INTRODUCTION

Olga Kubińska
(University of Gdańsk)
ORCID: 0000-0002-2083-3478

Wojciech Kubiński
(Professor Emeritus, University of Gdańsk)
ORCID: 0000-0002-3896-082X

Polish memory of the Holocaust in the 21st century: the art of remembering and forgetting

Abstract

Ongoing discussion on collective memory in contemporary Poland requires constant efforts to define and redefine the objects under dispute, particularly in reference to the Holocaust and the Second World War. What requires such redefinition is the very area to be scrutinized and the basic terminology to be implemented, with the necessity to discriminate between collective memory shaped by official historical policy, collective memory shaped by historians, writers and artists, alongside the officially sanctioned memory. The question arises whether the memory shaped by historians, writers and artists forms an alternative to the officially canonized variant and whether in these circumstances we keep looking at distinct, mutually exclusive memories.

Keywords: Holocaust, memory, antisemitism, Holocaust literature, postmemory

Cultural memories of the Holocaust in Poland have recently undergone dramatic adjustments, possibly in the wake of the inevitable, given the passage of time and the generational turnover, narratives of the second and third post-Holocaust generations. These memories are often overlaid by other reminiscences of World War II traumas affecting other ethnic minorities, i.e. Ukrainians or Ruthenians, and ethnic Poles, further aggravated by self-imposed silence about one's past. Paul Nora, who distinguished between the *milieux* and *lieux de memoire*, claimed that in the wake of historical events the former were obliterated thus necessitating the concerted construction of the latter. It seems that in the last few decades we could witness an exponential growth of research on the Holocaust, on Polish and Jewish testimonies from the war years and from the post-war period, and also of research on the discourse of research itself. Similar dynamics was manifest in the sphere of culture: literature, theatre, film and the visual arts groped for new forms of expression in portraying the presence (or absence) of the Jews,

for presenting complementary individual memories of the Holocaust within collective memory and its manifestations in public space. Numerous publications presented testimonies of the last survivors and of the second and third post-Holocaust generations. There has also been a notable development of meta-discourse in an attempt to assess (self)awareness of the Holocaust and its aftermath in art and literature. Attempts to locate signs of memory in public space were also undertaken, and the form of these signs embraced numerous genres, alternative means of expression and different forms of organization of the public space-time continuum. These events, in themselves polyphonic, seem to be participating in a war over memories, also forms of memory, with the official historical policy and its expressive narration.

The dynamics of this discussion has only been further amplified after the democratic parliamentary election in 2015 brought to power the nationalistic right wingers. The question may be posed, whether the attempt to introduce in 2018 a new law *de facto* penalizing research on the involvement of Poles in the process of the extermination of Polish citizens of Jewish origin, did not additionally contribute to the intensification of research on this issue, though one could also venture the claim that the research in this domain is ruled by its own dynamics connected with the liberation of discussions after the publication of *Neighbours* by Jan Tomasz Gross, as well as the emergence of the voice of the "third" generation, which liberated the debate from the taboos connected with the still fresh memories of the war and of the violence associated with it. One should not forget that delays in research on such issues as participation of the so-called "navy blue police" (i.e. police officers recruited from Poles by the German authorities of occupied Poland, so called from their navy blue uniforms) in the extermination of the Jews, as well as the personal responsibility of the civilian population for atrocities committed against their Jewish neighbours, were to some extent connected with decades of political freezing of the debate before 1989. In the preceding period pertinent issues could be voiced mostly in literary texts and works of art. The decade 1980–1990 constituted a clear watershed in this respect. The period 1988–2021 demonstrates an attempt to revise the discourse within research on the Holocaust.

This does not mean that previously there had not been any clash of alternative modes of thinking which influenced the shape of the officially approved narration (i.e. historical policy). On the contrary, it seems that the presently imposed version of historical policy largely overlaps with the collective memories of many individual Poles on the Holocaust. What seems to be constant, despite numerous political fluctuations and changes in the historical consciousness, is a certain dualism in the Polish perception of the Holocaust: as the single most important event in Polish history of the twentieth century or as an unimportant incident which had not been interiorized in the Polish collective memory. Beyond this dualism there emerged an attempt to diffuse the very notion of the Holocaust and to transfer it into the domain of discussions on history interpreted mainly in terms of the martyrology of the Polish nation during World War II. While it would be difficult not to agree with the statement that the Holocaust/genocide was not limited only to the Jews,

for it pertained also to the Roma and the Sinti[1], and in reference to nonnational groups it pertained also to homosexuals, or persons with mental disorders, one should not forget that the notion of genocide originally referred to the carnage of Armenians in 1915–1917. While the term may also be used today in reference to the mass killings of entire ethnic groups like in Rwanda in 1994[2], the usage of the term Holocaust in reference to ethnic Poles is not warranted – in relation to the Jews it is used merely to diffuse the term.

Research on visual and textual narratives abounded in reflections on the forms of moulding and manipulating of collective memory in accordance with officially professed "historical policy", exemplified by the attempt at passing the notorious law in 2018, penalizing any mention of the crimes of the Polish citizens in the persecution of Jews during Second World War, revoked after half a year of a heated debate between the Polish and Israeli governments. In the Polish media, both traditional and electronic, the proposed law was also the subject of a furious dispute, and in consequence the Public Ombudsman commissioned from The Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw an investigation into "The attitudes toward the Jews and their history after the introduction of the law on the Institute for National Memory". The researchers concluded that the attempt to introduce the new law was accompanied by "an obvious antisemitic upsurge in the public debate". However, in spite of increased antisemitic outbursts in the Internet, both directed against Jews in general and Israel in particular, they did not perceive any lasting change in overall attitudes. The data "did not indicate any marked increase in antisemitic attitudes (measured along a scale of secondary antisemitism)"[3]. It is worthwhile to add antisemitism is not a phenomenon characteristic only for Polish users of the Internet, which has become an efficient vehicle to spread antisemitic comments: while in 2017 there were 4 million antisemitic tweets, in the beginning of 2018, the antisemitic content in the social media increased by circa 30%, including "neo-Nazi symbolism, appeals to hatred, usage of dehumanizing expressions and declarations of Holocaust denial. In the years 2016–2018 a notable growth in the presence of antisemitic sentiments has been observed in Poland, the United States, Serbia and Switzerland"[4].

