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## The Action of Taking over Former German Factories and Assets of the Tobacco Industry in the Upper Silesia Region after World War II\*

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### SUMMARY

The article presents the complex circumstances surrounding the takeover of former German factories and assets of the tobacco industry by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly. This issue has not yet received any comprehensive treatment in historiography. After the end of World War II, most of the PMT (Polish Tobacco Monopoly) facilities were not in the best condition; a significant portion of machinery and equipment was destroyed, and there was also a shortage of tobacco raw material. Much of the monopoly's assets were taken by the Germans, and unfortunately, after the war, it was often impossible to determine where they ended up. In 1945, the practice of taking over and exporting Polish property was continued by the Russians. Although the number of locations where PMT secured German property may seem significant, in most cases, the acquired machinery and equipment were heavily worn out, and their usefulness in current production gradually declined. However, it is difficult to unequivocally answer whether the German factories and machinery secured by PMT after the war offset the wartime losses of the Polish tobacco industry. The acquisition of the "Aviatic" cigarette factory in Wrocław was of particular importance, especially since there was already a forecasted increase in the population's demand for cigarettes before the war. On the other hand, the acquired equipment from numerous, mostly small, tobacco plants scattered across the Recovered Territories did not represent significant added value for the emerging Polish tobacco industry rising from the ruins.

**KEYWORDS:** the tobacco industry, Upper and Lower Silesia, year of 1945, German property, Polish Tobacco Monopoly.

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## STRESZCZENIE

**Akcja przejmowania poniemieckich fabryk i majątku przemysłu tytoniowego na terenie Dolnego i Górnego Śląska po II wojnie światowej**

Artykuł przedstawia złożone okoliczności przejmowania poniemieckich fabryk i majątku przemysłu tytoniowego przez Polski Monopol Tytoniowy. Problematyka ta nie doczekała się dotąd jakiegokolwiek opracowania w historiografii. Po zakończeniu II wojny światowej większość zakładów PMT nie przedstawiała najlepszego stanu, znaczna część maszyn i urządzeń była zniszczona, brakowało również surowca tytoniowego. Sporo majątku monopolu Niemcy wywieźli i niestety po wojnie w wielu przypadkach nie udało się ustalić, dokąd on trafił. W 1945 r. proceder przejmowania i wywożenia polskiego mienia kontynuowali Rosjanie. Choć liczba miejscowości, w których PMT zabezpieczył mienie poniemieckie, może wydawać się duża, w większości przejęte maszyny i urządzenia były bardzo wyeksploatowane, a ich przydatność w bieżącej produkcji sukcesywnie się zmniejszała. Trudno jednakże jednoznacznie odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czy fabryki i maszyny poniemieckie zabezpieczone po wojnie przez PMT zrównoważyły straty wojenne polskiego przemysłu tytoniowego. Największe znaczenie miało przejęcie fabryki papierosów „Aviatic” we Wrocławiu, tym bardziej że już przed wojną prognozowano wzrost zapotrzebowania ludności na papierosy. Z kolei przejęte wyposażenie licznych, najczęściej niewielkich, zakładów tytoniowych porzucanych na Ziemiach Odzyskanych nie stanowiło dużej wartości dodanej dla powstającego z ruin polskiego przemysłu tytoniowego.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** przemysł tytoniowy, Górny i Dolny Śląsk, 1945 r., mienie poniemieckie, Polski Monopol Tytoniowy.

**Introduction**

Taking over, securing and possibly restarting the industrial plants in the so-called Recovered Territories was one of the most important issues that the Polish authorities faced in 1945. It was necessary to do it as soon as possible since the factory facilities were getting more perished every day. What posed real danger was also: the possibility of requisition and export of the property by the soldiers of the Red Army (since 1946 – the Soviet Army), purposeless damage or looting done by both soldiers and civilians as well as fires that often broke out there. Former German property was supposed to be taken over by the Operational Groups of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, which were charged with the task to organize the Polish industry and economic life<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, almost

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<sup>1</sup> S. Jankowski, *Przejmowanie i odbudowa przemysłu dolnośląskiego 1945–1949*, Warszawa 1982, p. 73.

all the central industrial plants (including Polish Tobacco Monopoly) prepared the teams of specialists to take over the factories and their equipment<sup>2</sup>. Apart from this, it was the representatives of the general administration that aspired to control the industry<sup>3</sup>. As the relationship between the various bodies was not precisely regulated or defined in detail, conflicts often arose over issues of competence, including the takeover of the former German tobacco factories and their equipment.

After all, the effectiveness of these actions predominantly depended upon the efficiency of particular people, the ability to adapt to a difficult socio-political situation, persuasive skills, etc. The PMT's determination often allowed to take over substantial material resources by the Polish tobacco industry, especially machinery and devices that were indispensable to reopen the regular production of tobacco products. They required thorough repairs, and their technical condition left much to be desired, which meant that their productive abilities were limited. Therefore, every day of delay in the taking over and securing of the equipment only increased the difficulties. Factory and warehouse facilities also required immediate security and reconstruction<sup>4</sup>.

The aim of this article is to present the circumstances of the takeover of former German property and tobacco industry factories, especially on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia<sup>5</sup>. After the end of WWII most of the PMT assets were in poor condition, a substantial part of machinery and devices was destroyed, and the tobacco raw material was in short supply as well. Much of the monopoly's property was exported by the Germans and, unfortunately, in many cases the place where it ended up after the war was not established. What is more, the displacement of borders resulted in the situation that PMT lost 4 tobacco factories (out of 14 pre-war ones) and 7 tobacco growing plants (out of 10 pre-war ones). Thus, it was about strengthening of the tobacco industry, which was also supposed to be quickly reconstructed after the war disaster<sup>6</sup>. The question is

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<sup>2</sup> H. Różański, *Śladem wspomnień i dokumentów (1943–1948)*, Warszawa 1988, Warszawa 1988, pp. 249–250.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kinstler, *Grupy Operacyjne Komitetu Ekonomicznego Rady Ministrów i Ministerstwa Przemysłu. Dolny Śląsk kwiecień–wrzesień 1945*, Wrocław 1987, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> W.B., *Polski Monopol Tytoniowy po II wojnie światowej*, "Wiadomości Tytoniowe" 1947, nr 5–6, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This action also concerned the area of Western Pomerania as well as Warmia and Masuria, but it was substantially less intense due to the lack of big or crucial tobacco factories. A separate paper will be devoted to this subject matter.

<sup>6</sup> For more material related to the German predatory exploitation in reference to tobacco planting and tobacco products manufacturing as well as the losses in the property of Polish Tobacco Monopoly, see *Przemysł tytoniowy w Polsce w 1945 roku*, in: *Na gruzach starego*

legitimate to what extent the acquisition of the tobacco industry on the so-called Recovered Territories allowed to compensate for the losses suffered because of losing Eastern Borderlands and war damages.

In literature there are no papers related to this subject matter, although it is possible to find the texts devoted to taking over other former German factories (especially bigger ones) as well as exporting “war trophies” by the Red Army<sup>7</sup>. In 1945, the latter procedure threatened to deprive the Recovered Lands of most of the valuable machinery and factory equipment belonging to the tobacco industry<sup>8</sup>. The endeavours to prevent this made by the Polish authorities not always succeeded. It was finally established in Potsdam that after the 7 August 1945 all the attempts to dismantle and export the Polish assets are illegal<sup>9</sup>.

### Preparatory Action Organised by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly

On the Recovered Territories there were many machines, devices and auxiliary items helpful for the reconstruction of PMT. They were located either in the former German tobacco factories intended for shutdown or in the stores that were

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*świata. Rok 1945 z perspektywy gospodarczej i społecznej*, red. T. Głowiński, Wrocław 2020, pp. 113–117.

