

The Polish-German conflict over the grave of Lassalle in Wrocław

Małgorzata ŚWIDER

Abstract: The article deal with the problems of Polish-German relations in the eighties of 20th century in relation to Wrocław.

Key Words: Poland, Germany, Relations, Eighties 20th Century, Wrocław

We can distinguish a few kinds of conflict: an armed conflict, an economic conflict, an ethnic conflict, etc. A characteristic feature of a conflict is the fact that all sides involved in it use incomprehensible arguments and – in comparison with the significance of the matter – engage in it in an unusually emotional way, as well as display fierce reactions. In many cases conflicts are rooted in the emotional sphere, which causes the emotions related to the affair which is the subject matter of the conflict to become extremely dominant with time. This, in turn, makes rational thinking impossible and invests the emotions themselves with such importance that removal of them leads to shaking the whole of the system of values.

In view of the above, we came to deal with a classical conflict in the 1980s, which concerned the grave of Lassalle located in Wrocław. The problem, from the viewpoint of today, seemed to be easy to solve. As a matter of fact it concerned preservation and restoration of a dilapidating tomb located in the old Jewish cemetery at Ślężna Street. In regular

conditions one should rather expect difficulty resulting from religious customs and regulations observed by followers of the Jewish religion. In that case, however, a greater problem was posed by political interpretation of this issue, more than aspects relating to the religion.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, Marceli Handelsman undertook to address the problem of influence of the present (contemporary) times on the way of perceiving the past. First of all, he paid attention to the fact that *“each generation works out their own attitude towards issues, has their own scientific interests imposed by contemporary reality, their own manner of looking at things. Contemporary reality causes each generation to develop a different attitude towards the past and assume their own foundations to propose different theses”*¹. Indeed, we came to deal with such an interpretative problem in the case of the burial place of Ferdinand Lassalle. The problems which led to a peculiar Polish-German conflict over the grave of Lassalle resulted from the following facts: firstly, Lassalle was German, secondly, he was the patron of social-democracy and was in opposition to Marx, and – thirdly – he was a Jew.

From the point of view of the propaganda of the day it was considered disadvantageous to recall the German past of Lower Silesia. As far as the official history of the post-war times was concerned, it was the Piast-Dynasty-related past of this region that was strongly accentuated. It was assumed to justify the decisions of the Allied, taken after the War, in connection with the alteration of Poland's borders, as well as meant to ‘strengthen’ Poland's rights to the lands and alleviate the unfavourable effects and comments voiced by settlers from the Eastern Lands, who painfully resented their new life of displaced people. In the time after the War, an action of de-Germanizing was organized on a broad scale in the Western Lands. It consisted in a mechanical removal of all existing remnants of the German state system and culture². In those conditions it was indeed hard to justify the intention of retaining a tomb bearing German inscriptions. Apart from this, the fact that Lassalle was a “Founding Father” of the German social-democratic movement, that is a political party in the German Federal Republic, certainly did not speak in favour of the idea of preservation and reconstruction of the place.

Consequently, this place, which was to be a site of remembrance, turned into one of conflict. What is a site of remembrance? There are a few definitions of the latter – in dependence on the given country, time or emotions. Thus, it can denote a forgotten cemetery in a forest, a cross, an old oak, but also a former concentration camp, a monument, or even a date connected with some rite. In a word, this can mean everything that is significant in order to determine who we are and what decides about our membership in the community³. How big can this community be? Wroclaw and Breslau – one city which contains in itself various remembrances and narrations that sometimes exclude one another. Yet, at times, one can reach understanding, e.g. like in the case of Edyta Stein – a Jewish woman born in Wroclaw, a Catholic saint, a saint patroness of Europe⁴. As regards this site of remembrance the problem was resolved very quickly; however, the biggest one arose with respect to Lassalle's tomb – a site of remembrance with reference to which the political aspect was of paramount importance.

