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# European Textbooks Poland Review

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# Executive Summary

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This report presents a comprehensive analysis of forty-two textbooks used in various educational settings, including primary, secondary, and technical schools. It focuses on subjects in which Jewish themes<sup>1</sup> form part of the curriculum, such as in history, Social Studies, Polish Language, and early education classes. Only textbooks approved by the Ministry of National Education are included, ensuring that the study is based on materials reviewed by ministerial experts. The analysis covers content related to Jewish identity, culture, history, religion, antisemitism, and the Holocaust, along with a critical evaluation of how these themes align with curriculum standards.

The primary goal of this qualitative study is to assess whether the portrayal of Jewish themes in textbooks is objective and free from stereotypes and prejudices. Additionally, the report offers recommendations on how to develop educational materials that help students identify and challenge stereotypical content. Selected excerpts from the textbooks are used to illustrate recurring argumentative patterns, many of which perpetuate stereotypes, prejudices, and antisemitic tropes.

## Positive Developments in Jewish Content

Compared to the findings of the 2016 study conducted by the Jewish Association Czulent,<sup>2</sup> there has been a significant improvement in the representation of Jewish themes. The current analysis finds a broader and more informative coverage of Jewish history, including topics such as ancient Israel, Jewish migration, the reasons for settlement in Poland, and contributions to Polish culture and history. There is also increased recognition of Jewish participation in political movements and their role in the struggle for Polish independence. Notably, these themes are presented in a more neutral and factual context, rather than being confined to narratives of persecution and the Holocaust.

- **Holocaust Representation and Empathy:** Textbook authors now make greater efforts to evoke empathy and understanding for Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. Textbooks now include a more nuanced discussion of the various Polish attitudes toward Jews during the war, including prewar antisemitism and Polish involvement in crimes committed during and after the Holocaust.
- **Shift in Addressing Jewish Origins of Communists:** The treatment of Jewish figures in the communist regime has seen a noticeable shift, with less emphasis placed on their Jewish origins compared to earlier textbooks. Despite these

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<sup>1</sup> "Jewish themes" refer to a broad spectrum of elements related to Jewish identity, culture, history, and religion. They include but are not limited to the portrayal of Jewish characters, depictions of Judaism as a religion, and exploration of Jewish heritage. They also encompass Jewish historical experiences, such as the diaspora, persecution, and the Holocaust, as well as the representation of Jewish communities and their interactions with broader society.

<sup>2</sup> The report titled "Antisemitism Is Not an Option," conducted by the Czulent Jewish Association in 2016, analyzed 142 Polish history textbooks used in formal education settings approved by the Polish Ministry of National Education, along with 29 textbooks used in informal education. The findings revealed significant factual inaccuracies, distortions of history, and both overt and covert nationalistic and discriminatory content.

improvements, positive portrayals of Jewish themes remain inconsistent and are largely dependent on individual authors, rather than the result of a cohesive editorial policy.

### **Key Themes Identified in the Report**

- **Stereotypes and Projection:** The analysis reveals a frequent use of projection, by which negative traits and behaviors associated with the majority population are attributed to the Jewish minority. This often leads to portrayals of Jews as outsiders with distinct customs; they are characterized as “Christ killers” or marginalized figures living on the periphery of society.
- **Jewish History as a Distinct and Separate Topic:** Jewish history in Poland is often treated as a separate topic, rather than integrated into the broader narrative of Polish national history. Jews are depicted as having settled in Poland because of persecution in other countries, yet are benefiting from the protection of the Polish state, royalty, and aristocracy. This narrative emphasizes Poland’s favorable treatment of Jews, which has led to a significant increase in the Jewish population, but it largely frames Jews as the foreign beneficiaries of Polish hospitality. This approach is problematic, as it presents Jews as inherently detached from Polish society, rather than as an integral part of the Polish fabric, contributing positively to aspects of national life.
- **Jewish Victimhood and the Holocaust:** The Holocaust and its suffering are the most prominent subject in textbook content on Jewish history. Although these narratives acknowledge Jewish suffering, they often place Jewish experiences alongside Polish suffering and heroism during the same period, which can diminish the distinctiveness of Jewish victimhood. Presenting the two as separate kinds of victims would allow for a more nuanced understanding of each group's experiences and prevent the belittlement of Jewish suffering.
- **Portrayal of Zionism and the State of Israel:** The narrative shifts considerably when addressing the establishment of the State of Israel. Here, Jews are often portrayed as nationalistic Zionists, held responsible for the displacement and suffering of the “Indigenous population” (Palestinians). These sections frequently contain factual inaccuracies and reflect a clear bias in the portrayal of these events.

# Introduction

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## Overview of the Country

Analyzing textbook content related to Jews; Jewish identity, culture, history, and religion; antisemitism; or the Holocaust requires an understanding of the social and political context in Poland. And this demands a recognition of the social imaginary of the Jew, antisemitism, and the Holocaust against the background of Polish national history, as well as of the strong politicization and function of these issues in shaping political images.

As early as the 1990s, Jewish themes were used as forms of political stigmatization directed at political groups and individual actors. Such abuses were often associated with efforts to destroy the credibility of political opponents. For instance, during the first free presidential elections in 1990, Lech Wałęsa, an icon of the Solidarity movement and the recipient of the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize, sought to delegitimize his opponent, former prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by “accusing” him of being Jewish, thereby implying that he was not “Polish enough” to become president. In response, Mazowiecki tried to change the narrative by proving his Polish origins with baptismal records and birth certificates, as if Jewish ancestry truly disqualified someone from running for the presidency.<sup>3</sup>

The antisemitic card was also used against former presidents Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Lech Kaczyński, and presidential candidate Rafał Trzaskowski in 2020, when it was alleged that Trzaskowski would “fulfill Jewish demands. This narrative dominated public television coverage. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights—Special Election Assessment Mission (ODIHR—SEAM) noted instances of intolerant rhetoric, including xenophobic, homophobic, and antisemitic statements, particularly from the incumbent president’s campaign and the public TV station: “The campaign was marked by negative rhetoric, harsh mutual accusations, and vilification of the opponents, all contributing to the perception of the election in zero-sum terms.”<sup>4</sup>

The appeal and effectiveness of using antisemitic themes as a mobilizing and polarizing tool has been recognized by political actors: they have created an environment where Jews, the Holocaust, and antisemitism are consistently exploited in various political situations. These include campaigns aimed at “defending” Poland’s honor or promoting the heroism of Poles who saved Jews during World War II that were initiated or supported by political groups during parliamentary campaigns, local elections, and European Parliament elections. For example, the 2019 electoral committee,

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<sup>3</sup> Piotr Forecki, “Stolzman w Belwederze? Instrumentalizacja antysemityzmu w kampaniach prezydenckich w Polsce po roku 1989,” *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, 165 (Poznań: Wydział Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa UAM, 2009), 165.

<sup>4</sup> Special Election Assessment Mission Page: 3 Republic of Poland, Presidential Election, Second Round. 12 July 2020 Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions, ODIHR—SEAM [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/e/457210\\_0.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/e/457210_0.pdf). (All websites in the footnotes were last accessed on August 30, 2024.

Konfederacja KORWiN Braun Liroy Narodowcy (Confederation KORWiN Braun Liroy Nationalists), managed to gain nearly 10% support before the elections, largely by leveraging messages that resonated with antisemitic sentiments,<sup>5</sup> such as topics related to the Holocaust; more specifically, adherence to the 2017 U.S. Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Act.<sup>6</sup>

One of the campaign ads of Confederation's activist Grzegorz Braun featured language such as "usurious internationalism"; "no to Jewish claims"; "stop the immigrant invasion" (with visuals featuring a watchtower and an area surrounded by barbed wire)' "this is Poland, not Po-lin"<sup>7</sup>; and "the security of faith, family, and property." The same politician, now a member of the European Parliament, stirred controversy on December 12, 2023, during a Hanukkah celebration in the Polish Parliament when he extinguished Hanukkah candles with a fire extinguisher. Despite this incident raising concerns about antisemitism in Poland and receiving widespread criticism, Braun was able to use the increased attention to boost his popularity. During his campaign for the European Parliament in 2023, he traveled around his electoral district, signing fire extinguishers for his supporters.<sup>8</sup> Both he and five other representatives from his party were elected to the European Parliament, garnering more support than left-wing or conservative parties.

The use and instrumentalization of antisemitism during the recent 2023 parliamentary elections in Poland were confirmed by research conducted by the Jewish Association Czulent, in collaboration with the University of Warsaw, which monitored antisemitic hate content. The study revealed that the content appearing in user posts was both inaccurate and polarizing. The use of stereotypical images of Jews reinforced messages of them as the Other and as disloyal, harming the interests of Poland and Poles. It also undermined political opponents by labeling them as Jews, using this label as a negative symbol, and promoting conspiracy theories that placed the blame on Jews

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<sup>5</sup> Anna Mierzyńska, *Jews and the U.S. Are the Biggest Enemies for Polish Radicals: The Anti-American Narrative Poses a Problem for PiS*, <https://oko.press/zydzi-i-usa-najwiekszymi-wrogami-dla-polskich-radykalow-antyamerykanska-narracja-problemem-pis>.

<sup>6</sup> Act 477, the Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Act of 2017 (Section 2), requires the U.S. Department of State to report to Congress on the effectiveness of national laws and policies in countries covered under the act related to the identification and restitution of assets wrongfully seized or transferred during the Holocaust. It requires the return of such property to their rightful owners property, or providing comparable replacement property or fair compensation; restitution of childless property for Holocaust survivors in need; and progress on claims involving U.S. Holocaust survivors and their families. "Covered countries" are those identified by the Department of State, in consultation with NGOs, as having significant issues with Holocaust asset restitution. *Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today (JUST) Act of 2017*, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/447>.

<sup>7</sup> "Po-lin" is the transliteration of the Hebrew term for "Poland." Its etymology is connected to the legend of the Jews' arrival in Polish lands, which holds that the travelers heard a voice from heaven saying "Po-lin" (rest here). This narrative is also used in textbooks to highlight that Poland was a safe haven for Jews. However, the term "Po-lin" is frequently exploited by extremist groups to promote hate speech.

<sup>8</sup> *Szydło Plays Away, Braun Signs Fire Extinguishers; KO Relies on a Minister and a Newcomer*, TVN, <https://tvn24.pl/wybory-do-europarlamentu-2024/wybory-do-europarlamentu-okreg-10-beata-szydlo-jezdzi-na-spotkania-w-calej-polsce-grzegorz-braun-podpisuje-gasnice-ko-stawia-na-sienkiewiczza-st7944109>.

for the war in Ukraine and associated migration; these images also distorted the historical truth about the Holocaust.<sup>9</sup>

The politicization of Jewish themes and those related to the Holocaust has given them an ambiguous valence, rendering them as a topic of both shame and sensitivity and as intriguing and compelling. The emotions surrounding discussions on these subjects have reinforced the use of euphemisms describing them as "sensitive" or "controversial."

Even more concerning is that long-term exposure to antisemitism in the public sphere, including the use of antisemitic content by public authorities, has led to the normalization and increased acceptance of antisemitism.<sup>10</sup> A particularly striking example was an antisemitic incident that occurred after passage of the 2018 amendment to the Institute of National Remembrance Act (IPN).<sup>11</sup>

According to the original law, anyone who publicly, and contrary to the facts, attributes responsibility or co-responsibility for the crimes committed by the Third Reich to the Polish nation or the Polish state is subject to a fine or imprisonment for up to three years. This includes crimes as defined in Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal, as well as other crimes against peace, humanity, or war crimes, or grossly minimizing the responsibility of the actual perpetrators of these crimes. In response to international criticism, the Polish government decided to amend the law, and on June 27, 2018, the president signed its latest revision. This amendment introduces a shift away from criminal penalties for attributing responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich to Poles.<sup>12</sup>

In line with the principle of protecting Poland's reputation, a 2021 court case saw prominent Holocaust researchers Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski facing attacks from politicians and pro-government media for allegedly accusing Poles of complicity in the murder of Jews. The case was brought by Reduta Dobrego Imienia, an

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<sup>9</sup>2023 Parliamentary Elections: Monitoring of Hate Speech, Jewish Association Czulent, <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/wp-content/uploads/sites/410/2024/07/monitoring-tresci-nienawistnych-wybory-parlamentarne-2023.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> Maria Babińska, Michał Bilewicz, Dominika Bulska, Agnieszka Haska, and Mikołaj Winiewski, *Stosunek do Żydów i ich historii po wprowadzeniu ustawy o IPN* (Warsaw: Biuro Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich, 2018), 6.

<sup>11</sup> Act on the Amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance—Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, the Act on War Graves and Cemeteries, the Act on Museums, and the Act on the Liability of Collective Entities for Acts Prohibited Under Penalty, adopted by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland on January 26, 2018, Parliament of the Republic of Poland, <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm8.nsf/PrzebiegProc.xsp?nr=806>

<sup>12</sup> "Anyone who publicly and contrary to the facts attributes to the Polish Nation or the Polish State responsibility or co-responsibility for the crimes committed by the Third Reich, as defined in Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal annexed to the International Agreement on the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis, signed in London on August 8, 1945 (Journal of Laws of 1947, No. 367), or for other crimes constituting crimes against peace, humanity, or war crimes, or otherwise grossly minimizes the responsibility of the actual perpetrators of these crimes, is subject to a fine or imprisonment for up to 3 years." Act of June 27, 2018, on the amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance - Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, Parliament of the Republic of Poland, [https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc8.nsf/ustawy/2663\\_u.htm](https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/proc8.nsf/ustawy/2663_u.htm).



organization funded by the Polish government at the time, which promoted a historical narrative in line with its political agenda.<sup>13</sup>

The controversy over the IPN provisions designed to protect Poland's reputation, combined with criminal liability for discussing Poland's actions against Jews in World War II, and Israel's response<sup>14</sup> contributed to a rise in antisemitic narratives in public discourse and social media and had a chilling effect on historians.<sup>15</sup> The 2021 court case aimed to undermine the credibility and expertise of scholars, imposing financial burdens that would create a "chilling effect" that would deter other researchers from investigating and writing the truth about the Holocaust in Poland.<sup>16</sup>

The law's protection of "national identity and pride" as a personal good posed a serious threat to freedom of speech, scientific research, and the creation of factual educational materials, including textbooks. It enabled anyone who considers themselves Polish to sue those who criticized the nation or the Polish state. This court case highlighted that the topic of the Holocaust in Poland could be used to foster national pride, group identity, and patriotic education even by educational institutions and religious organizations that themselves have been accused of promoting antisemitism.

Interestingly, many Poles, even those with little historical knowledge, view themselves as experts on complex topics such as the Holocaust, the Righteous Among the Nations, antisemitism in Poland, and the so-called Cursed Soldiers.<sup>17</sup> Within this framework, the mythical image of the Jew often swings between philosemitism and antisemitism. In the case of philosemitism, only positive attributes are highlighted, whereas antisemitism focuses on negative stereotypes. In this context, antisemitism can function as a tool for agitating against a perceived threat to the cultural integrity of the majority group. This binary perspective risks replacing a nuanced understanding of individuals, reducing them to mere representatives of broader, often distorted, collective traits.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the current fascination with Jews might manifest as either hostility or philosemitism, both of which can serve as outlets for frustration, create a false sense of unity within the group, and project Poles' own biases, inadequacies, and grievances onto the Jewish community. As a result, antisemitism is perpetuated, even in the

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<sup>13</sup> Barbara Engelking, "Prof. Engelking Responds to Accusations: The Whole Truth about the Jewish Esther and the Village Headman Malinowski," <https://oko.press/prof-engelking-odpiera-zarzuty>.

<sup>14</sup> Israel's ambassador to Poland, Anna Azari, stated, 'The proposed bill was received in Israel as an attempt to prosecute testimonies of Holocaust survivors. It evoked many emotions. We think it will make it impossible to tell the truth about the Holocaust', <https://embassies.gov.il/warsaw-en/NewsAndEvents/Pages/2018-Ambassador-of-Israel-Auschwitz.aspx>

<sup>15</sup> Maria Babińska, Michał Bilewicz, Dominika Bulska, Agnieszka Haska, Mikołaj Winiewski *Stosunek do Żydów i ich historii po wprowadzeniu ustawy o IPN*, (Warsaw Biuro Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich, 2018), 45–46.

<sup>16</sup> Engelking, "Prof. Engelking Responds to Accusations."

<sup>17</sup> The Cursed Soldiers were anticommunist activists in Poland who fought against Soviet and Stalinist dominance after World War II. The day of March 1 was established in 2001 as National Cursed Soldiers Day. There were many factions of these activists, some of which committed murders and thefts. Most of the Cursed Soldiers operated in areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, including Jews and Ukrainians, who were victims of their actions. According to the Institute of National Remembrance, the crimes committed by these factions can be considered genocide, which is a crime against humanity.

<sup>18</sup> Alina Cała, *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), 197.



absence of an actual Jewish presence, because its existence does not rely on the presence of Jews.

Given these realities and the critical role of education in addressing antisemitism, a fundamental question must be asked: How does Polish education on the Holocaust and antisemitism affect the broader society? Are the state's educational systems robust enough to resist politicization that could lead to increased nationalism and social divisions? To effectively counter antisemitism, it is essential that educational programs provide genuine knowledge and understanding, rather than becoming tools for political manipulation.

## Jewish History in Poland

Poland was a center of Jewish life in Europe, with the Jewish community playing a significant role in shaping the nation's history, culture, and heritage. As a prominent and active group, Jews contributed greatly to the country's sociocultural and economic development. According to the census conducted just before World War II, approximately 3.5 million Jews lived in Poland, making it home to the second-largest Jewish community in the world then. In Warsaw, the capital city, there were 370,000 Jews, representing over 30% of the city's population.<sup>19</sup> Warsaw's Jewish community was thus larger than the total Jewish populations in most other European countries.

Despite their significant contributions, antisemitism became ingrained in Polish political narratives, which were often used to create cohesion among the majority population, while nationalism became a cornerstone of national identity following Poland's regained independence in 1918 after 123 years of partitions. Consequently, members of the Jewish minority were perceived as "others" and unfairly blamed for various societal ills, regardless of their level of integration into society.<sup>20</sup>

Of the approximately 3.5 million Polish Jews before the war, only about 300,000 survived, including those who lived through the war in the Soviet Union.<sup>21</sup> Postwar regimes ostensibly protected members of the surviving Jewish community; however, communist parties and other groups revived antisemitic ideology, employing it as a familiar and effective political tool.

In the aftermath of the war, attacks on the Jewish community and antisemitic campaigns led many Jews to leave Poland; those who remained often adopted survival strategies that led to their near-total assimilation and acculturation.<sup>22</sup> It is now nearly impossible to provide reliable data on the size of the Jewish community in Poland, because such data no longer exists. According to the most recent census conducted in Poland in 2021, the number of people identifying as Jews is 15,700.<sup>23</sup> Estimates from Jewish organizations,

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<sup>19</sup> "Getto Warszawskie 1940–1943," <https://1943.pl/historiagw>.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Szuchta, *1000 lat historii Żydów polskich: Podróż przez wieki*, (Warsaw: POLIN Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich, 2015), 161.

<sup>21</sup> Szuchta, *1000 lat historii Żydów polskich*, 276.

<sup>22</sup> Szuchta, *1000 lat historii Żydów polskich*, 283.

<sup>23</sup> "National Census of Population and Housing 2021," <https://spis.gov.pl/>.

such as the World Jewish Congress, suggest that in 2023, approximately 4,500 Jews were living in Poland.<sup>24</sup>

## Overview of the Education System and Curriculum

### I. Structure of the Educational System in Poland

In the Polish educational system, children aged 7 to 15 are mandated to attend primary school, which spans eight years and covers ISCED levels 1 and 2, including early education (grades 1–3) and subject-specific teaching (grades 4–8).<sup>25</sup>

At the conclusion of grade 8, students take a nationwide external examination known as the “eighth-grade exam.” Post-primary education for students aged 15 to 18 is required but is not compulsory within a school setting, with options including general secondary schools, vocational schools, and vocational training with an employer. Secondary education includes four-year general secondary schools (ISCED 344), five-year technical schools (ISCED 354), three-year vocational schools (level I, ISCED 353), and two-year vocational schools (level II, ISCED 354). Graduates of general secondary and technical schools, as well as level II vocational school students, may take the “matura exam” to obtain a high school diploma and entry into higher education. Students from level I and II vocational schools and technical schools must pass a vocational exam to receive a vocational diploma.

### II. Educational Materials: Textbook Approval Process

The primary requirement for any textbook approved for school use is that it aligns with the educational goals and content specified in the curriculum for the respective subject and educational level. This ensures that students can fully acquire the knowledge and skills outlined in the curriculum.<sup>26</sup> The key legal documents related to textbook approval are the Education System Act<sup>27</sup> and the regulations on textbook approval.<sup>28</sup>

The textbook approval process involves several steps. Publishers must first ensure that all formal requirements are met, including submitting the textbook to the minister responsible for education in the required format and with the necessary legal declarations. The minister then selects three experts to evaluate the textbook—two focus on educational content and one on language. To become an expert reviewer of general education textbooks in Poland,<sup>29</sup> candidates must meet specific criteria outlined

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<sup>24</sup> These numbers are based on the 2023 census, membership in Jewish organizations, and participation in Jewish holidays. For more information, see <https://www.worldjewishcongress.org/en/about/communities/PL>.

<sup>25</sup> “Structure of the Education System in Poland,” <https://eurydice.org.pl/system-edukacji-w-polsce/krotka-informacja-o-polskim-systemie-edukacji>.

<sup>26</sup> Based on the “Special Report: School Programs and Textbooks—Selection, Creation, and Approval for Use,” <https://www.portaloswiatowy.pl/dokumentacja-nauczania/raport-specjalny-pogramy-i-podreczniki-szkolne-wybor-tworzenie-i-dopuszczanie-do-uzytku-4345.html>.

<sup>27</sup> Journal of Laws 1991 No. 95 item 425, Act of September 7, 1991, on the Education System.

<sup>28</sup> Regulation of the Minister of National Education of October 3, 2019, on the Approval of Textbooks for School Use (Journal of Laws 2019, item 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Text based on regulations concerning textbook experts as outlined in the Act of September 7, 1991, on the Education System (Journal of Laws of 2022, item 2230, as amended) and the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of October 3, 2019, on the Approval of Textbooks for School Use (Journal of Laws of 2019,

in the Act of September 7, 1991, on the Education System<sup>30</sup> and the Regulation of the Minister of National Education dated October 3, 2019.<sup>31</sup> The experts have thirty days to complete their reviews. If all evaluations are favorable, the minister issues an administrative decision granting approval, and the textbook is added to the official list of authorized materials for the school. The publisher then includes a notation in the textbook confirming its approved status.<sup>32</sup>

Teachers have the flexibility to create curricular materials; to choose whether to use the approved textbook, other educational, or supplementary materials; or conduct instruction without any specific educational tools. The curriculum developed by teachers must be approved by the principal, who ensures it meets the overall curriculum requirements for the educational stage. Meanwhile, the principal is responsible for ensuring that these choices align with the overall educational goals and the curricula that define the scope of content and skills to be taught.<sup>33</sup>

### **III. Curriculum: Education About the Holocaust and Antisemitism**

Poland committed to advancing and supporting Holocaust education by signing the Stockholm Declaration<sup>34</sup> and joining the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, a group dedicated to education, remembrance, and research on the Holocaust. In 1999, the Minister of National Education mandated the inclusion of Holocaust studies in the high school curriculum for students in humanities tracks (ages 13–19). Since then, the Holocaust has been taught in various forms at multiple educational levels, primarily within courses such as history, Polish literature, social studies, and history and contemporary issues, as well as through extracurricular activities. It has become an integral part of the overall curriculum. Lessons cover topics such as discrimination, human rights, and life in Nazi-occupied Poland. Students also visit Holocaust sites, such as memorial and extermination sites.<sup>35</sup> Since the 1999 education reform and the

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item 2013), <https://www.gov.pl/web/edukacja/jak-zostac-rzeczoznawca-podrecznikow-szkolnych-do-ksztalcenia-ogolnego>.

<sup>30</sup> Journal of Laws 2022, item 2230, Act of September 7, 1991, on the Education System. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20220002230>. Journal of Laws of 2019, item 2013, Regulation of the Minister of National Education of October 3, 2019, on the Approval of Textbooks for School Use. <https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20190002013>.

<sup>31</sup> The Supreme Audit Office (Najwyższa Izba Kontroli) conducted a review of the school textbook approval process for the years 2020–2022, with the inspection concluding on July 28, 2022. According to the report, the selection of expert reviewers by the Minister of Education and Science was found to be nontransparent and prone to conflicts of interest. The report highlighted the absence of clear guidelines and criteria for selecting expert reviewers, as well as a lack of systematic documentation of the selection process. The lack of documentation and evidence that reviewer selection was based on institutional recommendations led to instances of conflict of interest. One example involved a reviewer who was also an author of books published by the same publisher that submitted the textbook for approval.

<sup>32</sup> *Raport specjalny: Programy i podręczniki szkolne–wybór, tworzenie i dopuszczanie do użytku* (Warsaw: Departament Nauki, Oświaty i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, 2022), 19.

<sup>33</sup> Based on the articles from the educational portal regarding core curricula and textbooks, <https://www.portaloswiatowy.pl>.

<sup>34</sup> Stockholm Declaration, <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/stockholm-declaration>.