<sup>7</sup> According to Polish estimations, the dismantlement of machines and devices from the Recovered Territories conducted by the Red Army decreased their value by 2 billion of pre-war dollars, while the Soviet data claimed that it was 0,5 billion. See T. Korzon, *Niektóre problemy polsko-radzieckich stosunków gospodarczych w latach 1945–1957*, “Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” 1993, t. 25, p. 135. For instance, in case of Wrocław, what substantially influenced the extent of the industrial losses was the Soviet dismantlement of the biggest and least destroyed factories. See J. Chumiński, *Radzieckie demontaże przemysłu Wrocławia w 1945 roku*, in: *Ziemie Odzyskane pod wojskową administracją radziecką po II wojnie światowej. Materiały z konferencji*, red. S. Łach, Słupsk 2000 p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> The Polish people (and the Germans) could not decide anything, the power was in the hands of the victorious Soviet army, which plundered Polish property and whose representatives were to claim that Poland had only temporarily received Lower Silesia. For more details see F. Kusiak, *Dewastacja oraz wywóz mienia z ziem zachodnich i północnych po II wojnie światowej*, in: *Ziemie Odzyskane*, pp. 261–262.

<sup>9</sup> J. Chumiński, *Der Einfluss des Krieges und der Grenzveränderungen auf den Stand der Industrie in Polen*, “Argumenta Oeconomica” 1999, no. 1 (7), pp. 48–49. What should be emphasized is the fact that the Soviet party oftentimes violated these agreements. See Central Archives of Modern Records (hereinafter: AAN), Operational Groups of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers (hereinafter: GO KERM), signature 69, Note of the Lower Silesian KERM’s proxy engineer Iwański to captain Wiślicki from August 11, 1945, p. 127.

transported by the Germans<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, PMT prepared a wide-reaching action meant to take over the former German tobacco property. It was coordinated by the PMT Delegacies for particular territories, including those of Lower (and later on also Upper) Silesia. Initially, PMT planned to establish the headquarters of PMT Delegation to secure the former German industry and tobacco trade in Wrocław. However, the voivodship's capital was at first Trzebnica (Trebmitz), and then it was transferred to Legnica (Lignica, Liegnitz)<sup>11</sup>. The PMT Delegate – inspector Robert Hoffman rented a venue for a flat and office there, in which PMT employee PMT Kazimierz Rozumski stayed<sup>12</sup>. In July 1945, when Legnica became the headquarters of the Northern Group of the Red Army Troops in Poland (PGWAR), the Polish inhabitants, together with the voivodeship authorities, were expelled from the western and richest part of the city, and the officials were robbed of the former German clerical property. PGWAR also took over a chain of military headquarters, which were gradually dissolved<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, taking this as well as the PMT board's expansion of the Delegation's range to the Upper Silesia into account, Hoffman decided to establish the Delegation's headquarters in Ząbkowice (Frankenstein). The latter was located in the central point between the most significant former German facilities, which were of PMT interest. He consecutively visited former German factories, mainly the ones of cigars as well

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<sup>10</sup> AAN, Polski Monopol Tytoniowy. Dyrekcja w Warszawie (later on: PMT), sign. 141, Note of the junior minister in the Ministry of Treasury L. Kurowski, PhD, to the minister of the Recovered Territories in Warsaw, No. D.VI.55098/8745/1/45, November 30, 1945. Many factory devices were exported beyond the Oder River. There were also German subversion groups that destroyed the factory equipment. See R. Skobelski, *Specyfika polityki gospodarczej państwa na "Ziemiach Odzyskanych" w latach 1945–1970*, in: *"Ziemie Odzyskane" po II wojnie światowej*, red. C. Osękowski, G. Strauchold, Zielona Góra 2015, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> The city suffered from some war destructions, and it constituted an important hub. It even had an airport, which was not a special asset from the point of view of PMT ventures though. See P. Piotrowski, *Organizacja i dyslokacja Armii Czerwonej radzieckiej na terytorium Polski w latach 1944–1993*, in: *W objęciach Wielkiego Brata. Sowietci w Polsce 1944–1993*, red. K. Rokicki, S. Stępień, Warszawa 2009, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 140, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly Delegate for the security of the post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of July 3 until July 28, 1945, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> M. Golon, *Północna Grupa Wojsk Armii Radzieckiej w Polsce w latach 1945–1956. Okupant w roli sojusznika*, "Dzieje Najnowsze" 1999, t. 6, pp. 45–46. However, the transfer of power into the Polish party by the Soviet headquarters was not conducted without obstacles either, and in this area subsequent agreements were signed. See S. Łach, *Spoleczno-gospodarcze aspekty stacjonowania Armii Czerwonej na ziemiach odzyskanych po II wojnie światowej*, in: *Władze komunistyczne wobec ziem odzyskanych po II wojnie światowej. Materiały z konferencji*, red. S. Łach, Słupsk 1997, pp. 260–261.

as the warehouses of tobacco raw material conspired during the occupation in several dozens of towns and villages in Silesia<sup>14</sup>.

The outside work of the PMT Delegate was of pioneer character and encountered numerous obstacles. First and foremost, the information from the local residents was hard to obtain, and additionally, the process of creating the warehouses with the found tobacco raw material had to be discrete and secretive, since otherwise it could have become the “war trophy” of the Soviet Army. Each time the employee had to possess the “presentable fund” in the form of different tobacco (or spirit) products, which was painfully sparse and without which the local residents did not want to talk at all. There was also a widespread assumption that every tobacco monopoly employee was in the possession of unlimited amount of ready tobacco products, which could be shared with the local people<sup>15</sup>. PMT delegates also complained that the prices in the places they visited were too high, and that the subsistence allowance they received was not enough to pay for accommodation or even a modest meal. They were also the victims of thieves<sup>16</sup>. Jakub Popiel from the manufacture in Wrocław, who was delegated to help Roman Kurowski in the field work, was even forced to get into debt in order to work as a mechanic (sic!)<sup>17</sup>.

The discovered post-German property was supposed to be secured and transported to safe places. According to the plan prepared by the PMT General-Economic Office in consultation with the Production Department in order to proceed with the actions mainly on the terrains of Lower and Upper Silesia (as well as Western Pomerania), due to a considerable number of machines, devices and various items the group of three people was formed, led by Antoni Pojda – the employee of PMT Manufacture in Kościan. The team also included: a warehouse worker Ludwik Góralaski and a locksmith-mechanic, who was meant to be delegated by the PMT Manufacture in Wrocław. At their disposal, they got two

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<sup>14</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 140, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly Delegate for the security of the post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of July 3 until July 28, 1945, pp. 1–2; *ibidem*, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz for the Board of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly in Łódź, July 6, 1945, pp. 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly Delegate for the security of the post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of July 3 until July 28, 1945, pp. 8–9.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 146, The report of the monopoly’s employee Roman Kurowski on the activity of the Dismantlement Group on the territory of Lower Silesia and Dąbrowski Silesia, no date, p. 8, manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 146, Jakub Popiel’s note to the Board of the PMT in Warsaw through the Head of the PMT Manufacture in Wrocław, R 12/10/475, December 20, 1946, n.p.

trucks. The person who was in charge of the dismantling procedure on the area of Warmia and Masuria was Stefan Szol who was supposed to locate and transport the machines and devices to the PMT facilities using the means of transport delivered by PMT Transportation Unit<sup>18</sup>.

However, the manpower of the Silesian dismantling group was far from sufficient, according to the head of PMT's production department. It was claimed that Antoni Pojda, as an assessor, may not be able to face up to the task (although he stayed in the team) and Feliks Jędrzejowski, MA was appointed as the head of the team – he was the employee of PMT Manufacture no. 2 in Kraków. Roman Filipowski joined the group – he was employed in PMT Manufacture no. 1 in Kraków. The team was completed by Ludwik Góralski and a locksmith-mechanic from the Wrocław plant<sup>19</sup>. However, due to Jędrzejowski's illness, it was Pojda who remained the team's head, and he was supposed to coordinate the whole dismantling procedure on the areas mentioned above<sup>20</sup>. Also taking part in the actions in Lower Silesia were an employee of the Poznań plant and Jan Kudewicz from the Wodzisław plant, who stood in for Pojda when he was ill<sup>21</sup>.

