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The Square of Polish Innocence: POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw and its symbolic topography

Elżbieta Janicka*

Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa, Poland

The text refers to the space around the Nathan Rapoport's Monument to the Fighters and Martyrs of the Ghetto and the Museum of the History of Polish Jews POLIN in Warsaw (Poland). The site of death – at the heart of the former Warsaw Ghetto – has now become a site overloaded with other symbolic messages. Two main symbolic centers (the 1948 Monument and the 2013 Museum) are today encircled by ten other, additional memorials. The message emerging from the content as well as the proportion of commemorations is that Polish solidarity with the Jews was a fact and it stood the test of terror and death brought by the Germans. Although it does not undermine the veracity of the few and isolated exceptions, such a version of events is drastically different from the actual facts. Both symbolic centers are perceived as emblems of Jewish minority narrative. Additional artefacts are a message formulated by the Polish majority. They constitute a kind of symbolic encirclement, block. Emphasizing the dominant majority's version of the events in this place is in fact a symbolic pre-emptive action. It is meant to silence the unwanted narrative or suppress even the mere possibility that it might emerge. What turns out to be at stake in the dominant Polish narrative about the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish relations is the image of Poland and the Poles. This shows not only the topographic and symbolic situation but also the socio-cultural context of the functioning of the new Museum.

Keywords: Polish-Jewish relations; representations of the Holocaust; memory war; symbolic topography; symbolic violence; preemption of the Holocaust; Nathan Rapoport's Monument to the Fighters and Martyrs of the Ghetto; Museum of the History of Polish Jews POLIN; Polish antisemitism

While the eyes of researchers and commentators have been turned to the newly opened Museum of the History of Polish Jews, the intense transformation of its immediate environment tends to be overlooked. These changes involve symbolic, commemorative politics. They have significant consequences for the version of the history of Polish Jews presented to visitors in that particular fragment of public space. How does this process of symbolic transformation proceed? What narrative results from it? What is at stake in this narrative, symbolically speaking? Who is its author and who is its intended addressee? Who is its subject and who its object? What is revealed? What is concealed?

*Email: booka@gazeta.pl



Figure 1. Monument to the Fighters and Martyrs of the Ghetto (1948) and the building of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews (2013). On the left: the Tree of Common Memory (1988). Photo by the author.

The Museum of the History of Polish Jews (MHPJ) in Warsaw was built on the site of the former ghetto, where in April 1943 the first uprising against the Third Reich in German-occupied Europe broke out. During the Jewish uprising and after its suppression, the Germans razed the ghetto to the ground. After the war, housing estates were built in the exact same place where the remains of the murdered Jewish insurgents and civilians still rest. As a result of wartime devastation and post-war construction, a square was created on the site of the formerly densely built-up area. It is here that the Monument to the Fighters and Martyrs of the Ghetto designed by Natan Rapoport and Leon Marek Suzin (1948) was erected. For years it was the only symbolic center in the area. Completed in 2013, the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, designed by Rainer Mahlamäki now faces the Monument (Fig. 1). It is the second symbolic center. The transformation of the site involves commemorative artifacts placed around both symbolic centers. They might be compared to a symbolic annotation, comment, maybe even encirclement.

These artifacts have been emerging in two phases. The first phase took place during late communism and early post-communism, in the 1980s and 1990s. In this phase, four blocks of black granite were placed at the vertices of the rectangular elevation on which the 1948 Monument is standing. They are part of The Memorial Route of Jewish Martyrdom and Struggle built through a joint effort by the democratic opposition and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic in 1988. The Route consists of 20 stones bearing inscriptions in Polish and Hebrew. They emphasize the theme of Polish aid to the Jews and provide information suggesting that the myth of the Polish-Jewish brotherhood of arms was a reality. Two of the four blocks bear an inscription about