Ferdinand Lassalle was the founder of the first workers' party – the Common German Workers' Union (Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein), whose successor is the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands – SPD). Accordingly, he is considered one of the creators of social-democracy. He aimed at improving workers' life situation within the democratic system. He also was in favour of freedom, equality and social justice. He was regarded as a political adversary of K. Marx, despite their friendship in the times of their youth and a few similarities between them as regards certain ideas they shared. Lassalle got engaged in an agitation activity which aimed at radicalization of bourgeoisie in fight against reactionary forces. He criticized the Marxist theory of revolution as the right road to socialism and communism. He propagated ideas of fighting for employees' rights among workers and convinced them of the potential existing in an organized workers' movement. Lassalle died in Switzerland in consequence of wounds he suffered in a duel, defending the honour of a woman⁵.

Recognized as one of the founders of social-democracy, he had a commemorative tablet founded in the Jewish cemetery in Wroclaw

already in the interwar years. The tablet was destroyed in the time of national socialism and, in the final years of the War, the Jewish cemetery in Ślężna Street found itself on the frontline, which resulted in serious damage to the place. After the War, there were plans to demolish the cemetery, but the fact that the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – PPS), existing until 1948, looked on Lassalle as one of their “Fathers” most probably saved the place from the demolition. In December 1947, on the occasion of the 27th Congress of the PPS, a commemorative tablet was placed on Lassalle’s tomb. The gesture of commemorating this workers’ activist was not free from conflicts or objections. As it follows from the letter written by Henryk Jabłoński at the end of June 1984, it was him who – in 1947 – put forward this initiative, opposing the negative opinion of the regional authorities in Wrocław. As the then Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the PPS he managed to convince the regional authorities in Wrocław that Lassalle deserved the commemoration. An additional element, which proved in favour of Jabłoński’s initiative, was the fact that Józef Cyrankiewicz, also an ex-member of the PPS, supported the former’s endeavours. In the 1950s, the commemorative tablet got destroyed and was replaced with another one, still bearing the same inscription as that in the 1960s. However, that new tablet was also damaged in later years⁶. The problems relating to commemoration of Lassalle could result from the fact that his views on certain fundamental issues had differed from those represented by Marx: first and foremost, they perceived the state and its role in different ways. Professor Jabłoński drew attention to this fact, underlining – at the same time – that Lassalle’s merits had been recognized by Lenin, which – in his opinion – was a sufficient argument to have the devastated tomb preserved and even reconstructed⁷. The very name Lassalle itself was not widely known in Poland.

The third aspect causing fundamental difficulty in having the tomb restored was the fact that it was located in the Jewish cemetery in Wrocław. This aspect was, in turn, stressed by Klaus Reiff in 1984⁸. In this case, what really mattered was not only and exclusively the rules of the Moses’ religion, but rather the dislike of Jews, which was common among Polish society. Another element here could be the dislike of

pointing to precursors of the workers' movement, who were of Jewish descent, since it could strengthen the common prejudice towards activists and justify the frequently repeated thesis of "Jewish Communism"⁹.

After having placed the commemorative tablet on the tomb in the 1940s, neither the grave nor the cemetery was taken care of. Over years, the unprotected cemetery degraded and became destroyed. In the 1970s, there were plans made to have buildings of Academy of Economics erected in its place. This, however, was opposed by the then First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej - KC PZPR) – Edward Gierek, in the effect of which, the cemetery was classified as a monument and the plans of its liquidation were ditched. Nonetheless, no concrete or effective action was undertaken to rebuild it or provide protection to it, either. There were only a few tombs dating back to the 13th century, being among the oldest in Europe, which were transferred to the Wrocław Museum of Architecture¹⁰. At the beginning of the 1980s, some basic works on securing better protection to the cemetery were begun, among others, in 1981 – the wall surrounding the cemetery was repaired, and in 1982 – part of the plants were removed from it. At that time, German social-democrats led by W. Brandt and H. Schmidt attempted to exert an influence on the Polish authorities and make them commence works protecting both the cemetery and Lassalle's grave¹¹. Those actions were nearly completely ruined: in one publication, which was issued towards the end of 1981, in Bonn, the thesis was brought forward of a possibility of transferring Lassalle's remains to the FRG. As a result of that, an intervention on the part of representatives of the German Democratic Republic took place with the view to having Lassalle's remains transferred to East Berlin – Friedrichsheim, the Mausoleum of Socialists. Along with the imposition of the Marital Law, the plans of transferring the grave were suspended¹².