The scheme of the operation was such that PMT representatives, acting on the basis of framework instructions issued by the central authorities, were first to obtain permission from the local authorities to dismantle and export the equipment. The next step was to separate the devices and raw materials into: useful for PMT, not very useful but necessary to export as a precautionary measure to prevent them from being used in illegal production, and useless. Next, a detailed inventory had to be taken, and the machinery, equipment and other items had to be dismantled and prepared for transport. If necessary, the local population had to be employed. In case of transporting to the central points which were not in the PMT's possession, it was the committee's task to secure the stored property. In principle, the machines

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 141, The plan to eliminate the tobacco industry factories destroyed or useless for the purposes of PMT, located on the newly recovered territories, January 2, 1946, b.p.; *ibidem*, The note of PMT's vice-president W. Kędra to the DPMT Transport Unit in Łódź, No. 35436/I/1/456, March 6, 1946. n.p.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 141, Petition on the change of personnel of the dismantling group for the elimination of unnecessary tobacco factories in Lower Silesia, Dąbrowski Silesia and West Pomerania (signed by the head of the PMT's General Economic Office, Henryk Rozenberg). No. 23775/ I/ 1/ 45, January 22, 1946 (the date of issuing the consent by the PMT's head), n.p.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to Feliks Jędrzejowski, No. 23775/ I/ 1/ 456, February 13, 1946, n.p.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 146, Report of the monopoly's employee Roman Kurowski on the activity of Dismantlement Group on the territory of Lower Silesia and Dąbrowski Silesia, no date, p. 1, manuscript.

and equipment were to be transported by rail with full load capacity. The estimated duration of this initiative was assessed as three months. As a temporary storage place in Lower Silesia, one of the preserved former cigar factories in Wiązowa or Strzelno was pointed out. It was immediately decided that Wrocław was less suitable for this purpose, as the local "Aviatic" factory was full and the sales department needed roof and window repairs, which would have considerably prolonged the dismantling operation and caused severe financial losses to PMT<sup>22</sup>.

The Ministry of Treasury recommended that exported goods be stored in central, adequately secured facilities. Each time proper information had to be conveyed to this ministry<sup>23</sup>. PMT submitted to the Ministry of Recovered Territories (MZO) the list of machinery and equipment that were meant to be taken over from the former German tobacco factories<sup>24</sup>. The MZO granted permission for the export of the post-German equipment and its storage at the locations specified by the PMT board, and informed the government proxies in Wrocław (Lower Silesia Area), Katowice (Dąbrowski Silesia Area<sup>25</sup>), Koszalin (Western Pomeranian Area) and Olsztyn (Masurian Area), as well as Gdańsk's voivode. The latter was also asked to issue instructions to the competent bodies to draw up a list of the property transferred and to assess and regulate the charges for the machinery and equipment<sup>26</sup>.

However, things did not go according to plan. The local administrative authorities considered the permit issued by the Ministry of Recovered Territories to be insufficient, citing the circular of the President of the Council of Ministers no. 67 of 30 November 1945, which made the export of equipment from the recovered territories subject to the approval of the Prime Minister. Employees delegated by the PMT were forced to stop work. The head of the PMT, E. Nadulski,

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 141, The plan to eliminate the tobacco industry factories destroyed or useless for the purposes of PMT, located on the newly recovered territories, 2/1/46, January 15, 1946, b.p.; *ibidem*, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to Antoni Pojda, No. 23775/ 1/ 1/ 456, March 6, 1946, n.p.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of the department's head in the Ministry of Treasury, M. Siwiec, MA, to the PMT's board in Łódź, No. D.VI.55098/8745/1/45, November 30, 1945, n.p.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to the Ministry of Recovered Territories in Warsaw, No. 22323/1/1/45, December 5, 1945, n.p.

<sup>25</sup> It refers to the then voivodeship of Silesian-Dąbrowa (województwo śląsko-dąbrowskie), but in the documents of the PMT delegates the name Silesian-Dąbrowa (Śląsk Dąbrowski) was often used. However, it should be noted that the name Silesian-Dąbrowa voivodeship was used primarily on the territory of the voivodeship itself, the central authorities used the pre-war name "Silesian Voivodeship" (województwo śląskie).

<sup>26</sup> AAN, PMT, Note of the Ministry of Recovered Territories (illegible signature) to the regional proxies R.P., L.dz. 317/Z.O./45, December 14, 1945, n.p.



asked the MZO to explain the contentious issues<sup>27</sup>. Meanwhile, the problem was getting worse, and the PMT board was sent further dispatches about the export of machinery and equipment from dismantled factories. It was recognised that this equipment was being stored in the wrong conditions and was rapidly deteriorating, and that regular theft was reducing its usefulness to the tobacco industry<sup>28</sup>.

PMT's interventions had the expected effect. First, the MZO issued Special Circular no. 2 regulating the right to export movable property from the Recovered Territories. It stated, among other things, that the general ban on the export of movable property from these territories did not apply to the deserted and abandoned movable property taken over by the bodies of the Ministry of Industry and necessary for export within the framework of the general economic plan of this Ministry. Moreover, the ban did not apply to the products of factories belonging to the Ministry of Forests and State Monopolies, whose licenses were equivalent to those of the MZO. Furthermore, in cases justified by state needs and taking into account the economic needs of the Recovered Territories, the MZO could authorise the export of strictly defined movables<sup>29</sup>.

The phenomenon of mass exporting from the Recovered Territories began to grow to alarming proportions, and in the colloquial language it was called loot. It was one of the greatest social plagues in these areas. In addition to various "delegates", "proxies" of various ministries, offices and institutions ("official" form of looting), numerous individual looters of various origins exported a large amount of movable property with impunity<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, in the first months after the war, the Russians organised the mass export of factory machinery and equipment, including the largest factory in Wrocław, Linke-Hofmann (Pa-Fa-Wag)<sup>31</sup>, and the Polish looters stole the machinery prepared for export by the Russians, even from railway carriages<sup>32</sup>. It should be emphasised that the Soviet economic policy in the Polish lands in 1945 was not fundamentally different from large-scale plunder,

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, PMT's head E. Nadulski's note to the Department of State Property Board of the Ministry of Recovered Territories in Warsaw, No. 27378/I/1/46, January 22, 1946, n.p.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to the Department of State Property Board of the Ministry of Recovered Territories in Warsaw, No. 29503/I/1/46, January 28, 1946, n.p.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, MZO's Circular No. 2 signed by the vice-minister, Jan Wasilewski, PhD, January 7, 1946, n.p.

<sup>30</sup> H. Mordawski, *Ziemia Odzyskana 1945–1956*, Brzezia Łąka 2015, p. 322.

<sup>31</sup> T. Kulak, *Wrocław*, Wrocław 1997, s. 280. For more on the takeover of this company by the Polish authorities see: A. Oryński, *Znane i nieznanne fakty z dziejów Pafawagu w relacji Stanisława Komorowskiego i Tadeusza Oryńskiego*, „Nauki Społeczne” 2012, nr 1, s. 174–187.

<sup>32</sup> J. Świącik, *Podwojnie strzeżeni. Armia Radziecka w Legnicy (1945–1993)*, Wrocław 2010, p. 24.

but in the name of brotherhood in arms and the common struggle against the German occupier<sup>33</sup>.

MZO's intention was to stop the mass export of movables from the Recovered Territories, with the exception mentioned in the circular. It was emphasised that, until then, the chaotic export had led to considerable property deprivation on these territories. The issuing of the circular was meant to considerably limit this activity. At the same time, it was noted that permits issued by other authorities were not legally valid. Thus, it was banned to export tools, especially those needed by agriculture, livestock, home appliances, food and anything that could have contributed to the economic revival of these territories<sup>34</sup>.

On 10 January 1946, the President of the Council of Ministers, Edward Osóbka-Morawski, issued Circular no. 2, which stated: "In exceptional and particularly justified cases, movable property may be exported with the prior consent of the Minister for the Recovered Territories"<sup>35</sup>. The latter informed all the government deputies on the Recovered Territories to accept the ministry's permit to export post-German machinery and equipment, including the activity of PMT's employees<sup>36</sup>. Relevant information on the removal of obstacles to the export of machinery and equipment from the post-German factories was also sent to the Board of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly in Łódź<sup>37</sup>.