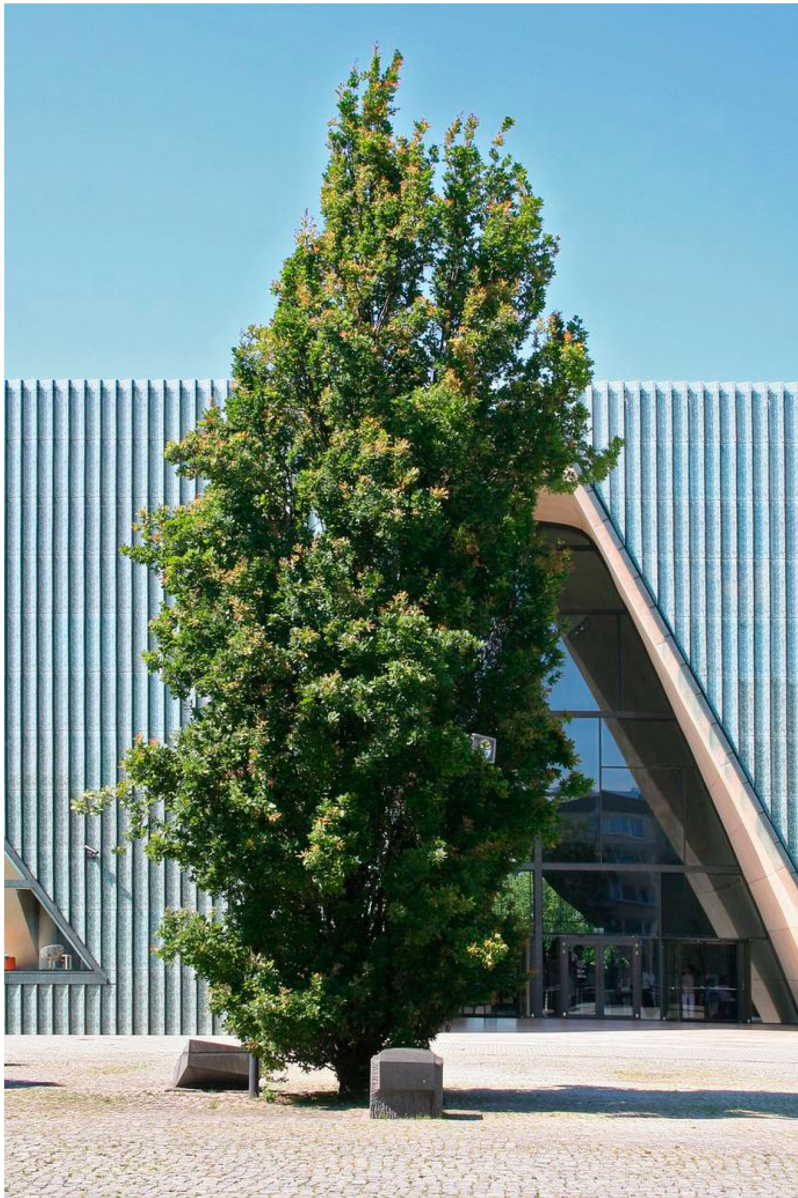


Figure 2. The Tree of Common Memory (1988) with commemorative stones. On the right: stone commemorating joint martyrdom of Jews and the Polish rescuers (1988). On the left: stone commemorating the Council for Aid to Jews *Żegota* (1995). In the background: the main entrance to the MHPJ building. Photo by the author.

the Ghetto Uprising. The third one is devoted to Emanuel Ringelblum. The most extensive information concerning Ringelblum – a historian and the founder of the underground archive of the ghetto – is the passage stating that from the beginning in the summer of 1943 he was hidden by Poles but was eventually shot along with them on March 10, 1944. The inscription on the fourth block reads: “Tree of Common

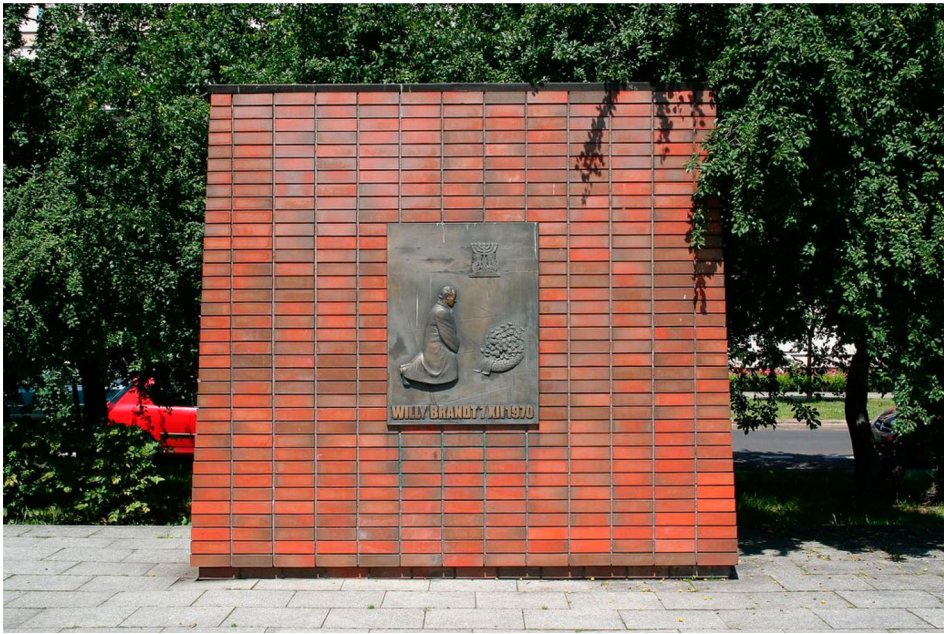


Figure 3. Willy Brandt's monument (2000). Photo by the author.