In the context of the rising wave of hate talk with antisemitic overtones one more aspect ought to be mentioned, however difficult it might be to measure it. Even though there has not been any broad research and there is no hard evidence it may well be that

[1] Cf. Ilsen About, Anna Abakunova. *The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti. Bibliography and Historiographical Review* [Research Report] (Berlin: International Holocaust and Remembrance Alliance. 2016), 139. ffhal-02529522f

[2] Cf. Wichert ten Have and Barbara Boender, eds. *The Holocaust and Other Genocides. An Introduction*. NIOD Institute for war, Holocaust and genocide Studies (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); "On Holocaust Memorial Day, we remember the six million Jews murdered in the Holocaust, and the millions of people killed under Nazi Persecution, and in the genocides which followed in Cambodia [1975–1979], Rwanda [1994], Bosnia [1995], and Darfur [2003-present]. Holocaust Memorial Day Trust. [accessed April 19, 2021]. https://www.hmd.org.uk/learn-about-the-holocaust-and-genocides.

[3] Maria Babińska et al. *Stosunek do Żydów i ich historii po wprowadzeniu ustawy o IPN. Analiza przygotowana na zlecenie Biura Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich* (Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Uprzedzeniami, 2018), 46.

[4] Babińska et al., *Stosunek do Żydów*, 4.

an upsurge in hate utterances did not significantly translate into antisemitic attitudes, i.e. it did not lead necessarily to a phenomenon known from other periods of crisis in the history of contemporary Poland, dubbed as "reawakening of fear". In the geopolitical space marked by so called "bench ghettoes" at the universities before the war; and, during the war, not only by gestures of solidarity or empathy, but also by pogroms, denunciations and blackmail, or simply, equally harmful indifference; or later, after the Holocaust, by forced emigration of 1945–46, and 1968, such a relapse into orchestrated hate against the Jews must have had its effect on the Survivors, many of whom concealed and continue to conceal their Jewish origin. It is difficult to conduct research in these circumstances but personal testimony and circumstantial evidence have provided grounds for speculation about precisely such reawakening of fear in Survivors who, at the end of their lives again live out the trauma caused by antisemites. The power of such fear has been demonstrated by Kurski (2022) who published his book on post-memory only after his mother's death, at her explicit request, since she was afraid that her Jewish roots would be revealed, and thus make her subject to antisemitic attacks. Other such stories will probably never become known and hence such "reawakened fears" will not be mentioned in the context of the infamous new law of 2018[5].

Another problem, which made its presence felt at the beginning of the 21st century, is that of Holocaust denial. Opinions denying the Holocaust could be heard in many countries, for instance the translated from German and published in Chicago *Lectures on the Holocaust* by Germar Rudolf, in which the author questions the numbers, opinions, data, making use of wartime documentation on the extermination of the Jewish population and forms of mass executions[6].

Similar, albeit less eloquent voices have also been observed in Poland, the most notorious being that of Dr. Dariusz Ratajczak from the University of Opole, deprived of his university post in the wake of his publication denying the function of death camps. Ratajczak published extensively in right-wing and Catholic periodicals, namely, *Najwyższy czas, Nowa myśl polska, Opcja na prawo, My, nowe pokolenie, Katolik, Polonia* (in Chicago). The first publication of his *Tematy niebezpieczne* [Dangerous topics] was dated 1999, but two years later, already in the 21st century, its reedition, Tematy jeszcze bardziej niebezpieczne [Even more dangerous topics], was published in New York, largely repeating the contents of the first edition, but in the company of a caveat to the effect that the book merely summarized the views of the revisionists. His further fates – court

[5] The law has been somewhat modified but – as David Silberklang, Dan Michman, and Havi Dreifuss state in a commentary on the official Yad Vashem web page – the danger that the law might jeopardize independent scholarship is still rampant: "(...) the IPN was given a new responsibility in addition to its basic duties: "«protection of the reputation of the Polish Republic or the Polish Nation»". The scholars express their concern that the amorphous notion of "reputation" may still serve as a convenient pretext to prosecute independent scholars. Cf. Yad Vashem historians respond to the joint statement of the Governments of Poland and Israel concerning the revision of the January 26, 2018, amendment to Poland's Act on the Institute of National Remembrance [accessed November 24, 2022] https://www.yadvashem.org/research/historians-reaction.html

[6] Germar Rudolf, *Lectures on the Holocaust. Controversial Issues Cross Examined* (Chicago: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2005).

proceedings, discontinuation of the trial, suspension from work, were systematically covered in the nationwide daily "Gazeta Wyborcza", which consistently tracked the cases of antisemitism in public life. After the publication of his book in 1999, Ratajczak was suspended from the University in Opole and accused of "Auschwitz lie"[7], and he was disciplinarily dismissed from work on April 5th 2000, with a three year ban from teaching at the university level[8], but later the court closed the case on the grounds of the "negligibility of the offence" since the book was published in a very low print run of 320 copies and only 5 copies ended up in the bookshops. The Centre for Press Monitoring reacted in an angry statement:

Fully sharing in the outrage and disgust at the acts of Mr Ratajczak, The Centre for Monitoring of the Press of the Association of Polish Journalists states that the role of the law is not to fight against lies and stupidity. D. Ratajczak deserves condemnation and perhaps, better still, to be ignored by the public opinion. Had he been sentenced to imprisonment, this would mean that democratic legal state is afraid of a liar, however despicable he might be.

Prosecution for such misdemeanors would amount to an engagement of the state in activities which criminal law conducts badly and vacuously. Such pronouncements should be contested not by the criminal code but by the society itself in a free public debate[9].

Whatever support Ratajczak did receive, it came from the extreme right-wing fringe. In 2010 he committed suicide and any attempts at finding extenuating circumstances or even denying his denial were met with exasperation among the liberal democrats or with understanding of the right-wing commentators, translating his fate into all but martyrdom of a victim of a leftist witch-hunt.

Apparently, both antisemitism, Holocaust denial, or "Holocaust dismissal" are still in the 21st century a vital factor in the interpretation of the effort to shape collective memory of the Holocaust as the most tragic event in the Polish history which needs to find its language, means of expression to bridge the past, the present with the future, as it is the second and third generation of the Holocaust Survivors who now came to the fore.