<sup>35</sup> Regulation of the Minister of National Education of February 15, 1999, on the core curriculum for general education, [https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19990140129/O/D19990129\\_01.pdf](https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19990140129/O/D19990129_01.pdf).

introduction of middle schools, Holocaust education has been incorporated into history, civic education, and Polish language classes in middle schools.<sup>36</sup>

In 2000, the curriculum titled "The Holocaust: A Curriculum for Teaching the History and Annihilation of the Jews in Humanities Classes in Secondary Schools," (Holokaust: Program nauczania o historii i Zagładzie Żydów na lekcjach przedmiotów humanistycznych w szkołach ponadpodstawowych) written by Robert Szuchta and Piotr Trojański, was introduced.<sup>37</sup> It was promoted in newly established middle schools (gymnasiums) with financial support from the Ministry of National Education. The curricular guidelines for middle schools were general, outlining the main topics and objectives. Based on these guidelines, detailed teaching programs were developed to incorporate Holocaust-related topics in various ways, including those addressing "totalitarianism and genocide" or "extermination of the Jews." The general education curriculum for upper secondary schools, both academic and vocational, included the theme of the Holocaust. The new curriculum defined the most important issues to be developed and explored in high school, building on the historical knowledge acquired in middle school. Although it did not include detailed historical topics and events, it considered adding an extension to the existing "Progress and Civilizational Crises" section to cover "wars and genocide," thereby incorporating Holocaust themes into all teaching programs.

The concept of Holocaust education presented in this curriculum was further developed into a supplementary teacher's guide, "Understanding the Holocaust" (Zrozumieć Holokaust) published in 2003 to enhance educators' understanding and teaching of Holocaust history.<sup>38</sup> Three years later, a revised and expanded edition was released (*Holocaust: Understanding Why* [Holokaust: Zrozumieć Dlaczego]). This updated edition included a multimedia program on a CD, which provided additional instructional support.<sup>39</sup>

In the 2008/2009 school year, human rights education was introduced at all educational levels, and in 2014, the concept of antidiscrimination was formally added to the curriculum. Holocaust-related topics included various Polish attitudes toward Jews, such as the heroism of the Righteous Among the Nations, as well as Polish involvement in pogroms and the Holocaust.

The 2017 educational reform introduced a new core curriculum introducing topics such as xenophobia, racism, chauvinism, and antisemitism into social studies. Its objectives are that students "recognize manifestations of xenophobia, including racism,

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<sup>36</sup> *Holocaust Memorial Days: An Overview of Remembrance and Education in the OSCE Region* (Warsaw: OSCE, 2015), 85–88.

<sup>37</sup> "Response from the Secretary of State at the Ministry of National Education—on Behalf of the Prime Minister— to Inquiry No. 3689 Concerning Holocaust Education," <https://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/IZ3.nsf/main/5BAAEF12>.

<sup>38</sup> *Holocaust Education Remembrance and Research—Poland*, <https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-poland>.

<sup>39</sup> Piotr Trojański, *Autoreferat*, <https://in.uken.krakow.pl/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2020/01/Autoreferat-3.pdf>.

chauvinism, and antisemitism, and justify the need to combat such phenomena" and understand that "various sociocultural identities (regional, national/ethnic, state/civic, European) can coexist." In history classes, students are expected to "describe Germany's policies in occupied Europe, present the genocide of Jews and Roma, and the extermination of other nations, and know examples of Polish heroism in rescuing Jews from the Holocaust."<sup>40</sup>

However, although the reform focused on strengthening historical and patriotic education and expanding topics such as the Holocaust and the extermination of the Roma and Sinti,<sup>41</sup> its primary emphasis was on Polish heroism.<sup>42</sup> It did not foster a multifaceted understanding of history; students at various educational levels learned about "Polish heroes" such as Maximilian Kolbe in a one-dimensional manner.<sup>43</sup> Polish attitudes toward Jews during World War II were presented selectively, emphasizing narratives about individuals who rescued Jews. This led to historical distortions, oversimplifications, and biased comparisons with the attitudes of other nations.

These changes were part of the "politics of glory", which had been introduced by a ruling party as a response to the previous "politics of shame." The politics of glory focused on promoting national pride by emphasizing heroic moments in Poland's history, rather than concentrating on difficult and controversial aspects, such as the involvement of some Poles in the Holocaust." The organization responsible for combating the "politics of shame" was the Reduta Dobrego Imienia—Polska Liga Przeciw Zniesławieniom (The Good Name Defense League—Polish League Against Defamation), which aims to correct what it considered to be false information about the history of Poland, particularly regarding World War II, Polish involvement, and Polish attitudes toward Jews. The then-minister of culture, Professor Piotr Gliński, sat on its board.<sup>44</sup>

The new curriculum for the 2021/2022 school year focused on fostering Catholic and patriotic identity. It introduced readings about and by John Paul II, Primate Stefan

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<sup>40</sup> Journal of Laws of 2017, item 356, The Regulation of the Minister of National Education of February 14, 2017, on the Core Curriculum for Preschool Education and the Core Curriculum for General Education for Primary Schools <https://www.gov.pl/web/edukacja/rozporzadzenie-ministra-edukacji-narodowej-z-dnia-14-lutego-2017-r-w-sprawie-podstawy-programowej-wychowania-przedszkolnego-oraz-podstawy-programowej-ksztalcenia-ogolnego-dla-szkoly-podstawowej-w-tym-dla-uczniow-z-niepelnosprawnoscia-intelektualna-w-stop>.

<sup>41</sup> *Holocaust Memorial Days*, 62–71.

<sup>42</sup> *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego z komentarzem: Szkoła podstawowa: Historia* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, 2017), 21, <https://ore.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/historia.-pp-z-komentarzem.-szkola-podstawowa-1.pdf>.

<sup>43</sup> On October 10, 1982, Pope John Paul II canonized Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Rome for voluntarily sacrificing his life to save another prisoner at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. The Polish Senate declared 2011 as the "Year of Saint Maximilian Maria Kolbe." From that time forward, Kolbe has been recognized as a symbol of the victims of Nazism, but he remains a controversial figure for many. Before the war, he established a media empire in Niepokalanów, publishing works such as *Little Diary* (Mały Dzienniczek) *Knight of the Immaculata* (Rycerz Niepokalanej), and *Little Knight of the Immaculata* (Rycerzyk Niepokalanej). His writings contained aggressive antisemitic statements, such as references to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Kolbe wrote about "the theft and false testimony" as characteristics of "three million people raised not on the principles of the Gospel but in the dark shadows of the Talmud," and he expressed views on the "harmfulness of Jews" to the Polish nation.

<sup>44</sup> Jakub Majmurek, *Pedagogy of Shame That Never Existed*, <https://oko.press/pedagogika-wstydu-ktorej-nigdy-bylo>.

Wyszyński, and Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, who was accused of antisemitism. It also emphasized the "Cursed Soldiers"<sup>45</sup> as key figures in the formation of Polish cultural identity. Holocaust education was presented alongside the heroism of Poles who rescued Jews, while the history of postwar Poland centered on armed resistance and attitudes toward the new communist regime.

A new subject, History and Contemporary Issues (HiT), was introduced, partially replacing Civics (WoS) and certain elements of history classes. This change was part of Minister of Education Przemysław Czarnek's initiative to strengthen the teaching of modern history and, as he described it, "to reclaim generations of young Poles who lack awareness." The educational objectives of the new curriculum are grounded in patriotic, Christian, and classical values. In HiT, the world is primarily portrayed through the lens of various threats, with the European Union depicted as an adversary. Students are taught about the rising influence of Germany within the EU, immigration crisis, eurozone instability, Brexit, and "ideological controversies" within EU institutions. The subject also promotes a dichotomy between patriotism and modernity and advocates against so-called political correctness. Furthermore, the curriculum includes potentially problematic associations, such as linking terrorism with Islam, which could lead to misleading and harmful interpretations.<sup>46</sup>

On February 12, 2024, the new minister of education began consultations on proposed changes to the general education curriculum, aimed at reducing the mandatory teaching content. The streamlined curriculum is expected to take effect in the 2024/2025 school year and will not require the replacement of existing textbooks. A completely new curriculum is scheduled to be implemented starting in the 2026/2027 school year for primary schools and the 2028/2029 school year for secondary schools. The proposal introduces a revised, shortened reading list and suggests removing requirements that emphasized one aspect of a topic at the expense of others. While the topics themselves remain, the approach has been adjusted to provide a more balanced perspective. For instance, the revised curriculum addresses the "tendency throughout the previous curriculum to depict Polish Jews as subjects of tolerance by Polish authorities and victims of persecution by other powers, always in relation to authority, often neglecting other aspects of their presence in Poland and the issue of local antisemitism/anti-Judaism."<sup>47</sup>

#### **IV. Teacher Training and International Cooperation**

Research on the Holocaust and antisemitism is conducted by academic institutions such as the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and universities like Jagiellonian University, the University of Warsaw, the University of Wrocław, and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and memorial

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<sup>45</sup> See note 17.

<sup>46</sup> Łukasz Zamecki, *How Will Minister Czarnek Teach Children History?*

<https://instytutobywatelski.pl/analizy/342-jak-minister-czarnek-bedzie-uczyl-dzieci-historii>.

<sup>47</sup> "Change in the Curriculum—We Are Starting Pre-Consultations," <https://www.gov.pl/web/edukacja/zmiana-podstawy-programowej--zaczynamy-prekonsultacje>.



sites, including the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau Former German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp, also conduct significant research. Teachers participate in courses organized by the International Center for Education About KL Auschwitz and the Holocaust (at the Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau Former German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp), Yad Vashem—The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the House of the Wannsee Conference, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Teacher training is also provided by the Center for Civic Education (ORE), a national public institution under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. In 2006, the Warsaw Center for Civic Education established a network of twenty-two Holocaust Education Coordinators across various regions. An example of good practice is the collaboration between ORE, the Museum of History of Polish Jews (POLIN), and Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris. ORE also works with Yad Vashem, which organizes biannual seminars on the Holocaust, Jewish culture, and history for eighteen Polish teachers in each cohort. Additionally, networking seminars are held for teachers from Poland and Israel.<sup>48</sup>

## Content Analysis

In this report, we present a detailed analysis of selected examples from textbooks and how they reflect the implementation of the stated educational objectives and influence the development of students' attitudes. The excerpts are evaluated for their alignment with the patriotic, Christian, and classical values emphasized in the new curriculum, as well as their potential social and historical implications. Additionally, they are assessed for their adherence to UNESCO standards of peace and tolerance in school education.

Six thematic threads were identified from the collected content, which dominate the narrative concerning Jews, the Holocaust, and antisemitism.

The six main themes required in the terms of reference are as follows:

1. **Historical Depictions of Jews and the Concept of "Christ Killers":** how textbooks present narratives accusing Jews of being responsible for the death or literal killing of Jesus. It evaluates the impact of these depictions on students' understanding and the perpetuation of antisemitic stereotypes.
2. **Construction of Jewish Otherness and Perceived Threats:** how textbooks construct the concept of Jewish identity as the "Other" and the perceived threats this poses to society. It explores how such portrayals influence students' perceptions of Jewish people and contribute to the broader sociocultural understanding of antisemitism.
3. **The Holocaust: Historical Context and Thematic Analysis:** how textbooks cover the Holocaust and how educational materials address the mechanisms of genocide and the portrayal of historical memory related to the Holocaust.

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<sup>48</sup> Robert Szuchta, *Sieć Koordynatorów Regionalnych Ośrodków Rozwoju Edukacji i ich rola w planowaniu i realizacji edukacji w Miejscach Pamięci: Dobra Praktyka* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, 2015), 4.



4. **Righteous Among the Nations: Recognition, Historical Impact, and Politicization:** how textbooks portray the recognition of individuals who saved Jews during the Holocaust, focusing on the alignment of this portrayal with historical policy and its impact on students' understanding of collective memory. It evaluates whether the content reflects nationalistic narratives or political agendas and how it may influence perceptions of national pride and historical glorification.
5. **The State of Israel: Emergence, Development, and International Relations:** how textbooks depict the formation and evolution of the State of Israel, including its political and social development and its international relations, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It assesses the educational portrayal of Israel's role in regional and global contexts.
6. **Best Practices in Education and Remembrance of Jews and the Holocaust:** the effectiveness of how textbooks teach about Jews and the Holocaust. It examines best practices in educational materials that support understanding, promote historical reflection, and combat antisemitism, evaluating how well these practices are incorporated into the curriculum.

# Historical Depictions of Jews and the Concept of Christ Killers

Students receive their first in-depth information about Jews in the fifth grade, mainly through history and Polish-language lessons. These topics are introduced within the broader framework of ancient history, bible, and the early history of Christianity, topics that are central to the curriculum. Textbooks consistently cover the history of ancient Israel (Kanaan) exploring cultural, religious, and political aspects. Key themes include the origins of the ancient Israelites; the formation of their nation; and significant events such as the lives of Abraham and Moses, the Exodus from Egypt, and subsequent periods including the reigns of King David and Solomon, the Babylonian Exile, and the expulsion from Judea. The foundational elements of Judaism, such as the Torah, the Decalogue, and the concept of the Messiah, are also examined, often with interesting infographics. Additionally, contemporary Israel is referenced to bridge the historical context with the present. These topics are addressed across all the analyzed textbooks.

Textbooks place significant emphasis on the origins and development of Christianity as the foundation of European civilization. The development of this religion is closely linked to ancient Israel (Judea). However, the figure of Jesus and the reconstruction of his life are not explicitly connected to the Jews: no textbook states outright that Jesus was Jewish—although one textbook used to teach the first year of high school history does mention that he was raised within the Jewish faith and among Jews.<sup>49</sup> Jews are often depicted as a powerful and influential group; fearing the loss of their authority because of Jesus's criticisms of their practices, Jews as shown as "contributing to his death". This narrative begins in elementary school and continues into secondary education, appearing in all analyzed textbooks.

For many centuries, these views formed the basis of antisemitism, rooted in early Christian prejudices and religious biases that led to systemic discrimination and persecution of Jews. Continuing to include such narratives in educational materials can have serious repercussions, perpetuating and reinforcing antisemitic attitudes among children and youth.

Research conducted by the Center for Research on Prejudices reveals a troubling increase in traditional antisemitism in Poland. In 2009, more than 13% of respondents agreed that contemporary Jews were responsible for Jesus's crucifixion, and by 2017, this percentage had risen by more than 10%.<sup>50</sup> This trend underscores how inappropriate educational content can contribute to the persistence and intensification of antisemitism and why it needs to be removed from curricula, rather than being perpetuated through historical narratives.

<sup>49</sup> Michał Norbert Faszczka, Radosław Lolo, and Krzysztof Wiśniewski, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 1 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 128.

<sup>50</sup> Dominika Bułska and Mikołaj Winiewski, *Powrót zabobonu: Antysemityzm w Polsce na podstawie Polskiego Sondażu Uprzedzeń 3* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań Nad Uprzedzeniami, 2017), 9, [http://cbu.psychologia.pl/wp-content/uploads/sites/410/2021/02/Antysemityzm\\_PPS3\\_Bulska\\_fin.pdf](http://cbu.psychologia.pl/wp-content/uploads/sites/410/2021/02/Antysemityzm_PPS3_Bulska_fin.pdf).

1. Grzegorz Wojciechowski, *Wczoraj i dziś: Podręcznik do historii dla klasy piątej szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021–2023, Klasa 5 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 96. History (5th Grade)

A fifth-grade history textbook portrays Jews in a stereotypical manner, presenting them as merciless, fanatical, and unreflective adherents of Judaism who were “responsible” for Jesus’s arrest and death: they adhere “strictly to religious laws” while showing “no mercy toward others.” According to this portrayal, they not only failed to recognize the true Messiah but also, angered by his criticism, played a role in his death. In addition, the term “Palestine” is used anachronistically in this context: the name “Syria-Palaestina” was given to the Roman province of Judaea in the early second century CE. This error could mislead students and perpetuate incorrect information about the development of ancient Israel’s statehood and contemporary conflicts in the Middle East.

### ■ Narodziny nowej religii w Palestynie

W pierwszej połowie I wieku n.e. w podbitej przez Rzymian Palestynie swoje nauki głosił **Jezus z Nazaretu**, nazwany później **Chrystusem**. Jezus nauczał wśród mieszkujących tam Żydów, że najważniejsza jest miłość do jedynego Boga oraz bliźnich. Obiecywał zbawienie i życie **po śmierci** wszystkim, którzy będą postępować zgodnie z jego **nauczaniem**. Krytykował tych wyznawców judaizmu, którzy ściśle przestrzegali przepisów religijnych, postów, modlitw, ale nie byli miłośnikami wobec innych ludzi. To nie podobало się niektórym Żydom. Ponadto oburzali się, że Jezus podawał się za Syna Bożego i Mesjasza, odkupiciela ludzkich grzechów zesłanego przez Boga. Doprowadzili do jego ujęcia i skazania przez rzymskie władze około **33 roku n.e.** na śmierć przez ukrzyżowanie.

Nauki Jezusa były rozpowszechniane przez **apostołów** – jego najbliższych uczniów. Głosili oni, że ich mistrz zmartwychwstał i udzielał chrztu jego kolejnym wyznawcom. Dzięki ich działalności nowa religia nazwana **chrześcijaństwem** rozprzestrzeniła się poza Palestynę.



**Jezus** zginął męczeńską śmiercią na krzyżu. Z tego powodu znak krzyża stał się w przyszłości dla chrześcijan najważniejszym symbolem.

**Title: The Emergence of a New Religion in Palestine**

*He [Jesus Christ] criticized those followers of Judaism who adhered strictly to religious laws, fasts, and prayers but showed no mercy toward others. This displeased some Jews. Moreover, they were outraged by Jesus’s claim to be the Son of God and the Messiah, the redeemer of human sins sent by God. They were responsible for his arrest and subsequent sentencing by the Roman authorities around 33 AD to death by crucifixion.... Jesus’s teachings were disseminated by the apostles.... Thanks to their efforts, the new religion, called Christianity, spread beyond Palestine.*

2. WSiP, Krzysztof Kowalewski, Igor Kąkolewski, and Anita Plumińska-Mieloch, *Historia: Podręcznik 5* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 82. History (5th Grade)

Both Figures 2 and 3 present Jews as hypocrites, emphasizing their focus on outward displays of religiosity while neglecting the core values of love and kindness. They further imply that "Jewish priests" held considerable influence over Roman authorities, particularly in their alleged role in pressuring Pilate, the Roman governor, to authorize the crucifixion of Jesus. This portrayal not only casts Jews in a negative light but also reinforces historical misconceptions about their responsibility for Jesus's death. Figure 2's caption adds a further layer of inaccuracy by stating that "this influential group" acted at the "behest of Jewish priests" and incorrectly refers to the region as "Palestine" instead of "Judea." This is an anachronism because "Palestine" was a Roman designation not in common use during the time of Jesus, which makes this description misleading both religiously and geographically. Figure 3's caption, while similar in its depiction of "Jewish priests" as the primary force behind Jesus's death, focuses more on the supposed power of this group, implying that even the Roman governor acted because of their pressure. This version, like the first, perpetuates the narrative that Jewish leaders were responsible for Jesus's crucifixion, reinforcing long-standing antisemitic tropes that have been historically harmful.

A comparison of the two descriptions clearly shows that they follow a similar stereotypical narrative framework that aligns with antisemitic views from certain historical periods.

Jezus głosił swoje nauki w formie prostych przypowieści, w których odwoływał się do przykładów z codziennego życia. Nie podważał podstaw religii żydowskiej. Nawoływał natomiast do nawrócenia się, czyli wyrzeczenia się grzechu. Wzywał, by Żydzi przygotowali się na przyjście Królestwa Bożego. Krytykował tych, którzy dbali o zewnętrzne przejawy religijności, a nie kierowali się w życiu miłością i dobrocią oraz nie byli zdolni, by przebaczać swoim prześladowcom.

Po kilku latach działalności Jezus został pojmany z nakazu żydowskich kapłanów. Oskarżyli go, że fałszywie podaje się za Mesjasza i nazywa siebie Synem Bożym. Następnie przekazali Jezusa Poncjuszowi Piłatowi, rzymskiemu urzędnikowi zarządzającemu Palestyną. Ten skazał Jezusa – jako buntownika – na karę śmierci przez ukrzyżowanie.

*He [Jesus] criticized those who were concerned with outward displays of religiosity but did not live their lives with love and kindness and were unable to forgive their persecutors.... After several years of ministry, Jesus was arrested at the behest of Jewish priests. They accused him of falsely claiming to be the Messiah and calling himself the Son of God. They then handed Jesus over to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Palestine. Pilate sentenced Jesus, whom he considered a rebel, to death by crucifixion.*



3. Ryszard Kulesza and Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 217–218. History, High School (1st Year)

#### ANTYCZNY RZYM

uczniów zwanych **apostołami**, nauczał on, jak należy postępować, aby po śmierci zasłużyć na zbawienie i życie wieczne. Przede wszystkim należało kochać bliźnich, nawet nieprzyjaciół, wybaczać im i okazywać miłosierdzie potrzebującym. Ponadto Jezus głosił nieśmiertelność duszy oraz wolną wolę ludzi stworzonych na podobieństwo Boga. Zapowiadał również nadejście Sądu Ostatecznego, towarzyszące mu zmartwychwstanie oraz przyjsie Królestwa Bożego na ziemi. Nauki Jezusa z Nazaretu spotkały się z wrogością żydowskich kapłanów. Za ich sprawą rzymski namiestnik Judei, **Poncjusz Pilat**, ok. **30 r. n.e.** skazał Jezusa na śmierć na krzyżu. Opisane w Nowym Testamencie zmartwychwstanie Jezusa i jego ukazanie się najbliższym uczniom dało początek **chrześcijaństwu**.



**Ryba** (gr. *ichthys*) w czasach pierwszych chrześcijan symbolizowała Chrystusa. Kolejne litery tego wyrazu odczytywano bowiem jako inicjały: *I*(esous) *C*hristos) *T*(heou) *Y*(ios) *S*(oter) (z gr. 'Jezus Chrystus syn Boga Zbawiciel'). Widoczny obok ryby krzyż stał się symbolem chrześcijaństwa znacznie później.

▪ płaskorzeźba, Egipt, IV–V w. n.e.

*The teachings of Jesus of Nazareth encountered opposition from the Jewish priests. At their urging, the Roman governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate, sentenced Jesus to death by crucifixion around CE 30. According to the New Testament, Jesus's resurrection and his appearances to his closest disciples marked the inception of Christianity.*

4. Michał Norbert Faszcz, Radosław Lolo, and Krzysztof Wiśniewski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 128. History, High School (1st Year)

The text depicts Jesus as having been handed over to the Roman governor Pontius Pilate by the Jewish temple authorities. The term “temple service” may suggest that Jews as a community were responsible for Jesus’s death, which is inconsistent with historical facts.

### Nauka Jezusa

Jezus nauczał lud, odwoływał się do życia pasterzy, rolników i rybaków. Mówił, że Bóg kocha ludzi i chce, by obdarzali siebie i Jego miłością. Przekonywał, że ci, którzy dziś cierpią niewolę i biedę, będą nagrodzeni. Przedstawił się jako Syn Boży, którego zadaniem jest nie tylko nauczanie ludzi, jak powinni żyć, lecz także zmazanie grzechów ludzkości przez męczeńską śmierć. Krytykował elity żydowskie i formy żydowskiego kultu, ale unikał wypowiedzi antyrzymskich.

Nauki Jezusa wzbudziły niechęć żydowskich kapłanów. Zdradzony przez swego ucznia Judasza, został pochwyceny przez służbę świątynną, wydany rzymskiemu namiestnikowi Judei **Poncjuszowi Piłatowi**, oskarżony przez niego o podżeganie do buntu i skazany na okrutną śmierć przez ukrzyżowanie. Wedle przekazów ewangelicznych i świadectw apostołów Jezus po 3 dniach zmartwychwstał, a po 40 wstąpił do nieba.

*He criticized Jewish elites and their religious practices but refrained from making anti-Roman statements. Jesus’s teachings provoked hostility among the Jewish priests. Betrayed by his disciple Judas, he was apprehended by the temple service and handed over to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea. Pilate, accusing Jesus of inciting rebellion, sentenced him to death by crucifixion.*



5. Ryszard Kulesza and Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 217. History, High School (1st Year)

Excerpts 5 and 6 present a specific interpretive framework that inadequately addresses the historical significance of Jesus Christ of Nazareth's origins. While they identify the location in which he was born and lived, they overlook essential details regarding his lineage and religious upbringing that are critical for understanding his identity. Notably, even though Jesus was recognized as the Messiah within his contemporary context, a work aiming to present historical facts should prioritize an analysis of his historical impact, rather than framing the discussion within a religious context.

Furthermore, the texts frequently refer to "Palestinian cities" or "troubled Palestine," but this terminology is historically inaccurate. During Jesus's lifetime, the region was known as Judea, reflecting its specific cultural and political context. The designation "Palestine" was only instituted by the Romans in 136 CE, following the Bar Kochba revolt against the Romans; therefore, its application in relation to Jesus is anachronistic. The improper use of historical terminology raises significant concerns about the educational intent of these narratives and the misconceptions that may arise for students. It is crucial to understand that this content is meant as a history lesson, not a religious one, and thus historical accuracy must be prioritized in interpreting the events and figures presented. The omission of Jesus's authentic origins distorts historical understanding and reinforces misconceptions that can marginalize Jewish identity and heritage, leading to negative consequences for interfaith relations and broader historical comprehension.

## ■ POCZĄTKI CHRZEŚCIJAŃSTWA

Chrześcijaństwo powstało w znajdującej się pod panowaniem rzymskim Palestynie, gdzie w Betlejem ok. 7–4 r. p.n.e. narodził się **Jezus**. O życiu oraz nauce Jezusa z Nazaretu, uznawanego przez chrześcijan za zesłanego ludziom **Mesjasza** (gr. *Chrestos* – 'Pomazaniec Boży'), opowiadają Ewangelie. Wraz z Dziejami Apostolskimi, Listami Apostolskimi oraz Objawieniem (Apokalipsą) św. Jana tworzą one **Nowy Testament**, który wraz ze **Starym Testamentem** składa się na chrześcijańską **Biblię**. Chrześcijanie uważają, że zamieszczone w Starym Testamencie zapowiedzi nadejścia Syna Bożego dotyczyły Jezusa. Otoczony gronem



**Kazanie na górze.** Według Ewangelii Jezus miał je wygłosić do zgromadzonych tłumów wiernych na Górze Błogosławieństw w pobliżu jeziora Genezalet.