In November 1982, Egon Bahr wrote a letter to Deputy Prime Minister M. Rakowski concerning the offer of help extended by the SPD while securing Lassalle's tomb¹³. In reply, he was assured that during the examination of the grave there was no major damage noticed. It was admitted, however, that the surrounding of the tomb was not in a good

state of repair. At the same time, the Voivode of Wroclaw Province was made responsible for undertaking actions designed to protect the place¹⁴. In June 1983, Klaus Reiff arrived in Wroclaw to check the progress of the planned conservation works on the tomb. Since, contrary to the declarations, the works had not been commenced, a representative of the Embassy of the FRG announced his intention to notify Chancellor W. Brandt of the fact. That was significant in as much as the SPD treated the question of the grave as a tester of mutually accepted agreements¹⁵. In August 1983, the cemetery was visited by the then President of Ebert Foundation, the former Prime Minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen – Heinz Kuhn. Since both the tomb and the cemetery were in a state of considerable devastation, it was endeavoured to have actions aimed at securing protection of them launched simultaneously by the Regional Office of Wroclaw as well as by the state authorities. Then the question of eventual moving of the grave to East Berlin was raised, which was extensively commented on in the GDR¹⁶. Kuhn opposed the idea himself in a decisive way, claiming that the grave should be left in its original place. Beside, he was afraid that the name of Lassalle would be used for propagandist aims in the GDR. Another reason why the plans for exhumation of the remains were abandoned were religious traditions which forbade to disturb the peace of the dead. This aspect was drawn attention to by the Foreign Affairs Department of the KC PZPR, whose arguments were that it was, among others, thanks to their efforts that the plans to liquidate the cemetery were ditched¹⁷. In August 1983, the President of Ebert Foundation, while having talks with Wroclaw Voivode – Janusz Owczarek, stressed the will to have a monument dedicated to the international workers' movement erected in Wroclaw, one that would be similar to the Karl Marx Mausoleum in London¹⁸.

Since the year 1984 marked the 120th anniversary of Lassalle's death, it seemed to be a good idea to undertake actions towards suitable commemoration of the founder of the German social-democratic movement. Thus, intensive activities were undertaken in the Spring of 1984. Among others, in February of that year, Klaus Reiff met Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski and talked about renovation of the tomb. During the subsequent visit made by Reiff to Wroclaw in April 1984, meetings

were arranged with Wroclaw Voivode, the first Secretary of the Regional Committee of the PZPR in Wroclaw, representatives of the central administration, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹⁹. However, it was not until Willy Brandt's intervention in June 1984 that Lassalle's burial place was restored and protected. However, this did not proceed without political complications. On 18 June 1984, W. Brandt wrote a personal letter to General W. Jaruzelski in which he suggested that the grave of the founder of the German social-democracy should be renovated and turned into a site of remembrance of the Polish and German workers' movement²⁰. General Jaruzelski replied in August 1984, but the answer was rather cool. First of all, the proposal of creating one common site of remembrance, embracing both Polish and German workers' movement was not developed and it was only assured that the site would be made accessible to all who would want to commemorate Lassalle. In particular, as W. Jaruzelski assured, the authorities would extend appropriate care over this burial place²¹.

The giving of that evasive answer was preceded by hectic consultations held with various departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the KC PZPR. The matter was not easy to settle, since it concerned international relations: on the one hand, the administration of the People's Republic of Poland was keen on maintaining good relations with the SPD, especially so as at that time Poland essayed to rebuild her position on the international arena. On introducing the Martial Law each action aiming at strengthening international contact or gaining support from other states was of colossal propagandist significance. The German social-democrats were among the few democratic political parties in Western Europe who kept regular and relatively proper contacts with Jaruzelski's apparatus. The Polish side made efforts to strengthen the relations and raise them on a higher level, the expression of which was to be W. Brandt's planned visit to Poland. At that time each wrong move on the line of SPD-PZPR could bring about retardation to the diplomatic talks, particularly, as it followed from the Polish-German top level talks, Lassalle's tomb was planned to be visited not only by the President of Ebert Foundation, but also by Hans-Jochen Vogel – the President of the SPD faction at the Bundestag and Vice-President of the SPD, who intended to pay an official

visit to Poland in September 1984. What was also taken into account was the probability that Willy Brandt, while paying an official visit to Warsaw, planned for 1985, would want to go to Wrocław, too²².