Eva Hoffman, herself a member of the second generation, born in 1945 in Kraków, claimed that the second generation was faced with the challenge to embrace to experience of their parents:

(...) the second generation's story is a strong case study in the deep and long-lasting impact of atrocity; (...) In their mediated but immediate relation to the Holocaust, children of survivors have had to live out and struggle with some of the defining issues that follow from atrocity: the internal impact of gratuitous violence and the transmission of traumatic experience across generations;

---

[7] Dorota Lasota-Wodecka, "Ratajczak zawieszony" (Ratajczak suspended), Gazeta Wyborcza, April 10, 1999, [accessed September 20, 2022]. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/724015/Ratajczak-zawieszony

[8] Marek Wajda, "Ratajczak zwolniony" (Ratajczak fired from the university), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 6, 2000, national edition. [accessed September 20, 2022]. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/1070772/Ratajczak-zwolniony.

[9] Centrum Monitoringu Wolności Prasy, "Oświadczenie w sprawie Ratajczaka," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, December 14, 1999, national edition. [accessed September 20, 2022]. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/978200/Oswiadczenie-w-sprawie-Ratajczaka.

the emotional intricacies of dealing with victims of persecution and the moral quandaries implicit in dialogues with perpetrators; the difficulties of witnessing the pain of others and of thinking about tragic pasts; and the relationship of private memory to a broader understanding of history[10].

With the second generation being in fact "the hinge generation", the third generation of the Survivors faces both the long-lasting effects of the trauma and the need to preserve the memory. The question arises what happens with the memory, post-memory and post-post-memory of the "bystanders" or witnesses of the Holocaust who were not Jewish. The first three decades of the 21st century seem to prove that an attempt at obliterating the memory of the past, the vanishing of the neighbors or dismissal of the Holocaust is not the only reaction to the poignant past.

Resorting to visual imagery in the shaping of memory, the function of photography, have been described in numerous publications. It is worthwhile to recall here the comments of the researcher on post-memory and the role of visual images in its shaping, Hirsch, who juxtaposed two cases of encounters with visual representations of the Holocaust: that of Susan Sontag and of Alice Kaplan. Both documented their reaction to the pictures from Bergen-Belsen or Dachau concentration camps seen when they were still children. Sontag was 12 when she saw the poignant pictures directly after the war, in "a bookstore in Santa Monica in July 1945" and was 40 when the essay *On Photography* was published in 1973. Alice Kaplan was 8 or 9 in 1962 "when she found them, in the desk of her father who had been a prosecutor at Nuremberg" and 36 when she published *French Lesson* in 1993[11].

Visual representations of atrocities exert great impact but there is, as Hirsch claims "a saturation point"[12] beyond which they can be used no more. Sontag also wrote about the anaesthetising effect of such visual representations. Instead, the exhibitions, both temporary and permanent, tend to focus now on "the life before and after" the Holocaust: be it the new Holocaust exhibition at the Imperial War Museum in London or the recent exhibitions in Poland.

It seems that to a certain extent some of the questions on the sense of guilt attempt to subvert Raul Hilberg's triad (victim-perpetrator-bystander). The triad, the linkage of antisemitism to the teaching of the church, etc., are constantly investigated by psychologists (e.g. Michał Bilewicz), historians, sociologists and writers, who also undertake work on collective memory, with the participation of curators of exhibitions, artists and local administration. Ample exemplification of such manipulation is manifest in the Museum of the Ulm Family, a new historical museum opened in Poland in recent years. The exhibitions contribute to the formation of collective memories, allegedly promoting harmony in the presentation of the turbulent past. They fail to appeal to "heteropathic

---

[10] Eva Hoffman, *After such Knowledge. A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust* (London: Vintage, 2004), 11.

[11] Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory", *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14 (1), (Spring 2001): 6. 10.1353/yale.2001.0008

[12] Hirsch, "Surviving Images", 7.

remembrance"[13], thus leaving a gap between the collective memories of Poles and Jews, which needs to be filled. On the other hand, in the period spanning 2004–2020 there were several exhibitions organized in public space which attempted to visually depict, inscribe, graft or regraft Jewish neighbours into the postHolocaust landscape of Poland, such as an open-air exhibition "The lost world: the photographs of Polish Jews in Milejczyce", a temporary exhibition "Włodawa Ghetto – a forgotten chapter in history" on display at the State Museum "Synagogues in Włodawa" (from December 12, 2019 till August 31, 2020) and a permanent exhibition in Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków.

The exhibition in Milejczyce was officially opened in a small, provincial town as a permanent exhibition: derelict synagogue building, abandoned after the war, has provided a background for blown up photographs of its former Jewish inhabitants. It may provoke equivocal reactions since it juxtaposes in public space two temporal planes: pictures of provincial Jews from before the war – their clothing does not fit the reality of Jews living at the time in large municipal centers, nor their lives, also in provincial locations, in contemporary times. It seems that this is one of the ways of "conceptualizing emptiness in contemporary culture"[14]. The synagogue, an empty space with windows pasted over by blown up out of all proportion pictures of local Jews, conveys an aura of emptiness.

Another exhibition, "Ghetto in Włodawa – a forgotten chapter in history" is, as one can read, "an exhibition commemorating the existence of a ghetto established in January 1940. (...) The ghetto finally ceased to exist in May 1943 after the last, fifth wave of liquidation"[15]. (What the official site does not mention, is an attempt to show parallel fates of Jews and Poles during the war. At times, as in the post-memory of Monika Sznajderman, *Fałszerze pieprzu*, a poignant comparison of almost total annihilation of the Jewish ancestors and a relatively happy life of her Polish ancestors who happened to be landed gentry[16]. Here, however, it seems that if the exhibition's aim was to stress the communion of suffering, which would also be the next stage in the rivalry for the first place in martyrdom, the picture of smiling, well-dressed young women and men, standing in front of a car, is misplaced. Or, very well placed, as it proves the unparallel fates of Poles and Polish Jews during the WWII.

Here, there seems to be an attempt at "reclaiming the space" – old space belonging to the Jewish citizens is symbolically assigned to them again, through photographs, constituting a rebuff of the antisemites, before the war, during the war and in postwar reality of Poland without Jews, whose presence they would like to erase from public space. But out of these three exhibitions only one brings hope, if merely a hope *au rebours*.

---

[13] Cf. Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 187. Cf also: Marianne Hirsch, "Projected Memory. Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy", (in:) *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Ed. Mieke Bal and Jonathan V. Crewe, Leo Spitzer. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999), 9.

[14] Małgorzata Czapiga. *Powidoki pustki. O sposobach konceptualizowania pustki w kulturze współczesnej*. (Kraków: Universitas, 2017).

[15] *Getto we Włodawie – Zapomniana karta historii*. [accessed September 7, 2020]. https://www.muzeumwlodawa.pl/getto-we-wlodawie-zapomniana-karta-historii-2.