Memory: [dedicated] to the Polish Jews murdered in 1939–1945 by the German invaders and the Poles who died rescuing the Jews – [by] Poles and Jews, April 19, 1988, on the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.” Next to it and on the same day, the chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, Henryk Jabłoński, planted an oak tree. In 1995, another stone block was placed there as a tribute to the Council for Aid to Jews, *Żegota* 1942-1945. The inscription in Polish, Hebrew, and English reads: “The organization established by the Polish underground state to rescue Jews of the Holocaust. It was the only such organization in German-occupied Europe which was sponsored and funded [sic] by its government-in-exile – donated by American friends of *Żegota*.” “American friends of *Żegota*” refers to The Kościuszko Foundation, which operates in America and is “dedicated to increase American understanding of Polish culture and history.”¹ It is here that the entrance to the MHPJ building is located, on an axis to the symbolic group made up of the Tree of Common Memory and two blocks dedicated to Polish assistance to Jews during the Holocaust (Fig. 2).

The second phase of the process of symbolic encirclement took place in the 2000s, following the announcement of the decision to build the Museum on that site, particularly after its opening. While in the first phase the encircled center was the 1948 Monument, in the second phase the center of gravity shifted to the building of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Thus, a memorial dedicated to the German chancellor Willy Brandt was erected in 2000 in its immediate vicinity, followed by the establishment of a square named after him (Fig. 3 and 4). In other words, at the site of the suffering and anonymous death of tens of thousands of Jews, a monument remembering one individual – a German politician – was erected. Given the significance of the site for Jewish history and memory, this form of individual memory is incongruous, to say the least.



Figure 4. Signpost: Willy Brandt Square with the MHPJ building in the background. Photo by the author.

The memorial to Brandt commemorates the moment in 1970 when the German head of government knelt down in front of the Monument to the Fighters and Martyrs of the Ghetto. The red structure is clearly visible from afar and mimics the shape of the 1948 Monument. According to the inscription, it was designed as “a symbol of remembrance in Polish-German relations.” The Polish Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek and the German chancellor Gerhard Schröder unveiled the monument. The explicit attestation of



Figure 5. Signposts: The Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Irena Sendler Alley. The Jan Karski monument can be seen in the background on the left side of the photograph. Photo by the author.

German responsibility for the Holocaust was beneficial to Poland in the context of the problem of Polish complicity in the Holocaust. It was also beneficial to Germany, which earned political capital on the image of a pioneer in coming to terms with and overcoming the past. The Jewish victims were thus treated as and turned into objects. At the same time the Holocaust was reduced to the role of a diplomatic instrument.²



Figure 6. The first monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1946) with Jan Karski's monument (2013) in the background. Photo by the author.



Figure 7. Jan Karski's monument (2013) – element. Photo by the author.

The alley leading from a parking lot to the museum's entrance was dedicated to Irena Sendler, a Righteous Among the Nations (2013). In addition to a signpost (Fig. 5) and a plaque devoted to Mrs. Sendler, there is also a statue of the Polish underground state courier Jan Karski, described as "the man who tried to stop the Holocaust" (2013). The statue of Karski takes the form of a seated figure on a couch (Fig. 6). Resting on the armrest is Karski's book *Story of a Secret State* with the crowned eagle – a symbol of Polish statehood – on the cover (Fig. 7). When a visitor presses the button, s/he hears a recording of Karski's account of his work in the pre-war Polish Foreign Ministry. During the war Karski conveyed to the West information about the situation in German-occupied Poland, including details about the Holocaust. However the fact remains that in passing on information about the extermination of the Jews, he was neither the first nor the only one to do so.