## Tobacco Factories' Takeover by the Silesian Delegacy of PMT

The legal basis for the takeover of the PMT tobacco factories was the Law of 3 January 1946 on the National Takeover of the Basic Branches of State Industry (commonly known as the Nationalisation Law)<sup>38</sup>, Decision no. 4 of the Minister of

<sup>33</sup> A. Dziurok, B. Musiał, "Bratni rabunek". *O demontażach i wywóźce sprzętu z terenu Górnego Śląska w 1945 r.*, in: *W objęciach Wielkiego Brata*, p. 344.

<sup>34</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 141, The note of the Recovered Territories vice-minister Jan Wasilewski, PhD, to all the voivodes, government deputies, n.p.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, Circular No. 2 issued by the prime minister Edward Osóbka-Morawski, L.dz. 937/16/IV46, January 10, 1946, n.p.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, Note of the Head of the Department of State Property of the Ministry of Recovered Territories to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 1435/141/IV/46, January 29, 1946, n.p.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, Note of the Head of the Department of State Property of the Ministry of Recovered Territories to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 1435/141/IV/46, January 30, 1946, n.p.

<sup>38</sup> Ustawa z dnia 3 stycznia 1946 o przejęciu na własność państwa podstawowych gałęzi gospodarki narodowej, "Dz.U." 1946, nr 3, poz. 17.

Finance of 30 September 1948<sup>39</sup> and the same Minister's decree of 13 November 1948<sup>40</sup>. The procedure of the national takeover of these manufactories was regulated by the Council of Ministers' decree of 30 January 1947<sup>41</sup>, and then of 16 April 1948<sup>42</sup>. To a large extent, these laws sanctioned either already functioning or dynamically developing states of affairs. Tobacco factories which were officially taken over by the State in 1948 in their entirety and without any compensation were the Wrocław cigarette factory "Aviatic" and the Arthur Deter cigar factory. Also, Silesian factories were taken over: the J. Humerfeld Cigar Factory in Kłodzk (wrocławskie voivodship), the Krupski and Zimmerman factory in Opole, the H. Reiners et Sohns in Racibórz (śląsko-dąbrowskie voivodship) and the I. Doms tobacco factory, also in Racibórz<sup>43</sup>.

## The Wrocław Tobacco Factories

The Wrocław factories were one of the most significant post-German facilities. First of all, "Aviatic" ("Aviatic" Zigarenfabrik G.m.b.H.) was located there, which in 1945 was managed by the Russian military authorities<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Decree No. 4 of the Minister of Treasury of 30 September 1948 on the national takeover of factories, "MP" 1948, no. A-74, pt. 649.

<sup>40</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 157, Decree of the Minister of Treasury of 13 November 1948 on the national takeover of some of the tobacco industry factories, No. G.M. 6681/2/48, n.p.

<sup>41</sup> The Council of Ministers' decree of 30 January 1947 on the procedure of the national takeover of factories, "Dz.U." 1947, no. 16, pt. 62.

<sup>42</sup> The Council of Ministers' decree of 16 April 1948 on the change of the Council of Ministers' decree of 30 January 1947 on the procedure of the national takeover of factories, "Dz.U." 1948, no. 25, pt. 170.

<sup>43</sup> What is more, the Polish state took over the cigar factories located in the gdańskie voivodship: the W. Bayer factory in Malbork, the W. Bayer factory in Elbląg as well as the Tobacco Plant in Sadlinki and the Alton Haus Neuerberg Nicotine Factory there. See: Decree No. 4 of the Minister of Treasury of 30 September 1948 on the national takeover of factories, "MP" 1948, no. A-74, pt. 649. In the decree, the Tobacco Plant was located in Siedliny. In fact, what it meant was Sadlinki (German Sedlinen). The change of the past name Sedlinen into Sadlinki was established by the Decree of Ministers of Public Administration and Recovered Territories of 12 November 1946 on bringing back and establishing the official names of the localities, "MP" 1946, No. 142, pt. 262. Obviously, the issue of changing the names of towns, streets, offices, etc. on the area of the so-called Recovered Territories is a broader one, what is emphasized by, i.a., R. Klementowski. See: R. Klementowski, "... szli wszędzie dokąd ich partia postąpiła" – "Odzyskiwanie" Ziemi Zachodnich w kontekście pamięci polityki historycznej władz po 1945 roku, in: "Ziemie Odzyskane" w poszukiwaniu nowych narracji, red. E. Kledzik, M. Michalski, M. Praczyk, Poznań 2018, pp. 280–281.

<sup>44</sup> In the initial period of "liberation," the whole power and property on the given territory belonged to the Red Army, and the decisive power on any issue was held by the war

The factory buildings were in relatively good condition, despite the fact that Wrocław was one of the most damaged cities to be incorporated into Polish territory after the war<sup>45</sup>. In the first months of 1945, with only one out of four cigarette machines in use, between 120 and 200 thousand cigarettes were produced. However, the stock of tobacco raw materials was not that big, it was about 10 thousand kilos (Italian Kentucky), which was supposed to be enough for 6 weeks of production. PMT also discovered that during the war, the Germans exported a large number of machinery and factory equipment from Wrocław and hid them in various towns, along with more than 214,000 pieces of Bulgarian and German raw materials<sup>46</sup>. The dismantling and export of machinery was an element of the German looting economy that affected many factories in Lower Silesia<sup>47</sup>.

The takeover of factories from Soviet hands was also particularly difficult. In addition, in Wrocław, as mentioned above, conflicts that had arisen over issues of competence were problematic. In particular, the conflict between the City Council with its President B. Drobner and the Wrocław Operational Group of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Industry<sup>48</sup>. Drobner even denied the GO the right to represent the state to the Soviet authorities on economic matters. In the end, the explanation of GO's function by the Vice-President of KERM, the Vice-Minister of Industry, Engineer

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headquarters. See: A. Magierska, *Ziemie zachodnie i północne w 1945 roku. Kształtowanie się podstaw polityki integracyjnej państwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1978, p. 69. War headquarters had actually the status of occupational troops. See: M. Łach, *Status prawny komendantur wojennych Armii Czerwonej na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych Polski w 1945 roku*, in: *Ziemie Odzyskane*, p. 93.

<sup>45</sup> The destruction of Wrocław can be compared to that of Głogów, Lubiąż, Strzelin or Strzegom. On the other hand, the largest factories in Wrocław suffered little damage, mostly of a structural or environmental nature. See: AAN, GO KERM, sign. 246, the speech of engineer S. Komorowski at the briefing of KERM deputies, 1 July 1945, p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 140, The Report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly's Delegate on the Security of post-German Tobacco Industry and Trade on the Territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of July 3 to July 28, 1945, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> J. Chumiński, *Stan przemysłu wrocławskiego w 1945 r.*, "Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Oskara Langego we Wrocławiu" 1990, nr 543, *Studia nad społeczeństwem Wrocławia 1945–1949*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>48</sup> For a broader picture, see: J. Chumiński, *Przejmowanie przemysłu wrocławskiego przez władze polskie (maj – wrzesień 1945)*, "Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej im. Oskara Langego we Wrocławiu" 1990, nr 543, *Studia nad społeczeństwem Wrocławia 1945–1949*, p. 25 n.

Róžański, and the Government Representative for the I and IV Ukrainian Fronts, Lieutenant-Colonel Szyr, enabled the cooperation to be established<sup>49</sup>.

Access to the factory grounds was generally forbidden, and when PMT workers were allowed in, they were escorted by Soviet soldiers. L. Góralski and K. Komorowski often intervened in the office of the Vice-Commander for Administrative and Economic Affairs in Wrocław, Lieutenant-Colonel Budnik, in order to take over the factory. They often received elusive answers, which is not surprising given that production was mainly for the needs of Soviet soldiers. They argued that postponing the transfer of the factory to the Polish party was causing understandable bitterness among the factory's workers, who wanted to start regular work there. Finally, the Soviet authorities declared that they would transfer the factory to Polish hands through the intermediary of engineer Tadeusz Oryński of the Wrocław GO. The latter confirmed the Soviet party's order to transfer various industrial facilities, including the "Aviatic" factory, to the Polish authorities on 31 July 1945<sup>50</sup>. And at the beginning of August 1945, the mass action began to transfer the Wrocław factories taken over by the Red Army to the Polish Party<sup>51</sup>.