[16] Monika Sznajderman, *Fałszerze pieprzu. Historia rodzinna*. (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2019).

The permanent Galicia Museum in Kraków, though also steeped in the past, presents a three generation story – that is, the memory of the two Holocaust Survivors (Orel and his wife), the postmemory of their children and postpostmemory of their grandchildren. As the only such exhibition it represents "a continuation" – recordings of interviews with the grandchildren, who frankly talk of the Polish antisemitism, a commentary of the Survivor Orel after seeing *Schindler's List*, when he claimed that there was not a grain of truth in the film about Goth's cruelty.

Yet, despite the latter visual representations of the Holocaust trying to present a "history uncontaminated" by political correctness, at the same time it is a history paradoxically not discontinued since it depicts the fate of a family and the artefacts (photographs, memorabilia, simply things) which survived the Shoah.

On the other hand, The Ulm Family Museum, in the south of Poland, dedicated to a Polish family murdered by the Nazis during World War II for hiding a group of Jews, was opened in 2015 and apparently, is a product of new policies espoused by the new nationalistic government. Critics noticed that it presents a polonocentric perspective to the exclusion of any uncomfortable facts. Cutting a long story short, the family which hid a dozen or so Jews was denounced to the Nazi authorities by Polish neighbors – the museum narration fails to mention this (instead stressing that the informer was a Ukrainian who happened to be a Polish citizen). Another noticeable omission was that after the execution of the Ulms which terrified Poles from the surrounding villages, they murdered other Jews hiding in the forest. Hence, we have two cases of heightened apprehension of Polish suffering, but it was suffering tailored along ethical lines: to the exclusion of Jewish citizens of Poland. In the context of discussions on the attenuation of Holocaust memory, Jan Grabowski and Dariusz Libionka highlighted the above problems immediately after the opening of the Ulm Family Museum[17]. This has been labelled as a case of „uninteriorated memory", a rivalry for the status of the main victim during World War II, an attempt to marginalize Holocaust.

Three fundamental questions appear at this junction: firstly, can these two memories be stitched together; secondly, how to do it; and thirdly, is it worthwhile to stitch together these disparate memories, or should one better look for other narratives, construe other traces, readings or signs? The first two questions are addressed by sociologists, historians and psychologists, the third one by artists, writers and film directors. In this last group belongs Mieczyslaw Abramowicz, an author who deserves to win greater international recognition, since his techniques of construction and reconstruction of signs, memory traces belong to a broader transnational spectrum of studies on memory.

In an attempt to answer the first two questions, or at least explain why the most likely answer is in both cases negative, one may resort to the Polish reactions to a book by Jan Tomasz Gross *Neighbours* on the murder of Jewish citizens by Poles in Jedwabne,

[17] Cf. Jan Grabowski and Dariusz Libionka, "Bezdroża polityki historycznej. Wokół Markowej, czyli o czym nie mówi Muzeum Polaków Ratujących Żydów podczas II Wojny Światowej im. Rodziny Ulmów". *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 12 (2016), Kindle.

a small town in northeastern Poland[18]. Around the book and the official ceremonies of the unveiling of a monument commemorating this tragic event grew numerous narratives, which certified to a rather pronounced lack of will to commemorate and remember this crime. Such selectiveness could, in turn, be explained with the help of a number of observations made by Pierre Nora, who claimed that memory and history tend to be complementary notions – with the injunction that they are often mutually exclusive. In his writings on memory Nora emphasized that a sine qua non condition imposed on sites of memory is "the will to remember"[19]. For the exclusively "material and cultural dimension" of memory sites is absolutely insufficient. Instead, "the objectivation must, in addition to its function, also have a symbolic meaning. This is the case, for example, when actions become rituals or places are shrouded with a 'symbolic aura'"[20]. It is this intentional symbolic signification – whether ascribed to the objectivation already at the point of its creation or not until later that first makes a cultural object a site of memory"[21]. Quite evidently, what seems to be missing in the Polish collective memory is the will to remember.

Different suggestions were made within psychoanalysis and psychology to explain such lack of will to remember. Michael Steinlauf, writing on the non-interiorization of Polish memory of the Holocaust, implemented studies of trauma carried out by Roland Jay Lifton. Bilewicz, writing about Polish collective (non)memory of the Holocaust, proposes a model of historical (non)memory as a consequence of emotional regulation. The objective of emotional regulation is to limit negative emotions and reinforce positive emotions with the retention of mental equilibrium in mind[22]. Members of a social community perceive guilt caused by crimes perpetrated by the whole group, a guilt directly proportional to their level of identification with the group. Persons with average or high level of identification with a given group harbour strong or very strong emotions towards negative facts pertaining to the group they identify with. Consequently, they must reject such facts. Hence, "moral emotions connected with a history of one's own crimes are exceedingly rare"[23].

Incidentally, this explains the case of Jan Tomasz Gross – the aforementioned author of *Neighbours* – who has been selectively assigned to half of his genealogical family tree by the Polish critics of his description of the Polish crime on the Jewish neighbours – he was automatically classified as a Jew who fails to forgive Poles and not a Pole who acknowledges Polish responsibility.

---

18 Jan Gross, *Sąsiedzi. Historia Zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka*. (Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000), Jan Gross, *Neighbours. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne*. (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

19 Astrid Erll. *Memory in Culture, trans. Sara B. Young* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 24.

20 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*", trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, 26, (1989): 19.

21 Astrid Erll. *Memory in Culture*, 24.

22 Michał Bilewicz, "(Nie)pamięć zbiorowa Polaków jako skuteczna regulacja emocji". *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016): 54–55.

23 Bilewicz, "(Nie)pamięć zbiorowa Polaków", 57.

Research carried out by Bilewicz is largely convergent with that of Leach on collective emotions in the colonial context. Here collective emotions of guilt or shame about colonial atrocities were also rather infrequent (57). Hence, avoidance of guilt is a process of regulation of emotions, a process concordant with the model of regulation of emotions proposed by James Gross:

1. Selection of situations (avoidance of contact with information source; concentration on the future);
2. Modification of situation (undermining the information source; historical censorship and concerted attempts to ignore unacceptable facts);
3. Directioning of attention (rivalry in suffering; denying of the past; theories of conspiracy);
4. Cognitive modification (dehumanization of the victims, neglection and diminishing of the consequences of actions);
5. Modulation of expression (suppressing of emotional reaction; choice of "safe emotions")[24].