■ mozaika, Rawenna, VI w. n.e.

Christianity emerged in Roman-occupied Palestine, where Jesus was born in Bethlehem around 7–4 BCE. The Gospels recount the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who is regarded by Christians as the Messiah sent to humanity (Greek: *Christos*, "Anointed One").

6. Krzysztof Kowalewski, Igor Kąkolewski, and Anita Plumińska-Mieloch, *Historia: Podręcznik, Klasa 5* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 81. History, 5th Grade

## Jezus z Nazaretu

W I wieku n.e. w targanej niepokojami Palestynie narodziła się nowa religia monoteistyczna – chrześcijaństwo. Jej założycielem był Jezus z Nazaretu. Urodził się około 6 roku p.n.e. W wieku 30 lat zaczął wędrować po palestyńskich miastach i głosić nauki. Zgromadził wokół siebie grono uczniów, spośród których wybrał **12 apostołów** – najbliższych współpracowników. Na ich czele postawił **Piotra**.

*In the 1st century CE, amid the unrest in Palestine, a new monotheistic religion emerged—Christianity. Its founder was Jesus of Nazareth, who was born around 6 BCE. At the age of 30, he began traveling through Palestinian cities and preaching his teachings. He gathered a group of followers and selected 12 apostles as his closest collaborators, with Peter appointed as their leader.*

7. Michał Norbert Faszczka, Radosław Lolo, and Krzysztof Wiśniewski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 128. History, High School (1st Year)

As mentioned before, only one textbook explicitly states that Jesus was raised in the Jewish tradition, noting that “he was well versed in the Torah and made pilgrimages to the Temple in Jerusalem.” This text provides students with a broader context for understanding Jesus’s life and teachings. What facts are presented can change students’ perceptions and their understanding of Jesus’s social role in history, as well as his relationship with Judaism and contemporary society. An approach acknowledging his Jewish upbringing can be used as an educational tool to address and counteract antisemitic attitudes.

Pochodził z małej wioski galilejskiej – Nazaretu. Urodził się zapewne w Betlejem, w ubogiej rodzinie Józefa i Marii, pod koniec panowania króla żydowskiego Heroda Wielkiego (panował w latach 37–4 p.n.e.). Wiadomo, że od dzieciństwa wychowywał się w tradycji judaizmu: znał Torę i pielgrzymował do świątyni jerozolimskiej. W wieku ok. 30 lat zaczął nauczać jako wędrowny nauczyciel. Wokół Jezusa zgromadziło się grono uczniów, a dwunastu najbliższych spośród nich nazwano **apostołami** (gr. *apostolos* – wysłannik).

*Jesus of Nazareth came from the small Galilean village of Nazareth. He was likely born in Bethlehem to the modest family of Joseph and Mary, toward the end of the reign of King Herod the Great (37–4 BCE). From a young age, he was brought up in the Jewish tradition: he was well versed in the Torah and made pilgrimages to the Temple in Jerusalem.*

In an educational context, a detailed examination of the death of Jesus neither contributes to expanding students’ historical understanding nor achieves the educational objectives of the curriculum. A significant challenge is the portrayal of Jews as responsible for his death, which not only contradicts historical facts but can also reinforce harmful stereotypes and prejudices by attributing blame to the Jewish people.

This narrative is a remnant of pre-Vatican II Catholic teaching, which for centuries collectively blamed Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus, as well as for various misfortunes and social crises; this attribution of blame led to centuries of persecution and tragedies. In 1965, the Catholic Church officially rejected this antisemitic doctrine in the *Nostra Aetate* declaration of the Second Vatican Council.<sup>51</sup> This declaration firmly condemns all

<sup>51</sup> Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate* Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965, [https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).

forms of antisemitism and emphasizes the importance of a shared heritage with Jews, guided by principles of coexistence and justice. The Church recognized the need to address and correct centuries of theological and social biases that had contributed to hostility and violence against Jews and, in part, laid the groundwork for the atrocities of the Holocaust; these biases were often justified through distorted readings of scripture and historical events.

Given the detailed descriptions of the life and death of Jesus Christ in school textbooks, it is particularly noteworthy that they do not highlight that he was Jewish. This trend is evident in all the analyzed textbooks, except one that notes his Jewish surroundings but still does not emphasize his own Jewish identity. Highlighting this information could significantly affect students' understanding of Jesus's historical and religious context. Instead, textbooks often use euphemisms or general references to his place of origin, such as "from Nazareth" or "from Palestine," which do not fully capture his ethnic and religious heritage. It is also important to note that during this historical period, this geographical area, which was a Roman province, was named Judaea, and only in the early second century CE was it changed to Syria-Palaestina. Thus, naming it "Palestine" is anachronistic.

It is crucial to address the consequences of omitting or subtly altering Jesus's identity in historical and educational narratives. Presenting Jesus merely as a figure who grew up in a Jewish context, criticized it, and was subsequently executed by fellow Jews can lead to oversimplifications that distort both historical and religious perceptions—particularly in educational settings dealing with sensitive issues related to religion and history. Treating such information as incontrovertible historical facts is also problematic, given that only a few sources highlight the lack of sufficient evidence to accurately reconstruct Jesus's life.

One major concern of these kinds of presentations is that children might receive one-sided information, limited to the claim that Jews were responsible for Jesus's death. Such a portrayal, lacking a deeper socioreligious context in which Jesus lived and acted, can reinforce traditional antisemitic stereotypes. This problem is exacerbated by the repetition of such narratives across various educational levels (primary and secondary schools) in both history classes and religious education textbooks. This approach can hinder development of a more nuanced understanding of the complex realities shaping Jesus's life.

For instance, expanding on the nuanced relations between contemporary Jewish groups and the Roman authorities, or explaining that crucifixion was a typical Roman means of execution that was applied to Jews and nonJews alike, can present a more reliable, nuanced historical conception. Conversely, emphasizing Jesus's Jewish background can promote a more accurate understanding and counter antisemitic stereotypes. This approach is essential for fostering responsible and accurate historical and religious education.



# Construction of Jewish Otherness and Perceived Threats

Poland is one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in Europe. According to the 2021 Polish National Census, fewer than 4 percent of the population are members of national and ethnic minorities.<sup>52</sup> Many Polish students lack direct contact with minority members and do not experience cultural diversity. Therefore, information in textbooks can become a crucial source of knowledge about these groups. However, many textbooks' depiction of Jews as a minority often perpetuates stereotypes and prejudices. Jews are frequently portrayed as outsiders or as temporary residents in Poland; sometimes they are even depicted as disloyal to the country they live in. By focusing on cultural and behavioral differences, such portrayals can indirectly justify antisemitic attitudes and behaviors in society, whether they have social, economic, or religious origins.

8. Ryszard Kulesza and Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 522. History, High School (1st Year)

This excerpt is part of a section describing the history of Poland and Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. Earlier in this textbook, Jews were mentioned in the context of ancient history and as a social group within the feudal society of Poland.<sup>53</sup> In this instance, the topic is presented as a "historical curiosity" disconnected from the broader narrative. The text describes the persecution faced by the Jewish community in areas other than Poland, attributing it to their "cultural and religious differences" that provoked hostility from other inhabitants. This description concludes with the claim that Jews sought refuge in Poland to escape those persecutions. This account is reinforced by an illustration depicting Jews being burned alive in Cologne, Germany, in 1349. The text perpetuates the stereotype of Jews as outsiders and scapegoats, shifting the responsibility for their persecution onto the victims while portraying Poland as a tolerant and welcoming country that accepted refugees. Notably, it omits any mention of the pogroms and persecutions that the Jewish community faced within Poland.

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<sup>52</sup> National Census 2021, information on the structure of national and ethnic groups and the language used in household interactions in Poland, [https://spis.gov.pl/aktualnosci/wyniki\\_09\\_28/](https://spis.gov.pl/aktualnosci/wyniki_09_28/).

<sup>53</sup> Ryszard Kulesza and Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 410.

## WARTO WIEDZIEĆ

### Prześladowania Żydów

W średniowiecznych miastach Żydzi zazwyczaj mieszkali w specjalnie wydzielonych dzielnicach – gettach. Ich odmienność kulturowa oraz religijna często budziła wrogość pozostałych mieszkańców. Żydów oskarżano o rytualne morderstwa, porwania dzieci, profanacje oraz doprowadzanie do klęsk żywiołowych. Nierzadko dochodziło do pogromów. W okresie epidemii dżumy oskarżano Żydów o zatrucie studni lub inne celowe rozsiewanie zarazy. Wielu z nich chwymano i za pomocą tortur zmuszano do przyznania się do rzekomej winy, a następnie publicznie mordowano. Prześladowania sprawiły, że część Żydów z zachodniej Europy zaczęła przenosić się na wschód, głównie do Polski.

? Dlaczego Żydzi przenosili się do Polski?



**Palenie żywcem Żydów** w Kolonii w 1349 r. przedstawione na ilustracji stanowi przykład stosunku zachodnioeuropejskich chrześcijan do diaspory żydowskiej. Ludność żydowską oskarżano o wywołanie epidemii dżumy, co doprowadziło do jej prześladowań i pogromów.

▪ reprodukcja drzeworytu, Norymberga, XV w.

*In medieval cities, Jews typically resided in designated areas known as ghettos. Their cultural and religious differences frequently elicited hostility from the other residents. Jews were accused of ritual murders, child abductions, desecrations, and causing natural disasters. Pogroms were frequent. During the plague epidemic, Jews were accused of poisoning wells or deliberately spreading the disease. Many were captured and tortured until they confessed to these alleged crimes, after which they were publicly executed. These persecutions led some Jews from Western Europe to migrate eastward, mainly to Poland.*

*[Question below the text:] Why did Jews migrate to Poland?*



9. Paweł Klint, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 2* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2023), 99. History, High School (2nd Year)

This excerpt perpetuates stereotypes while emphasizing the distinctiveness of Jews. Jews are noted for not assimilating "with other groups of people," which suggests that this group intentionally chose not to integrate into Polish society so it could preserve its "unique character." Their distinctiveness is further highlighted by the focus on dietary customs, portraying them as living according to unfamiliar, exotic rules. The suggestion that Jews formed "closed communities (ghettos) with their self-government (kahal) enjoying royal privileges" is a historical distortion. The text fails to mention that Jews were often forced to settle in designated areas, instead implying that Jews deliberately isolated themselves from the rest of society, which could be interpreted as a choice to live separately as a privileged group enjoying "royal privileges." Additionally, the text does not mention that these privileges were meant to protect the community from pogroms and that they contributed to growing resentment and hostility from other social groups. A failure to explain the term "ghetto" can lead to a misunderstanding of ghettos in the context of World War II. Furthermore, the text does not acknowledge the significant influence of Jews on the development of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is also worth noting that the question following the text reinforces the belief that Jews were a separate group.

## ■ ŻYDZI W RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ

Wskutek fali migracji oraz dużego przyrostu naturalnego w ciągu XVI w. liczba Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej wzrosła z kilkudziesięciu do prawie 300 tys. Ich największe, kilkudziesięczne skupiska znajdowały się w Krakowie, Poznaniu, Lublinie i we Lwowie. Żydzi masowo migrowali również na ziemie wschodnie państwa polsko-litewskiego (Podlasie, Wołyń, Ruś Czerwona), gdzie mieszkali w miastach i na wsi. Nie asymilowali się oni z innymi grupami ludności. Wyróżniali się również zwyczajami żywieniowymi. Mogli spożywać tylko żywność koszerą, tzn. określone produkty, które produkowano i przygotowywano według ścisłych zasad, a zwierzęta na mięso musiały być zabijane w specjalny sposób (ubój rytualny). Tworzyli zamknięte społeczności (getta), mające własny, cieszący się królewskimi przywilejami, samorząd (kahał). Kahały kierowały życiem społecznym, gospodarczym i religijnym wspólnoty. Gmina żydowska stawiała się w ten sposób odrębną jednostką administracyjną. Polskie prawo gwarantowało Żydom także wolność osobistą i swobodę wyznania. Od końca XVI w. w Koronie (a w następnym stuleciu także na Litwie) organizowano tzw. waady – zjazdy, w których uczestniczyli przedstawiciele kahałów. W trakcie tych zebrań zajmowano się m.in. rozdziałem podatków między poszczególne gminy oraz uchwalano prawa regulujące ich funkcjonowanie.

? Dlaczego Żydów często uznaje się za odrębny stan społeczny?



**Bima** w synagodze zbudowanej w Tykocinie w 1642 r. Miejsce, stanowiące centrum domu modlitwy, służyło do wykładania i czytania Tory. Odgrywało także rolę mównicy, z której kantor prowadził modły.

■ fotografia współczesna, Tykocin

*Due to migration waves and significant natural growth during the 16th century, the Jewish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth increased from several dozen to nearly 300,000. The largest Jewish communities, numbering in the thousands, were located in Kraków, Poznań, Lublin, and Lwów. Jews also migrated extensively to the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian state (Podlasie, Volhynia, and Red Ruthenia), where they settled in both urban and rural areas. They did not assimilate with other population groups and were distinguished by their dietary customs. They adhered to a kosher diet, which involved consuming only specific foods prepared according to strict rules, and animals intended for consumption had to be slaughtered in a ritual manner. They established closed communities (ghettos) with their own self-governing bodies (kahals) that enjoyed royal privileges. The kahals managed the social, economic, and religious life of the Jewish community, effectively making it a distinct administrative unit. Polish law also guaranteed Jews personal freedom and freedom of religion. From the late 16th century in the Crown (and in the following century also in Lithuania), assemblies known as waads were organized, where representatives of the kahals gathered to address issues such as resource distribution and to enact regulations governing their functions.*

*[Question below the text:] Why are Jews often considered a separate social estate?*

10. Paweł Klint, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 2* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2023), 257. History, High School (2nd Year)

This and the following excerpts describe the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648–1657), which is recognized in both Polish and global historiography as epitomizing the brutal persecution and suffering of the Jewish community. According to historians and contemporary Jewish sources, as many as 100,000 Jews were murdered under brutal circumstances.<sup>54</sup> These two excerpts, which form one page in a school textbook, do not convey the full extent of this suffering and instead may reinforce stereotypes and place blame on the victims.

The source text suggests that Jews monopolized the alcohol market, enabling them to harm and oppress the Cossacks and the Ukrainian population. This presents a stereotypical portrayal of Jews as oppressors, alongside other Polish social elites. It reinforces the idea that Jews were co-responsible for oppression and exploitation that led to animosity against them. As a result, students may perceive Jews as an integral part of the structures that exploited the population, which can lead to their stigmatization and demonization as antagonists in social conflicts.

Instead of presenting the actual situation and the suffering of Jews during the uprising, the text blames them for causing social and economic conflicts, which is not only historically inaccurate but also harmful. Such interpretations influence contemporary understandings of history and of the relationships between ethnic groups.

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<sup>54</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, "Chmielnicki Bogdan," <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/chmielnicki-khmelnitski-bogdan-x00b0>.

W miastach zaś od Żydów taka była krzywda, że nie wolno Kozakowi w domu swoim trzymać żadnego trunku na swoje potrzeby, nie tylko miodu, gorzałki, piwa, lecz nawet i brahy [wywar pozostały po pędzeniu wódki – red.]. [...] więcej niż sześć tysięcy nie powinno być Kozaków. Choć i syn kozacki, to pańszczyznę musiał odrabiać i czynsz płacić. [...]

Pospólstwo zaś, chociaż we wszystko obfitowało [...], a jednak – czego nie zwykła była cierpieć Ukraina – żdzierstwami wielkimi trapił starostowie, i namiestnicy, i Żydzi. Bo dzierżawcy sami nie mieszkali na Ukrainie, tylko urząd piastowali, i przez to mało wiedzieli o krzywdach ludzi pospolitych, a chociaż wiedzieli, byli zaślepieni podarkami od starostów i Żydów arendarzy [dzierżawców karczm] [...].

Źródło: *Latopis naocznego świadka*, cyt. za: W.A. Serczyk, *Na płonącej Ukrainie. Dzieje kozaczyzny 1648–1651*, Warszawa 2007, s. 34–35.

Source Text: **The Oppression of the Ukrainian Population—The Khmelnytsky Uprising**

*In the towns, the Jews inflicted such harm that it was forbidden for a Cossack to keep any alcoholic beverages in his home for personal use, not only honey, vodka, and beer, but even braha [the residue left after distilling vodka]. ...The common people, although they had an abundance of everything... nevertheless—which was unusual for Ukraine to suffer—were severely oppressed by the starosts<sup>55</sup>, the governors, and the Jews. The leaseholders themselves did not live in Ukraine; they only held the office and thus knew little about the suffering of the common people, and even when they did know, they were blinded by gifts from the starosts and the Jewish leaseholders [tavern keepers].*

Source: "Chronicle of an Eyewitness," cited in W.A. Serczyk, *On Burning Ukraine: The History of the Cossacks 1648–1651*, Warsaw 2007, 34–35.

<sup>55</sup> The starosta in the 17th century was an official responsible for managing a specific area (starostwo) in Poland. Their duties included maintaining order, enforcing laws, collecting taxes, and managing royal or noble estates. The starosta could also serve judicial functions in local matters.



## ■ PRZYCZYNY POWSTANIA

Od 1638 r. na Ukrainie zapanował rzadki na tym obszarze spokój, który trwał 10 lat i szybko został nazwany **złotym pokojem**.

Na Ukrainie magnateria rozwijała swoje dobra i kolonizowała nieużytki, co wiązało się z wdrożeniem praw feudalnych. Po latach wolnizny zaczęto także zbierać czynsze i wprowadzono pańszczyznę. Wprawdzie obciążenia były mniejsze niż w innych rejonach Rzeczypospolitej, ale wśród przywykłej do wolności ludności ruskiej budziły opór i powodowały wzrost napięć społecznych.

Rzeczywista władza na Ukrainie znalazła się w rękach spolonizowanych magnatów, tzw. ukraińskich królewiat, którzy przyjmowali

wiarę katolicką i dla prawosławnych Kozaków stawali się obcymi. Szczególnie znienawidzeni przez mieszkańców Ukrainy byli dzierżawcy majątków magnackich (głównie średnia szlachta i Żydzi), którzy starali się osiągnąć jak największe zyski kosztem ludności wiejskiej.

Nadzieją dla Kozaków była planowana od początku lat 40. XVII w. przez króla Władysława IV wyprawa przeciwko Turkom i Tatarom. Miała ona uwolnić Ukrainę od ciągłego zagrożenia, ale także uzyskać dziedziczne ziemie dla polskich Wazów. Ważną rolę w tej wojnie mieli odegrać Kozacy – król zamierzał wziąć na służbę Rzeczypospolitej ponad 40 tys. z nich. W 1646 r. sejm nie zgodził się jednak na wojnę z Turcją. Niespełnione obietnice wobec

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### **Causes of the Uprising [Khmelnysky Uprising]**

*The leaseholders of magnate estates (primarily lesser nobility and Jews) were especially detested by the people of Ukraine. These individuals sought to maximize their profits at the expense of the rural population, leading to widespread resentment.*

11. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, Tomasz Maćkowski, and *Dzis i Jutro, Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021–2023 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 121. Social Studies, Elementary School (8th Grade)

Compared to previous analyses, the text in Figures 11 and 12 may be regarded as having positive value, because the tasks assigned to students facilitate the gathering of information about minority groups in Poland and their cultural initiatives. However, in this context, minority culture is treated as a commodity. Promoting minority culture through festivals or cultural events can reduce its function to that of an entertainment product. This approach, which was prevalent during the PRL [The People's Republic of Poland] era (1944–1989), has had lasting consequences. It can reinforce stereotypes, especially when students do not have direct contact with members of minorities and view the group as exotic or merely a curiosity, rather than recognizing it as an integral part of Polish society. The most problematic aspect of Figure 11 is the question: “What benefits does learning about the culture of minorities residing **in our country bring to Poles?**” In Figure 12, this statement— “It is equally crucial to recognize the rich culture and traditions that their representatives contribute **to our country's culture**—is also of concern. It makes a clear distinction between “us/Poles” (the dominant group) and “them” (the minorities), which can lead to further marginalization and “othering.”

4. Mniejszości i migranci

5 Odszukaj informacje o inicjatywach kulturalnych podejmowanych przez środowiska mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w Polsce. Uwzględnij wydarzenia związane z promowaniem ich kina, muzyki, sztuki, kuchni. Przygotuj prezentację na temat wybranej imprezy tego typu. Jakie korzyści niesie dla Polaków poznawanie kultury mniejszości, które zamieszkują nasz kraj?

Find information about cultural initiatives undertaken by national and ethnic minority communities in Poland. Include events that promote their cinema, music, art, and cuisine. Prepare a presentation on a chosen event of this type. What benefits does learning about the culture of minorities living in our country bring to Poles?

12. Urszula Radomska, *Wiedza o społeczeństwie: Podręcznik*, Szkoła Podstawowa (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 89. Social Studies, Elementary School (8th Grade)

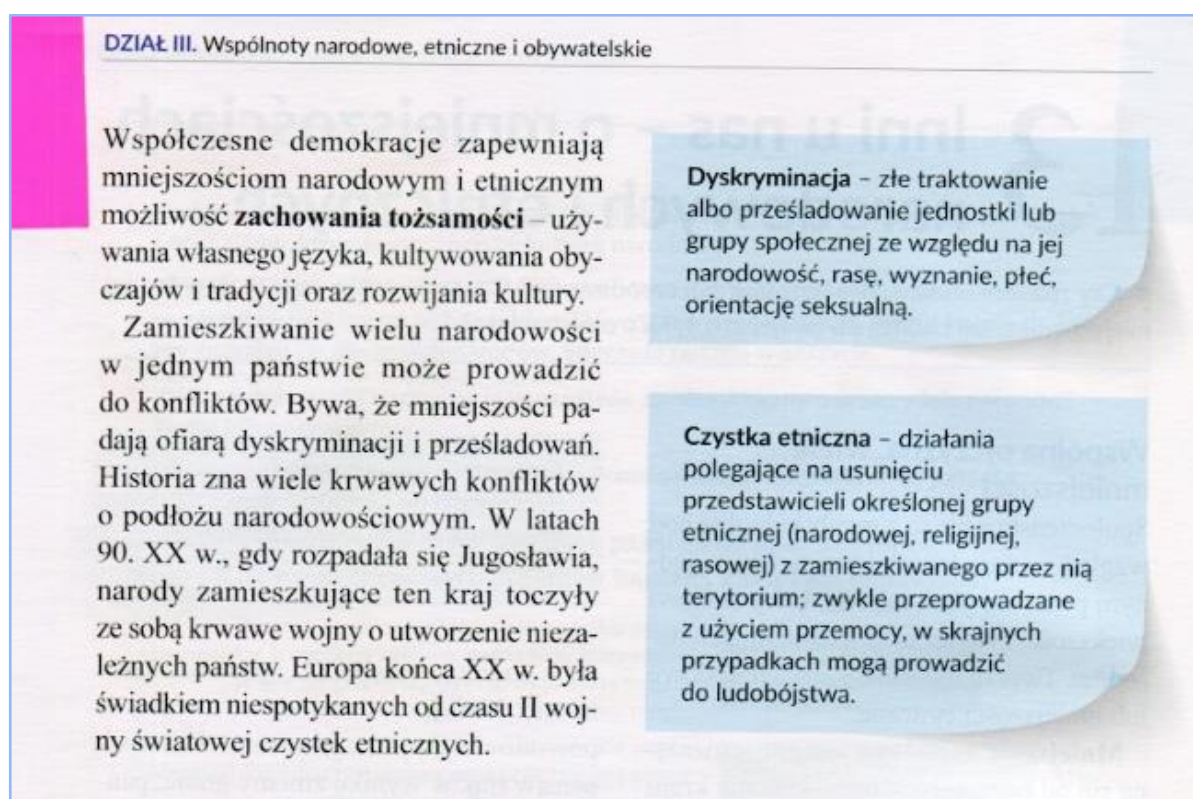
Dlaczego należy szanować inne narody? Odpowiedź na to pytanie wydaje się oczywista. Szacunek dla innych to przede wszystkim podstawa **dobrych relacji** między ludźmi. W postawie szacunku jest zawarta akceptacja czyjejs odrębności, inności. Jeśli będziemy szanowali innych, mamy prawo domagać się tego samego dla siebie. Dzieje naszego narodu są wyjątkowo burzliwe. Można stwierdzić, że historia nas nie oszczędzała. W dużej mierze konsekwencją naszych dziejów jest to, że Polacy są rozsiani po całej kuli ziemskiej. Jeśli chcemy szacunku i godnego życia dla nich, musimy takie samo prawo przyznać innym narodom mieszkającym na terenie Polski. Warto pamiętać także o bogactwie kultury i tradycji, które ich przedstawiciele wnoszą do kultury naszego państwa. Wiele narodów przebyło trudną drogę do niepodległości, niektóre nadal nie mogą jej wywalczyć. Polacy, świadomi swej trudnej historii, powinni to szczególnie zrozumieć.