On the other hand, complying with the request forwarded by the SPD could lead to certain perturbation in the relations between Warsaw and East Berlin as the German Socialist Unionist Party (GSUP) (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED)) also laid claim to being the heir to Lassalle's heritage. Furthermore, apart from the unworkable plans of transferring Lassalle's remains to East Berlin, which was against the religious law of Israel, the Polish side feared that the German Communist Party (GCP) (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei), active in the FRG, would also claim its liaisons with that activist. Therefore, a joint forming of a site of remembrance of workers' movement by the PZPR and the SPD would mean a conscious ignorance of the GSUP and the GCP.

There were still two other vital reasons why the proposition of the SPD was welcomed with reservation or even with a dislike: establishing, in Wrocław, of a site of remembrance dedicated to one of the founders of the German social-democratic movement could contribute to creation of the hall of fame of the German workers' movement in this city and to underlining its relations with Germany, which – taking into account its history and the historical-political contemporary status – was unacceptable²³. Besides, this did not lie in the interests of Poland to organize a site of remembrance that would be a mutual venture of the SPD and the GSUP, and – at the same time – to support the unification tendency of the both German states²⁴.

Also, the financial engagement of both the SPD and Ebert Foundation raised objections in Warsaw. According to assessments made by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the KC PZPR, completion of the first stage of the renovation works was to amount to 20 million Zlotys, which was about 400 thousand DM (according to the then exchange rate of the National Bank of Poland). Part of the costs was to be covered by the German side. The Head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the KC PZPR, in his letter to the First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the PZPR, forbade the latter to start any negotiations with the German side as regards the renovation of Lassalle's tomb without notifying

the Central Committee about it. As it follows from the correspondence exchanged on the central level, the Regional Committee in Wrocław, despite the objections, maintained contacts with Germans, regarding the restoration works since they were hopeful that the SDP would cover all the costs connected with the works in the cemetery.

The economic aspect was very important because, as it follows from reports prepared for General Jaruzelski, the Polish side was not able to cover all the related costs. There even was a plan to isolate 1/6th of the cemetery area around Lassalle's grave, renovate it and to transform it into a historic Jewish cemetery. The remaining area of the cemetery was to be transformed into a regular park²⁵. Bearing in mind the standpoint of the SDP and the engagement of many important celebrities on the German side in the process of renovation, it was decided to partially comply with the request submitted by the Germans. First of all, it was decided to organize anniversary celebrations, during which flowers were to be laid on the tomb by representatives of the regional authorities. Another preventive action was preparation of press articles on Lassalle and his heritage. It was also considered to organize a scientific symposium dedicated to Lassalle's theoretical and practical output. Consequently, it was planned to invite representatives of socialist and social-democratic parties from West Europe and socialist countries to participate in the event²⁶. To secure a 'political' balance it was decided to contact the Consulate of the GDR in Wrocław and find out if they were interested in taking part as well. Finally, on 31 August 1984, the celebration of the 120th anniversary of Lassalle's death took place. Still, the event was not free from a diplomatic clash, since the Polish side had demanded to be shown the content of the speeches to be delivered by the invited guests, prior to the celebrations.

As a result of the agreement with the Museum of Architecture, in the first period of the renovation, which ended in 1987, repairs of the wall surrounding the cemetery were carried out, as well as the alley and the area surrounding the grave of Lassalle were cleared. Moreover, the most important actions included protection of the cemetery and the tomb from being vandalized. The cemetery was closed with a decorative wrought-iron gate brought from one of the Silesian palaces which

had been blown up by the Red Army troops in 1947. Because the gate was too low it was decided that it should be lengthened. About 100-centimetre-long elements representing figures of stylized menorah were added at the bottom on either wing of it. The very tomb itself, according to the restoration plans, was to be done to look in the way it did originally on the turn of the 19th and the 20th century. For instance, the bust of Lassalle's mother was to be returned and fixed onto the tomb which was the Lassalles' family grave. Even though, originally, there was also Lassalle's father's bust placed on it, both having been made of white marble, it was only the first of them which was to be retrieved as the other one had been lost. The tomb was surrounded with a wrought-iron fence. Since the original one had been lost, the new fence was brought from one of the Silesian cemeteries in disuse²⁷.