From his research Bilewicz draws the conclusion that in order to accept responsibility/guilt a community must identify itself with another, superordinate group, which will lead to a relative weakening of exclusive identification with the primary ethnic/social group. An additional factor of change in emotional regulation is identification superordinate to the national identification perceived earlier, which would include the excluded and victimized group, thereby humanizing it. For example identification of the type "I'm a European" would be superordinate to the identification "I'm a Pole".

Collective memory comprises cultural artifacts, places of memory which participate in the process of the semiosis "of situating knowledge in forms of remembrance" as well as, though at a different level, symbols and indexical signs which are recognizable to the local communities[25]. These last ones are particularly crucial in those cultures which have problems with the interiorization of memories on the Holocaust (i.e. Eastern Europe including Austria). Sendyka analyzes non-places of memory: "places whose past does not allow to negate them completely, but which for unarticulated reasons do not-qualify-to-be-included in local history"[26].

Memory, collective memory are not homogenous. Different regions of the country dealt with the problem of reworking memory of the Holocaust in different ways. Gdańsk, due to its history, has a somewhat different attitude to the Jewish past of the town. It was a multicultural city which enjoyed before the war the status of a Free City, even though this was overlaid by Nazi symbolism present in the triumphant reception given to Adolf Hitler in 1939. After World War II and the movement of Polish national border to the west in 1945, it was "taken over" by Polish nationals (often educated and cultured) displaced

[24] Bilewicz, "(Nie)pamięć zbiorowa Polaków", 58.
[25] Roma Sendyka, "Niepamięć albo o sytuowaniu wiedzy o formach pamiętania", *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016).
[26] Roma Sendyka, "Nie-miejsca pamięci i ich nie-ludzkie pomniki", *Teksty Drugie* 2 (2017): 88.

from the eastern towns of Lwów and Vilnius, but also by migrants from central and western Poland (i.e. Poznań) who replaced the forcibly removed German population.

The Jewish community managed to transfer to New York before the outbreak of the war objects connected with religious cult and archives, its members also managed to sell some of their real estate and other material possessions which facilitated the English sponsored international action of so called Kindertransports, an evacuation of children to their safety in Britain after Kristallnacht. For these reasons alone, if not for many others, continuity in the history of the town was broken and large scale population exchanges led to a lack of continuity in Gdańsk cultural memory, unlike other Polish towns (i.e. Kielce) where a different continuity prevails (that of pogroms after World War I and after World War II in 1946)[27].

Consequently, Kielce has its own cultural memory of pogroms, while Gdańsk attends to its own memory/non-memory of Holocaust, marked by non-remembrance of Jewish neighbors, though further research should be undertaken on Kashubian Holocaust non-memory or antisemitism. In the last couple of decades a number of scholarly publications on the history of Gdańsk Jews were published (notably those by Grzegorz Berendt), the nonexistent today Great Synagogue has been commemorated by markings of its contours on the sidewalk, a book on Kindertransports and the history of Jewish theatre are in preparation. The same can be said about the German past of the city, which, not unlike the history of Sopot (the second part of Tri-city) is deeply anchored in the collective memory of their present Polish residents.

But Gdańsk must come to terms with its own collective memory; German cemeteries razed to the ground in the nineteen sixties were commemorated with memorial plaques as late as the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and the Jewish cemetery in Sopot, almost devoid of all of its matzevahs, has been put in order in the eighties, while the paving stones and stairs (in local memory named the "stairs of shame") built out of matzevahs with the back side up were removed even later.

Such is the task pursued by Mieczysław Abramowicz from Gdańsk who fashions cultural memory by using literary means, as well as constructing spaces of memory through the implementation of theatrical techniques. His novel published in 2013, *Bowiem jak śmierć potężna jest pamięć* [For memory is as strong as death], and the performance at the Jewish cemetery in Sopot jointly constitute a many layered fabric of (re)constructed collective memory[28]. Such attempt to reinstate a lost harmony, however utopian it might seem, stands out in stark contrast to the exclusive narrations of collective memories epitomized in the two freshly opened Polish museums. In the light of recent processes of building memory culture in Poland it seems that the conclusion voiced by Astrid Erll in 2005 that "with the end of Cold War, the binary structure of eastern and western

[27] Joanna Tokirska-Bakir, "Pamięć nieumarła. Czytając Kazimierza Wykę w Polsce roku 2016", *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016): 106–121.

[28] Mieczysław Abramowicz, *Bowiem jak śmierć potężna jest pamięć*. (Gdańsk: Oskar, 2013).

memory cultures has collapsed" was at the time at least in reference to Polish "memory culture" excessively optimistic and finds no confirmation at present[29].

Consequently, in the context of non-memory which did not have to be subjected to any stifling, but was nevertheless the object of the semiosis of ignorance, the works of Mieczyslaw Abramowicz, as artifacts of cultural memory which participate in the creation of the Holocaust geography of memory, deserve to be closely examined, especially since their high artistic value constitutes also added value of memory. The texts written by the Gdańsk author born in 1952 in Gdańsk are also signs of post-memory. On the one hand, Abramowicz was the initiator of the construction of the Gdańsk Kindertransport monument erected in front of the main entrance to Gdańsk railway station. Statues, as lasting and recognizable artefacts, are intellectually transparent (i.e. are intellectually accessible monuments of history and monuments of memory) and belong to the most traditional forms of commemorating people and events, so, as James Y. Young put it, they "mediate memory". The fact that the monument has its counterparts in Hoek van Holland and Liverpool Street Station in London, allows Gdańsk to map its own memory of Holocaust in the transnational geography of Holocaust Survivors. Off the record, one might think of such sites of memory that from the Jewish perspective, they might be an instance of not necessarily welcome case of self-aggrandizement, but given the social role of Mieczysław Abramowicz (spokesman of the Jewish community in Gdańsk), this is not the case here.

As Polish memory of the Holocaust in the 21st century has taken multifarious forms in written versions, from subjective, indeed personal, reconstructions of the past, through fictional narratives of different types such as literary texts and film productions, to meticulously documented research projects dedicated to various aspects of the Holocaust.