*Why is it important to respect other nations? It is equally crucial to recognize the rich culture and traditions that their representatives contribute to our country's culture.*



13. Urszula Radomska, *Wiedza o społeczeństwie: Podręcznik, Szkoła Podstawowa* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 82. Social Studies, Elementary School (8th Grade)

An eighth-grade social studies textbook includes this statement—"The presence of multiple nationalities within one state can lead to conflicts"—which is not supported by scientific research and lacks a foundation in historiography. This generalization oversimplifies the topic of multiculturalism and diversity in a way that demonizes it and instills a sense of threat in children. It is important to remember that in a country like Poland that has become increasingly ethnically homogeneous, the presentation of national diversity should not focus on negative aspects, such as possible divisions, conflicts, or threats, but rather on the constructive aspects of coexistence among different groups. It is also worth noting that before World War II Poland was a multiethnic country. Additionally, stating that "minorities often fall victim to discrimination and persecution" results in the secondary victimization of those who have suffered discrimination, shifting the responsibility for persecution onto the victims, rather than the perpetrators. Students may perceive the message to be that cultural diversity equates to threat, conflict, and persecution.



*The presence of multiple nationalities within a single country can lead to conflicts. Minorities often fall victim to discrimination and persecution. History records many bloody conflicts rooted in nationalism.*

14. Jarosław Czubaty, *Piotr Szlanta: Historia*, Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 343. History, High School (3rd Year)

The author of this excerpt not only provides an overview of the Jewish minority but also examines the attitudes of Jews toward the Polish state in the prewar era, which ranged from patriotism to indifference or even hostility; it also touches on their involvement in the communist movement. It is important to note that no in-depth studies were conducted in the 1920s and 1930s on the attitudes of Jews toward the Polish state.

Suggesting that Jews displayed attitudes such as "indifference" and "hostility" toward the state they were a part of not only oversimplifies the complexity of attitudes among Jews but also perpetuates stereotypes rooted in antisemitic clichés prevalent in nationalist movements during the interwar period. The juxtaposition of the "sincere patriotism" of assimilated Jews, who were referred to as Poles of the "Mosaic faith," with the "indifference" or "hostility" attributed to other Jews implies that this latter group was less loyal or engaged with the Polish state. Such distinctions can lead to the dehumanization of those who do not fit the positive image of a loyal citizen, further deepening social divides.

The text also contains stereotypes related to communism, suggesting that a significant percentage of communist activists were Polish Jews. This claim has been, and continues to be, used to justify antisemitic attitudes that have had tragic consequences for the Jewish population. Furthermore, associating Jews with the communist movement can reinforce prejudices and legitimize violence against them by attributing responsibility for communist activities to Jews. In the past, this approach served as a pretext for antisemitic persecution,<sup>56</sup> and its effects are still evident today.

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<sup>56</sup> Anna Juszczyk, "Obraz Żyda na łamach „Rycerza Niepokalanej”, 1922–1939," *Studia Żydowskie* no. 5 (Zamość: Akademia Zamojska, 2015), 73–101.



Żydzi na ulicy w Warszawie.

? Opisz wygląd mężczyzn na zdjęciu. Czym się wyróżniają?

### Żydzi

Stanowili około 10% obywateli. Na co dzień posługiwali się oni językiem jidysz (do obrzędów religijnych używali hebrajskiego), ale wielu z nich używało także języka polskiego. Większość Żydów wyznawała judaizm. Ośrodkami życia społecznego były gminy wyznaniowe, które organizowały życie religijne (m.in. dbały o synagogi, łaźnie rytualne, cmentarze). Żydzi byli rozsiani po całym państwie, zamieszkiwali głównie w miastach i miasteczkach. W niektórych stanowili większość mieszkańców. Najmniejszy odsetek ludności stanowili w dawnym zaborze pruskim. Wśród Żydów można było zaobserwować różne postawy wobec państwa polskiego: od szczerego patriotyzmu i oddania tych, którzy określali się mianem

Polaków wyznania mojżeszowego, po obojętności czy nawet niechęci. Spory odsetek działaczy komunistycznych stanowili polscy Żydzi, choć z drugiej strony tylko niewielki odsetek samych Żydów popierał idee komunistyczne. Popularnym ruchem politycznym wśród ludności żydowskiej stawał się w okresie międzywojennym **ruch syjonistyczny** (patrz: temat 13). Pod względem struktury zawodowej aż 80% Żydów utrzymywało się z przemysłu, handlu i rzemiosła, a tylko 4% z rolnictwa. Wiele wykonywało wolne zawody, m.in. prawników czy lekarzy. Większość – drobni sklepikarze, handlarze i robotnicy – żyła na granicy nędzy. Wysokim statusem materialnym cieszyły się jedynie nieliczne burżuazja i część przedstawicieli wolnych zawodów.

### Białorusini

Stanowili około 5% polskiego społeczeństwa. Wyznawali w przeważającej mierze prawosławie i byli w większości chłopami. Zamieszkiwali północno-wschodnie tereny kraju. W porównaniu do innych mniejszości mieli stosunkowo słabo rozwiniętą tożsamość i wielu z nich uznawało się „za miejscowych”, tym samym unikało jasno zdefiniowanych wyborów narodowych. Ponieważ nie byli aktywni politycznie, władze w Warszawie nie uważały ich za szczególnie niebezpiecznych dla integralności państwa. Ze względu na dużą skalę ubóstwa panującego wśród białoruskich chłopów popularnością cieszyła się wśród nich komunizująca partia o nazwie **Białoruska Włościańsko-Robotnicza Hromada**. Postulowała ona także zjednoczenie wszystkich ziem zamieszkałych przez Białorusinów.

*Among the Jewish community, attitudes toward the Polish state varied widely. Some Jews, identifying as Polish and of the Mosaic faith, demonstrated sincere patriotism and dedication, while others showed indifference or even hostility. Although a significant number of communist activists were Polish Jews, only a small proportion of the Jewish community supported communist ideas.*

15. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 132. History. High School (4th Year)

This excerpt perpetuates the stereotype of Jewish–communist collaboration, which is a component of both prewar and postwar forms of antisemitic propaganda that connect Jews with communism. The stereotyped term “Judeo-Communism” (Żydokomuna) was often used as a tool to justify violence against Jewish communities, dehumanizing them as enemies of the Polish nation. The emphasis on alleged collaboration suggests that subsequent violence against Jews was a justified reaction to their supposed actions. This kind of narrative blames the victims and justifies the perpetrators, which can diminish the moral gravity of the crimes. By noting that local Polish residents were incited by the Germans to commit violent actions against the Jews, it diffuses the responsibility of local perpetrators, suggesting that they were manipulated. The excerpt also does not mention that the pogrom lasted several days and included a series of brutal acts against the Jewish community before they were herded in, confined to the barn, and set on fire.<sup>57</sup>

This narrative aligns with Holocaust distortion and historical revisionism, portraying the victims as partially responsible for their fate. Presenting history in this way to students increases the risk of entrenching stereotypes, simplifies the reality, and distorts historical truth, which has a negative impact on critical thinking, understanding, and remembrance of these tragic events. It is also worth noting that the Jedwabne pogrom has been used as a political tool in many political campaigns in Poland that accused Jews of manipulating the historical facts.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Andrzej Żbikowski, *Masowe mordy ludności żydowskiej w Jedwabnem, Radziłowie i innych miejscowościach na wschodnim Mazowszu w lecie 1941 roku*, <https://www.jhi.pl/artykuly/masowe-mordy-ludnosci-zydowskiej-jedwabne,661>.

<sup>58</sup> Marek Magierowski, “Duda—narodowy zakapior przegrał” Polska i świat komentują debatę,” <https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/duda-atakuje-komorowskiego-sprawa-zbrodni-w-jedwabnem/5pe9dx>.



W społeczeństwie polskim obecne były także postawy nieprzychylne Żydom, chociaż hitlerowcom nie udało się namówić Polaków do masowego udziału w antysemickich pogromach. Wyjątkami były przypadki zabijania przez ludność polską żydowskich sąsiadów, m.in. w Radziłowie, Wąsoszu i Jedwabnem. W tym ostatnim, jak wynika z przeprowadzonych badań, Niemcy podburzyli mieszkańców, którzy 10 lipca 1941 r. zapędzili do stodoły kilkuset okolicznych Żydów oskarżonych o współpracę z Sowietami, a następnie podpalili budynek. W Polsce, jak w wielu innych krajach, znaleźli się także tacy, którzy wydawali okupantom ukrywających się Żydów. Czynili to z pragnienia zysku lub niechęci do ludności żydowskiej. Niektórzy szantażowali ukrywających się Żydów

*Exceptions included instances where Polish citizens killed their Jewish neighbors, such as in Radziłów, Wąsosz, and Jedwabne. In the latter case, research indicates that the Germans incited local residents, who, on July 10, 1941, herded several hundred nearby Jews accused of collaborating with the Soviets into a barn and then set it on fire.*

In this chapter, several examples from various levels of elementary and high school education were compared. Even though some positive portrayals of Jews are included in the descriptions, Jews are consistently portrayed as guests, newcomers, or temporary residents. This perceived temporariness reinforces the notion of disloyalty to the host country—Poland—and implies that Jews are responsible for weakening the nation and causing suffering to Poles, even after some Poles risked their lives to assist them. These narratives cast Jews as a symbolic group depicted as antagonistic, with an inherent tendency to “produce evil”; in contrast, assimilation is consistently



represented as the sole positive solution, with the process and conditions of assimilation being exclusively attributed to them. Concepts of "otherness" and "foreignness" are seen as mechanisms for defining and segregating social groups and not as consequences of discrimination, violence, and social exclusion. Often the isolation of Jews was not voluntary but was imposed on them by the broader society.

This narrative reflects nationalist and Poland-centric ideologies rooted in antisemitic stereotypes. It reinforces negative notions such as the Jews' inappropriate behavior, disloyalty, and incomplete social integration, which are rooted in historical and social mechanisms of discrimination. Portraying minorities in this way can heighten social barriers and prejudices, leading to increased marginalization and making it more difficult to build inclusive human relationships. Educational practices that perpetuate these stereotypes entrench such views in younger generations, posing a significant challenge to the development of a democratic and multicultural society.

# Holocaust: Historical Context and Thematic Analysis

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In school textbooks, the presentation of the Holocaust and contemporary antisemitism in Poland plays a pivotal role in shaping the historical identity of the majority group. Rather than providing objective historical facts, textbooks often present biased interpretations or omit uncomfortable truths, focusing on narratives that reshape societal understanding of the crimes committed. The content reflects the impact of intense debates over antisemitism in Poland and Polish attitudes during the Holocaust, as well as discussions on their roles as beneficiaries, perpetrators, or accomplices in the suffering of Jews. Despite the increased inclusion of Jewish-related topics, the coverage of the Holocaust remains cursory, with factual inaccuracies, omissions, and interpretive accounts. The material frequently presents evaluative judgments, stereotypes, and controversial summaries or statements, relying more on common misconceptions than on the latest scientific research on the pogroms, societal behaviors, and the role of Polish society, including small towns, the underground state, and the government-in-exile.

Our analysis reveals that the topic of the Holocaust in Poland is frequently used to promote national pride, group identity, and patriotic education. Polish Jews are often depicted as beneficiaries of the heroic actions and tolerance of Polish society and authorities, while also being shown as victims of persecution by other countries or Western powers. This portrayal frequently neglects the issue of Polish antisemitism and the roles played by Poles in the Holocaust.

In the high school textbooks we analyzed, the content on the Holocaust is preceded by information on the gradually increasing persecution by the Nazis. Yet, there is insufficient coverage of the social processes and mechanisms that led to genocide. The absence of attention to or the superficial presentation of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, stigmatization, hate speech, and hate crimes hampers a comprehensive understanding of the subject. Students are not adequately informed about how these mechanisms were or could be used nor about their impact on individuals. A thorough exploration of how mechanisms of violence affect group behavior, obedience to authority, conformity, bystander apathy, groupthink, deindividuation, social fear, submission, and manipulation would enhance understanding of the Holocaust and the experiences of its victims, witnesses, and rescuers. Additionally, there are few references to contemporary manifestations of prejudice, such as recent research on the topic, attitudes toward minorities, and the prevalence of hate speech and hate crimes in Poland; these could be used to address these issues among youth. Furthermore, definitions intended to clarify these phenomena or their underlying causes often fail to do so; in some cases, they even justify antisemitism or shift blame onto the victims by attributing their suffering to their perceived otherness, hostility, and disloyalty.

16. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 233. History, High School (4th Year)

After the war, Poland experienced a wave of pogroms, in which many returning Jewish survivors were brutally murdered by their former Polish neighbors or individuals who had taken over their property. Researchers from the Holocaust Research Center and other institutions have documented these events in detail. The analyzed excerpt cites property theft and antisemitic incidents that took the form of pogroms in postwar Poland as examples of “postwar demoralization.”<sup>59</sup> This presentation downplays the broader, more serious issue of antisemitic violence during that period.<sup>60</sup> The limited discussion of this topic minimizes the gravity of these events and their profound impact on those members of the Jewish community who returned home, as well as on Polish society. Moreover, the context in which these pogroms occurred is not adequately addressed, which fails to convey the very dangerous situation faced by Polish Jews after the war.

15. Ziemie polskie po II wojnie światowej

Kradzież mienia nie była niestety jedynym przykładem powojennej demoralizacji. W latach 1945–1946 doszło też do kilku wydarzeń o charakterze antysemickim, które przybrały formę **pogromów**. Do największego z nich doszło 4 lipca 1946 r. w Kielcach. Nieprawdziwa pogłoska o uwięzieniu polskich dzieci przez Żydów w piwnicach jednej z kamienic doprowadziła do rozruchów i ataków na mieszkających w Kielcach Żydów. W wyniku zajeść zabito ok. 40 osób. Do dzisiaj nie jest jasne, dlaczego władze nie podjęły próby zapobieżenia pogromowi. Informacje o nim szybko rozniosły się po świecie i znacząco obniżyły sympatię wobec sprzeciwiających się komunizmowi Polaków. Z kolei wśród mieszkających w Polsce Żydów, obciążonych traumą Holokaustu, pogrom zwiększył obawy o własną przyszłość i w konsekwencji doprowadził do nasilenia procesu emigracji w kolejnych latach.

**Pogrom** – grupowa i zorganizowana napaść na mniejszość religijną lub narodową w celu zastraszenia, wypędzenia bądź wymordowania.

*The theft of property was regrettably not the sole instance of postwar demoralization. During 1945–1946, there were also several antisemitic incidents that manifested as pogroms.*

<sup>59</sup> Postwar demoralization refers to the moral and social decline that followed World War II, marked by disillusionment, trauma, and a breakdown in ethical standards. In many societies, including Poland, this period saw a rise in criminal activity and distrust in institutions, as well as the erosion of traditional norms due to the war's lasting impact.

<sup>60</sup> Maciej Stasiński, “Abandon All Hope”: Ordinary Residents of Kraków Participated in the Pogrom: Vendors, Ruffians, <https://wyborcza.pl/alehistoria/7,121681,31071798,porzuccie-wszelka-nadzieje-czytajac-nowa-ksiazke-joanny-tokarskiej-bakir.html>.

17. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 74. History, High School (4th Year)

This excerpt contains stereotypes, historical inaccuracies, and oversimplified generalizations about the behavior of Jews in the extreme situation of the Holocaust. The statement that “most Jews adopted a submissive stance” reinforces the stereotype that Jewish communities passively accepted persecution. It downplays the actions of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust, both in armed uprisings, such as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, and in other forms, such as hiding, fleeing, or helping others. The phrase “hoping that the repressions—similar to many historical instances—would be short-lived” minimizes the unprecedented nature of the Holocaust. Such an explanation ignores the broader context of fear, disorientation, and the unpredictable nature of Nazi policies. The assertion that the “distinctiveness of the Jewish population” made it difficult for them to “conceal themselves” shifts some of the responsibility for their inability to hide onto their cultural identity. This reinforces the idea that Jews were inherently “other.” By focusing on language, clothing, and customs as the main reasons why Jews could not effectively conceal themselves, the text overlooks other key factors, such as the role of anti-Jewish laws, local collaborators, and the scale of the Nazi apparatus aimed at identifying and destroying Jews.

## ■ STOSUNEK ŻYDÓW DO ZAGŁADY

Początkowo większość Żydów przyjęła po-  
słuszną postawę wobec okupanta. Liczyli na to  
że represje – jak niejednokrotnie w historii  
– nie potrwać długo, a ze względu na swoją  
przydatność do pracy uda im się zachować  
życie. Ponadto odrębność ludności żydowskiej  
od pozostałych narodów Europy Środkowo-  
-Wschodniej (język, ubiór, zwyczaje) utrudniała  
skuteczne ukrycie się przed niemieckimi prze-  
śladowcami. Pod wpływem informacji o ma-  
sowych mordach Żydzi, mimo braku wsparcia

*Initially, most Jews adopted a submissive stance toward the occupiers, hoping that the repressions—similar to many historical instances—would be short-lived and that their utility as laborers would enable them to survive. Furthermore, the distinctiveness of the Jewish population from other nations in Central and Eastern Europe, including differences in language, clothing, and customs, made it difficult for them to effectively conceal themselves from the German persecutors.*



18. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 120. History, High School (4th Year)

This description of Auschwitz-Birkenau has many inaccuracies that result in an incomplete understanding of its chronology and function, as well as the fate of its Jewish prisoners. It states that the camp was originally built to house mainly Polish prisoners and that Jews were only sent there in 1941. The information in the text is supported by a photograph of a fifteen-year-old Polish girl, Czesława Kwoka, who died in the camp. Her nationality is explicitly mentioned in the description. Jews, however, were present from the very first transport of prisoners to Auschwitz from Tarnów in June 1940.<sup>61</sup>

More importantly, the text overlooks the fact that Auschwitz-Birkenau, unlike other camps where prisoners could be released, was a site of extermination for Jews. This representation minimizes the camp's role in the extermination of Jews.

Another problem is that the text treats Jews as among the many victims of extermination. In the text, they are listed alongside Soviet prisoners of war, homosexuals, and so-called asocial prisoners, such as prostitutes and the homeless. This narrative omits the fact that Jews were the primary group targeted for extermination. By placing Jews in the same category as other groups, the text obscures the fact that the Holocaust aimed at the systematic annihilation of Jews in a manner distinct from the persecution of other groups.

Additionally, the description of camp conditions is problematic. The text fails to emphasize that most Jews were immediately sent to death in gas chambers; forced labor and internment were often preceded by a selection based on their ability to work; this determined their fate. The failure to describe Auschwitz-Birkenau as a central symbol of the Holocaust and as the largest site of mass murder of this group distorts the true role of the camp.

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<sup>61</sup> Przemysław Batorski, "June 14, 1940—The First Mass Transport to Auschwitz," <https://www.jhi.pl/artykuly/14-czerwca-1940-pierwszy-masowy-transport-do-auschwitz,3603>.



*Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp initially housed only Poles, including members of the underground resistance, intellectuals, clergy, scouts, and individuals who were captured while attempting to escape to France. Supervisory positions were held by German criminal prisoners (known as kapos), who, like the guards, abused the inmates. The living conditions in the camp were horrific; prisoners were starved and forced into hard labor. In 1941, Soviet prisoners of war, Jews, homosexuals, and so-called asocial prisoners (including prostitutes, homeless individuals, and the mentally ill) began to be sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp.*

The above examples illustrate how the presentation of the Holocaust and antisemitism in Polish school textbooks is shaping the historical identity of the majority group, often obscuring the truth by prioritizing biased narratives over objective facts.

Instead of providing objective facts, textbooks often present biased interpretations and omit uncomfortable truths, which affects the social understanding of these crimes. The content of educational materials do not reflect intense debates on antisemitism and Polish attitudes during the Holocaust, emphasizing their roles as beneficiaries, perpetrators, or accomplices in the suffering of Jews.

The analysis reveals that the topic of the Holocaust is often used to promote national pride and patriotic education, portraying Polish Jews as victims while also presenting them as beneficiaries of Polish society's actions. School textbooks lack detailed coverage of the social processes that led to genocide, and there is minimal attention to issues such as stereotypes, prejudice, and hate crimes. Students do not receive adequate information about the impact of these mechanisms on individuals or their consequences.

In summary, the lack of references to contemporary manifestations of prejudice and mechanisms of violence in the Polish education system limits understanding of the Holocaust and the experiences of its victims. Many definitions intended to clarify these phenomena often fail to do so, with some even justifying antisemitism, which can lead to further marginalization of victims.

## Righteous Among the Nations: Recognition, Historical Impact, and Politicization

There has been a significant expansion in textbook content related to the Holocaust and to societal attitudes toward occupiers and victims since 2016, when a similar analysis was conducted. These topics now comprise approximately 20% of the content dedicated to World War II. However, the dominant narrative emphasizes the hostile attitudes of other nations toward Jews, contrasted with the heroic stance of Poles and the Polish government-in-exile. Even when addressing the antisemitic attitudes of Poles or their direct involvement in the murder of Jews, summaries often include inflated claims regarding the number of Jews saved by Poles. Consequently, Jews in this narrative serve primarily as a backdrop to the tolerance and heroism of Polish society and the Polish authorities.

19. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 76–77. History, High School (4th Year)

The textbook for the fourth year of high school contains an excerpt that distorts historical reality in several ways and manipulates facts to reinforce a particular narrative. It compares the occupation of Western Europe—specifically, the Netherlands and Belgium—with that of Poland and Ukraine. The statement that the “milder nature of the occupation in Western Europe” allowed the Dutch and Belgians to protest openly suggests that the situation in Poland was much more difficult and prevented the Poles from expressing dissent. The section referencing the collaboration of other countries (Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary) in the extermination of Jews reinforces the idea that these countries bore greater responsibility for the Holocaust than did Poland. By comparing different countries’ experiences during Nazi occupation, the passage casts Poles positively. The message is clear: Poles suffered more than other nations, and because of the more brutal conditions, they had no opportunity to engage in mass resistance against the Germans. This may downplay the extent of collaboration and minimize the nature and extent of antisemitic attitudes in Poland.

In this context, the emphasis in this passage on Polish assistance to Jews—through examples of individuals like Irena Sendler, the Żabiński family, or the Ulm family—downplays the scale of Polish antisemitism and Polish collaboration with the Nazis in the extermination of Jews. The suggestion that helping Jews was especially dangerous only in Poland and Ukraine is also misleading: aiding Jews in other occupied countries carried severe consequences as well. It may create a false impression that Poles were uniquely brave and stood out in providing help. Although the text mentions “many cases of antisemitism,” placing these alongside heroic actions of Poles implies that antisemitism was marginal and that the majority of Poles helped Jews. This is a significant oversimplification and distortion of historical reality, potentially serving to shift responsibility for complicity in the Holocaust onto other nations.



The entire text reinforces the image at the top of the page, which describes the history and main idea behind awarding the medal of the Righteous Among the Nations to non-Jews. The photo features a representative of a Polish family, Antonina and Stefan Piechota, who were posthumously honored for saving two Jewish girls during the war.

## II WOJNA ŚWIATOWA

### ■ SPRAWIEDLIWI WŚRÓD NARODÓW ŚWIATA

W 1963 r. władze Izraela ustanowiły wyróżnienie Sprawiedliwy wśród Narodów Świata – najwyższe cywilne odznaczenie nadawane nie-Żydom. Jest ono przyznawane przez Instytut Pamięci Męczenników i Bohaterów Holokaustu Yad Vashem [czyt.: jad waszem] tym, którzy podczas II wojny światowej z narażeniem własnego życia ratowali Żydów z Holokaustu. Prawo do składania wniosków o nadanie odznaczenia mają sami uratowani oraz ich bliscy. Osobom, które zostaną uznane za Sprawiedliwych, przyznaje się specjalne medale z własnym imieniem i nazwiskiem oraz pochodzącym z Talmudu napisem *Kto ratuje jedno życie – ratuje cały świat*, honorowe dyplomy oraz przywilej wpisania ich nazwisk na Murze Honorowym w Ogrodzie Sprawiedliwych w Yad Vashem. Do stycznia 2020 r. odznaczenie nadano 27 712 osobom, z czego najwięcej: 7112 z Polski, 5851 z Holandii oraz 4130 z Francji.

❓ Poszukaj informacji o instytucjach i miastach, które uhonorowano odznaczeniem Sprawiedliwy wśród Narodów Świata.



**Medal i dyplom** Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata, przyznany pośmiertnie Antoninie i Stefanowi Piechocie za ocalenie podczas wojny dwóch żydowskich dziewcząt w miejscowości Samy koło Pińska.

▪ fotografia, Gdańsk, 30 VIII 2018 r.

zorganizowali swoim obywatelom pochodzenia żydowskiego możliwość ucieczki do neutralnej Szwecji. Łagodniejszy charakter okupacji Europy Zachodniej sprawił też, że swoją dezaprobatę przeciwko deportacjom jawnie wyrażali Holendrzy i Belgowie. Pierwsi zorganizowali w Amsterdamie strajk jako wyraz sprzeciwu wobec niemieckich działań. Z kolei w Belgii na znak solidarności z prześladowanymi opaskę z gwiazdą Dawida nałożył członek rodziny królewskiej.

Wśród sojuszników III Rzeszy pełną współpracę w eksterminacji ludności żydowskiej podjęły władze słowackie oraz rumuńskie. Rumuni brali też udział w pogromach na terenie Besarabii i Bukowiny. Bułgarzy pod naciskiem Berlina wysłali do Auschwitz-Birkenau Żydów z okupowanej przez siebie Tracji i Macedonii, ale odmówili wydania własnych obywateli pochodzenia żydowskiego. Węgrzy początkowo opierali się wymordowaniu tamtejszych Żydów, jednak gdy w marcu 1944 r. kraj ten został zajęty przez wojska niemieckie, na rozkaz Eichmanna uruchomiono proces deportacji węgierskich Żydów do Auschwitz.

Współpracy w eksterminacji Żydów odmówił Mussolini, choć w kraju wprowadzono urzędową dyskryminację ludności żydowskiej. Dopiero po wkroczeniu Niemców rozpoczęły się prześladowania, których ofiarą padło ok. 20% włoskich Żydów.