The monopoly's management carried out the repairs necessary for the functioning of the factory on its own, as the Wrocław PMT factory had been operating since December 1946<sup>52</sup>. The destruction of the main building, a four-storey brick structure, was estimated at 35 per cent<sup>53</sup>. The wear rate of the machines taken over (more than 60) was estimated at 50–60% in the majority of cases<sup>54</sup>. The list of the movable objects taken over from the interior of the factory

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<sup>49</sup> T. Oryński, *Fundamenty przemysłu*, in: *Wspomnienia wrocławskich pionierów*, red. W. Sułeja, Wrocław 2001, p. 90.

<sup>50</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 140, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz for the Polish Tobacco Monopoly Board in Łódź, 1 September 1945, pp. 3–4; *ibidem*, Report [to the PMT Board K. Komorowski and L. Góralski] for the period of 6–14 July 1945, pp. 3–4; *ibidem*, Report [to the PMT Board K. Komorowski and L. Góralski] for the period of 22–29 July 1945, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> S. Jankowski, *Przejmowanie i odbudowa*, p. 37.

<sup>52</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 166, C2 listing of the property necessary to complete tasks of the national economy (Wrocław, Mikołaja street 65/68), no date, n.p. Also see: AAN, PMT, sign. 166, The list of costs covered on the repairs of the nearby manufacture ["Aviatik"] (of building and installation) from the moment of takeover until 31 December 1949, pp. 1–2.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, The description of the premises [the post-German "Aviatik" factory, [no date].

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, The list of machinery located in the post-German "Aviatik" factory as recorded on 5 February 1946, pp. 1–5.

included 139 items (chairs, desks, tables, typewriters, etc.)<sup>55</sup>. Wanda Piotrowska was entrusted with the further management of the acquired company's assets<sup>56</sup>.

The export of factory machinery and equipment to USSR was avoided. The manufacture that was formerly owned by a German (a private person), located in Wrocław at Mikołaja street 65/68 and Rzeźnicza street 26/27, was taken over at the end of 1948 as the Polish state property. Then, the PMT Manufacture's head in Wrocław Wanda Piotrowska transferred it to the PMT Board represented by Tadeusz Bejgrowicz<sup>57</sup>. Among those present were Zdzisław Gorzelańczyk – delegate of the Regional Elimination Office in Wrocław, Waclaw Postolko – delegate of the Financial Department of the Voivodship National Council in Wrocław, Alojzy Gondek – representative of PZPR at the PMT plant in Wrocław and Janina Pietnicka – delegate of the Works Council of the Wrocław plant. The official transfer took place between 20–21 October 1950. At the time of the takeover by PMT, it was stated that there were no figures, accounts or calculation documents from the factory taken over, which made it impossible to identify liabilities and receivables or data on patents and trademarks<sup>58</sup>. This was followed by Bejgrowicz's official transfer of further power over the acquired factory to Piotrowska (as head of the PMT factory)<sup>59</sup>. The protocol of delivery and acceptance of the "Aviatic" factory in Wrocław was approved by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry on 10 November 1950<sup>60</sup>.

The second post-German factory taken over by PMT in Wrocław was the former "Arthur Deter Cigar Factory" („Ziggarenfabrik Arthur Deter", Breslau) at Rakowiecka street no. 27. Since December 1946, manufacturing, warehouse and office rooms of the factory had been used by PMT, mainly as storehouses. The official PMT factory transfer took place between 23–27 October 1950. The whole procedure was of a similar character to that of "Aviatik" factory, and the people already mentioned above took part in it. Meanwhile, it occurred that it was not Artur Deter but the German company "Schlesische Celluloze- und Papierfabriken,

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, The list of movables located in the building of the post-German cigarette factory "Aviatik" as recorded on 5 February 1946, pp. 1–4.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, The protocol of entrusting Wanda Piotrowska with the further management of the acquired post-German "Aviatik" company's assets, 25 October 1950, n.p.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, Proxy No. 211, No. 7716/Ad/4/50, 19 October 1950, n.p.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, Protocol of delivery and acceptance (of "Aviatik" factory in Wrocław), 20–21 October 1950, pp. 1–2.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, Protocol of entrusting Wanda Piotrowska with the further management of post-German "Aviatik" factory's assets, 25 October 1950, n.p.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, The decree of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry of 10 November 1950, Signature OIIE – 609, n.p.

Ewald Schoeller & Co.” who was the owner of the real estate, on which the factory had been built<sup>61</sup>. The owner of the cigar factory was only the renter of the lands, on which the premises had been built. Also, as in the case of “Aviatik” company, no proceedings or financial documents were found, and therefore, it was not possible to establish the potential commitments of the factory<sup>62</sup>. Three-storey brick buildings were included in the estate: a residential and a factory (warehouse) one as well as ground-floor wooden and brick storehouses<sup>63</sup>. The listing was also attached to the factory’s protocol of delivery and acceptance of the machinery, movables and auxiliary materials located in it on 5 February 1946. These mainly included cigar presses, trunks with cigar boxes, and bands to plaster them<sup>64</sup>. Wanda Piotrowska, the head of the PMT manufacture in Wrocław was also entrusted with the further management of post-German Deter factory by PMT<sup>65</sup>. The building was intended to continue to fulfil the function of a warehouse for auxiliary materials for the cigarette factory in Wrocław. In the residential part of the factory, business apartments were built for the employees of this company<sup>66</sup>.

## Tobacco factories in Racibórz

Taking over the factories in Racibórz was not easy either, because the Soviet troops stationed there were, as usual, reluctant to allow representatives of the Polish authorities to enter the premises. In fact, this situation concerned a large number of industrial plants in Silesia<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> For more information on the history of this factory, see: M. Szymczyk, *Zarys dziejów przemysłu papierniczego na ziemi kłodzkiej do 1945 roku*, “Rocznik Muzeum Papiernictwa” 2020, t. 14, pp. 34–36.

<sup>62</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 166, Protocol of delivery and acceptance [of “The Arthur Deter Cigar Factory” company], 23–27 October 1950, pp. 1–2. The protocol was approved by the Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry on 20 February 1950, Signature OIIE. 926/1477, n.p.; *ibidem*, sign. 157, Proxy No. 212, Nr 7717/Ad/4/50, 19 October 1950, n.p.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 166, The listing of items belonging to movable property, being an integral part of the company “The Arthur Deter Cigar Factory” company in Wrocław, no date, n.p.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, The listing of the machinery, movables and auxiliary materials located in “Deter Cigar Factory” on 5 February 1946, pp. 1–2.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, Protocol of entrusting Wanda Piotrowska with the further management of the assets of post-German company “The Arhtur Deter Cigar Factory”, Wrocław, 28 October 1950, n.p.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, C2 listing of the property necessary to complete tasks of the national economy (Wrocław, Rakowiecka street no 27), no date, n.p.

<sup>67</sup> AAN, GO KERM, sign. 257, Report no. 1 of the KERM’s deputy for the city of Wrocław to the KERM’s deputy for the Lower Silesia, engineer Iwański of 4 June 1945, p. 215.

The first person to enter the Reiners plant was Antoni Czarnecki, the Zabrze representative of the board of the Silesian-Dąbrowski Association of Food Industry. Between April and May 1945, Czarnecki partially tidied up the inventory and production equipment, and was then refused further entry<sup>68</sup>. In June 1945, the PMT delegate for the tobacco plants security and, at the same time, the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław<sup>69</sup> Józef Chodorowski, PhD, met with Czarnecki at the Reiners' factory and informed him about the monopoly's takeover of the factories in Racibórz. However, the latter assigned the right to the factories to the Association of Food Industry<sup>70</sup>. At first the Soviet authorities did not want to allow Chodorowski or any of the representatives of the PMT to enter the factory premises. Finally, the necessary permits were obtained and the right to enter the premises was granted, and Chodorowski presented the report to the monopoly's board. In the latter, he appealed for the intensification of activities to release the two factories from the Soviet authorities and place them at the disposal of PMT<sup>71</sup>.