Mieczysław Abramowicz as writer, published two novels on the Holocaust, at least one of which oscillates around the novels by W.G. Sebald: *Everyone brought the best they had* published in 2006 (nominated to all three of the most important Polish literary awards – Nike, Silesius, and Gdynia), has served as the basis for a theatrical production staged at the Miniatura Theatre in Gdańsk. The other one, *For love is as powerful as death* published in 2013, has been realized in the form of a happening and a radio program. In both of these fictional narratives Abramowicz reconstructs on the basis of surviving records the events in the lives of his characters. The happening at the Jewish cemetery in Sopot grew out of the second book project. The participants, about fifty people mostly from the University of Gdańsk (but the rabbi for Poland, Michael Schudrich was also present) met at the gate to the cemetery on the 6th of October 2013. After a short speech by the rabbi the gate was opened and the participants of the event filed into the cemetery. It was already getting dark but the graveyard was illuminated by tiny lamps placed next to selected gravestones. Texts attributed to the people buried at the cemetery (fictional testimonies written by Abramowicz on the basis of surviving documents such

[29] Astrid Erll. *Memory in Culture*, trans. Sara B. Young (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4.

as newspaper clippings) were translated into the languages once spoken by the deceased people (Yiddish, Hebrew, German, Russian, Ukrainian). Recorders placed near each matzevah played the texts recorded by actors in their appropriate language version. The murmuring voices mingled in the darkness illuminated by flickering lamps. We walked from grave to grave to hear out the testimonies. Our silhouettes like dybbuks from Jewish tradition. Walkers by taking a short cut along a wood path to a nearby church for the evening mass stopped at the cemetery fence, puzzled by what was going on at the usually silent and forgotten Jewish cemetery. When the night fell we slowly left the cemetery and dispersed.

The volume *The Holocaust: Between History and Memory* (2024) is an attempt to provide a fairly broad panorama of the research on the memory of the attitudes of Poles toward the horrors of the Holocaust, attitudes ranging from the most callous, base and abominable to the most courageous and compassionate. The array of texts on matters related to the collective memory of the Holocaust in Poland cannot be claimed to be comprehensive given the complexity of this subject.

Monika Sznajderman, a writer, publisher, anthropologist, wrote a personal narrative about the two sides of her mixed lineage. In an emotionally charged narrative she juxtaposes the very different circumstances and fates of her Jewish kin, on her father's side, and her Polish relatives from the landed gentry, on her mother's side, in the period of German occupation of Poland. Beginning with descriptions of mundane events (a dinner with closest relatives) her narrative meanders from one living relative to the next (they are often scattered in various, remote corners of the world), through a roll call of now long deceased close relations, mostly Jewish, and toward the darkest moments of the occupation times. She does not fail to mention the wartime misfortunes of her Polish relatives but, clearly, the fates of Jewish and Polish relations were incomparable. While her Jewish relatives were struggling for survival against all odds, her landowning Polish relatives were trying to live on as they did before the war, although their world was also drawing to an end. Some of the Polish relatives became infatuated with extreme nationalist ideology, in its less savoury forms succumbing to the folly of antisemitism. Out of glimpses, splinters recovered from her own memory Sznajderman created a patchwork of images which surprisingly accurately reflected the diverse attitudes emerging in the context of complex Jewish and Polish relations. As she concluded "(…) it is very difficult to find space in the imagination for such extremely different human fates, such extremely different situations under the Occupation".

Barbara Engelking offers a meticulously researched study of the efforts of Jewish and Polish underground organizations in the provision of aid to Jews hiding under assumed identities on the 'Aryan' side of the Warsaw ghetto wall. Engelking attempts to characterize from the human experience perspective the functioning of the Council for Aid to Jews Żegota, the umbrella organization in liaison with the underground resistance

movement in occupied Poland and with the London based Polish Government in Exile, which provided a forum for the cooperation of an array of organizations and institutions, both Jewish and Polish (primarily Jewish – their contribution to the aid effort was estimated at 70%) in creating and administering a surprisingly efficient aid network. There does exist documentation of the activities of this institution in the form of minutes from its meetings but these pertain mainly to financial issues and are fragmentary, which should not be surprising given the clandestine character of these operations. Consequently, Engelking bases her characterization of the details of Żegota's wartime activities on the individual recollections of the survivors of the Holocaust who participated in providing the aid. Thanks to the courage of numerous couriers and helpers this network could give aid to thousands of Jews in hiding, whose exact number will never be known and can only be roughly estimated.

Beata Michlic picks up her account more or less in the point where Engelking had left hers off. She concentrates on 'dedicated rescuers', i.e. rescuers who did not offer their aid for any material gain. Many of the most active providers of aid happened to be women. Hence the gender perspective for viewing aid offered to Jews hiding on the 'Aryan' side. The research is based on examination of the correspondence addressed to various Jewish organizations offering help to survivors of the Holocaust and on those who had rescued them. In their letters persons asking for aid describe the circumstances in which they had rescued Jews and their dire situation in the bleak post-war period which led to their application for financial and/or material assistance. The project is an initial foray into largely unexplored territory. Hence, it offers more questions than answers. The questions, however, should open up a fruitful avenue to a more detailed study of the role of women in rescuing Jews in hiding during the Holocaust period. The paper also offers much narrative material about the varied fates of individual survivors and their helpers.

The two papers demonstrate how the Holocaust in occupied Poland has become the center of a lively debate among Polish historians researching its various aspects. The dominant path towards greater social awareness of the Holocaust is that via literary texts and motion pictures. The remaining part of this selection of papers is devoted to this problem area.

Przemysław Czapliński proposes a review of Polish literary publications on the Holocaust in the period 1985–2015. He is intrigued by a sudden increase in the number of literary publications on the Polish-Jewish relations which could be observed from 1985 onwards. This avalanche of publications did not coincide with any noticeable event on the political or social scene. In fact it predated later phenomena like the disintegration of the Soviet Union, unification of Germany (the fall of the Berlin wall), democratization of former communist states (first free election in Poland), etc. There does not seem to be any obvious reason within Polish cultural milieu for this outburst of interest in matters related to the Holocaust. Czapliński's enquiry begins with the question: "Why then?". He tries to identify the reasons (finding at least three) and goes on to a characterization

of this vast array of texts in the seemingly unlikely terms of the discovery of the subsequent stages of the poetics of horror. In the period from mid 1980s (Lanzmann's *Shoah* and Błoński's essay *The poor Poles look at the ghetto*) until the end of the 1990s the texts were marked by a discovery of the monstrosity of the Holocaust, as seen from the vantage point of the Polish witnesses. In the second period, from the 1990s to 2010 we see how mundane ordinariness leads to an isolation of the Jews from the rest of the society, thus creating conditions in which Poles could not any more occupy the relatively comfortable stance of mere witnesses. They must be viewed as being involved in the guilt and shame. Finally from the second decade of the twenty first century the writers deliberately choose "excessive close ups and shameless eye witness perspective" leading to an invasion of the aesthetics of disgust. Within such grid of increasingly dismal levels of horror Czapliński analyses the underpinnings of a large body of texts, raising in the process numerous issues relating to specific works.