The promotion of the figure of Karski also effaces the silence on the part of the Polish government-in-exile concerning the Holocaust. The government-in-exile had already known since August 25, 1942, with complete certainty about the industrial extermination of Warsaw's Jews. Information about this subject started to get through to the London headquarters of the Polish government-in-exile as early as the end of July 1942, and thus from the very beginning of the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto to the gas chambers at Treblinka (July 22 to September 23, 1942). The Polish government-in-exile only disclosed its knowledge of this subject three months later, on November 24, 1942, i.e. the day *after* the Jewish Agency had already published the same information through edited testimonies from Jewish refugees who arrived in Palestine on November 16, 1942. David Engel states: "Once this news was published [by the Jewish Agency], the [Polish] government could no longer continue to draw the curtain over its own knowledge."³ He adds, now specifically about Karski: "Hence the news that the government had possessed at least since August 25 about the extent of the deportations from Warsaw and the fate of the deportees appears to have been released only following Karski's arrival in London most probably not so much because Karski brought new information (in fact he added only minor details to what was already known) or because his eyewitness testimony caused previously disbelieved information to be believed [...], but mainly because Karski had been charged with delivering his information to [Jewish] circles over which the Polish Government had no control."⁴

It was Warsaw city councilors' initiative to name the alley leading to the MHPJ after Sendler. They also approved the initiative on the part of the Museum of Polish History to erect a Karski monument at this place, which was subsequently unveiled by the President of the Republic of Poland Bronisław Komorowski. That same year the head of state was absent for the commemorations of the 70th anniversaries of the Jewish revolts in the extermination camps in Treblinka and Sobibór where the Germans murdered substantial numbers of Polish Jews. Indeed, it is not the fate of Jews – their culture, history, life, suffering and death – that energizes collective emotions in Poland. With regard to all of these matters Polish public opinion is interested almost exclusively in the image of Poland and the Poles.

The figures of Karski and Sendler became known in Poland after the year 2000, following the popularity they had earlier achieved abroad. Karski became an iconic figure thanks to Claude Lanzmann who tracked him down and convinced him to give testimony for Lanzmann's film *Shoah* (1985). Irena Sendler became popular as a result of a theater performance about her life that American female students produced in 2000. Karski's and Sendler's fame in America led to the fact that at very old ages

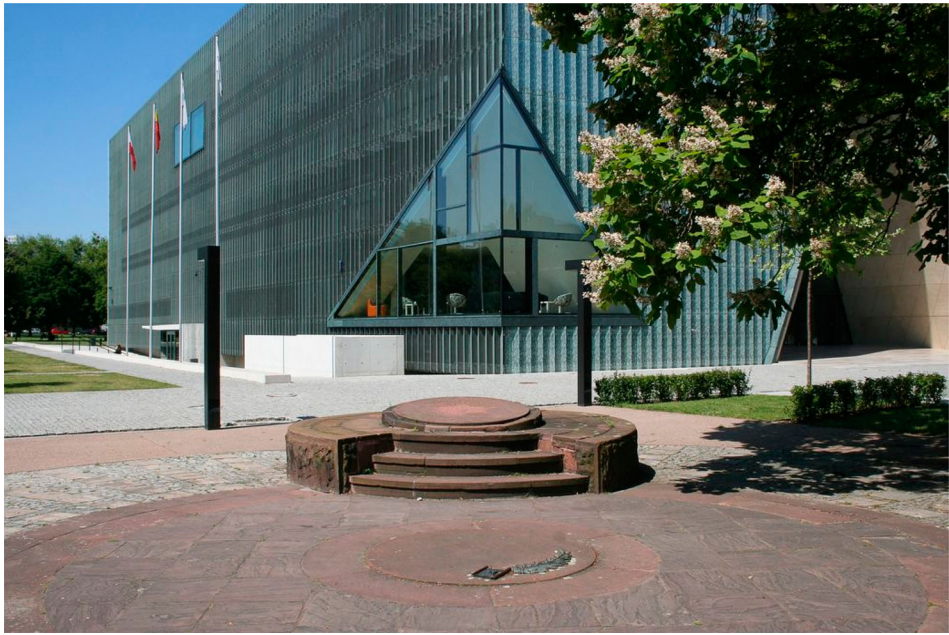


Figure 8. The first monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1946) with the MHPJ building (2013) in the background. Photo by the author.



Figure 9. The first monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1946) – element. Photo by the author.



Figure 10. The first monument of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1946) – close up. Photo by the author.

they were also “discovered” in Poland. It was their popularity abroad which made them attractive from a local perspective. As Irena Sendler pointedly and critically put it: “After Jedwabne a hero is needed.”⁵ In this context, “Jedwabne” was a metonym for the nationwide debate on the role of Poles during the Holocaust. The debate took place in the years 2000–2001, after Jan Tomasz Gross’ book *Neighbors* was published in Poland.⁶ The book examines the July 1941 massacre committed against local Jews in the Jedwabne village by their Christian neighbors.