Eventually, the Red Army transferred both plants to the Polish party: on 8 July 1945 the Reiners' factory<sup>72</sup> and on 15 July 1945 the Doms' plant<sup>73</sup>. When the Soviet troops left both factories, the PMT plant in Wodzisław, after contacting the local Polish authorities, presented its employees: Roman Kurowski, foreman

<sup>68</sup> Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (hereinafter: ANK), The Wodzisław Industrial Tobacco Manufacture in Wodzisław Śląski (hereinafter: WWTP), sign. 3, The note of the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław Józef Chodorowski, PhD, to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 799/45, 16 October 1945, n.p.; *ibidem*, The note of the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław Józef Chodorowski, PhD, to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 207/45, 19 May 1945, n.p.

<sup>69</sup> For more information on the Wodzisław plan, see: A. Synowiec, *Wytwórnia Polskiego Monopoli Tytoniowego w Wodzisławiu Śląskim w latach 1945–1947*, in: *Jaworzno interdyscyplinarnie. Przemysł pogranicza śląsko-małopolskiego na przestrzeni wieków*, Jaworzno–Częstochowa 2016, pp. 115–133.

<sup>70</sup> ANK, WWTP, sign. 3, J. Chodorowski's note to the Association of Food Industry in Zabrze, L.dz. 162/45, 6 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of Chodorowski to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 45/45, 6 June 1945, pp. 1–3. Actually, each time granting the entry to the premises taken over by the Soviet troops was dependent upon the good will of the "hosts," it was also the case of, e.g. the PMT's manufacture in Poznań, which was the biggest PMT's plant before the war. See: S. Schiller, *PMT Plant in Poznań*, "Tobacco News" 1947, no. 5–6, pp. 7–8.

<sup>72</sup> ANK, WWTP, sign. 3, Act [of transferring the "Reiner & Son" cigar factory "protected" by the Red Army, to Józef Siwiecki, the representative of the Polish government], 8 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, Act [of transferring the Doms Tobacco and Snuff Factory "protected" by the Red Army to Józef Siwiecki, the representative of the Polish government], 15 July 1945, n.p.



Antoni Piskorz and four guards. They all stayed on the premises and partially cleaned it up<sup>74</sup>.

The PMT Board of Directors entrusted the PMT factory in Wodzisław with the management of the Racibórz plants. Tadeusz Szamborski, the former head of the snuff department in Storogard, was put in charge of the Racibórz facilities on a temporary basis<sup>75</sup>. The Racibórz plant was officially taken over on behalf of PMT by Wanda Kaźniakowska, a lawyer and legal advisor to the PMT board<sup>76</sup>. She then transferred the further supervision of the property of the post-German Reiners cigar factory to Szamborski, who was already the head of the PMT factory in Racibórz<sup>77</sup>.

Reiners' premises consisted of two production buildings (two and three storeys, both made of reinforced concrete) connected by a common staircase, an administration building, two wooden sheds and a small gatehouse. The buildings of the Reiners factory were not damaged, only the glass in the windows and part of the glass roof were missing<sup>78</sup>.

In contrast to the Reiners factory, the Doms factory suffered considerable destruction during the war. A substantial part of the building was burnt to 60%. The entire floor of the production building was also damaged<sup>79</sup>. Szamborski received the instruction to thoroughly examine the machinery and the equipment

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław Józef Chodorowski, PhD, to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 177/45, 10 July 1945, n.p.; *ibidem*, J. Chodorowski's note to the Association of Food Industry in Zabrze, L.dz. 162/45, 6 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to Tadeusz Szamborski, L.dz. 9319/1/2/45, 16 August 1945, n.p.

<sup>76</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 157, Proxy no. 161, No. 4363/Ad/4/50, 30 May 1950, n.p. She obtained a similar proxy concerning the Doms factory. See: *ibidem*, Proxy no. 162, No. 6363/Ad/4/50, 30 May 1950, n.p.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, Protocol of entrusting head Tadeusz Szamborski with the further management of the assets of the taken over post-German company "Reiners Herman and Sons Cigar Factory, Inc.", 31 May 1950, n.p.; AAN, PMT, sign. 157, The protocol of delivery and acceptance of the post-German company "Reiners Herman and Sons Cigar Factory, Inc.", 31 May 1950, pp. s. 1–2.

<sup>78</sup> ANK, WWTP, sign. 3, The note of T. Szamborski to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 572/45, 6 October 1945, n.p.; *ibidem*, The note of the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław Józef Chodorowski to the Department of Supplies of the Ministry of Industry in Warsaw, L.dz. 819/45, 22 October 1945, n.p. Also see: *ibidem*, Temporary listing of the inventory, production equipment and machinery in the Reiners factory in Racibórz, 31 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of J. Chodorowski to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 45/45, 6 June 1945, p. 1a.

in the Doms factory<sup>80</sup>. The conclusions of the inspection were not satisfactory. In his opinion, the snuff production was conducted in rudimentary conditions, and the only valuable device was the Gebrüder Seck Dresden snuff mill (the same as the one in Starogard, where he had worked before). The rooms were cramped, there were not enough machinery and equipment. The production recipes were not sustained either. The workers claimed that the latter had only been revealed to the owner and manager, who had left the country.

Due to the depopulation of the town, it was also difficult to find the employees who had previously worked in the factory. In Szamborski's opinion, it was a good idea to try to produce other types of snuff than those previously made, with greater use of tobacco remnants. Szamborski also claimed that the chewing tobacco produced in the Doms was of high quality and similar in content to that produced by PMT before the war. He believed that PMT should have started producing this tobacco because of the large number of potential consumers, especially after the annexation of the western territories to Poland. In addition, a large number of miners used this product, and the lack of new production could have led to an increase in smuggling from abroad. According to the PMT delegate, it was not advisable to set up a snuff factory and produce chewing tobacco in the former Doms factory, especially as there was a larger and more modern Reiners plant nearby<sup>81</sup>.

In the Doms factory, about 20 tonnes of food snuff were discovered, stored in 136 barrels. It was decided to produce 5 tonnes of high-quality variety ("Gdańska") and 15 tonnes of medium-quality variety ("Mazurska") by mixing certain ingredients of the found stock and semi-finished products<sup>82</sup>. Szamborski was entrusted with organizing the packing station. "Gdańska" and "Mazurska" snuff were packed in boxes of 50 g each<sup>83</sup>. Once it had been collected in

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of J. Chodorowski to T. Szamborski, L.dz. 229/45, 25 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, T. Szamborski's note to the PMT manufacture in Wodzisław, 30 July 1945, n.p. Also see: *ibidem*, Temporary listing of the inventory, production equipment and machinery in the Doms factory in Racibórz, 31 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, Protocol drafted in PMT's Board in Łódź on 13 July 1945, on the issue of using the stock of food snuff stored in the Doms factory in Racibórz, 13 July 1945, n.p.; *ibidem*, PMT Board's note to the PMT Manufacture in Wodzisław, L. 6131/II/1/45, 17 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of the PMT Manufacture's head in Wodzisław Józef Chodorowski, PhD, to the PMT Manufacture in Racibórz, L.dz. 1222/45, 1 December 1945, n.p.; *ibidem*, J. Kudewicz's note (on behalf of the Racibórz manufacture's head) to the Production department of the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 358/45, 28 August 1945, n.p.

sufficient numbers, it was to be sent to the PMT sales plant in Katowice, where the PMT board would decide whether it should be traded further<sup>84</sup>. Eventually, Szamborski was also entrusted with the supervision of all the assets of the post-German Doms company, which now functioned as PMT's warehouse in Racibórz<sup>85</sup>.

PMT commissioned Szymborski, actually according to his suggestions, to prepare the transfer of snuff production from the Doms site to the three-storey Reiners factory, where chewing tobacco was also to be produced. Szamborski was also to prepare the transfer of pipe tobacco production from Wodzisław to a large two-storey Reiners factory<sup>86</sup>. As early as in September 1945, Szamborski drew up a project to set up pipe tobacco, snuff and chewing tobacco production there<sup>87</sup>. On 15 January 1946, the Racibórz plant became an independent unit called "PMT Manufacture in the Organisation" and Tadeusz Szamborski was entrusted with its management<sup>88</sup>. Machines and equipment from the former Doms factory were sent to other factories, not only in the tobacco industry<sup>89</sup>.