Bożena Keff provides an account complementary to that of Czapliński: she concentrates on selected Polish literary texts published in the nineteen forties and fifties, the period either coinciding with the war years or in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust. Unlike Czapliński, she does not propose a theoretical grid for a taxonomy of these texts. Instead, she chooses four texts and recounts the different attitudes of the Jews and Poles depicted in them. The initial premise is that the social mores of the past did not necessarily coincide with those largely dominating today (e.g. a large group of Poles were at the time not merely witnesses, since they often sympathized with the antisemitic measures imposed by the German occupiers and some even contributed to the harassment of the Jews, e.g. the case of blackmailers, *szmalcownicy*). Therefore, Keff argues that early Polish publications on the Holocaust should be re-examined in terms of the ideas and attitudes dominating in the time when the genocide was in full swing. This is precisely what we find in numerous quotes from the little known or largely ignored today literary texts from the times, accompanied by expanded synopses of the plots of these narratives. To the initial question whether the different attitudes of the Poles toward the Jews were largely reflected in these texts the author provides a cautiously affirmative answer. The perspective from which the discussed issues are presented is more personal than in the case of Czapliński's analysis. The author concludes that no attempt to generalize on the basis of specific cases is justified, "no rule could ever be formulated."

Urszula Chowaniec, writes about a Holocaust Survivor, the New York based poet, feminist and lesbian activist, Irena Klepfisz. Klepfisz was born in the Warsaw ghetto, her father died heroically in the uprising in the ghetto, she survived hidden in a Catholic orphanage passing for a Pole, after the war her mother, who also survived, took her to Sweden and from there they went on to New York. As an American poet she represented the feminist stance with a clearly stated lesbian identity. Her political and social convictions were rooted in the socialist traditions of the Bund, which should not at all be surprising given her father's involvement in that movement before the war. Consequently, Klepfisz represented the secular option within Jewish community. Given the long

tradition of the association of Jewishness with religion this is a somewhat paradoxical situation. In spite of her orientation Klepfisz quite surprisingly reclaims her long forgotten *mame loshn*, Yiddish. She introduces into her poems fragments in Yiddish thus resurrecting her affiliation to the East European Yiddishkeit. Since 1983 Klepfisz has paid a number of visits to Poland. This along with the increasing number of publications on her work and numerous translations into Polish (a bilingual collection of her poems, published in 2024) might foster greater interest of the Polish readership in the poetry of this secular, Jewish feminist and lesbian author. Thus, Klepfisz may yet play her role, along with prewar women poets writing in Yiddish, in reviving Polish collective memory of important aspects of the destroyed Jewish community in Poland.

Aleksandra Ubertowska takes up the topic of child perspective in contemporary art on the Holocaust. This is not a totally new trope (note the re-enactment of the darkest rituals of genocide in games played by children discussed by Keff or the protagonists of *Weiser Dawidek* mentioned in passing in Czapliński's text) but it has been put to some new uses in post-modernistic fiction and films of the twenty first century. After a brief introduction (inter alia Spiegelman's graphic novel *Maus*) Ubertowska passes on to a somewhat longer analysis of Taika Waititi's Holocaust comedy *JoJo Rabbit*, only to concentrate on the novel by Pankowski *Była Żydówka, nie ma Żydówki* [There was a Jewish woman, there's no Jewish woman]. What all these very different narratives have in common is the placement of a child protagonist at the centre of the depicted dismal reality. Such stratagem confronts childish imagination with a world which is impossible to comprehend. Pankowski's novel combines the story of a Jewish girl, who tries to survive against all odds, with the narration of a Pole and homosexual prisoner from Auschwitz who refers to himself as a "living fool in dark blue stripes". The narrations intertwine in a truly post-modernistic style, with the author occasionally stepping in and an uncomprehending American audience listening to the mixture of styles and narrations shifting back and forth between different protagonists. Traditional narration occasionally disintegrates into notes and it is not always clear who happens to be telling which story. Post-modernistic poetics with a child protagonist in the centre provides an appropriate milieu for dealing with a world beyond any sane comprehension. Pankowski thus adds a yet another fragment to the jigsaw puzzle of Polish collective memory of the Holocaust.

The work on the collective memory, sites of memory, and, more often than not non-sites of memory of the Holocaust in Poland, has embraced different forms, genres and media. Over the last twenty years it has radically accelerated: the documentation of the Holocaust in Poland has grown in geometrical progression, as the annihilation of European Jewry was to a great measure carried out in Poland, mostly because the main death camps were located there. Most of them, however, were of Polish descent, and thus it is an ongoing attempt at finding the way to express the chiasm caused by the extermination of the Polish Jews.

Polish historical research, literature, visual arts keep reinterpreting, and construing anew, the memory of the Holocaust. Monographs by numerous authors, embracing

the history of the Holocaust and its memory in contemporary Poland, research on the literature, film, theatre of the Holocaust, visual works; furthermore, film testimonies of the second and third generations of Survivors, finally the work translators adopting Jewish texts in Yiddish into the Polish language, or translations into Polish of testimonies of first, second, third generation Survivors are all contributing to a fuller and more complex local memory of the Holocaust. Polish researchers based in western universities substantially contribute to the augmentation of research on the Holocaust, both in terms of broadening the range of topics covered and deepening the analyses. Antisemitism of the nationalists, publications saturated with hate-talk are on a collision course with meta-discourse on language.

Bibliography

About Ilsen, Abakunova Anna. *The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti. Bibliography and Historiographical Review*. [Research Report] International Holocaust and Remembrance Alliance, 2016. hal-02529522.

Abramowicz, Mieczysław. *Bowiem jak śmierć potężna jest pamięć*. Gdańsk: Oskar, 2013.

Babińska, Maria, Bilewicz, Michał, Bulska, Dominika, Haska, Agnieszka, and Wiśniewski, Mikołaj. *Stosunek do Żydów i ich historii po wprowadzeniu ustawy o IPN. Analiza przygotowana na zlecenie Biura Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich*. Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Uprzedzeniami, 2018.

Bal, Mieke, Crewe, Jonathan V., and Spitzer, Leo, eds. *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999.