Mimo wielu przypadków antysemityzmu nie zabrakło także ludzi, którzy nieśli ratunek Żydom. Wymagało to szczególnej odwagi w Polsce i na Ukrainie, gdzie za najmniejszą pomoc ludności żydowskiej groziła śmierć. W strukturach Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego powstała **Rada Pomocy Żydom „Żegota”** pod kierownictwem **Juliana Grobelnego**. Działała w niej m.in. **Irena Sendlerowa**, która wydostała z getta ok. 2500 dzieci żydowskich, umieszczonych następnie, z fałszywymi dokumentami, w zakonnych sierocińcach lub polskich rodzinach. W pomoc Żydom byli zaangażowani także polscy duchowni, zakonnicy i zakonnice. Ich działania wspierał m.in. metropolita krakowski **arcybiskup książę Adam Sapieha**. Ludności żydowskiej pomagali też z narażeniem życia zwykli Polacy, tacy jak **Jan i Antonina Żabińscy**, którzy w warszawskim zoo ukrywali

uciekinierów z getta. Niektórzy pomoc tę przypłacili życiem, jak **rodzina Ulmów** ze wsi Markowa na Podkarpaciu (więcej o postawie Polaków wobec Holokaustu na s. 130).

*The relatively milder nature of the occupation in Western Europe led to more open expressions of disapproval against deportations by the Dutch and Belgians. The Dutch were the first to organize a strike in Amsterdam as a form of protest against German actions. In Belgium, a member of the royal family wore a Star of David armband in solidarity with the persecuted Jews. Among the Third Reich's allies, the Slovak and Romanian authorities fully cooperated in the extermination of the Jewish population. The Romanians also participated in pogroms in Bessarabia and Bukovina. Under pressure from Berlin, the Bulgarians deported Jews from the territories they occupied in Thrace and Macedonia to Auschwitz-Birkenau, but they refused to hand over their own Jewish citizens. Initially, the Hungarians resisted the extermination of their Jewish population, but after German forces occupied the country in March 1944, the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz began under Eichmann's orders. Mussolini refused to cooperate in the extermination of Jews, though official discrimination against the Jewish population was enacted in Italy. It was only after the Germans entered the country that persecutions began, resulting in the deaths of about 20% of Italian Jews. Despite numerous instances of antisemitism, there were also individuals who extended help to Jews. Providing such assistance required exceptional bravery, especially in Poland and Ukraine, where even the slightest aid to Jews could result in death. In response, the Polish Underground State established the Council for Aid to Jews, known as "Żegota," led by Julian Grobelny. Among its members was Irena Sendlerowa, who successfully rescued approximately 2,500 Jewish children from the ghettos, subsequently placing them in convent orphanages or Polish families under false identities. Polish clergy, monks, and nuns were also deeply involved in aiding Jews. Their efforts were supported by, among others, Archbishop Adam Sapieha, the Metropolitan of Kraków. Ordinary Poles, such as Jan and Antonina Żabiński, risked their lives by hiding Jewish escapees in the Warsaw Zoo. Some, like the Ulma family from Markowa in the Podkarpacie region, paid the ultimate price for their assistance.*



20. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 112. History, High School (4th Year)

This introduction to the topic of the Holocaust functions primarily as a lead-in to showcasing the heroic actions of the Poles. Although it includes basic information about the crimes committed by the Nazis and their extermination plans—"The persecution intensified systematically—Jews were forced to wear badges with the Star of David, had their property confiscated, were subjected to degrading labor, and were denied fundamental human rights"—this passage emphasizes the heroism of Poles. This is done often at the expense of a fuller depiction of the actions of the perpetrators and the more complex historical context. The quoted text includes a biography of Irena Sendlerowa, "who, at great personal risk, smuggled approximately 2,500 children out of the ghetto and helped hide them." In this introduction, the rescuers are given distinct personalities and faces, while the rescued individuals are depicted as enduring unimaginable and incomprehensible suffering.

The involvement of Poles in the Holocaust is frequently minimized. Students may be led to believe that the prevailing societal stance was one of fear or justified animosity toward Jews, framed as a response to alleged betrayals. Although the text does acknowledge "Poles who, for various reasons, assisted the German occupiers in persecuting Jews," this is often overshadowed by the focus on the number of Jews rescued by Poles and the humanitarian efforts of the Polish government-in-exile. Moreover, the numbers provided lack corroboration from historical records.

## Holokaust

W sposób szczególny niemiecka polityka eksterminacyjna dotknęła polskich Żydów. Już podczas kampanii wrześniowej dochodziło do ich zabójstw i publicznych upokorzeń przez żołnierzy niemieckich. W kolejnych miesiącach proces prześladowania systematycznie przybierał na sile – Żydzi musieli nosić emblematy z **gwiazdą Dawida**, pozbawiano ich majątków, zmuszano do wykonywania upokarzających prac, odmawiano praw ludzkich. Niemiecka propaganda ukazywała ich jako najgorszą kategorię podludzi, która roznosi choroby i insekty. Takie oskarżenia były jedną z przyczyn tworzenia od października 1939 r. **gett**, do których zwożono Żydów z okolicznych miejscowości. Getta najczęściej były przeludnione, a katastrofalne warunki sanitarne, głód i choroby przyczyniały się do bardzo wysokiej śmiertelności. Wkrótce zostały one zamknięte, a Żydzi nie mogli ich opuszczać pod karą śmierci.

Ustalenia podjęte na **konferencji w Wannsee w styczniu 1942 r.** stały się początkiem systematycznej eksterminacji Żydów, nazywanej przez nazistów „ostatecznym rozwiązaniem kwestii żydowskiej” (**akcja „Reinhardt”**). Mieszkańców gett systematycznie wywożono do specjalnie utworzonych w tym celu obozów zagłady i mordowano masowo w komorach gazowych. Ciała najpierw zakopywano, a w późniejszym okresie, żeby zatrzeć ślady zbrodni, palono (patrz s. 49–50).

Dla Żydów jedyną szansą na przeżycie było znalezienie schronienia wśród osób spoza getta. Czasami żydowscy rodzice, żeby ocalić swoje dzieci, decydowali się na dramatyczne decyzje o rozstaniu i przekazaniu ich poza getto. W akcji ratowania żydowskich dzieci uczestniczyła m.in. **Irena Sendlerowa**, która z narażeniem życia wyprowadziła z getta i pomogła ukryć ok. 2500 dzieci.

### BIOGRAM



Przed wojną działała w Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, a podczas okupacji w jej strukturach konspiracyjnych. Zaangażowana była w pomoc ludności żydowskiej. Początkowo dostarczała do getta żywność i lekarstwa, potem wraz ze współpracownikami organizowała akcję ratowania dzieci. W 1943 r. została kierowniczką referatu dziecięcego Rady Pomocy Żydom „Żegota”. W 1965 r. jako jedną z pierwszych Polek uhonorowano ją tytułem Sprawiedliwa wśród Narodów Świata.

**Irena Sendlerowa (1910–2008)**

### The Holocaust

The German extermination policy profoundly affected Polish Jews. Even during the September campaign, German soldiers committed murders and public humiliations against them. In the ensuing months, the persecution intensified systematically—Jews were forced to wear badges with the Star of David, had their property confiscated, were subjected to degrading labor, and were denied fundamental human rights. German propaganda portrayed them as the lowest category of subhumans, carriers of disease and pests. Such accusations contributed to the establishment of ghettos from October 1939, into which Jews from surrounding areas were forcibly relocated. These ghettos were frequently overcrowded, and the appalling sanitary conditions, combined with starvation and disease, led to extremely high mortality rates. The ghettos were soon sealed off, and Jews were prohibited from leaving under threat of death. The decisions made at the Wannsee Conference in January 1942 initiated the systematic extermination of Jews, which the Nazis termed the “Final Solution to the Jewish Question” (Operation Reinhardt). Inhabitants of the ghettos were systematically transported to extermination camps, where they were murdered en masse in gas chambers. Initially, bodies were buried, but later, in an effort to erase evidence of the crimes, they were burned (see pp. 49–50). For Jews, the only hope of survival lay in finding refuge outside the ghettos. Occasionally, Jewish parents, in a desperate attempt to save their children, made the heartbreaking decision to part with them and send them beyond the ghetto boundaries. Among those involved in rescuing Jewish children was Irena Sendlerowa, who, at great personal risk, smuggled approximately 2,500 children out of the ghetto and helped hide them.

21. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 114. History, High School (4th Grade)

This text is a compilation of several elements. It begins with the negative attitudes of Poles toward Jews and their involvement in pogroms, including the most infamous pogrom in Jedwabne. The figure of 300 people “burned alive” that is mentioned aligns with the findings of prosecutors but is not definitive, because it is based on the human remains found at the site where the barn once stood. Jewish accounts and other historians instead suggest that up to 1,200 people perished.<sup>62</sup> The text then compares the number of people murdered by Poles with the number of Jews killed in mass murders by Ukrainians in Ponary—300 Poles versus 6,000 Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are presented as having murdered twenty times the number of Jews than the Poles.

The narrative introduces the very difficult situation of Poles, including poverty and oppression, as a justification for why not all Poles helped Jews. This relativizes the actions of Poles and could be interpreted as an attempt to mitigate responsibility for the lack of help given to Jews. It simplifies the entire context of wartime reality and individual moral choices. It also equates the suffering of Poles and Jews, diminishing the Holocaust and the tragedies of the Jewish community and reducing them to a broader context of wartime difficulties.

Another section emphasizes Jews’ alleged collaboration with the Soviet occupiers as a justification for Poles’ reluctance to help and even attack Jews. This reflects the presence of anti-Jewish stereotypes and prejudices during the interwar period and both during and after World War II. Mentioning Jewish collaboration with Soviet authorities evokes historical tensions and Polish-Jewish conflicts and legitimizes Polish attitudes. This distorts the image of the Jewish community and its role during and before the occupation.

The text also cites an alleged number of people saved by Poles, suggesting that they saved 300,000 individuals, a figure that is not factually confirmed. This exaggerates the heroism and positive image of Poles as saviors, which mischaracterizes the behaviors and attitudes of Poles during the war. Their heroism is further emphasized by the photo of the Medal of the Righteous Among the Nations and its accompanying description.

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<sup>62</sup> Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak *Wokół Jedwabnego*, Tom 1, Studia (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2002).

## II. POLSKA POD OKUPACJĄ



**Medal Sprawiedliwy wśród Narodów Świata.** Dewiza napisana na nim w języku hebrajskim brzmi: „Kto ratuje jedno życie – ratuje cały świat”. Jest to parafraza jednego ze zdań Talmudu: „A jeśli człowiek ratuje jedno życie, to jest tak, jak gdyby uratował cały świat”. Tytuł ustanowiono w 1963 r. Uznawany jest za najwyższe odznaczenie izraelskie przyznawane tym, którzy nieśli pomoc Żydom podczas Holokaustu. Do 2020 r. medal otrzymało ponad 27 tys. osób, wśród nich najwięcej (ponad 7 tys.) Polaków.

Byli jednak Polacy, którzy z różnych pobudek wspomagali niemieckiego okupanta w prześladowaniu Żydów. Zdarzały się zabójstwa, kradzieże mienia ukrywających się Żydów, a także wydawanie ich w ręce niemieckie. Władze polskie na uchodźstwie oraz Polskie Państwo Podziemne traktowały tego typu działania jako zdradę, a podziemne sądy skazywały na śmierć osoby dopuszczające się takich czynów.

Czasem dochodziło do wystąpień antyżydowskich na większą skalę. Wydarzenia takie rozegrały się zwłaszcza w czerwcu i lipcu 1941 r., po ataku Niemców na ZSRS. Na terenach zajmowanych przez Wehrmacht Niemcy zachęcali do antyżydowskich pogromów. Jeden z nich wydarzył się 10 lipca 1941 r. w **Jedwabnem**. Zainspirowana przez Niemców grupa kilkudziesięciu Polaków zamknęła w stodole miejscowych Żydów, po czym budynek został podpalony. Ponad 300 osób spłonęło żywcem. Podobnych pogromów na okupowanych ziemiach polskich było dużo więcej. We **Lwowie** w końcu czerwca i w lipcu nacjonaliści ukraińscy zorganizowali dwa pogromy, w których zabito w sumie ok. 6 tys. Żydów. Od czerwca 1941 r. także w podwileńskich **Ponarach** dochodziło do masowych

mordów na Żydach, których dokonywali wspólnie z Niemcami litewscy nacjonaliści.

Ekonomiczne trudności życia w czasie okupacji, groźba aresztowania, wywiezienia do obozu, a przede wszystkim obawa przed śmiercią sprawiały, że pomoc Żydom wymagała ogromnego heroizmu, na który nie wszyscy mogli się zdobyć. Nadal żywe były też uprzedzenia wyniesione z przedwojennych konfliktów polsko-żydowskich, a na Kresach dodatkowo pamiętano o kolaboracji części dawnych obywateli II Rzeczypospolitej (w tym właśnie Żydów) z władzami sowieckimi. Dlatego większość Polaków nie podejmowała akcji pomocy Żydom, choć często współczuła ich losowi. Koncentrowano się przede wszystkim na ochronie życia swojego i swojej rodziny.

Przyjmuje się, że z ok. 3 milionów polskich Żydów Holokaust przeżyło ok. 120 tys. Oznacza to, że do ich ocalenia w różny sposób mogło przyczynić się nawet ok. 300 tys. Polaków. Izraelski instytut **Jad Waszem** w 2020 r. potwierdził ponad 7 tys. udokumentowanych przypadków pomocy w ocaleniu pojedynczych osób lub całych rodzin. Szacuje się też, że śmierć za pomoc Żydom poniosło ok. tysiąca osób.

However, there were also Poles who, for various reasons, assisted the German occupiers in persecuting Jews. Instances of murder, theft of property from Jews in hiding, and handing Jews over to the Germans were reported. The Polish government-in-exile and the Polish Underground State regarded such actions as acts of treason, and underground courts sentenced those who committed these crimes to death. Sometimes large-scale anti-Jewish outbreaks occurred. Such events particularly took place in June and July 1941, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In the territories occupied by the Wehrmacht, the Germans encouraged anti-Jewish pogroms. One such pogrom occurred on July 10, 1941, in Jedwabne. Inspired by the Germans, a group of several dozen Poles locked local Jews in a barn, which was then set on fire. Over 300 people were burned alive. Many similar pogroms took place in the occupied Polish territories. In Lwów, at the end of June and in July, Ukrainian nationalists organized two pogroms, in which approximately 6,000 Jews were killed....

Starting in June 1941, mass murders of Jews also took place in Ponary, near Vilnius, where Lithuanian nationalists, in collaboration with the Germans, carried out the killings. The economic hardships of occupation, the threat of arrest, deportation to camps, and especially the fear of death made aiding Jews an act of immense heroism that not everyone could muster. Prejudices from prewar Polish-Jewish conflicts persisted, and in the borderlands, there was also a lingering memory of the collaboration of some former citizens of the Second Polish Republic (including Jews) with Soviet authorities. As a result, most Poles did not take action to help Jews, although many sympathized with their plight. They primarily focused on protecting their own lives and those of their families. It is estimated that out of approximately 3 million Polish Jews, around 120,000 survived the Holocaust. This means that up to about 300,000 Poles could have contributed in various ways to their survival....

[Text below the photo:] The Medal of the Righteous Among the Nations. The motto inscribed on it in Hebrew reads, “He who saves one life saves the entire world.” This is a paraphrase of a saying from the Talmud: “If a man saves one life, it is as if he has saved the entire world.” The title was established in 1963 and is considered the highest Israeli honor awarded to those who helped Jews during the Holocaust. As of 2020, the medal has been awarded to over 27,000 people, with the largest group being Poles (over 7,000).

22. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 125–126. History, High School (4th Year)

The text discusses the policy of the émigré government regarding the Holocaust, focusing on its efforts to inform others about the Nazi atrocities committed against Poles and Jews, as well as the incomprehensible scale of these crimes.

In this excerpt, elements of Polish historical policy, specifically the “politics of glory,” become evident. Its primary aim is to cultivate national pride by negating or minimizing any wrongs committed by Poles against other nations. These materials are used to shape young people’s perceptions, presenting Poland as the nation most profoundly affected by the war and its citizens as distinguished by their heroism and moral superiority during the Holocaust, in contrast to those of other collaborating nations. This one-sided portrayal fails to include the full historical context. There is no reference to the extent of violence or suffering inflicted by Polish society on Jews.

The “politics of glory” may foster a form of collective narcissism, characterized by a belief in the exceptionalism of one’s own group, inflated self-esteem, a sense of superiority, arrogance, and fantasies of grandeur. Constructing national identity based on the notion of unique suffering and exceptional fate poses a risk: if this sense of exceptionalism or deserved recognition is challenged, it may lead to an escalation of aggression. Under these circumstances, there is also a heightened likelihood of seeking external factors to blame for perceived failures and identifying and eliminating alleged enemies.

#### **Polskie władze na uchodźstwie wobec Holokaustu**

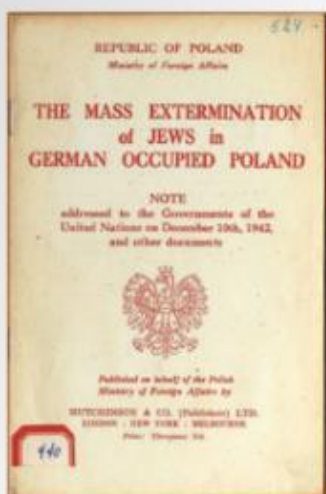
Jednym z ważnych elementów polityki władz polskich na uchodźstwie było informowanie światowej opinii publicznej o sytuacji w okupowanej Polsce. Rząd polski, dzięki informacjom od kurierów, **dysponował wiedzą o zbrodniach niemieckich na Polakach i nagłaśniał je na arenie międzynarodowej.** Wieści te nie zawsze jednak

General Władysław Anders (pierwszy z lewej) oraz gen. Władysław Sikorski przekazują Stalinowi podczas spotkania w Moskwie w grudniu 1941 r. listę z nazwiskami zaginionych polskich oficerów. Za Stalinem widoczny minister Władysław Mołotow.





## II. POLSKA POD OKUPACJĄ



**Masowa eksterminacja Żydów w okupowanej przez Niemców Polsce – broszura w języku angielskim wydana przez rząd polski na uchodźstwie z grudnia 1942 r. w celu poinformowania opinii publicznej na Zachodzie o sytuacji w Polsce.**

odbierano ze zrozumieniem, ponieważ skala zbrodni, o jakich mówili Polacy, była trudna do wyobrażenia.

Podobnie wyglądała sytuacja z informacjami o zagładzie Żydów. Pierwsze wiadomości o losie Żydów zaczęły napływać na Zachód już w grudniu 1939 r., kolejne dotarły na przełomie 1941 i 1942 r. W listopadzie 1942 r. do Londynu przybył **Jan Karski** (właśc. **Jan Koziński** [1914–2000]), specjalny kurier Delegata Rządu RP na Kraj **Cyryla Ratajskiego**, przywożąc dowody na eksterminację Żydów na ziemiach polskich. Materiały do misji Karski zebrał m.in. w czasie dwukrotnego pobytu w warszawskim getcie. Widział tam dziesiątki umierających ludzi, rozmawiał z przebywającymi tam Żydami, a wszystkie spostrzeżenia starannie udokumentował. Przywiezione przez Karskiego materiały zostały przedstawione nie tylko władzom polskim, ale także ministrowi spraw zagranicznych Wielkiej Brytanii oraz prezydentowi Rooseveltowi. Prerażający wydźwięk tych dokumentów został jednak częściowo przyjęty z niedowierzaniem.

Na podstawie informacji od Karskiego **10 grudnia 1942 r.** minister spraw zagranicznych rządu polskiego na uchodźstwie, **Edward Raczyński**, zwrócił się do państw sygnatariuszy Deklaracji Narodów Zjednoczonych z notą, w której **wzywał światowych przywódców nie tylko do potępienia zbrodni i ukarania zbrodniarzy, lecz także znalezienia skutecznych środków powstrzymujących Niemców przed dalszym stosowaniem metod masowej zagłady.** Reakcją wspomnianych państw było ogłoszenie tydzień później deklaracji, zapowiadającej m.in. ukaranie winnych zagłady. 17 grudnia 1942 r. Edward

*One of the critical aspects of the Polish government-in-exile's policy was to inform the international community about the conditions in occupied Poland. Through reports from couriers, the Polish government obtained detailed information about German atrocities against Poles and made these crimes known on the global stage. However, these reports were not always fully understood, as the extent of the crimes described by the Poles was often beyond comprehension. The same issue applied to information regarding the extermination of the Jews.*

*[Description under an image] General Władysław Anders and General Władysław Sikorski present a list of missing Polish officers to Stalin during a meeting in Moscow in December 1941. Behind Stalin, Minister Vyacheslav Molotov.*

These texts minimize the involvement of Poles in the Holocaust. Students may be led to believe that the prevailing societal stance was one of fear or justified animosity toward Jews, framed as a response to alleged betrayals. Although there is acknowledgment of "Poles who, for various reasons, assisted the German occupiers in persecuting Jews," this is often overshadowed by the focus on the number of Jews rescued by Poles and the humanitarian efforts of the Polish government-in-exile. Moreover, the statistics provided lack corroboration from historical records.

# The State of Israel: Emergence, Development, and International Relations

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As expected, the content about the State of Israel and its founding tends to be more factually based than descriptions of ancient times, which emphasize the ancient temple and fundamental aspects of Judaism. These descriptions often rely on a blend of biblical narratives, historical facts, and religious interpretations or combine biblical accounts with archaeological evidence. This creates a narrative that places greater emphasis on religious significance and interpretation than on historical accuracy or factual information.

Additionally, inconsistent use of terminology regarding the history of Israel—such as using “Palestine” instead of “Ancient Israel,” “Judea,” or “Canaan”—is not only incorrect but also complicates understanding of the historical and geopolitical context. Switching between different names for the same geographic area without clear explanations can create confusion, making it difficult for students to grasp the content.

In the quotes provided below, the depiction of twentieth-century and contemporary events does include factual elements, dates, and maps but is often oversimplified to the point of distortion. Students receive information about various aspects related to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, but this information is often presented within the context of current Middle Eastern conflicts, the perception of Jews as a group consistently supported by the United States, and Palestinian terrorist actions, which are sometimes portrayed as justified.

The central message imparted to students is that Jews, both in ancient times and the twentieth century, are victims of violence who then forcibly acquire land belonging to others. They are depicted as invaders whose arrival and settlement “caused concern among the local indigenous population, which feared becoming a minority on their own land.” These descriptions often have a clear political bias and have an implicit thesis about culpability for current Middle East conflicts, revealing the perspectives of those who wrote them.

The texts’ political undertones may affect students’ perceptions of history. For instance, arguments suggesting that the Jewish people are not a chosen nation and are indistinguishable from other peoples in the region are put forth, although those claims are not applied to the description of any other ancient civilization. The use of generalizations or selective presentation of facts not only obscures the nuances of historical events, affecting how they are remembered and discussed, but also creates an impression of content manipulation.

Moreover, contemporary narratives tend to focus on the Middle Eastern conflict, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and often emphasize Palestinian terrorism. Students are typically not provided with a comprehensive understanding of how the State of Israel currently functions and its history, which limits their grasp of the complex historical and ongoing conflict. Palestinians are frequently portrayed as victims who lost

their territory to Israel because of Zionist settlement and the influence of Jewish and American lobbying. For example, some textbooks include a map comparing death tolls in Palestine with those from modern conflict zones, asking students to identify which country—Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Palestine, and Afghanistan—has experienced the highest number of casualties.

As a result, these history textbooks fail to present a balanced view that accounts for both historical and contemporary political contexts, which is essential for a nuanced understanding of the topic. Such a one-dimensional presentation can perpetuate stereotypes and biases, ultimately influencing the attitudes of young people.

23. Grzegorz Wojciechowski, *Wczoraj i dziś: Podręcznik do historii dla klasy piątej szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021–2023, Klasa 5 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 29. History (5th Grade)

The text presents Jews as a national group that did not have its own state until 1948, when the State of Israel was established in the territory of Palestine. This portrayal implies a conflict between the Arabs who had been living there for a long time and the Jews who arrived in Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century, suggesting that Palestinians were the Indigenous inhabitants and that Jews were invaders who took over their land. It fails to mention that these lands had also been inhabited by Jews for thousands of years. By overlooking the diversity within Israel, this portrayal can lead to oversimplifications and distortions that do not reflect the full complexity of the state's social and political situation.

**WSPÓŁCZEŚNIE**

### Współczesny Izrael

Przez około dwa tysiące lat Żydzi nie mieli swojego własnego państwa. Dopiero w 1948 roku na terenie Palestyny powstał niepodległy Izrael. Symbolami tego państwa są: gwiazda Dawida i menora, widniejąca w godle Izraela. Do największych miast państwa żydowskiego należą: Jerozolima, Tel Awiw-Jafa i Hajfa. Obecnie Izrael zamieszkuje około 8 milionów ludzi. Wśród nich przeważają wyznający judaizm Żydzi, jednak mieszka tu także wielu Arabów i chrześcijan. Między mieszkającymi tu od dawna Arabami a Żydami, którzy napłynęli do Palestyny na początku XX wieku, trwa wieloletni konflikt. Mimo to Izrael jest miejscem bardzo chętnie odwiedzanym przez turystów. Szczególnie licznie przybywają oni do Jerozolimy, będącej świętym miastem dla wyznawców trzech religii: judaizmu, chrześcijaństwa oraz islamu.



**Gwiazda Dawida** to sześcioramienna gwiazda utworzona z dwóch splecionych trójkątów, będąca symbolem narodu żydowskiego i wyznawców judaizmu. Współcześnie ten znak widnieje na flagie Izraela.

? Jakie są symbole współczesnego Izraela?