The Reiners Cigar Factory in Racibórz (at Cygarowa street) became the PMT's manufacture, where pipe tobacco, chewing tobacco and snuff were produced<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of the Production Department's head and the Deputy of the PMT's head A. Lewicki to T. Szamborski in Racibórz, No. 3046/II/1/45, 19 September 1945, n.p.

<sup>85</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 157, The protocol of entrusting Tadeusz Szamborski, the head of the manufacture, with the further management of the acquired post-German "Dr Doms Juliusz – Tobacco Factory in Racibórz" company's assets, 2 June 1950, n.p.; *ibidem*, Protocol of delivery and acceptance of the post-German company "Dr Doms Juliusz – Tobacco Factory in Racibórz", 2 June 1950, pp. 1–2.

<sup>86</sup> ANK, WWTP, sign. 3, Instruction for the PMT's employee Tadeusz Szamborski in Racibórz, L.dz. 7971/II/1/45, 10 August 1945, n.p. Also see: *ibidem*, The note of the Wodzisław manufacture to the PMT's Board in Łódź, L.dz. 239/45, 31 July 1945, n.p.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, The project of arranging the factory of the former Reiners company in Racibórz, 8 September 1945 (signed by T. Szamborski), pp. 1–2.

<sup>88</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 70, PMT's vice-president W. Kędra's note to each PMT's manufacture, heads of departments and the heads of independent offices and branches of DPMT, No. 26693/I/1/456, 12 January 1946, n.p.

<sup>89</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 157, The listing of machinery and equipment sent after 5 February 1946 to other PMT's plants or to other companies, and discovered during the takeover of the former German "Doms" factory by the PMT's Manufacture in Racibórz, L. 5757/9/50, 9 September 1950, pp. 1–2.

<sup>90</sup> This stock was also produced in Wodzisław until 1948 (and in trace amounts in Wrocław since 1949), and the Wodzisław production was transferred to Racibórz. See: A. Synowiec, *Przemysł tytoniowy w Polsce w okresie pierwszego planu trzyletniego*, in: *Plany są niczym – planowanie jest wszystkim. Planowanie w przestrzeni gospodarczej z perspektywy historycznej*, red. A. Merta-Staszczak, S. Straszak-Chandoła, Wrocław 2022, p. 83.

In the following years, this factory was a significant point on the map of the Polish tobacco industry and contributed to the development of the Recovered Territories' industry, especially in raciborski county<sup>91</sup>.

## Other Silesian Tobacco Factories

In Kłodzk (Glatz), the post-German J. Humerfeld Cigar Factory was taken over. The factory occupied a part of the building and was in good condition. However, it was converted into the PMT's Sales Department<sup>92</sup>. PMT took over the machinery and equipment, which was distributed to other tobacco factories. The handover and acceptance protocol consisted of 70 items, most of which were low value office equipment<sup>93</sup>.

In Opole, the Krupski and Zimmerman Cigar Factory at Kattowitz Strasse (later on: Katowicka street) was taken over. The factory was located in two-storey building and was not destroyed during the war. After the Soviet troops left, it was converted into the PMT's Sales Department<sup>94</sup>. Two other cigar factories were taken over in Opole: "Lussen" (Stern Strasse, Reymonta street) and "Wurst" (Garten Strasse, Sienkiewicza street), in which the Red Army also stationed<sup>95</sup>. The movable property of the post-German tobacco factories in Strzelce Opolskie and Kietrz was also secured and taken over<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> ANK, Tobacco and Snuff Manufacture in Racibórz, sign. 59, The report for the congress of the PMT branches' heads, L. 3573/14/48, 7 September 1948, pp. 1–3.

<sup>92</sup> AAN, PMT, sign. 138, The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories and machinery stores secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 5; The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 6.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The protocol of delivery and acceptance drafted on 2 July 1946 in Kłodzk, in the post-German Humerfeld cigar factory, pp. 1–3; *ibidem*, Inventory of the former Humerfeld cigar factory in Kłodzk (Glatz), no date, pp. 1–3.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibidem*, sygn. 138, The listing of post-German tobacco factories and tobacco machinery stores secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 5; The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 6.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz to the Polish Tobacco Monopoly's Board in Łódź, 6 July 1945, p. 3; AAN, PMT, sign. 146, The listing of post-German tobacco industry and trade facilities and assets on the annexed territories, secured for the PMT until 20 August 1945, 21 August 1945, p. 21.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 138, The note of the governor of the OUL Elimination Department in Opole, K. Krośnicki to the PMT's Board in Warsaw, L.dz. 1206/2/50, 7 August 1950, b. 88.

In Wiązów, the machinery and equipment of two “Gildemann” cigar factories were taken over, one of which was almost completely destroyed and the other in good condition. Until the capitulation, they had employed 400 workers (Germans). After the takeover, the Russians exported 11,000 boxes of finished cigars and 4 wagons of raw materials<sup>97</sup>. Although the condition of one of the factories was satisfactory, it was not suitable for the purposes of the PMT and was therefore given to the city<sup>98</sup>. The furnishings of the “Gildemann” cigar factory in Strzelin (German Strehlen) were also plundered by the Russians. After the Russians left, only a few old and damaged presses and puppets were found along with two destroyed stamps used to trim the covers<sup>99</sup>. However, the building itself (the one in good condition) was useless for the PMT<sup>100</sup>.

In Ząbkowice Śląskie a small cigar factory called “Konrad Kretschmer” was located in a two-storeyed building where the German owner also lived. PMT secured the plant’s assets and entrusted Konrad Kretschmer with its management<sup>101</sup>. Then the militia, stationed in the same building, took over the supervision of the factory<sup>102</sup>. The machinery, cigar packing station and forms were sent to PMT<sup>103</sup>. The post-factory building was given to the town<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly’s Delegate for the security of post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of 3 July to 28 July 1945, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 138, The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories and machinery stores secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 5; The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 6.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 146, The protocol of delivery and acceptance drafted on 23 July 1946 at the headquarters of the Elimination Office in Strzelin, n.p.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 138, The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories and machinery stores secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 5.

<sup>101</sup> This was not an isolated case during the post-German take-over period, when the former German owners or employees were retained in many plants due to personnel problems and the lack of Polish specialists. See: *ibidem*, GO KERM, sign. 102, Estimated data on the state takeover of the companies, no date, pp. 94, 96.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly’s Delegate for the security of post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of 3 July to 28 July 1945, p. 5; *ibidem*, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz to the Polish Tobacco Monopoly’s Board in Łódź, 6 July 1945, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibidem*, The listing of machinery and the raw materials stock of the “Konrad Kretschmer” cigar factory in Ząbkowice (Frankenstein) as recorded on 14 June 1945, pp. 1–2; *ibidem*, sign. 146, The protocol of delivery and acceptance drafted on 6 July 1946 in Ząbkowice, in the post-German cigar factory of the former “Kreczmer” company, n.p.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 138, The listing of post-German tobacco industry factories and machinery stores secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 5; The listing

„C.F. Keil” cigar factory in Środa Śląska (Neumarkt in Schlesien) employed 70 workers. The building and the machinery were partially damaged by the bullets during the war. It was secured and Second Lieutenant Jan Proksa of the militia was entrusted with its management (the factory was located opposite the militia building)<sup>105</sup>. This plant was also given to the city as it was not of interest to PMT.

Machinery and equipment as well as auxiliary materials of the cigar factory in Szymbark (Lubań county, later on Sulików) were transferred to the PMT’s facilities in Kościan, Wrocław, Poznań and Wodzisław<sup>106</sup>. The factory sites were taken over by the District Elimination Office in Wrocław, which then officially intervened with the PMT Board to transfer the claims for machinery exported from the Recovered Territories<sup>107</sup>. In the same lubański county, in the Miłosna town (later on Lubomierz), “Benzel Frieda” cigar factory was taken over, with its few machines and raw materials, which were transported by car to Wrocław and Kościan, but were mostly worthless<sup>108</sup>.

