to that period in this context focus primarily on problems with supplies.

Relations of war migrants include topics in which they want to show the contrast between their condition and abundance of the natives of the city. Aside from the one-sided view on this issue, it is the memories of migrant that contain information on the conditions under which wealthy people functioned.

Relocated with her family from Rawicz Zenona Stróżyk described her classmates: *„Some were really rich and not touched by the war. One lived on the Retoryka Street in the seven – suite and had the same ancient furniture.“*⁴⁶ Such information would not be found in the accounts of Kraków natives. If it appears, it is only in the context of suspicion of

41 Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Krakowie, sign. AIPN kr 1 / 2268, p. 23.

42 TRETEROWA, Kazimiera *Reportaż z mojego życia*. Wrocław : Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1972, p. 368.

43 KWIATKOWA, Halina. *Porachunki z pamięcią*. Kraków : Oficyna Wydawnicza Kwadrat, 2002, pp. 37-38.

44 STRÓŻYK, Z. *W Krakowie i gdzie indziej...*, p. 239.

45 LANCKOROŃSKA, Karolina. *Wspomnienia wojenne 22. X. 1939 – 5. IV. 1945*. Kraków : Znak, 2001, p. 61.

46 STRÓŻYK, Z. *W Krakowie i gdzie indziej...*, p. 229.

collaborating with the Nazis. Also participating in the events taking place in occupied Krakow is seen differently by war migrants. An example is the Japanese art exhibition organized in 1944 by the occupation authorities in the framework of the presentation of achievements of allies of Germany. Presented were the exhibits of Japanese art donated to the National Museum by Feliks Jasieński in 1926. Andrzej Wajda, who as a teenage boy arrived in Krakow from Radom during the Nazi occupation, recalls the participation in the war. In addition to the feeling the exhibition recalled in him, he recalls: „It was also the first exhibition of the collection of Feliks Jasieński (...) so the whole Krakow intelligence rushed to see it.”⁴⁷ However, there are no mentions of the show in the writings of the local artists, writers and scholars.

Diary sources – weaknesses and chances

The weakness of the sources of diaries for this period is their low representativeness. The authors are mostly Krakow intellectuals and their perspective dominates the occupation memories. Perhaps the accounts of the average citizens of the city would bring something new, the more so that sociologists have shown that people with lower education are less susceptible to the desired state models of thinking.⁴⁸ Their memories would possibly be less burdened by stereotypes.

Occupational memories focus mainly on what differed life under the occupation from the pre-war existence, rather than on what was left unchanged. The authors would probably want to write something interesting, unusual. Occupational everyday life usually constituted the background for the events that they considered worth commemorating. One can also conclude that for many people in Krakow everyday life during war in many respects did not differ substantially / drastically from the pre-war period and, therefore, they concluded that it is not worth it describing. That which constituted „the everyday life of the occupation” was considered less interesting. Everyday life typically occurs when the „unusual” phenomena overlap, when there are problems with meeting current needs, where there is a mixing of social roles.

Until every day is obvious, it is – so to speak – „invisible” for the authors of memoirs. It becomes present as a problem in the discontinuities being, when its routine and repetition are impaired.⁴⁹ Reading the memoir from the occupational times also confirms the truth of Marcin Kula’s statement that „we do not want to remember phenomena in our own belief contrary to the image that we idealize.”⁵⁰ It is obvious that the authors of the memories present occupation in the way they wanted to see it / remember it. What it is inconvenient is that shared by the „others”, they are usually anonymous people (others trade with the occupiers, others go to the cinema, the theatre, and anonymous crowds scrolling in occupying offices). This does not mean, however, that the historian is doomed to failure. Skilful use of the source workshop, knowledge of the mechanisms and rules which govern this type of sources and the era in which they were created – these are the

47 MALATYŃSKA, Mária (Ed.). *Andrzej Wajda o polityce, o sztuce, o sobie*. Warszawa : Prószyński i S-ka 2000, p. 118.

48 JANISZEWSKI, Leonard. Psychospołeczne aspekty stosunków polsko-niemieckich. In: DOKTÓR, Kazimierz (Ed.). *Socjologia: teoria i działanie. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Władysława Markiewicza*. Warszawa : Wydawn. IFiS PAN, 1997, p. 242.

49 SULIMA, Roch. Znikająca codzienność. In: SULIMA, Roch (Ed.). *Życie codzienne Polaków na przełomie XX i XXI w.* Łomża : Stopka, 2003, pp. 234, 243.

50 KULA, M. *Między przeszłością a przyszłością...*, p. 97.

reasons why the everyday lost in various accounts can be found. Both within the content that the author wanted to convey, as well as what is left out / concealed.

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