Upon overcoming the initial problems connected with the renovation of the Jewish cemetery in Wrocław, all the subsequent actions undertaken in relation to this historic place were properly coordinated and sped up. However, this was not possible until the transformation of the socioeconomic system in Poland materialized, as along with the changed political situation, the way in which the historical past of certain Poland's lands was perceived altered as well: their links with the culture and history of Germany ceased to be a taboo. The German past of Wrocław was openly talked about. Also, the previous peculiar ideological competition lost its significance. In this concrete case, the cemetery in Ślężna Street became one of the sights on the tourist route showing the most famous monuments of Wrocław. Each year, thousands of tourists coming from other regions of Poland and abroad visit the burial place of well known historical personages: scientists, artists, bankers, politicians, and there are Nobel award winners, outstanding people who contributed to the development of the German culture and the Jewish culture, buried in this cemetery.

Notes:

⁽¹⁾ M. HANDELSMAN. O nasz dzisiejszy stosunek do historii porozbiorowej, (w:) Pamiętnik V Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie, Lwów 1931, s. 26.

⁽²⁾ I write about the problem of de-Germanization, using Opole Silesia as a study case, in: M. ŚWIDER, *Die sogenannte Entgermanisierung im Oppelner Schlesien in den Jahren 1945–1950*. Europaforum-Verlag, Lauf 2002.

⁽³⁾ The Act on sites of national remembrance, which was prepared by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, in a detailed and complex way, systematizes the problem area connected with establishing sites of national remembrance. According to the definition, a site of national remembrance is: a grave or a military cemetery; property or building, or remains of the latter, that commemorate figures or events vital to the Polish Nation and State, in particular a monument, a roadside cross, little chapel, or mould; another object or thing connected with events or figures that are significant for the heritage of the Polish Nation and State, especially a commemorative plaque. The Act determines also that a site of national remembrance can be established if there are circumstances which justify the need to commemorate a figure or event of historic importance to the Nation and the State of Poland or to another Nation.

⁽⁴⁾ P. BUKALSKA, Nasze miejsca pamięci, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2008-01-17, wersja elektroniczna, <http://tygodnik2003-2007.onet.pl/1547,1463680,0,560760,dzial.html> [stan na 28. 8. 2009]

⁽⁵⁾ Wie Deutschland tüchtige Leute kaputtmacht. Liebe und Tod Ferdinand Lassalles in Briefen, *Der Spiegel*, 47/1970. <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-44906712.html>

⁽⁶⁾ Klaus REIFF, *Die Restaurierung der Grabstätte von Ferdinand Lassalle auf dem alten jüdischen Friedhof in Breslau (Wroclaw)*, 5. 7. 1984, s. 2, Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (AdsD) Bonn, Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) Parteivorstand (PV) 11328.

⁽⁷⁾ Lenin understood that when, in 1899, he wrote, “In Germany, Lassalle’s great historic merit consisted in that he transformed the working class from an accessory to the liberal bourgeoisie into an independent political party.” H. Jabłoński, Warszawa 29. 6. 1984. Archiwum Akt Nowych Warszawa (AAN War.) Komitet Centralny Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (KC PZPR) Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

⁽⁸⁾ Klaus REIFF, *Die Restaurierung der Grabstätte von Ferdinand Lassalle auf dem alten jüdischen Friedhof in Breslau (Wroclaw)*, 5. 7. 1984, s. 5, AdsD Bonn, SPD PV 11328.

⁽⁹⁾ More on this to be found in: K. SZWAGRZYK, Żydzi w kierownictwie UB. Stereotyp czy rzeczywistość? *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, 2005 s. 37–42; K. KERSTEN, *Polacy, Żydzi, komunizm: anatomia półprawd 1939–1968*, Warszawa 1992.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ibidem, s. 3.