In Lower Silesia, the machinery depots in Strzegom and Stronie Śląskie (Żyboćcin), which had previously been transported there by the Germans from Wrocław, were also secured. Cigarette machinery, packing stations and wrapping machines were sent to Wrocław again, to the PMT Manufacture there<sup>109</sup>. In addition, just after the war, there was a certain amount of Bulgarian raw material left in Stroń, which was used to make cigarettes by hand for the Russians<sup>110</sup>.

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of post-German tobacco industry factories secured and taken over by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly, no date, b. 6.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz for the Board of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly in Łódź, July 6, 1945, pp. 5–6.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The listing of inventory exported from the dismantled post-German tobacco industry facilities in the Lower and Dąbrowski Silesia, Gdański county, Masurian county, and the Western Pomeranian county, no date, manuscript.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, The note of the vice-president in Wrocław F. Jukiewicz to the PMT’s Board in Łódź, L. III/32/14/47, 16 January 1947, n.d.; *ibidem*, The note of the OUL’s head in Wrocław P. Bartoszewicz to the PMT’s Board in Łódź, III/32/19/47, 28 January 1947, n.p.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibidem*, The listing of inventory exported from the dismantled post-German tobacco industry facilities in the Lower and Dąbrowski Silesia, Gdański county, Masurian county, and the Western Pomeranian county, no date, manuscript; *ibidem*, sign. 146, Protocol drafted on 6 June 1946 at the registrar’s Office of the militia station in Miłosna, n.p.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The listing of inventory exported from the dismantled post-German tobacco industry facilities in the Lower and Dąbrowski Silesia, Gdański county, Masurian county, and the Western Pomeranian county, no date, manuscript.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibidem*, The report of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly’s Delegate for the security of post-German tobacco industry and trade on the territory of Lower and Upper Silesia – inspector Robert Hoffman for the period of 3 July to 28 July 1945, p. 2.

Furthermore, in Łęknica (German Lugknitz), PMT transported boxboard machinery to Łódź (46 items), which came from the “Reemtem” tobacco factory in Berlin. Then, they were taken over by the Łódź Cardboard Factory called “Ruda.” Experts of the Paper Central Office in Łódź considered them as useful for this industry branch. The PMT’s board agreed to transfer it to the Central Board of the Paper Industry, on the condition that it would have priority in the use of its products as well as the expenditure reimbursement for the machinery security and export<sup>111</sup>. In Łęknica, cigarette boxes and art paper were also discovered, and then transferred to the PMT Manufacture in Poznań and Radom<sup>112</sup>.

Among the small factories that have been part of the acquisition process are also the plants in Kamień, Strzelin, Brzeg, Rychwałd (today Bogatynia), Bytom i Czerwone<sup>113</sup>. The factories were also secured in Bystrzyca (Peisterwitz), Czerwna (Grenzeck) and Pieszycze (Peterswaldau)<sup>114</sup>. There were cases where the PMT delegate had listed tobacco factories and could not find any on arrival. This was the case, for example, in Gliwice, where two factories were listed in the telephone directory and the PMT delegate was unable to contact them. It was most likely that the representatives and factory stores had been looted or destroyed<sup>115</sup>.

In addition, PMT delegates visited other small towns where there had been tobacco factories, but which were not taken over by the PMT. They were either destroyed during or after the war, or looted: Bolesławiec (Bunzlau), Dobrzeń Wielki (Gross Döbern), Grodków (Grottkau), Legnica (Lignica, Liegnitz), Milicz (Militsch), Nysa (Neisse), Pokój (Carlsruhe), Świdnica (Schweidnitz), Zgorzelec (Görlitz), and others.

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 138, Protocol drafted at the Polish Tobacco Monopoly’s Board by the Control Office Delegate H. Imszenik-Kondratowicz by virtue of the delegacy of 20 March 1947, L.dz. VIII/32/47 Delegacy on the issue of the control of acts and documents concerning the elimination of useless post-German tobacco industry factories and machinery stores, b. 19–20; *ibidem*, sign. 138, The note of the PMT’s head E. Nadulski to the Control Office at the State Council in Warsaw, No. 6406/Ad/4/47, 27 September 1947, b. 25.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The listing of inventory exported from the dismantled post-German tobacco industry facilities in the Lower and Dąbrowski Silesia, Gdański county, Masurian county, and the Western Pomeranian county, no date, manuscript.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz for the Board of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly in Łódź, 1 September 1945, pp. 3–4; *ibidem*, sign. 146, The listing of post-German tobacco industry and trade facilities and assets on the annexed territories, secured for the PMT until 20 August 1945, 21 August 1945, p. 1.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 140, The report of Zenon Tomaszewicz for the Board of the Polish Tobacco Monopoly in Łódź, 6 July 1945, p. 3.

## Conclusion

Although the number of sites where the PMT secured post-German property may seem large, it should be borne in mind that most of the machinery and equipment taken over had been heavily used and was in a poor technical condition. Old and extremely worn-out machinery continued to work for many years after the war, often in two shifts, even on Sundays and public holidays<sup>116</sup>. However, their usefulness in regular production gradually diminished. They could not be relied upon to function faultlessly over the long term. Of course, it must have affected the quality of the goods produced. Therefore, new cigarette machines were ordered in England and Czechoslovakia, as well as from the State Machine Building Bureau, and gradually imported and assembled in Polish tobacco factories<sup>117</sup>. The improvement of the tobacco products quality was impossible without them.

Nevertheless, it is hard to unequivocally answer the question whether the post-German factories and machinery secured by the Polish Tobacco Monopoly after the war compensated for the losses primarily suffered by the tobacco industry as a result of the transfer of borders. In fact, four tobacco factories, seven tobacco plants and numerous sales outlets and warehouses remained outside the Polish borders. And the majority of the factories that were still on Polish territory were destroyed or burned to the ground, along with the machinery on their premises. The takeover of the factories in Wrocław and Racibórz (and the relatively quick start of production there) was extremely valuable, especially in view of the fact that such factors as, for example, one of the key issues for the PMT: the spatial distribution of the factories with regard to the regional level of tobacco consumption, the location of tobacco-producing districts, raw material supplies, the cost of labour, etc. were involved. What also mattered was the development and industrialisation potential of a particular part of the country. From this point of view, the takeover of the cigarette factory in Wrocław was invaluable (to a lesser extent than in Racibórz), especially since a significant increase in the consumption of cigarettes compared to other tobacco products was predicted even before the war.

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<sup>116</sup> St.P., *Zjazd we Wrocławiu dyrektorów wytwórni i kierowników zakładów PMT*, "Wiadomości Tytoniowe" 1949, nr 1–2, p. 33.

<sup>117</sup> AAN, The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, sign. 485, The PMT development since 1944, Appendix no. 6 do No 3604/Ad/1/49, no date, p. 2.



However, it should be emphasised that in the early post-war years the rate of cigarette production in Wrocław was the lowest compared to other PMT factories. On the other hand, in Racibórz pipe tobacco, chewing tobacco and snuff were produced. Initially, more of these goods were produced in neighbouring Wodzisław, but then almost all production was transferred to Racibórz. The take-over of the numerous, mostly small, tobacco factories scattered across the Recovered Territories did not add much value to the revival of the Polish tobacco industry.

Nonetheless, it is impossible to compare these acquisitions with the losses incurred by the tobacco factories on the eastern border, which were involved in a completely different type of production activity, namely buying tobacco from farmers and preparing it for the production of tobacco goods.

PMT's post-war difficulties were exacerbated by the lack of tobacco as a raw material; vast areas of tobacco cultivation had been abandoned outside the borders of eastern Poland. In addition, the occupiers caused enormous damage also in this domain. The Red Army continued what the Germans had not exported or given to their army. As a result, even those factories that had not been seriously damaged during the war, or whose machinery had been replaced by post-German equipment, were unable to resume regular production and reach their full production potential due to the lack of sufficient raw materials. The (very scarce) resources inherited from the Germans did not make it possible to solve this burning problem, which was faced by the reviving tobacco industry in Poland.

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