As a result of the transformation of place described above, to reach the MHPJ and the 1948 Monument, visiting groups walk down Irena Sendler Alley, past the Irena Sendler plaque, the Jan Karski statue, the *Żegota* stone, the other stone commemorating Poles who rescued Jews, and the Tree of Common Memory. Waiting in line to be photographed with the statue of Jan Karski, visitors sit on a small, slightly raised structure made of red sandstone (Fig. 8), to which no one seems to be paying any attention. The structure in question is the first commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, and the very first commemorative object to have been placed in the area after the end of the war in 1946. The small monument designed by Leon Marek Suzin takes the form of two circles, resembling an entrance into a bunker or a sewer, where most of the Jewish insurgents and many Jewish civilians died. The inscription reads: “April 19, 1946. To those who died in an exceptionally heroic struggle for dignity and freedom of the Jewish people, for a free Poland, and for the liberation of man – Polish Jews.” Directly under the visitor’s feet is a palm leaf, a symbol of martyrdom (Fig. 9). Next to it, there is a stylized parchment scroll with the Hebrew letter *bet*, referring to the first word of the Book of Genesis: *bereshit* (“In the beginning ...”). Both here and on the 1948 Monument the inscriptions are in three languages, Polish, Hebrew, and Yiddish. The commemorative text of 1946 is signed by “Polish Jews”

(Fig. 10), not unlike the 1948 Monument, which was signed by the “Jewish nation.” Both these structures were erected at a time when Jews – although decimated by the Holocaust – acted as rightful hosts of that place.

Today, there are ten accompanying memorials surrounding the Rapoport monument and the MHPJ building. Three of them are devoted to the Ghetto Uprising. One points to the Germans as the perpetrators of the Holocaust. Six emphasize efforts by both Polish society and the Polish Underground State to help the Jews, at the risk of the helpers’ own lives. Furthermore, in late 2013 a plan was announced to erect at this very place an additional monument to “the Polish Righteous,” one of the two new ones that are going to be built on the site of the former ghetto. The message emerging from the content as well as the proportion of commemorations is clear: Polish solidarity with the Jews was a fact, and it stood the test of terror and death brought by the Germans. Such a version of events is drastically different from the actual facts⁷ (although it does not undermine the veracity of the few and isolated exceptions). This is a narrative pattern characteristic of the dominant Polish narrative. It has also been an integral part of Polish education and the politics of memory at least since 1963⁸ – without distinguishing between the communist era and the independent Third Republic of Poland.

What does the arrangement of this fragment of public space fail to show? For one, it fails to note that the number of the Righteous from Poland (documented at Yad Vashem as 6,500) amounts to less than a quarter of one percent of the entire population. It also does not give the broader context of German occupation policies in which the death penalty was a fairly common punishment. It was meted out for trading in meat, foreign currency, or gold, for illegal breeding of animals for slaughter, for possession of a radio, for involvement in the underground movement, for helping Jews, for making alcohol, and for many other things. It was the death penalty that was the basis of the terror of German occupation. At the same time, its deterrent effect was relatively small.⁹ German repression, therefore, is not a sufficient explanation for the tragic situation of Polish Jews during the Nazi occupation. An example of this is the fact that escape routes from the German mass extermination were cut-off. The ghetto was surrounded by a wall, but – as Jan Karski said – “Entering the ghetto was very easy, people do not know that now. [...] It was not that difficult to go out and come back. It was difficult for the Jews for other reasons.”¹⁰ More effective than the wall was in fact what Israel Gutman dubbed “the wall around the wall.”¹¹ “The wall around the wall” was the attitude and behavior of the non-Jewish majority. It was the reason why – in Karski’s words – “the entire Warsaw was the ghetto, the entire Poland was the ghetto.”

Contrary to dominant assumptions, the main problem with the dominant Polish attitude towards Jews was not a lack of help. Nor was it passivity or indifference. It was the fact that it was a common occurrence for Poles to identify Jews, expel them from subsequent hideouts, rob them, denounce them, often hand them over to the Germans, and in many cases murder them.¹² Paradoxically, if the Poles had been mostly indifferent and passive, the majority – not a tiny minority – of Jews seeking refuge from the Germans on the so-called Aryan side would have survived.¹³ All of this constitutes the invisible reverse of the analyzed symbolic topography. Moreover, within the narrative of Polish assistance to Jews in the public space surrounding the MHPJ, there is no mention of the significant participation of Jews in *Żegota*, nor is there any information about their involvement in the much more extensive rescue of Jews outside of *Żegota*. There is nothing about funding *Żegota* with the money of American, British, and

Palestinian Jews. There is no information about how often the money – transferred to occupied Poland via the Polish underground state channels – never reached *Żegota* or were paid to *Żegota* in Polish zlotys, according to the official German rate instead of the much higher black market one.¹⁴ There is no trace of the reflections of Jan Karski, which I quoted above. There is no trace of Irena Sendler's explicit objection to being used as an instrument of the Polish politics of memory.