Bilewicz, Michał. "(Nie)pamięć zbiorowa Polaków jako skuteczna regulacja emocji". *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016): 52–67.

Blatman, Daniel. "Beyond National Identities: New Challenges in Writing the History of the Holocaust in Poland and Israel". *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*. Edited by Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Andrzej Żbikowski. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2018, 423–441. (Accessed 17 Apr. 2021). www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv7xbrh4.40.

Centrum Monitoringu Wolności Prasy. "Oświadczenie w sprawie Ratajczaka", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, December 14, 1999, national edition. [Accessed: September 20, 2022]. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/978200/Oswiadczenie-w-sprawie-Ratajczaka.

Czapiga, Małgorzata. *Powidoki pustki. O sposobach konceptualizowania pustki w kulturze współczesnej*. Kraków: Universitas, 2017.

Erll, Astrid. *Memory in Culture*. Translated by Sara B. Young. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Ferenc-Piotrowska, Maria, Radecka-Mikulicz, Kamila, and Majewska, Justyna. "Curatorial and Educational Challenges in Creating the Holocaust Gallery". In: *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*, edited by Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Andrzej Żbikowski. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2018, 423–441.

Getto we Włodawie – Zapomniana karta historii. [Accessed: September 7, 2020]. https://www.muzeumwlodawa.pl/getto-we-wlodawie-zapomniana-karta-historii-2

Grabowski, Jan and Libionka, Dariusz. "Bezdroża polityki historycznej. Wokół Markowej, czyli o czym nie mówi Muzeum Polaków Ratujących Żydów podczas II Wojny Światowej im. Rodziny Ulmów", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 12 (2016), Kindle.

Gross, Jan. *Sąsiedzi. Historia Zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka*. Sejny: Pogranicze, 2000.

Gross, Jan. *Neighbours. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Have, Wichert ten and Boender, Barbara, eds. *The Holocaust and Other Genocides. An Introduction*. NIOD Institute for war, Holocaust and genocide Studies. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012. [Accessed: April 19, 2021]. https://www.hmd.org.uk/learn-about-the-holocaust-and-genocides/

Hirsch, Marianne. "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory". *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14 (1) (Spring 2001): 5–37. 10.1353/yale.2001.0008

Hirsch, Marianne. "Projected Memory. Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy". In: *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Edited by Mieke Bal and Jonathan V. Crewe, Leo Spitzer. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999, 3–23.

Hoffman, Eva. *After such Knowledge. A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. London: Vintage, 2004.

Krupa, Bartłomiej. "Historia krytyczna i jej «gabinet cieni». Historiografia polska wobec Zagłady 2003–2013". In: *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 10 (2014): 721–767, https://doi.org/10.32927/ZZSiM.547

Lasota-Wodecka, Dorota. "Ratajczak zawieszony". *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 10, 1999. Accessed: September 20, 2022. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/724015/Ratajczak-zawieszony.

Muzeum – Zespół Synagogalny we Włodawie. *Getto we Włodawie. Zapomniana karta historii*. Wydanie dwujęzyczne. Włodawa: Muzeum – Zespół Synagogalny we Włodawie, 2019.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire". *Representations* 26 (January, 1989): 7–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

Polonsky, Antony, Węgrzynek, Hanna, and Żbikowski, Andrzej, eds., *New Directions in the History of Jews in the Polish Lands*. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2018. [Accessed April 17, 2021]. http://www-1jstor-1org-1rcuu9j73005a.hansolo.bg.ug.edu.pl/stable/j.ctv7xbrh4.39.

Raport CBU UW i Fundacji im. Stefana Batorego. "Mowa nienawiści, mowa pogardy. Raport z badania przemocy werbalnej wobec grup mniejszościowych". Warszawa: Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego, 2017.

Rosman, Moshe. "Polish–Jewish Historiography 1970–2015: Construction, Consensus, Controversy". In: *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*. Edited by Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Andrzej Żbikowski. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2019, 60–77. [Accessed April 17, 2021]. https://doi.org/10.1515/9788394914912-010].

Rudolf, Germar. *Lectures on the Holocaust. Controversial Issues Cross Examined*. Chicago: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2005.

Sendyka, Roma. "Pryzma – zrozumieć nie-miejsca pamięci (non-lieu de memoire)". *Teksty Drugie* 1–2 (2013): 323–344.

Sendyka, Roma. "Miejsca, które straszą (afekty i nie-miejsca pamięci)". *Teksty Drugie* 1 (2014): 84–102.
Sendyka, Roma, "Niepamięć albo o sytuowaniu wiedzy o formach pamiętania". *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016): 250–267.
Sendyka, Roma. "Nie-miejsca pamięci i ich nie-ludzkie pomniki". *Teksty Drugie* 2 (2017): 86–108.
Silverman, Kaja. *The Threshold of the Visible World*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
Sznajderman, Monika. *Fałszerze pieprzu. Historia rodzinna*. Wołowiec: Czarne, 2019.
Szostek, Teresa, Sendyka, Rom, and Nycz, Ryszard, eds. *Od pamięci biodziedzicznej do postpamięci*. Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, 2013.
Taylor, Charles. *Nowoczesne imaginaria społeczne*. Translated by Adam Puchejda and Karolina Szymaniak. Kraków: Znak, 2010.
Tokarska-Bakir, Joanna. "Pamięć nieumarła. Czytając Kazimierza Wykę w Polsce roku 2016". *Teksty Drugie* 6 (2016): 106–121.
Wajda, Marek. "Ratajczak zwolniony", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 6, 2000, national edition. [Accessed: September 20, 2022]. https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/1070772/Ratajczak-zwolniony.
„Yad Vashem historians respond to the joint statement of the Governments of Poland and Israel concerning the revision of the January" 26 (2018), amendment to Poland's Act on the Institute of National Remembrance." [Accessed: November 24, 2022]. https://www.yadvashem.org/research/historians-reaction.html
Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. Yale: Yale University Press, 1993.
Żbikowski, Andrzej. "The Dispute over the Status of a Witness to the Holocaust: Some Observations on How Research into the Destruction of the Polish Jews and into Polish–Jewish Relations during the Years of Nazi Occupation Has Changed since 1989". In: *New Directions in the History of the Jews in the Polish Lands*. Edited by Antony Polonsky, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Andrzej Żbikowski. Translated by Jarosław Garliński. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2018, 402–422. [Accessed April 17, 2021]. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv7xbrh4.39].