#### **Contemporary Modern Israel**

For nearly two thousand years, Jews lacked their own state. It wasn't until 1948 that the independent state of Israel was established in Palestine. The symbols of this state include the Star of David and the menorah, which appear on the national emblem of Israel. The largest cities in the Jewish state are Jerusalem, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and Haifa. Today, Israel is home to approximately 8 million people. While the majority are Jews who practice Judaism, the country also has significant Arab and Christian populations. A prolonged conflict persists between the long-standing Arab residents and the Jews who began immigrating to Palestine in the early twentieth century.



24. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, and Tomasz Maćkowski, *Dzis i Jutro: Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021–2023 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 213. Social Studies, Elementary School (8th Grade)

The text clearly simplifies both the conflict itself and its causes. By comparing the number of Palestinian victims and referring to the "dispute between Palestinians and Jews over territories occupied by Israel after World War II," it implicitly suggests that Jews are the aggressors and the killers who took over Palestinian land. The text does not address issues such as the Balfour Declaration or the British Mandate. The text also falsely states that the occupation began in 1948, when the international community recognizes 1967 as the year in which Israel began occupying Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank. As a result, the text distorts the historical narrative and may lead to an incomplete understanding of the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



#### PALESTINE

Since 1948: + Over 30,000.

The conflict stems from a dispute between Palestinians and Jews over territories occupied by Israel after World War II, where Palestinians seek to establish their own state.



25. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, and Tomasz Maćkowski, *Dzis i Jutro: Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021–2023 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 215. Social Studies, Elementary School (8th Grade)

The cited text is part of a summary section that aims to reinforce students' knowledge by posing questions about what they read. Students are asked to identify the country where "the highest number of contemporary conflict victims has been recorded so far," with the options being Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Palestine, and Afghanistan. The criteria for determining the "highest number of victims" are not specified: it is unclear whether this statistic refers to the number of fatalities, the total number of victims, or another indicator. The absence of this information leaves room for interpretation, rather than the answer being based on facts about different types of conflicts, such as civil wars, armed conflicts, or terrorism.

The correct answer is the Democratic Republic of Congo, where, according to the previously cited data in the infographic, between 2.5 million and 4 million people may have died during the conflict. Including Palestine in this context is misleading and may encourage students to assume that the highest number of victims occurred there, because the issue of Palestine receives disproportionate attention from the media and even the United Nations. Including Palestine in this list of countries may suggest a political bias on the part of the author.

- 9 Wskaż poprawne dokończenie zdania.
- Krajem, w którym odnotowano największą jak dotąd liczbę ofiar współczesnych konfliktów, jest
- A. Somalia.
  - B. Demokratyczna Republika Konga.
  - C. Palestyna.
  - D. Afganistan.

#### Exercises

Select the correct completion of the sentence.

- The country with the highest number of contemporary conflict casualties to date is
- A. Somalia.
  - B. Democratic Republic of Congo.
  - C. Palestine.
  - D. Afghanistan.

26. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 323. History, High School (4th Year)

The text significantly oversimplifies the Israel-Palestinian context, presenting Palestinians solely as victims and perpetrators of violence, particularly through the phrase "resorting to" terrorism in their quest for an independent state. It conveys the narrative that the State of Israel engages in systemic discrimination against Palestinians, noting that "millions of Palestinians are regarded as second-class citizens." However, it does not specify the forms of discrimination, marginalization, and other inequalities that would support claims of systemic injustice in various aspects of life. Additionally, it ignores the diverse situations of Palestinians, including differences in their levels of integration and interactions with other communities.

Both the text and the accompanying illustration suggest that all Palestinians engage in terrorist methods, which can be stigmatizing and harmful. What is of particular concern is the reference to terrorism as a justified tool in the struggle for rights. The text indicates that Palestinians "resort to" terrorism in their pursuit of an independent state, which normalizes and legitimizes the use of violence and terrorist actions: it frames violence against Israel as a justified means of resistance. Furthermore, the Munich terrorist attack described in the sidebar is presented as embodying valid aspirations for peace and justice of people living in conflict zones: "Palestinians, in their struggle against Israel, did not hesitate to use terrorist methods, including hijacking airplanes and carrying out bomb attacks." This text fails to consider the broader context of the conflict, including historical grievances and the efforts made by various parties to reach an agreement and resolve ongoing issues.

### Palestyńczycy

Po zakończeniu pierwszej wojny arabsko-izraelskiej w 1949 r. jednym z najważniejszych problemów na Bliskim Wschodzie była **kwestia Palestyńczyków**. Setki tysięcy z nich **mieszkało w prowizorycznych obozach dla uchodźców w sąsiadujących z Izraelem państwach arabskich**, miliony było mieszkańcami drugiej kategorii w samym Izraelu. Nie zrezygnowali oni z dążeń do posiadania własnego państwa, a w walce o nie chwyтали się różnych środków, sięgając również po metody terrorystyczne. Wśród wielu ugrupowań palestyńskich największe znaczenie zyskała założona w 1964 r. **Organizacja Wyzwolenia Palestyny (OWP) z Jasirem Arafatem** (1929–2004) na czele. Jej przywódcy podejmowali liczne działania dyplomatyczne na forum międzynarodowym, a jednocześnie jej bojownicy wielokrotnie atakowali terytorium Izraela. Ataki te doprowadziły w 1982 r. do **uderzenia wojsk izraelskich na obozy palestyńskie w południowym Libanie** i kilkutygodniowego **oblężenia Bejrutu**, w którym

#### Zamaskowany terrorysta palestyński w Monachium.

Palestyńczycy w walce z Izraelem nie wahali się sięgać po metody terrorystyczne, m.in. porywali samoloty lub dokonywali zamachów bombowych. Podczas Olimpiady w Monachium w 1972 r. grupa Palestyńczyków z organizacji Czarny Wrzesień wzięła 11 izraelskich sportowców w charakterze zakładników, żądając m.in. uwolnienia z więzień w Izraelu 234 Palestyńczyków. Próba odbicia sportowców przez niemieckie służby specjalne zakończyła się niepowodzeniem. Przetrzymywani olimpijczycy zginęli z rąk porywaczy. Zbrodnia wstrząsnęła całym światem sportowym. Izrael w odwecie przeprowadził serię nalotów lotniczych na cele arabskie. Powołał też do życia tajną grupę specjalną, która miała odszukać i zabić w odwecie za zamach w Monachium przywódców organizacji Czarny Wrzesień. Działała ona aż do 1979 r.



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### Palestinians

*After the conclusion of the first Arab–Israeli war in 1949, the issue of the Palestinians emerged as one of the most critical problems in the Middle East. Hundreds of thousands were living in makeshift refugee camps in neighboring Arab countries, while millions more faced second-class status within Israel itself. Despite these challenges, Palestinians did not abandon their aspirations for an independent state. In their quest for this goal, they resorted to various means, including acts of terrorism.*

*[Caption for the photo:] Masked Palestinian terrorist in Munich. Palestinians, in their struggle against Israel, did not hesitate to use terrorist methods, including hijacking airplanes and carrying out bomb attacks. During the Munich Olympics in 1972, a group of Palestinians from the Black September organization took 11 Israeli athletes hostage, demanding, among other things, the release of 234 Palestinians from Israeli prisons. An attempt to rescue the athletes by German special forces ended in failure. The kidnapped Olympians were killed by their captors. The crime shocked the entire sporting world. In retaliation, Israel conducted a series of air strikes on Arab targets. It also established a secret special unit to locate and kill the leaders of the Black September organization in retaliation for the Munich attack. This unit operated until 1979.*

27. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 318. History, High School (4th Year)

This excerpt contains simplifications and inaccuracies that distort the historical picture. It states that Jewish settlement of Palestine began in 1882, allegedly causing anxiety among Arabs "who feared losing their majority on their own territory." However, it does not describe the process of settlement, its stages, or the political, social, and demographic context. It also fails to mention that these lands were inhabited by various ethnic and religious groups, including Jews, merely stating that "Palestine was predominantly inhabited by Arabs." It is important to note that in the 1880s, the area was part of the Ottoman Empire, and from the end of World War I until the mid-twentieth century, Palestine was under British rule. Therefore, the claim that it was "Arab territory" is inaccurate.

Na wezwanie syjonistów odpowiedziało wielu Żydów. Palestyna była wówczas zamieszkiwana głównie przez Arabów. **W lecie 1882 r. osiedliła się wśród nich pierwsza grupa syjonistycznych osadników**, co zapoczątkowało systematyczny napływ Żydów na te tereny. W miarę przybywania osadników rósł jednak niepokój Arabów, którzy obawiali się, że w niedługim czasie mogą stać się mniejszością na własnym terytorium.

*In response to the Zionist call, many Jews arrived. At that time, Palestine was predominantly inhabited by Arabs. In the summer of 1882, the first group of Zionist settlers established themselves in the region, marking the beginning of a systematic influx of Jews. As more settlers arrived, Arab concerns grew, with fears that they might soon become a minority on their own land.*

28. Ryszard Kulesza and Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 53–54. History, High School (1st Year)

This text's questioning of fundamental principles of Jewish identity and religion is disturbing. The assertion that the Israelites were "no different from other Semitic people" is an oversimplification, and the challenge to the idea of the "chosen people" by using quotation marks echoes traditional antisemitic tropes.

The text suggests that Jews acted intentionally using religious narratives to justify their actions in hostile environment. This ignores the complexity of the historical, social, and political realities. Moreover, the inaccurate use of the term "Palestine" misleads students by suggesting that these lands were Palestinian territories.

Questioning the concepts of the "chosen people" and "monotheism" is problematic. According to archaeological evidence, early Israeli religion may have differed from later forms, but it incorporated elements of monotheism from its earliest stage. This portrayal may also create the impression that the author is aiming to dismantle what he or she perceives as "Jewish religious myths." Such a description simplifies a rich historical and social context and can lead to the revival of entrenched stereotypes and prejudices.



## ■ JUDAIZM

Kiedy Izraelici osiedlali się w Palestynie, niczym nie różnili się od innych ludów semickich. Wiedli życie koczowniców i na pewno nie byli jeszcze wyznawcami **monoteistycznej** wiary w ich plemiennego boga **Jahwe**, która wykształciła się dopiero w trakcie walk oraz umacniania się królestwa. Wyjątkowa idea jednego stwórcy świata i ludzi, najwyższego sędziego oraz prawodawcy pomagała jednoczyć plemiona izraelskie. Wykreowana w czasie, gdy pojawił się jeden król, umacniała jego władzę. Dlatego Dawid i Salomon włożyli wiele wysiłku w nadanie temu kultowi wyso-



**Arka Przymierza i dwie menory**, czyli siedmioramienne świeczniki należące do najbardziej rozpoznawalnych symboli judaizmu, przedstawione na mozaice w jednej z izraelskich synagog.

■ mozaika, Izrael, VI w. n.e.

kiej rangi oraz rozmachu. W tym celu zbudowano m.in. Świątynię Jerozolimską.

Dużą rolę w kształtowaniu się judaizmu odegrała również działalność arcykapłanów i proroków. W czasach słabości, a następnie upadku

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królestw Żydów właśnie wiara w jedyne, najwyższego Jahwe, który uczynił ich „narodem wybranym”, wzmacniała wewnętrznie tę społeczność i umożliwiała jej przetrwanie we wrogim otoczeniu.

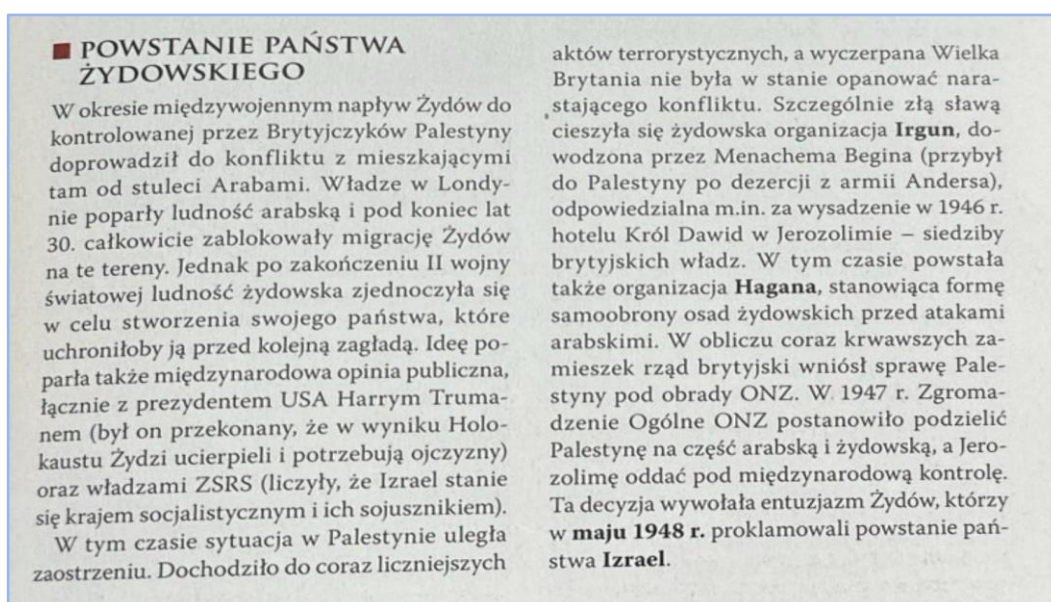
## ■ PERSOWIE I ICH IMPERIUM

Ludy indoeuropejskie, m.in. Medowie i Persowie, przybyły na Wyżynę Irańską w połowie II tysiąclecia p.n.e. Medowie już wcześniej pro-

*When the Israelites settled in Palestine, they were no different from other Semites. They led a nomadic lifestyle and were not yet adherents of the monotheistic faith in their tribal god Yahweh, which only developed during periods of conflict and the strengthening of their kingdom.... During the times of weakness and eventual collapse of the Jewish kingdoms, it was precisely the belief in the one, supreme Yahweh, who had made them the “chosen people,” that internally strengthened this community and enabled its survival in a hostile environment.*

29. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum*, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4 (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 243. History, High School (4th Year)

The text contains simplifications and inaccuracies that distort the historical picture. It states that Jewish settlement in Palestine began in 1882, allegedly causing anxiety among Arabs "who feared losing their majority on their own territory." The text does not describe the process of settlement, its stages, or the political, social, and demographic context. It also fails to mention that these lands were inhabited by various ethnic and religious groups, including Jews, merely stating that "Palestine was predominantly inhabited by Arabs." It is important to note that in the 1880s, the area was part of the Ottoman Empire, and from the end of World War I until the mid-twentieth century, Palestine was under British rule. Therefore, the claim that it was "Arab territory" is inconsistent with historical facts and distorts the historical narrative.



### **The Creation of the Jewish State**

*During the interwar period, the influx of Jewish immigrants into British-controlled Palestine led to growing tensions with the Arabs who had lived there for centuries. By the late 1930s, British authorities, supported by the Arab population, had completely blocked Jewish immigration to the region. However, after World War II, the Jewish community united with the goal of establishing a state that would safeguard them from future threats of annihilation. This ambition received international support, including from U.S. President Harry Truman, who believed that the Jews, having suffered greatly during the Holocaust, needed a homeland, as well as from the Soviet Union, which hoped that Israel would become a socialist ally.*

*During this period, the situation in Palestine became increasingly volatile. Acts of terrorism grew more frequent, and Britain, exhausted by the war, struggled to control the escalating conflict. The Jewish organization Irgun, led by Menachem Begin (who had arrived in Palestine after deserting Anders' army), gained infamy for its actions, including the 1946 bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which housed British administrative offices. Concurrently, the Haganah was established as a defensive force to protect Jewish settlements from Arab attacks. Faced with mounting violence, the British government referred the issue of Palestine to the United Nations. In 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states, with Jerusalem placed under international control. This decision was met with enthusiasm by the Jewish community, which, in May 1948, declared the founding of the State of Israel.*

# Best Practices in Education and Remembrance of Jews and the Holocaust

This chapter explores best practices identified in the analysis, which support understanding, promote historical reflection, critically examine the actions of the Polish nation, and combat antisemitism.

These practices are categorized into five key areas:

**A. Critical Analysis: Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Polish Society**

This area presents various examples of attitudes within Polish society toward Jews, offering a more nuanced understanding of social dynamics and the impact of antisemitism and xenophobia.

**B. Narrative Shift: Jews in Resistance**

The content in this category highlights the bravery and heroism of Jewish men and women, countering the stereotypical portrayal of Jews as passive victims. It emphasizes their active resistance and contributions during periods of persecution.

**C. Building Empathy through Education**

The content highlights content used by authors to foster empathy among students toward the Jewish community.

**D. Debunking Myths: Polish Elites and the Cursed Soldiers**

This section addresses diverse attitudes of Polish groups and elites, challenging traditional narratives and offering a more balanced view of history, including the actions of various Polish groups during critical historical events.

**E. Integrating the Jewish Community into the Narrative of Polish History**

Content in this category highlights the significant role that the Jewish community has played in the development of Polish statehood, emphasizing their contributions to the country's history and integrating them into the broader narrative of Polish history.

**A. Critical Analysis: Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Polish Society**

Most textbooks present the Holocaust in a way that, with the guidance of teachers, enables students to grasp the broader context of Jewish life before and after it. This approach deepens students' understanding, moving beyond a simplified narrative that depicts Germans, Nazis, and their collaborators as the sole perpetrators of suffering while portraying Poles exclusively as protectors of Jews.

By addressing the existence of antisemitism in Polish society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—including pogroms carried out by Poles and their ambiguous behaviors and actions during the Holocaust—this narrative provides a nuanced and accurate historical perspective. This approach also has the potential to reduce antisemitic beliefs, including feelings of resentment and betrayal. Such emotions are

often noted in studies measuring antisemitism in Poland; they are driven by narratives from extremist or right-wing groups that claim Jews, despite being saved by Poles, have spread false accusations about Poland and its people.<sup>63</sup>

This balanced educational content encourages a more objective and multifaceted understanding of history, helping combat the perpetuation of stereotypes and prejudices.

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<sup>63</sup> Paweł Machcewicz, *Righteous Poles, Ungrateful Jews. Who came up with the foundation of right-wing historical politics?*, <https://wyborcza.pl/alehistoria/7,121681,29521445,sprawiedliwi-polacy-niewdzieczni-zydzy-kto-wymyslil.html>.




30. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 290. History, High School (4th Year)

WARTO WIEDZIEĆ

### Pogrom kielecki

4 lipca 1946 r. w Kielcach doszło do serii napaści na ludność żydowską, która wróciła do miasta po zakończeniu wojny. Niektórzy udali się do swoich domostw, inni natomiast planowali wyemigrować do Palestyny i czasowo skupili się w siedzibie Komitetu Żydowskiego. W tym czasie w mieście zaczęto opowiadać o porywaniu przez Żydów dzieci i mordach rytualnych. Pretekstem do pogromu było zaginięcie chłopca Henryka Błaszczyka, rzekomo uprowadzonego i przetrzymywanego przez Żydów. W rzeczywistości chłopiec pojechał samowolnie do sąsiedniej wsi i w obawie przed konsekwencjami zmyślił historię o porwaniu.

Mieszkańcy Kielc zebrali się przed siedzibą komitetu, zaczęli rzucać w okna kamieniami i dobijać się do drzwi. Wtargnęli do środka razem z funkcjonariuszami Milicji Obywatelskiej (MO), Korpusu Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego (KBW) i żandarmerii. Mimo działań sił porządkowych nie udało się opanować wzburzonego tłumu, który bił i obrzucał Żydów kamieniami także w innych częściach miasta. Dochodziło do morderstw, pobić i rabunków. W sumie 42 osoby poniosły śmierć, a ponad 40 zostało rannych. Trudno dziś ocenić, czy pogrom kielecki był prowokacją, czy też efektem spontanicznego wybuchu wrogości wobec Żydów. Jego konsekwencją stał się wyjazd z Polski ok. 60 tys. Żydów, którzy udali się do alianckich obozów przesiedleńczych w Niemczech.



**Tablica upamiętniająca Żydów zamordowanych podczas pogromu kieleckiego. Została ona zamontowana w 1990 r. z inicjatywy przewodniczącego NSZZ „Solidarność” Lecha Wałęsy.**

▪ fotografia współczesna, Kielce

**?** Jakie były przyczyny pogromu kieleckiego?

#### **WORTH KNOWING—The Kielce Pogrom**

On July 4, 1946, in Kielce, a series of violent attacks targeted the Jewish population that had returned to the city after the war. Some had returned to reclaim their homes, while others, planning to emigrate to Palestine, had temporarily gathered at the headquarters of the Jewish Committee. During this time, rumors began circulating in the city, alleging that Jews had kidnapped children and were committing ritual murders. The pogrom was triggered by the disappearance of a boy named Henryk Błaszczyk, who was falsely reported to have been abducted and held captive by Jews. In reality, the boy had run away to a nearby village and, fearing punishment, concocted the story of his kidnapping.

As tensions rose, residents of Kielce gathered outside the Jewish Committee's headquarters, throwing stones at the windows and banging on the doors. The mob eventually stormed the building, accompanied by officers from the Citizens' Militia (MO), Internal Security Corps (KBW), and military police. Despite the presence of law enforcement, the authorities were unable to contain the enraged crowd, which continued to assault Jews throughout the city, leading to murders, beatings, and looting. In total, 42 people were killed, and over 40 were injured.

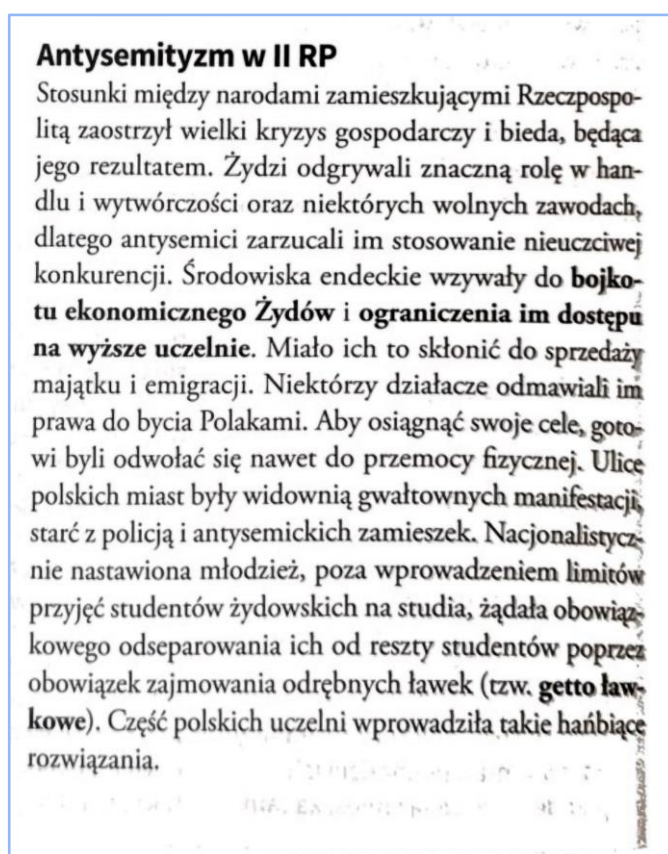
Today, it remains challenging to determine whether the Kielce pogrom was a calculated provocation or a spontaneous eruption of antisemitic violence. The pogrom's aftermath led to the emigration of approximately 60,000 Jews from Poland, many of whom sought refuge in Allied displacement camps in Germany.

Question: What were the causes of the Kielce pogrom?



31. Jarosław Czubaty and Piotr Szlanta, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 344. History, High School (3rd Year)

The analyzed excerpt concerning antisemitism in the Second Polish Republic (the period before World War II) discusses the deeply ingrained prejudice and discrimination against Jews during the interwar period. Antisemitism is depicted as a systematic phenomenon that was evident not only in political rhetoric but also in everyday life and public policy. The increase in social tensions, caused by the Great Depression among other factors, exacerbated antisemitic attitudes and actions. Presenting this history highlights how antisemitism and xenophobia permeated all levels of society, from politics to education. This approach enables students to critically examine the past and understand the mechanisms that led to the systematic exclusion and discrimination of minorities.



#### **Antisemitism in the Second Polish Republic**

The economic hardship and widespread poverty resulting from the Great Depression exacerbated tensions between the various ethnic groups living in the Republic of Poland. Jews, who played a significant role in trade, manufacturing, and certain professions, were accused by antisemites of engaging in unfair competition. Nationalist groups, particularly the *Endecja* (National Democrats), called for an economic boycott of Jews and sought to limit their access to higher education. Their goal was to pressure Jews into selling their property and emigrating. Some activists went so far as to deny Jews the right to consider themselves Polish. To achieve these aims, they were even willing to resort to physical violence. The streets of Polish cities became the scene of violent demonstrations, clashes with the police, and antisemitic riots. Nationalist youth not only pushed for the imposition of quotas limiting the number of Jewish students admitted to

*universities but also demanded their segregation by requiring them to sit in separate seats, known as the “bench ghetto.” Some Polish universities implemented these disgraceful practices.*

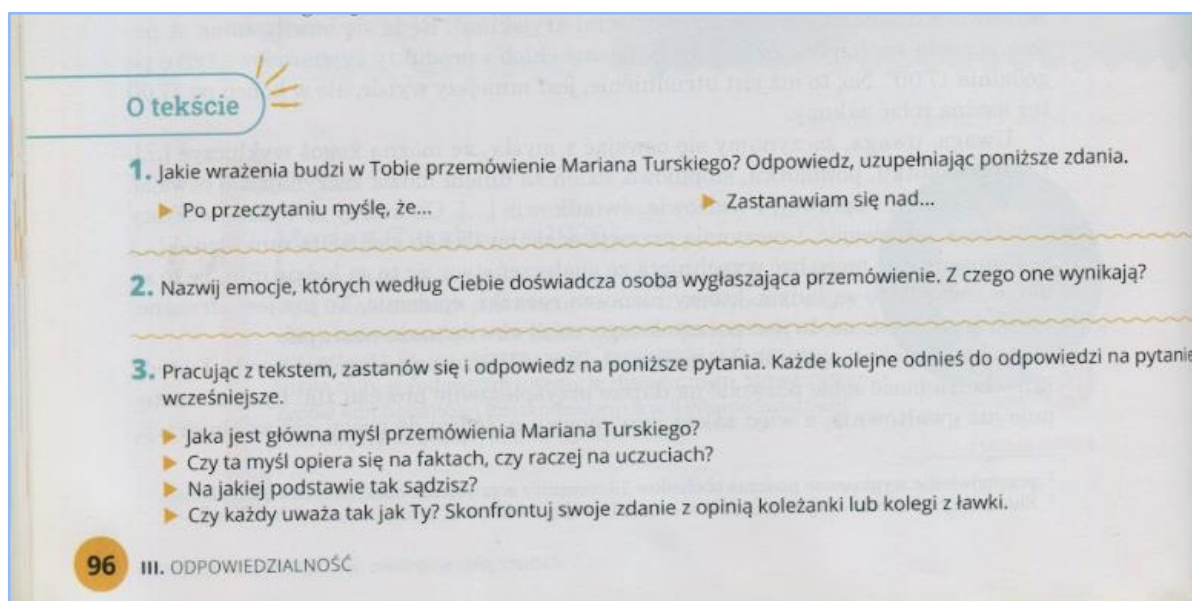
## **B. Narrative Shift: Jews in Resistance**

The narrative surrounding Jews during the Holocaust has evolved from one of passive victimhood to one that emphasizes their active resistance and defiance. Today, we explore the lives of individuals who were deeply engaged in the fight against antisemitism and in the struggle for survival. Resistance is no longer limited to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising but extends to acts of heroism and defiance throughout the Holocaust, including in ghettos and extermination camps.