The great extent of memorialization of Polish help to the Jews obfuscates the evidence of the fate of Jews who in fact perished in extreme loneliness in this very place and in other places. Here, just beside the square described above, on neighboring Miła Street, under a mound of rubble, lie the corpses of women and men whose names are partly known, over 100 people altogether. Among these, apart from civilians, are female and male soldiers of ŻOB (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa* – the Jewish Fighting Organization) – together with their commander Mordecai Anielewicz. On the last day of April 1943 the command of ŻOB – while Anielewicz himself and his group were still alive – sent couriers to the leadership of the Polish pro-independence anticommunist underground. The ŻOB did not ask the Polish Home Army for military help. It asked for maps of the sewer system and for help in finding hiding places on the “Aryan side.” An answer never came. This is the context in which the collective suicide in the bunker at 18 Miła Street, which the Germans surrounded a week later on May 8, 1943, took place. “That situation was the shock of my life,” wrote one of the emissaries of the ŻOB, Symcha Rotem.¹⁵ “We were superfluous everywhere on Polish soil,” added Icchak Cukierman who was responsible for contacts with the Polish resistance.¹⁶ To this day, the Polish context of the tragic events at 18 Miła Street has not been recognized by Polish historiography and remains absent in the historical consciousness of the Polish majority.

What is being played out then in the space analyzed above? What is the point of publicly presenting exceptions in such a way that they may be perceived as a universal rule? The two main symbolic centers – the 1948 Monument and the Museum – are seen as signs of Jewish presence/absence. The same applies to the site of the former ghetto.¹⁷ As such, these centers carry the potential of an alternative narrative of Polish-Jewish relations. The majority of Poles today perceive this potential as a threat. Emphasizing the dominant majority's version of the events in this place is in fact a symbolic preemptive action.¹⁸ It is meant to silence the unwanted voice or suppress even the mere possibility that it might emerge. The accompanying memorials resemble a kind of symbolic block or scattered fortification. Citing historian Jan Grabowski, they can be defined as the “cordon sanitaire of Polish memory.”¹⁹ Here, the dominant group sends its message. The intended addressee is a foreign tourist perceived as emblematic of foreign public opinion. What turns out to be at stake in the dominant Polish narrative about the Holocaust is the image of Poland and the Poles. *Nota bene*, the same is true for the Polish majority narrative about the history of the Jewish minority in Poland.

Symbolic topography is not so much a way of narrating the history of groups related to a particular place. It is rather a matter of controlling space. Therefore, the symbolic arrangement of an area exposes power relations between groups (dominance/submission). The conditions for access to expression in the space surrounding the MHPJ are today dictated by the majority, which is powerful enough to treat the history of the minority in an instrumental way. Another case in point is the project of yet another monument to “the Polish Righteous” at the same place. The Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland initiated this idea. Afterwards the Chancellery began to look for people identifying themselves publicly as Jews and being ready to

present the monument as their own (i.e. Jewish) initiative.²⁰ The plan to erect this “visible proof of Jewish gratitude” in the immediate vicinity of the MHPJ resulted in numerous protests. Among those protesting were the Jewish Community of Warsaw, the Association “Second Generation” in Poland, the Association of the Jewish Historical Institute, the All-Polish Jewish Youth Organization²¹ as well as the Polish section of B’nai B’rith.²² Joining in with these protests was a group of Polish Jewish emigrants from 1968 who opened a page on Facebook. The page carries the title *Czy upamiętnić Sprawiedliwych na terenie byłego getta?* (translated as “Should the monument honoring the Righteous Poles be placed in the former Warsaw Ghetto?”) and contains complete documentation of official and unofficial protests, interviews, and articles from the Polish press, as well as from abroad, concerning the subject of the proposed location of an additional monument for the Righteous at the MHPJ.²³ However, these protests were not taken into consideration – neither by the real nor by the nominal initiator of the monument. This suggests that the Jewish voice only achieves legitimacy in the public space on condition that the narrative it recounts conforms to that presented by the dominant group. In the case of the MHPJ’s immediate surroundings, it is, therefore, difficult to talk about negotiating meaning between equal partners. Instead, we are dealing here with symbolic violence. Also, in this case, the inclusion of Jews into the history of Poland is conditional and consists in subjecting them to a permanent test of submission. This shows not only the topographic and symbolic context but also the socio-cultural complexity of the functioning of the new Museum.