⁽¹¹⁾ Information from the source: Secret Collaborator, ps. Adamski, Wrocław 5. Maja 1982 r. Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN) Wr054/166 t. 1.

(12) Klaus REIFF, *Die Restaurierung der Grabstätte von Ferdinand Lassalle auf dem alten jüdischen Friedhof in Breslau (Wroclaw)*, 5. 7. 1984, s. 5, AdsD Bonn, SPD PV 11328.

(13) Egon Bahr an den Stellvertretenden Ministerpräsidenten der Volksrepublik Polen in Warschau Herrn Mieczysław Rakowski. Bonn, den 4. 11. 1982, AdsD Bonn 1/EBAA000580.

(14) Viceprezes Rady Ministrów Mieczysław F. Rakowski an Herrn Egon Bahr, Warszawa 24. 1. 1983, AdsD Bonn 1/EBAA000580.

(15) Meldunek operacyjny nr 60, Wrocław 20 czerwca 1983 r. tajne, specjalnego znaczenia. IPN/OBUiAD/Wrocław (2) Sygn. IPN Wr 054/1661 t.1.

(16) Meldunek operacyjny nr 75/83, tajne, specjalnego znaczenia, Wrocław 1. 9. 1983. IPN/OBUiAD/Wrocław, sygn. IPN Wr 054/1661 t. 1; Op. Gruppe des MfS in Warschau, Außenstelle Wrocław, Wrocław 8. 9. 1983, Geheim, Kurzinformation zum Bürger der BRD Kühne. IPN/OBUiAD/Wrocław, sygn. IPN Wr 054/1661 t.1.

(17) Notatka w sprawie uporządkowania grobu Ferdinanda Lassalle'a we Wrocławiu i obchodów 120-lecia jego śmierci. Warszawa 6. 7. 1984 r., AAN War. KC PZPR, Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(18) Kontakt- und Verhandlungsreise des Vorsitzenden des Vorstandes der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Heinz Kühn, vom 21. Bis 28. August 1983 nach Polen. Sachbericht (intern), Handakten Klaus Peter Schneider, Akte Polen 1983. FES Bonn bez sygnatury.

(19) Klaus REIFF, *Die Restaurierung der Grabstätte von Ferdinand Lassalle auf dem alten jüdischen Friedhof in Breslau (Wroclaw)*, 5. 7. 1984, s. 5, AdsD Bonn, SPD PV 11328.

(20) Willy Brandt, Vorsitzender der SPD, An den Sekretär des Zentralkomitees der Polnischen Vereinigten Arbeiterpartei Herrn General Wojciech Jaruzelski, 18. Juni 1984, AAN War. KC PZPR Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(21) I Sekretarz Komitetu Centralnego PZPR do: Pan Willy Brandt, Przewodniczący Socjaldemokratycznej Partii Niemiec, Warszawa 4 sierpnia 1984 r., AAN War. KC PZPR Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(22) Notatka w sprawie stanu grobu Ferdinanda Lassalle'a, Warszawa, dnia 14 lipca 1984 r. AAN War. KC PZPR Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(23) Notatka w sprawie uporządkowania grobu Ferdinanda Lassalle'a..., op. cit.

(24) MSZ, Tow. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, I Sekretarz PZPR, Warszawa 13 lipca 1984 r. AAN War. AAN War. KC PZPR, Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(25) MSZ Tow. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, I Sekretarz PZPR, Warszawa 13 lipca 1984 r. AAN War. AAN War. KC PZPR, Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

(26) Notatka w sprawie stanu grobu Ferdinanda Lassalle'a, Warszawa, dnia 14 lipca 1984 r. AAN War. KC PZPR Kancelaria gen. W. Jaruzelskiego XIA/1397.

⁽²⁷⁾ K. REIFF, *Die Restaurierung der Grabstätte von Ferdinand Lassalle auf dem alten jüdischen Friedhof in Breslau (Wroclaw)*, 5. 7. 1984, AdsD Bonn, SPD PV 11328.

Kontakt na autorku příspěvku:

Dr. Małgorzata Świder

Uniwersytet Opolski

Wydział Historyczno-Pedagogiczny

ul. Oleska 48

45-052 Opole

Polska

e-mail: malgorzata_swider@onet.pl