Recent changes in textbooks reflect a shift toward depicting not only the tragic fate of Jews but also their heroic resistance. Their stories are increasingly being integrated into history, social studies, and literature curricula and often conveyed through personal testimonies, interviews, and excerpts from speeches: they emphasize the courage and determination of Jewish men and women, highlighting their heroism. The term “Polish Jews” is frequently used, linking Jews to the tradition of Polish resistance and fostering empathy among students. This approach helps students recognize connections between different social groups and historical events, enhancing their understanding of the complexity of history.

This comprehensive approach allows students not only to grasp the broader historical context of the Holocaust but also to empathize with the personal experiences and suffering of individuals. Given the magnitude of the Holocaust, such an approach is essential to a thorough and meaningful education.

32. Agata Karolczyk-Kozyra, Magdalena Krajewska, Dorota Kujawa-Weinke, Agata Sieńczak, and Zamieńmy Słowo, *Język polski: Podręcznik*, Klasa 7 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2023), 96. Polish Language (7th Grade)



**Excerpts from Marian Turski's Speech Given at the 75th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, "Auschwitz Did Not Fall from the Sky"**

**Student task**

1. What impressions does Marian Turski's speech leave on you? Complete the following sentences:
  - After reading, I think that...
  - I am pondering...
2. Identify the emotions experienced by the person delivering the speech. What do these emotions stem from?
3. When working with the text, consider and answer the following questions. Each subsequent question should relate to the answer provided for the previous one:
  - *What is the main message of Marian Turski's speech?*
  - Is this message based on facts or emotions?
  - What leads you to this conclusion?
  - Does everyone share your view? Compare your opinion with that of a classmate.

33. Robert Śniegocki and Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość: Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 71. History, High School (4th Year)

WARTO WIEDZIEĆ

### Bunty w obozach śmierci

W każdym obozie śmierci Niemcy utrzymywali przy życiu grupę więźniów, tzw. Sonderkommando [czyt.: zondekomando], którzy sortowali rzeczy zamordowanych, opróżniali komory gazowe i grzebali lub palili zwłoki. Mimo terroru, jakiemu byli poddawani, wśród nich także dochodziło do buntów. W sierpniu 1943 r. w Treblince więźniowie podjęli walkę ze strażnikami, po której ok. 400 Żydom udało się zbiec z obozu (tylu samo zginęło). Spośród nich jedynie ok. 70 przeżyło wojnę. W Auschwitz-Birkenau w 1944 r. członkowie Sonderkommando wysadzili jedno z krematoriów i podjęli próbę ucieczki. Zakończyła się ona niepowodzeniem i śmiercią wszystkich buntowników. Największe powstanie w obozie zagłady wybuchło 14 października 1943 r. w Sobiborze. Na jego czele stał oficer Armii Czerwonej Aleksander Peczerski. Więźniowie zabili kilku strażników i po strzelaninie blisko 300 Żydów uciekło do lasu. Około 100 zostało schwytanych przez Niemców, a reszta się ukryła – kilkudziesięciu udało się doczekać końca wojny. Bohaterski wyczyn więźniów stał się inspiracją dla kinematografii – pod koniec lat 80. nakręcono amerykański film *Ucieczka z Sobiboru*, a w 2018 r. zrealizowano rosyjski *Sobibór*.



**Palenie zwłok Żydów w obozie Auschwitz-Birkenau sfotografowane po-  
tajemnie przez jednego z członków  
Sonderkommando.**

• fotografia, Auschwitz, 1944 r.

**?** Poszukaj informacji na temat powojennych losów Żydów, którzy uciekli z obozów zagłady.

### **Uprisings in Death Camps**

In every death camp, the Germans kept a group of prisoners known as the Sonderkommando [pronounced: zondekomando]. These prisoners were responsible for sorting the belongings of the murdered, delaying the use of gas chambers, and disposing of or burning the bodies. Despite the extreme conditions and terror they faced, uprisings among the Sonderkommando did occur. In August 1943, prisoners at Treblinka staged a revolt against the guards, which allowed around 400 Jews to escape the camp (the same number were killed). Of those who escaped, only about 70 survived the war. In Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944, members of the Sonderkommando managed to blow up one of the crematoria and attempted to escape, but the attempt failed, resulting in the deaths of all the rebels. The largest uprising in a death camp took place on October 14, 1943, at Sobibor. It was led by Red Army officer Alexander Pechersky. The prisoners killed several guards and, after a firefight, nearly 300 Jews fled into the forest. About 100 were recaptured by the Germans, while the remaining escapees went into hiding—several dozen of whom survived until the end of the war. The bravery of these prisoners inspired films: in the late 1980s, the American movie *Escape from Sobibor* was released, and in 2018, the Russian film *Sobibor* was produced.

*Student Task: Research the postwar experiences of Jews who escaped from death camps.*

**Photo Caption:** The burning of Jewish bodies at Auschwitz-Birkenau, secretly photographed by a member of the Sonderkommando. / Photograph, Auschwitz, 1944.



34. Jolanta Chońska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik, Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 149–150. History, High School (4th Year)

### **Konspiracja żydowska**

Żydzi, choć zamknięci przez Niemców w gettach i odizolowani od pozostałej części społeczeństwa, także stworzyli konspirację zbrojną. Już pod koniec 1939 r. wokół grupy byłych oficerów Wojska Polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego oraz prawicowej organizacji młodzieżowej Betar (Beitar) zaczęły powstawać struktury konspiracyjne, które przekształciły się ostatecznie w **Żydowski Związek Wojskowy** (ŻZW). Jego członkowie gromadzili broń, budowali w gettach podziemne bunkry i przygotowywali się do wystąpienia z bronią w rękę przeciw Niemcom. W 1942 r. w Warszawie zaczęła działać także **Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa** (ŻOB). Tworzyli ją przede wszystkim młodzi Żydzi wywodzący się ze środowisk lewicowych, w tym z Bundu. Ich celem była walka z Niemcami i kolaborantami, gromadzenie broni i podsycanie ducha oporu w Żydach. Zarówno ŻZW, jak i ŻOB nie weszły formalnie w skład struktur

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## II. POLSKA POD OKUPACJĄ



**Powstańcy z ŻOB pojmani przez Niemców w czasie powstania w getcie warszawskim. Kwiecień 1943 r.**

Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego, ale kontakty utrzymywano. ŻOB współpracował także z komunistyczną Gwardią Ludową.

**19 kwietnia 1943 r.**, w obliczu zagłady Żydów i likwidacji getta w Warszawie, zarówno ŻOB, jak i znacznie mniejszy ŻZW zdecydowały się wspólnie wystąpić zbrojnie przeciwko Niemcom. Na czele zrywu stanął **Mordechaj Anielewicz** (1919–1943) z ŻOB. Powstańcy zdawali sobie sprawę, że ze względu na brak broni i przytłaczającą przewagę Niemców nie mają szans na zwycięstwo. Ich wystąpienie stanowiło krzyk rozpaczliwych ludzi skazanych na zagładę, którzy nie zamierzali ginąć w ciszy, było wyborem sposobu umierania – nie w komorze gazowej, lecz z bronią w ręku. Po miesiącu powstanie zostało krwawo stłumione, a niemal wszyscy żydowscy bojownicy zginęli. Wielu, w tym dowódca powstania z Anielewiczem na czele, wybrało samobójstwo, by nie wpaść w ręce niemieckie. Nielicznym udało się kanałami wydostać z płonącego getta i ukryć po polskiej stronie. Część z nich wzięła później udział w powstaniu warszawskim.

### **Jewish Resistance**

*Although Jews were confined to ghettos by the Germans and isolated from the rest of society, they managed to establish their own armed resistance movements. By late 1939, around a group of Jewish former Polish Army officers and the right-wing youth organization Betar (Bejtár), conspiratorial networks began to form, eventually evolving into the Jewish Military Union (ŻZW). This group collected weapons, built underground bunkers within the ghettos, and prepared to fight against the Germans. In 1942, the Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB) also emerged in Warsaw. Comprised mainly of young Jews from leftist backgrounds, including members of the Bund, ŻOB aimed to combat the Germans and their collaborators, gather arms, and inspire resistance among the Jewish population. Although neither ŻZW nor ŻOB were formally integrated into the Polish Underground State's structures, they maintained communication with it. ŻOB also collaborated with the communist People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa).*

*On April 19, 1943, as the extermination of Jews and the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto loomed, both ŻOB and the smaller ŻZW decided to launch an armed uprising against the Germans. The uprising was led by Mordechai Anielewicz (1919–1943) from ŻOB. The insurgents knew their chances of victory were slim due to their lack of weapons and the overwhelming German forces. Their revolt was a desperate act from people condemned to death who refused to perish in silence; it was a choice of how to die—not in a gas chamber, but fighting with a weapon in hand. After a month of intense fighting, the uprising was brutally crushed, and nearly all the Jewish fighters were killed. Many, including the uprising's leaders like Anielewicz, chose suicide rather than falling into German hands. A few managed to escape through the sewers from the burning ghetto and hide on the Polish side. Some of these survivors later participated in the Warsaw Uprising. In August 1943, uprisings also erupted in the ghettos of Białystok and in the ghetto straddling Będzin and Sosnowiec. Both were swiftly subdued by the Germans within a few days.*

### **C. Building Empathy through Education**

Based on research conducted in 2016 by the Jewish Association Czulent,<sup>64</sup> earlier textbook content on the Holocaust and antisemitism often failed to emphasize the impact of discrimination and hate-driven violence on victims. Today, educational materials increasingly feature illustrations of children and youth affected by the Holocaust. These resources help students understand the severity of the situation and the desperation experienced by those who suffered.

Antisemitism is now frequently presented not just as a problem for a specific community but also as a broader societal issue that allows such hatred to persist. It is depicted as being contrary to the values of patriotism and democracy.

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<sup>64</sup> *Antisemitism Is Not an Opinion*, 35.

35. Jarosław Czubaty and Piotr Szlanta, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 346. History, High School (3rd Year)

The excerpt below illustrates how the testimony of a Jewish teenager who was brutally beaten by students who were members of a nationalist organization in 1934 can be used in the classroom.

This text, along with accompanying activities, resonates with students by describing the experiences of someone their own age. This approach helps students connect the historical experience to their own lives or those of people they know. By doing so, it not only shapes their attitudes but also builds empathy, contributing to the reduction of antisemitic views. This excerpt reveals the teenager's pain but also illustrates his struggle for acceptance by the majority and his Jewish family's contribution to building and fighting for Poland. This is new information for many teenagers.

**PRACA Z TEKSTEM ŹRÓDŁOWYM**

List Leona Glatenberga do pisma „Mały Przegląd” z maja 1934 r. (fragment)

Usłyszałem za sobą kroki. Obejrzałem się. Szło za mną kilkanaście jasnych koszul z mieczykami Chrobrego, kilku uczniów szkoły Konarskiego i parę czapek gimnazjalnych. Co robić? Uciekać? Nie ma sensu. I tak dogonią. Zresztą ściganie tylko rozpala żądze schwytania zwierzyny. Przyspieszyłem kroku. Jeśli nie mają złych zamiarów, myślałem, albo jeśli się jeszcze nie zdecydowali, odcepią się i pozwolą mi odejść. Ale jeden zabiegł mi drogę i wprawnym ruchem apasza<sup>1</sup> z całych sił nasunął mi kapelusz na oczy, drugi dał mi szcztuka w nos, jednocześnie trzeci podstawił nogę, inni zaś rzucili mnie na ziemię, zaczęli bić i kopać

w twarz, w plecy, w brzuch. Straciłem przytomność. [...] Pokrwawiony, dowlókłem się do policjanta przy moście Kierbedzia. Zawiadomiłem, że mnie pobili. Prosiłem o interwencję. „A co pan chce, żebym ja się z nimi bił?” – odpowiedział obojętnie posterunkowy. [...]. Jestem synem przeciętnego Żyda i obywatela polskiego. Mój ojciec miał zakład przewozowy. Zrujnował go podczas wojny 1918–1920, bo zabrał wszystkie konie i poszedł z transportem wojskowym. Najstarszy brat[,] mając 16 lat[,] wstąpił na ochotnika do armii Hallera, z której już nie wrócił. Może poległ obok brata któregoś z moich napastników?

<sup>1</sup> przestępca, chuligan

Karta 99/ wiosna 2019, s. 7–8.

1. Opisz, co mógł czuć w opisanej sytuacji autor tekstu.

2. Poszukaj informacji na temat mieczyka Chrobrego. Które środowisko polityczne używało tego emblematu?

**Letter from Leon Glatenberg to “Mały Przegląd,” May 1934**

*I heard footsteps behind me and turned around. A group of several individuals wearing bright shirts with Chrobrego's swords, some students from Konarski's school, and a few with gymnasium caps were following me. What should I do? Run? It would be pointless; they would catch up eventually. Besides, running only excites the hunters. I quickened my pace, hoping that if they had no ill intentions or if they hadn't yet decided what to do, they might leave me alone. But one of them blocked my path and, with the skill of a street thug, roughly pulled my hat down over my eyes. Another jabbed me in the nose, while a third tripped me, and the others threw me to the ground, beating and kicking me in the face, back, and stomach. I lost consciousness.... Bloodied, I managed to drag myself to a policeman at the Kierbedzia Bridge. I reported the assault and asked for help. The officer replied indifferently, "What do you want me to do, fight them myself?". . . I am the son of an ordinary Jewish citizen of Poland. My father had a transport business, which was ruined during the 1918–1920 war when all the horses were requisitioned and he went with the military transport. My oldest brother, at 16, volunteered for Hallera's army and never returned. Perhaps he fell alongside one of my attackers' brothers?*

Task

1. Describe what the author of the text might have felt in the described situation.

2. Look for information about the Pilsudski swords emblem. Which political group used this symbol?

#### D. Debunking Myths: Polish Elites and the Cursed Soldiers

In the dominant narrative of the “politics of glory” and the quest to protect the Polish nation’s reputation, there was little room for a critical examination of national history. Discussing certain topics often led to social and academic ostracism or even legal consequences. In this context, it is crucial how a nuanced historical perspective is presented to the younger generation. This nuance is especially important in an era of heightened polarization, ensuring that young people in established democracies gain a comprehensive view of those who shaped or fought for their countries.

Holding mature patriotic attitudes provides the space to distinguish between patriotism, nationalism, and chauvinism and to understand the implications of each. Therefore, it is essential to present a complete picture of national myths, such as Roman Dmowski, the father of Polish nationalism, and the Cursed Soldiers, who have been celebrated as heroes. Evidence from historians and research by the Institute of National Remembrance show that the Cursed Soldiers—including the National Armed Forces (Narodowe Siły Zbrojne) and other nationalist groups, as well as the Freedom and Independence Association (Zrzeszenia Wolność i Niezawisłość), which is often viewed as a continuation of the Home Army (Armia Krajowa)—were responsible for various crimes against national minorities, especially Jews and Ukrainians. August Grabski, a historian who has researched these crimes, particularly those committed against Jews, states that “that they were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians.” The Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, a state institution with investigative powers under the aegis of the Institute of National Remembrance, has been investigating the massacres in Podlasie committed by the Cursed Soldiers: it determined that these murders aimed to destroy part of an ethnic and religious group. Therefore, they should be considered genocide, falling under the category of crimes against humanity.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Sławomir Blich, “National Day of Remembrance for the Cursed antisemites”, <https://krytykapolityczna.pl/kultura/historia/narodowy-dzien-pamieci-antysemitow-wykletych/?fbclid=IwAR3kh2UjlggXrM7Y34Q4pJvHETX9IOptc4IZ0cvFlkbD6VzazBlaOAi88Wc>.



36. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, and Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia: Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum, Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 259. History High School (4th Grade)

This is the first information about the “Cursed Soldiers” that highlights their negative actions, showing their involvement in the extermination of Jews. For young people, this is likely their first exposure to the crimes committed by these people. This is significant because the topic of the Cursed Soldiers has not only been raised by extremist groups but has also entered the Polish mainstream: many young people may venerate these figures without being aware of their crimes. Meanwhile, any negative comments or arguments from researchers or activists about the Cursed Soldiers have been criticized. Therefore, it is crucial to present these “historical heroes” in a balanced manner, including their negative aspects. This is essential for teaching young people about the complexity of history and for fostering mature patriotism. Quite different from nationalism, mature patriotism helps students develop analytical thinking skills and avoid one-sided interpretations of the past or manipulation.

#### **Czarne karty walki**

Oddziały podziemia niepodległościowego starały się przeważnie funkcjonować jak regularne, zdyscyplinowane wojsko. Zdarzały się jednak przypadki, że dochodziło do przekraczania reguł żołnierskiej walki. Taki przykład stanowi akcja oddziału NZW dowodzonego przez por. Romualda Rajsa „Burego”, byłego dowódcę AK z Wileńszczyzny. Na początku 1946 r. dokonał on pacyfikacji kilku wsi zamieszkałych głównie przez Białorusinów. Zabito wówczas kilkadziesiąt niewinnych osób, w tym dzieci.

Wiosną 1946 r. na Podhalu z rąk żołnierzy por. Józefa Kurasia „Ognia” zginęło kilkunastu Żydów, którzy próbowali przez Tatry uciec z Polski. Choć zarówno „Bury”, jak i „Ogień” mieli znaczące zasługi podczas II wojny światowej oraz w walce z komunistami i Sowietami, to tego rodzaju zbrodnie kładą się cieniem na ocenie ich działalności i powinny być potępione. Jednocześnie nie można przez ich pryzmat negatywnie oceniać wszystkich żołnierzy podziemia niepodległościowego.

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#### **Dark Pages of the Fight**

Independence underground units generally aimed to function like a regular, disciplined army. However, there were instances where the rules of military conduct were violated. One such example is the operation conducted by the NZW unit led by 2nd Lieutenant Romuald Rajs “Bury,” a former AK commander from the Wilno region. In early 1946, he carried out the pacification of several villages primarily inhabited by Belarusians, resulting in the deaths of dozens of innocent people, including children.

Similarly, in the spring of 1946 in the Podhale region, several Jews attempting to escape Poland through the Tatras were killed by soldiers under 2nd Lieutenant Józef Kuraś “Ogień.” Although both “Bury” and “Ogień” made significant contributions during World War II and in the fight against communists and Soviets, these crimes cast a shadow over their legacy and must be condemned. Nonetheless, it is crucial not to judge all members of the independence underground negatively based on these events.

37. Jarosław Czubaty and Piotr Szlanta, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 191. History, High School (3rd Year)

The excerpt refers to Roman Dmowski as the main ideologue of the National Democracy movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, highlighting his negative attitude toward Jews. It underscores that Dmowski considered Jews incapable of assimilation and blamed them for hindering the development of the Polish bourgeoisie. Until now, Dmowski has largely been portrayed in textbooks as a statesman, with his nationalist activities and his role as the “father of Polish nationalism” being downplayed or marginalized. This portrayal can lead to a one-sided and incomplete understanding of his impact on Polish history and society. Therefore, it is crucial to present the controversial and problematic views or actions of such figures so students can critically engage with their legacies and understand the complexities of history and the impact of nationalist ideologies on societal development.

zaborach. W ten sposób pod koniec XIX w. w polskim życiu politycznym ukształtował się kolejny ruch – **narododemokratyczny**, zwany **endekim** (od skrótownica ND – Narodowa Demokracja) lub po prostu narodowym. Należy go zaliczyć do nurtu nacjonalistycznego.

Głównym ideologiem endecji był Roman Dmowski. Swoje poglądy wyraził m.in. w książce *Mysli nowoczesnego Polaka* (1903). Jego zdaniem jednostka w każdym swoim działaniu powinna się kierować zasadą nadrzędności interesu narodowego nad jej własnymi dążeniami. Dmowski postulował z jednej strony aktywną obronę Polaków przed wynarodowieniem, a z drugiej – polonizację członków

innych narodów zamieszkujących obszary uznane przez niego za polskie. Niechętnie odnosił się do Żydów. Uważał bowiem, że – jako naród silnie wykrystalizowany – nie są oni zdolni do asymilacji, czyli przyjęcia polskiego języka i kultury, uznania się za część narodu polskiego. Ponadto sądził, że Żydzi, odgrywający rolę klasy średniej, uniemożliwiali powstanie polskiego mieszczaństwa. W kwestiach politycznych Dmowski opowiadał się za współpracą z Rosjanami, ponieważ miał nadzieję na zjednoczenie ziem polskich pod berłem Romanowów i na przyznanie Polakom szerokiej autonomii.

*Roman Dmowski was the main ideologue of the National Democracy (Endecja).... He harbored a strong aversion toward Jews, believing that, as a highly distinct and cohesive group, they were incapable of assimilation—meaning they could not adopt the Polish language and culture or integrate into the Polish nation. Additionally, he argued that Jews, occupying a middle-class role, obstructed the emergence of a Polish bourgeoisie.*

## E. Integrating the Jewish Community into the Narrative of Polish History

The narratives presented in Polish textbooks often give the impression that Jews, along with other minorities who came to Poland fleeing persecution in their home countries, were ungrateful and disloyal to the Polish nation. The contributions of the Jewish community to the development of the Polish state over the centuries are frequently overlooked, as are the significant impacts of Jewish culture and heritage in Poland. Jews played a major role in the economic development of Poland, being invited by royal families to settle there, and they actively participated in the growth of cities. In medieval Poland, coins known as brakteats, created during the reign of the first recognized Polish ruler Mieszko I, bore an inscription in Hebrew letter, “Mieszko King of Poland.” Jews played an active role in the Kościuszko and November uprisings, fighting and supporting the struggle for Polish independence. They served in the Polish Legions and were actively involved in the Polish Army during World War I and II, with many losing their lives in Katyn. They were mayors, city councilors, and deputies working for the

benefit of Poland. Unfortunately, these aspects of history were not present in earlier textbooks. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize and appreciate the evolving trend of acknowledging the contributions of Jews to Polish history.<sup>66</sup> Examples of how Jews have supported, defended, and contributed to the growth of Poland throughout history are highlighted here.

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<sup>66</sup> Robert Szuchta, p. 1-364

38. Jarosław Czuby and Piotr Szlanta, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 163. History, High School (3rd Year)



**Worth Knowing**

**Michał Landy**

*Michał Landy, a student of Jewish descent, became a symbol of solidarity among the residents of the Kingdom (Poland). During the demonstration on April 8, 1861, which saw both Poles and Jews gathered in Castle Square in Warsaw, the demonstrators were attacked by the military. Landy, who was carrying a cross that had fallen from an injured monk, was shot and died the following day. His funeral was held at night under police supervision. Mickiewicz memorialized Landy's death in his poem "Żydowie polscy" (Polish Jews).*



39. Jarosław Czuby and Piotr Szlanta, *Historia: Podręcznik*, Liceum i technikum, Zakres podstawowy, Klasa 3 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 162. History, High School (3rd Year)



Delegacja Miejska Warszawy, fotomontaż Karola Beyera. Skład Delegacji odzwierciedlał solidarność mieszkańców miasta. Tworzyło ją czternaście osób, m.in. bankier Leopold Kronenberg, pisarz Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, lekarz Tytus Chałubiński, szewc Stanisław Hiszpański i warszawski rabin Ber Meisels. Beyer, który również był członkiem Delegacji Miejskiej, to jeden z pierwszych polskich fotografów, którzy dokumentowali ważne wydarzenia.

? Rozważ możliwości, jakie daje fotografia jako źródło historyczne.

Wywołało to falę nienawiści do władz rosyjskich. Przyczyniło się również do niezwykłego zbratania się wszystkich grup społecznych.

W obawie przed radykalizacją nastrojów społecznych władze w lutym 1861 r. zgodziły się stworzyć przedstawicielstwo warszawskiej ludności (różnych warstw społecznych) – **Delegację Miejską**. Powstała ona z inicjatywy

Leopolda Kronenberga (1812–1878), bankiera i finansisty pochodzenia żydowskiego. Wystosowała ona pismo do cara, zawierające postulat przywrócenia autonomii Królestwa. W porozumieniu z władzami rosyjskimi, przestraszonymi rozmiarami i siłą patriotycznego ruchu, Delegacja organizowała również obywatelską straż strzegącą porządku w mieście.