(Translated from Polish by Katrin Stoll)

Notes on contributor

Elżbieta Janicka, Ph.D. is a cultural anthropologist and photographer. She received her master’s degree at the Université Paris VII Denis Diderot (1994); her dissertation was defended at Warsaw University (2004). She works at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

She is the author of the following books: *Sztuka czy Naród? Monografia pisarska Andrzeja Trzebińskiego* [Art or the Nation? On Andrzej Trzebiński’s Literary Output] (Universitas, Kraków 2006) and *Festung Warschau* (Krytyka Polityczna, Warsaw 2011).

Her research projects at the Polish Academy of Sciences are: *Przełom czy kontynuacja? Obraz stosunków polsko-żydowskich w wybranych tekstach kultury po 2000 roku* [Breakthrough or continuation? An image of Polish-Jewish relations after 2000 in chosen cultural texts] and *Ku demitologizacji kategorii opisu Zagłady w Polsce* [Towards the demythologising of the categories of Holocaust description in Poland].

Notes

1. See the website of the The Kościuszko Foundation – http://www.thekf.org/kf/about/about_us/
2. See Elżbieta Janicka, “Pomnik pomnika. Miniatura o upiorach” [The monument of the Monument. A miniature on ghosts], *Krytyka Polityczna* 2011 (26).
3. David Engel, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz: The Polish Government-in-Exile and the Jews, 1939-1942* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 198.
4. David Engel, “Readings and Misreadings: A reply to Dariusz Stola”, *Polin* 1994 (8): 370.
5. As cited in *Matka dzieci Holocaustu. Historia Ireny Sendlerowej* [The mother of the Holocaust children. The history of Irena Sendlerowa], in Anna Mieszkowska, ed., (Warszawa: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza SA, 2004), 29.
6. See Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001).

7. "The Polish underground was involved in various political, social, welfare, and military activities. But for all its exemplary democratic structure and its exalted national mission, or perhaps more accurately, because of them, the "underground state" was essentially for Poles only. [...] Its powerful bond to the community it defended was based on culture and blood, not citizenship, and this intimacy implied its mirroring of popular attitudes, including those about the Jews." See Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead. Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 37. See also, among others: Dariusz Libionka, *ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu RP wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich* [ZWZ-AK and the Government's Delegate Office vis-à-vis the extermination of the Polish Jews], in Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945. Studia i materiały* [Poles and Jews under German occupation, 1939–1945. Studies and materials], (Warszawa: IPN – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006), 15–207; Barbara Engelking, Dariusz Libionka, *Żydzi w powstańczej Warszawie* [Jews in the Warsaw uprising] (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2009); Barbara Engelking i Jan Grabowski, eds., *Zarys krajobrazu. Wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów 1942–1945* [Outline of a landscape. The Polish village vis-à-vis the extermination of the Jews in the years 1942–1945], (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Jan Grabowski i Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych 1939–1950* [Keys and cash. The fate of Jewish property in German occupied Poland and in the early post-war years, 1939–1950] (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2014).
8. In 1963, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, the authorities of the People's Republic of Poland initiated an "anti-defamation" propaganda campaign claiming that the rescue of Jews was a common enterprise of Poles of all political orientations, including the Roman-Catholic clergy. Previously, official propaganda portrayed the Communists as being the sole Righteous, competing with the Catholic discourse, which in 1946 within the context of the Kielce pogrom, initiated the glorification of the stance taken and behavior of Catholics towards Jews during the German occupation. Cf. Dariusz Libionka, "Polish Literature on Organized and Individual Help to the Jews", *Holocaust Studies and Materials* 2010 (2): 11–75.
9. See Andrzej Wrzyszczy, *Okupacyjne sądownictwo niemieckie w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie 1939–1945* [The occupation German judiciary in the General Government 1939–1945] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008).
10. Jan Karski, "Widziałem" [I saw], *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 2-3, 1999, 15.
11. Barbara Engelking's interview with Israel Gutman, *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały* 2013 (9): 226.
12. Cf. Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień'... Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* [It is such a beautiful sunny day. The fate of Jews looking for rescue in rural Poland 1942–1945], (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Jan Grabowski, *Rescue for Money: Paid Helpers in Poland, 1939–1945 (Search and Research. Lectures and Papers, 13)*, (Jan Grabowski: Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2008); *Hunt for the Jews. Betrayal and Murder in German-occupied Poland*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis 2013; Tadeusz Markiel and Alina Skibińska, *Jakie to ma znaczenie, czy zrobili to z chciwości? Zagłada domu Trynczerów* ['What does it matter if they did it out of greed?' The extermination of the Trynczer family], (Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, Warszawa 2011).
13. Historians agree that around 250,000 Polish Jews at least escaped the Nazi killing machinery, of whom 40–60,000 survived (most likely the lower figure appears correct). In comparison, the number of Polish Jewish survivors in concentration camps is 36,000. The largest group (over 300,000) are those who spent the war in the USSR. The total number of survivors accounted for 10-15% of the "pre-war Jewish population in Poland," i.e. 350-525,000. See Grzegorz Berendt, *Straty osobowe polskich Żydów w okresie II wojny światowej* [Personal losses of Polish Jews in World War II], in Wojciech Materski and Tomasz Szarota, eds. *Polska 1939-1945. Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami* [Poland 1939-1945. Personal losses and victims of repression under two occupations] (Warsaw:

- IPN – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2009), 75. According to the 2011 National Census figures, there are 8,000 Jews living in Poland. (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narodowy_Spis_Powszechny_2011#Mniejszo.C5.9Bci_narodowe_i_eticzne).
14. See Marcin Urynowicz, *La Délégation du gouvernement de la République polonaise de Londres et le financement du Conseil d'aide aux Juifs (Żegota)*, in Jean-Charles Szurek et Annette Wieviorka, eds., *Juifs et Polonais 1939–2008* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2009), 79–93.
 15. *Rozmowa z Kazikiem Ratajzerem*, [w:] Anka Grupińska, *Ciągle po kole. Rozmowy z żołnierzami getta warszawskiego*, przedmowa Paweł Szapiro, Wydawnictwo „Twój Styl”, Warszawa 2000, 260.
 16. Yitzak Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory. Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 363.
 17. See Elżbieta Janicka, *Festung Warschau*, introduction by Bożena Keff (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2011); Elżbieta Janicka, “Memory and Identity in the Former Warsaw Ghetto Area”, *Herito* 2013 (4): 66–81.
 18. See Elżbieta Janicka, „Zamiast negacjonizmu. Topografia symboliczna terenu dawnego getta warszawskiego a narracje o Zagładzie” [Instead of Negationism. The symbolic topography of the area of the former Warsaw Ghetto and narratives about the Holocaust], *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i materiały* 2014 (10): 209–256.
 19. Jan Grabowski, *Upamiętnianie Polaków Niosących Pomoc* [Commerating Poles who helped the Jews], 31 March 2014 – <http://www.holocaustresearch.pl/index.php?show=525&strona=529>.
 20. The former director of the MHPJ Jerzy Halbersztadt describes in detail the diplomatic operation of the Chancellery of the President that he attempted to oppose: Cf. *Wojna pamięci. Z Jerzym Halbersztadtem rozmawia Katarzyna Markusz* [Memory war. Jerzy Halbersztadt in conversation with Katarzyna Markusz] – <http://www.jewish.org.pl/index.php/pl/opinie-komentarze-mainmenu-62/7009-wojna-pamici.html>
 21. See the letter by representatives of Jewish organizations concerning the monument to the Righteous, dated 9 April 2013 – <http://zoom.edu.pl/2013/04/10/list-przedstawicieli-organizacji-zydowskich-w-sprawie-pomnika-sprawiedliwych/>
 22. See Oświadczenie B’nai B’rith – Polin [Statement by the B’nai B’rith – Polin], 11 March 2015 – <https://pl-pl.facebook.com/notes/czy-upami%C4%99tni%C4%87-sprawiedliwych-na-terenie-by%C5%82ego-getta/o%C5%9Bwiadczenie-bnai-brith-polin-statement-by-the-bnai-brith-polin/1583194531924583>
 23. See <https://pl-pl.facebook.com/pages/Czy-upami%C4%99tni%C4%87-Sprawiedliwych-na-terenie-by%C5%82ego-getta/1457448724499165> Cf. also the website of the Remembrance and Future Foundation established in 2013 that “has tasked itself with creating a Commemoration of Poles who rescued Jews during the German occupation” – <http://www.raff.org.pl/en>