**Description of the Photo:** The composition of the Delegation reflects the solidarity among the city's residents. It comprised fourteen members, including banker Leopold Kronenberg, writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, physician Tytus Chałubiński, shoemaker Stanisław Hiszpański, and Warsaw rabbi Ber Meisels. Beyer, also a member of the City Delegation, was one of the first Polish photographers to document significant events.

The formation of the Delegation led to an extraordinary solidarity among all social groups. In February 1861, fearing the radicalization of social sentiments, the authorities agreed to establish a representation of the Warsaw population from various social strata—the City Delegation. This initiative was spearheaded by Leopold Kronenberg (1812–1878), a banker of Jewish origin. He submitted a petition to the Tsar calling for the restoration of the Kingdom's autonomy. In response to the scale and strength of the patriotic movement, the Russian authorities, alarmed by the situation, also saw the need for the Delegation to organize a civic guard to maintain order in the city.



## Conclusion

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In the analysis of forty-two textbooks used in formal education in primary schools, general secondary schools, and technical schools, Jewish themes appear in subjects such as history, social studies, contemporary history, and Polish language.

The content analysis revealed that a significant portion of the material related to Jewish themes was informative. However, there were also problematic elements, as well as examples recognized as best practices. To present a comprehensive overview, this analysis focused on six categories.

### **Historical Depictions of Jews and the Concept of “Christ Killers”**

The textbooks placed significant emphasis on the origins and development of Christianity as the foundation of European civilization. This development was closely linked to ancient Israel (Judea). However, the figure of Christ and the reconstruction of his life were not explicitly connected to the Jewish people; none of the textbooks directly stated that Jesus was Jewish. Only one publication mentioned that he was raised within the Jewish faith and among Jews. Instead, Jews were often depicted as a powerful and influential group that, fearing the loss of their authority because of Jesus’s criticisms, contributed to his death. This narrative began in elementary school and continued into secondary education, appearing in all analyzed textbooks.

### **Construction of Jewish Otherness and Perceived Threats**

In many textbooks, the portrayal of Jews as a minority often perpetuated stereotypes and prejudices, influencing how these groups are perceived in society. Jews were consistently depicted as guests, newcomers, or temporary residents. This perceived temporariness reinforced the notion of disloyalty to the host country Poland; it also implied that Jews were responsible for weakening Poland and causing suffering to Poles, despite some Poles risking their lives to assist them. Jews were cast as a symbolic group depicted as antagonistic, with an inherent tendency to “produce evil,” with assimilation consistently presented as the only positive solution. This narrative relied on concepts of “otherness” and “foreignness” as mechanisms for defining, discriminating, and segregating social groups.

### **The Holocaust: Historical Context and Thematic Analysis**

The presentation of the Holocaust and contemporary antisemitism in Poland within school textbooks was pivotal to the overall curricular content addressing Jewish themes. It often served to construct a narrative that shaped the historical identity of the majority group. The content addressed the impact of intense debates over antisemitism in Poland, Polish attitudes during the Holocaust, and discussions of Poles as beneficiaries, perpetrators, or accomplices in the suffering of Jews. Rather than providing factual accounts, textbooks frequently contained biased interpretations or omitted uncomfortable truths, focusing instead on aspects that highlighted the suffering and heroism of the Polish people.

However, it is also important to highlight the positive developments. There has been a noticeable increase in the amount of material about the Holocaust, which enhances understanding of the machinery of destruction. Additionally, there are more representations of Jewish resistance and struggles, as well as images depicting Jewish suffering that foster empathy among students. These elements contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Jewish history and the complexities of their experiences during this tragic period.

### **Righteous Among the Nations: Recognition, Historical Impact, and Politicization**

The dominant narrative continues to emphasize the hostile attitudes of other nations toward Jews, as contrasted with the heroic stance of Poles and the Polish government-in-exile. Even when addressing the negative attitudes of Poles or their direct involvement in the murder of Jews, summary material often included exaggerated claims regarding the number of Jews saved by Poles. Consequently, Jews in this narrative served primarily as a backdrop to highlight the tolerance and heroism of Polish society and authorities.

### **The State of Israel: Emergence, Development, and International Relations**

The content regarding modern Israel and its founding history was generally more fact-based than descriptions of ancient times. It presented information about various aspects of the establishment of the state but often within the context of the current Middle East conflict, the perception of Jews as a group consistently supported by the United States, and Palestinian terrorist actions, which were sometimes depicted as justified. This narrative was frequently framed within a historical context that portrayed Jews, both in ancient times and in the twentieth century, as invaders responsible for the deaths of innocent people. Analyzing these descriptions often revealed a clear political bias and the perspectives of those who created them.

### **Best Practices in Education and Remembrance of Jews and the Holocaust**

This analysis identified best practices that support understanding, promote historical reflection, critically examine the actions of the Polish nation, and combat antisemitism. These practices were categorized into five key areas:

1. **Critical Analysis: Antisemitism and Xenophobia in Polish Society:** Various examples of attitudes within Polish society toward Jews were presented with a more nuanced understanding of social dynamics.
2. **Narrative Shift: Jews in Resistance:** The content highlighted the bravery, heroism, and active resistance of the Jewish people, countering the stereotypical portrayal of Jews as passive victims of violence.
3. **Building Empathy Through Education:** Textbooks authors used historical records and sources to foster empathy among students toward the Jewish community, aiming to introduce a more inclusive perspective.
4. **Debunking Myths: Polish Elites and the Cursed Soldiers:** Content addressed the diverse attitudes of Polish groups and elites, challenging traditional narratives and offering a more balanced view of history.

## **5. Integrating the Jewish Community into the Narrative of Polish History:**

Textbook examples highlighted the significant role the Jewish community has played in the development of Polish statehood, emphasizing their contributions to the country's history.

Prejudices against Jews and the portrayal of this group as an internal enemy exploited by radical nationalism continue to be present in the content of Polish textbooks. These narratives rely on long-standing traditional stereotypes, perpetuated by pre-Vatican Christian teachings and further amplified by contemporary antisemitism.

When coupled with conspiratorial antisemitism, these depictions foster a sense that Jews pose an imminent threat to the in-group, encouraging collective self-defense and providing moral justification for discriminating against the out-group, particularly when endorsed by authoritative figures who legitimize these prejudices. Such actions have been noticeable in Poland during the most recent presidential, parliamentary, and European Parliament elections, which were described in my analysis of the situation in Poland.

This raises critical questions about how to teach multiculturalism and empathy in communities where the "other" is viewed as foreign and hostile. It is essential that curricular frameworks and textbook content, as supported by educators, emphasize inclusive content that counters discrimination and prejudice-driven violence. Existing educational measures have proven inadequate. Teachers often confront students who uncritically repeat hateful rhetoric. Therefore, it is crucial to provide teachers with objective knowledge and robust educational tools, given that they can significantly affect students' attitudes.

To effectively combat antisemitism and promote prejudice-free education, it is necessary to reassess attitudes, values, and educational content. Teaching methods should be grounded in a participatory model, allowing both educators and learners to counteract violence within the educational process. This approach must use knowledge about intergroup violence and issues such as antisemitism and genocide to foster critical thinking and mobilize against violence.

Educational activities and textbooks should not rely solely on formal knowledge but should also incorporate intersectional perspectives. Available educational resources, informed by interdisciplinary experiences from various academic disciplines, can support teachers in addressing these complex issues.

## Methodology

To ensure the reliability of the analysis, only textbooks approved by the Ministry of National Education, after thorough expert reviews, were selected for analysis. This selection process guarantees that the textbooks analyzed adhere to official educational standards and accurately represent the content as outlined in the curriculum developed by the Ministry.

Based on a 2016 content analysis by the Jewish Association Czulent,<sup>67</sup> which highlighted the textbooks published by Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne and Nowa Era for their significant coverage of Jewish themes, these publishers were chosen for the current study.

In total, we analyzed forty-two textbooks used in formal education in various educational settings, including primary, general secondary, and technical schools. The focus was on those subjects where Jewish themes appear: history, social studies, contemporary history, Polish language, and early education.

The focus of the first stage of analysis was to determine whether the textbooks contained content related to Jewish themes. We defined Jewish-related content as information referring to the following:

- 40. Jews and Jewish women, and Judaism
- 41. The Jewish community, including Jewish organizations, institutions, and parties
- 42. Groups and movements within Judaism
- 43. The Holocaust
- 44. Ancient and contemporary Israel
- 45. Symbolic places for the Jewish community and the State of Israel

In the second stage, each relevant excerpt was analyzed for its language, meaning, message content, and context. The goal was to assess the underlying message of each excerpt.

In the analyzed books, we identified numerous materials related to Jewish themes, many of which exhibited objective and informative content. For methodological reasons and given the substantial amount of collected material and the specifics of the study, the analysis focused on both negative and positive aspects. Neutral descriptions concerning Jewish themes in the analyzed textbooks were also gathered, cataloged, and digitized to ensure future access to this content.

The report seeks to address key issues and showcase best practices, emphasizing the urgent need for reforms. These reforms are crucial to ensuring that education remains free from political influence and effectively combats antisemitism and other forms of intolerance.

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<sup>67</sup> Anna Makówka-Kwapisiewicz, ed., *Antysemityzm nie jest poglądem: Raport z analizy i podręcznik edukacyjny dla edukatorów i edukatorek* (Kraków: Jewish Association Czulent, 2016). 35–36.

# Policy Recommendations

## Textbook Authors and Educators

1. **Historical Accuracy:** Historical content related to Jews, antisemitism, and the Holocaust must be verified for accuracy and scrutinized for any embedded antisemitic clichés or stereotypes.
2. **Multiple Perspectives:** Educational materials should present a multifaceted view of the narrative, incorporating diverse perspectives such as those of victims, witnesses, and perpetrators. This approach will facilitate a deeper understanding of the complex events and psychological and social mechanisms associated with antisemitism and the Holocaust.
3. **Diverse Educational Resources:** Textbooks should include engaging, age-appropriate materials that cater to different learning styles, ensuring that the content is both accessible and effective for the intended audience. To make the subject matter more relatable and foster a sense of community and social engagement, textbooks should incorporate workshop methods, including fieldwork and project-based learning. These resources should be supplemented with primary sources, such as excerpts from diaries written during the interwar period or the Holocaust and contemporary testimonies from individuals of diverse backgrounds, reflecting the diversity of Poland and the region. This approach ensures that the topics are not perceived as distant or abstract but rather as connected to students' lived experiences and the communities they are part of.
4. **Language Consistency:** The term "Żyd" (Jew) should be standardized in accordance with Polish language conventions, by which terms relating to communities or nations are capitalized. Writing "Poles" with a capital letter while using a lowercase letter for "Jews" is inappropriate and potentially offensive; therefore, it is advisable to consistently use capital letters for both. This approach was employed in M. Arct's prewar *Handy Dictionary of the Polish Language*<sup>68</sup> and is increasingly recommended by contemporary lexicographers. Furthermore, writing "Jew" with a lowercase letter can carry antisemitic connotations and is often exploited in hate speech. Similarly, the term "Zagłada" (Holocaust) should be capitalized. The original spelling should be retained when quoting source texts.
5. **Ethical Language:** Language should be inclusive and sensitive to issues of ethnicity, religion, and culture. Descriptions should avoid stigmatizing, stereotyping, or "folklorizing" specific groups.
6. **Experiences and Mechanisms:** Content should incorporate personal narratives from historical witnesses and analyze social mechanisms during crises, particularly those involving violence, hatred, antisemitism, and the Holocaust.

<sup>68</sup> M. Arcta, *Podręczny Słownik Języka Polskiego* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo M. Arcta, 1939).



This will provide students with a nuanced understanding of individual experiences and the realities of violence.

7. **Innovative Teaching Methods:** Educational materials should be enhanced with innovative teaching methods that increase engagement and deepen students' connection to the subject matter. Online tools like Stories That Move<sup>69</sup> provide interactive and multimedia resources that bring historical narratives to life. Project-based learning, including artistic projects or digital storytelling, allows students to express their understanding in creative ways. Oral history projects, such as interviewing witnesses, grandparents, or neighbors, help recover and preserve local memories and cultural heritage. Additionally, focusing on memory and cultural heritage enables students to explore the contributions of various groups within their region. An intersectional approach to education, which examines how different social categories intersect and influence experiences, helps students understand complex group dynamics and identity formation. By incorporating these methods, educational materials become more relevant and engaging, fostering a deeper understanding of regional and social contexts.
8. **Content Updates:** Topics related to the Holocaust and antisemitism should be regularly updated to reflect the latest research, discoveries, and historical developments.
9. **Expert Collaboration:** Involving historians, educators, and psychologists with expertise in relevant fields in the development and review of educational materials ensures their accuracy and suitability for the educational context. Collaboration with organizations such as Never Again, Jewish Association Czulent, Zustricz Foundation, Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Roma Organization Jaw Dikh, and Campaign Against Homophobia, among many other active organizations in Poland, yields valuable insights and resources. This collaboration ensures that educational materials are informed by current research and diverse perspectives, contributing to a more comprehensive and inclusive educational experience.
10. **Cultural Sensitivity:** Content on the history of Jewish communities should reflect their contributions to the formation of the state and be integrated into the Polish historical narrative. This approach highlights how such diversity enriches the nation both locally and globally.
11. **Jewish Identity:** Jewish identity should be depicted as extending beyond the Holocaust or Jewish themes to include a broader multicultural perspective. Highlighting Jewish identity in biographical contexts can enrich the main narrative and foster a more inclusive understanding of diversity.
12. **Author Attribution:** Every textbook should include biographies of the authors involved in its creation to ensure transparency and credibility.

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<sup>69</sup> Stories That Move, <https://www.storiesthatmove.org>.

## Policy Makers

1. **Evaluating the Textbook Approval Process: Ensuring Quality and Inclusivity in Educational Materials:** The evaluation and approval process of textbooks should ensure that educational materials meet high standards of human rights, historical accuracy, factual integrity, relevance, and inclusivity. A thorough review process ensures that textbooks provide unbiased, fact-based, and up-to-date information. Evaluators should be knowledgeable about antidiscrimination and human rights to guarantee that textbooks are ideologically neutral, represent diverse perspectives, and avoid reinforcing stereotypes or prejudices. Feedback from teachers and students after implementation is also crucial for identifying and addressing areas for improvement. This comprehensive approach ensures that textbooks are effective, inclusive, and aligned with curriculum goals, supporting high-quality education based on tolerance and respect.
2. **Content Verification:** There should be transparency in the textbook verification process and the use of measures to evaluate content for stereotypes, linguistic inclusivity, and political correctness.
3. **Experts:** There should be transparency in the process of appointing experts; their work and the recommending institutions should be thoroughly assessed. Experts specializing in antidiscrimination, cultural sensitivity, and Holocaust studies should be part of the review panel.
4. **Support for Educational Programs for Teachers and Students:** Funding for educational programs should be increased to ensure widespread access to these resources in schools.
5. **Mandatory Historical Education:** Compulsory elements relating to violence, mechanisms of stereotyping, discrimination, and sensitive topics related to the Holocaust should be incorporated into curricula and educational standards for students and teaching staff at all educational levels.
6. **Accreditation of Teacher Training Organizations:** Standardizing accreditation for teacher and educator training organizations is crucial for enhancing the overall quality of their educational resources and improving the reliability of the information provided. It will also significantly broaden the range of topics covered in teacher training. Incorporating organizations focused on human rights into mandatory professional development trainings will ensure that educators receive high-quality, up-to-date training. This approach would eliminate the need for teachers to attend such courses during their free time, because these training sessions would now be recognized and supported by school administrations. Additionally, it will increase the accessibility of training programs, particularly for teachers in the small cities or villages where such resources may be limited.

7. **Validation and Accreditation of Materials:** Procedures for validating and accrediting educational materials related to antisemitism and the Holocaust should be developed.
8. **Diversity Campaigns:** Schools should be involved in nationwide and local social campaigns that promote diversity and raise awareness about the consequences of discrimination, hate speech, and antisemitism.
9. **Strengthening of International Collaboration:** Existing international collaboration with organizations such as Yad Vashem—The World Holocaust Remembrance Center, Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the Wannsee Conference House, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is robust. However, it is crucial to extend collaborative support to schools, organizations, and educational institutions in smaller towns and local communities to enhance the exchange of best practices and educational materials. Establishing partnerships with institutions and memory sites in Visegrád Group countries, such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, would be particularly beneficial. This is especially relevant given Poland's existing twin towns and sister cities relationships with many of these locations.
10. **Monitoring Social Attitudes Among Teachers and Students:** To improve the quality of education, it is crucial to implement systematic monitoring of attitudes among both teachers and students. Such studies should focus on measuring attitudes and prejudices to understand how current educational trends can counter stereotyping. The effectiveness of educational programs in combating and mitigating prejudices should also be evaluated. This comprehensive approach will contribute to creating a more aware, empathetic, and inclusive educational environment.

# Methodology

IMPACT-se applies methodological standards which are based on UNESCO and UN declarations, and international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance (see notes). Our methodology is designed to consider every detail within the textbooks; it does not paraphrase, rely on interpretations, or attempt to illustrate pre-conceived notions.

The following is an updated, condensed version of the IMPACT-se UNESCO-derived standards for peace and tolerance in school education:

## 1 RESPECT

The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.<sup>193</sup>

## 2 INDIVIDUAL OTHER

The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the "Other" as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.<sup>194</sup>

## 3 NO HATE

The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.<sup>195</sup>

## 4 NO INCITEMENT

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.<sup>196</sup>

## 5 PEACEMAKING

The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>193</sup> As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

<sup>194</sup> The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See *Ibid.*, Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, and based on Articles III.6, IV.7 and VII.39; and on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 18.2.

<sup>196</sup> As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

<sup>197</sup> Based on the Integrated Framework for Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, approved by the General Conference of UNESCO at its twenty-eighth session, Paris, November 1995, Article 9; and on the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 5.

## 6 UNBIASED INFORMATION

Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.<sup>198</sup>

## 7 GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION

The curriculum should foster equality, mutual respect, and should aim for equal representation between individuals regardless of their gender identity. It should also refrain from language, content, and imagery that depicts limiting and/or exclusionary gender roles.<sup>199</sup>

## 8 SEXUAL ORIENTATION

The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.<sup>200</sup>

## 9 SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION:

The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

<sup>199</sup> The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

<sup>200</sup> Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, and numerous UN General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the UN and have no place in education.

<sup>201</sup> Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.



## List of Analyzed Textbooks

1. Wydawnictwo Nowa Era - Etap edukacyjny II - Podstawówka (5) (j.polski, historia, wiedza o społeczeństwie)

Wczoraj i dziś Klasa 5. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy piątej szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023.

**(History. New Edition 2021 - 2023. Class 5).**

Autor/Author: Grzegorz Wojciechowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr. Jerzy Bracisiewicz, mgr. Zbigniew Żuchowski, dr Izabela Kraśnicka-Wilk

Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 877/2/2018

ISBN 978-83-267-4096-1

Wczoraj i dziś. Klasa 6. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy szóstej szkoły podstawowej. **(History. Class 6).**

Autor/Author: Bogumiła Olszewska, Wiesława Surdyk-Fertsch, Grzegorz Wojciechowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr. Jerzy Bracisiewicz, mgr. Zbigniew Żuchowski, dr Izabela Kraśnicka-Wilk

Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/

Registration number in the MEN list: 877/3/2019

ISBN 978-83-267-4147-0

Wczoraj i dziś. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy siódmej szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2023 - 2025. Klasa 7. **(History. New Edition 2021-2023 Class 7).**

Autorzy/Authors: Jarosław Kłaczko, Anna Łaszkiewicz, Stanisław Roszak

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. Dr hab. Urszula Augustyniak, prof. Dr hab. Andrzej Szwarca, dr. hab. Piotr Zbróga

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2020

Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 877/4/2020/z1

ISBN 978-83-267-4686-4

Wczoraj i dziś. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy ósmej szkoły podstawowej. Klasa 8. **(History. Class 8).**

Autorzy/Authors: Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr Wiesława Charczuk, dr. Grzegorz Wierzchowski, dr Izabela Kraśnicka

Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2021

Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 877/5/2021/z1

ISBN 978-83-267-4147-0

Dzis i Jutro. Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023 **(Social Studies for the elementary school. New Edition 2021 - 2023).**

Autorzy/Authors: Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, Tomasz Maćkowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr. Arkadiusz Maślacha, dr hab. Mirosław Szumiła, dr Katarzyna Kozłowska

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2021

Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 874/2021/z1

2. Wydawnictwo Nowa Era - Etap edukacyjny III - Liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. (10) (j.polski, historia, wiedza o społeczeństwie)

<p>Zrozumieć przeszłość. Klasa I.</p> <p>Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum.</p> <p>Zakres rozszerzony. <b>(History. High school. Class 1).</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ryszard Kulesza, Krzysztof Kowalewski</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: III</p> <p>Typ szkoły/ School type: liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum</p> <p>Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2022</p> <p>Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 642/1/2022</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-267-4502-7</p>
<p>Zrozumieć przeszłość. Klasa II</p> <p>Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum.</p> <p>Zakres rozszerzony. <b>(History. High school. Class 2).</b></p> <p>Autor/Author: Paweł Klint</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: III</p> <p>Typ szkoły/School type: liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum</p> <p>Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 642/2/2023</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-267-4743-4</p>
<p>Zrozumieć przeszłość 3 : podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum : zakres rozszerzony <b>(History. High school. Class 3).</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Tomasz Krzemiński, Aneta Niewęglowska</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr hab. Krzysztof Sychowicz, ks. dr hab. Dominika Zamiatały, prof. dr hab. Józef Porayski-Pomsty</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: III</p> <p>Typ szkoły/School type: liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum</p> <p>Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1019/3/2021</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-267-4149-4</p>

Zrozumieć przeszłość 4. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum: zakres rozszerzony. **(History. High school. Class 4).**

Autorzy/Authors: Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska,

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr hab. Krzysztof Sychowicz, dr Rafał Łatka, prof. dr hab. Józef Porayski-Pomsty

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: III

Typ szkoły/School type: liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2022

No ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1019/4/2022

ISBN: 978-83-267-4356-6

W Centrum Uwagi. Podręcznik do wiedzy o społeczeństwie dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Cz1.

**(Social Studies for the high school.Part1).**

Autorzy/Authors: Sławomir Drelich, Arkadiusz Janicki, Justyna Kięczkowska, Jerzy Komorowski, Ewa Martinek, Arkadiusz Peisert

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Adam Sosnowski, dr Andrzej Marian Szabaciuka, dr hab. Krzysztof Kaszewski

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2022

No ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN//Registration number in the MEN list: 1148/2022

ISBN: 978-83-267-4374-0

W Centrum uwagi. Podręcznik do wiedzy o społeczeństwie dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Cz.2.

**(Social Studies for the high school.Part2).**

Autorzy/Authors: Sławomir Drelich, Arkadiusz Janicki, Ewa Martinek

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Adam Sosnowski, dr Andrzej Marian Szabaciuka, dr hab. Krzysztof Kaszewski

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1148/2/2022

ISBN: 978-83-267-4728-1

Ponad słowami. Podręcznik do języka polskiego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum Kl.1. Cz. 1

Zakres podstawowy i rozszerzony.

**(Polish language. High School. Class.1. Part.1)**

Autorzy/Authors: Małgorzata Chmiel, Anna Cisowska, Joanna Kościerzyńska, Helena Kusy, Aleksandra Wróblewska

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts:: prof. dr hab. Małgorzata Święcicka, dr Bernardyna - Banaś, prof dr hab. Maria Korytowska

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approves: 2019

No ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN//Registration number in the MEN list: 1014/1/2019

ISBN: 978-83-267-3661-2

Ponad słowami. Podręcznik do języka polskiego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Kl.I. Cz.II Zakres podstawowy i rozszerzony.

**(Polish language. High School. Class.1. Part.2)**

Autorzy/Authors: Małgorzata Chmiel, Anna Cisowska, Joanna Kościerzyńska, Helena Kusy, Aleksandra Wróblewska

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Małgorzata Święcicka, dr Bernardyna Banaś, dr Ewa Koziół-Chrzanowska.

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

No ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN//Registration number in the MEN list: 1014/2/2019

ISBN: 978-83-267-3662-9

Ponad słowami. Podręcznik do języka polskiego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum . Kl.2. Cz. 1 Zakres podstawowy i rozszerzony.

**(Polish language. High School. Class.2. Part.1)**

Autorzy/Authors: Małgorzata Chmiel, Anna Cisowska, Joanna Kościerzyńska, Helena Kusy, Anna Równy, Aleksandra Wróblewska,

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof dr hab. Magdalena Święcicka, dr Bernardyna Banaś, dr Małgorzata Burta

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2020

Numer ewidencyjny MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1014/3/2020

ISBN: 978-83-267-3965-1



Ponad słowami. Podręcznik do języka polskiego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres podstawowy i rozszerzony 2. Cz. 2

**(Polish language. High School. Class.2. Part.2)**

Autorzy/Authors: Joanna Kościerzyńska, Anna Cisowska, Aleksandra Wróblewska, Joanna Kostrzewa, Joanna Ginter

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof dr hab. Magdalena Świącicka, dr Bernardyna Banaś, dr Małgorzata Burta

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval/Registration number in the MEN list: 2020

Numer ewidencyjny MEN: 1014/4/2020

3. Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne (WSiP) - Etap edukacyjny II - Podstawówka (21) (j.polski, historia, wiedza o społeczeństwie)

Historia. Podręcznik. 5 **(History, Class 5)**

Autorzy/Authors: Krzysztof Kowalewski, Igor Kąkolewski, Anita Plumińska-Mieloch

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr Marek Borucki, mgr Maria Kabacka, mgr Teresa Kosyra-Cieślak

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Wydanie/Edition III (2022)

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 882/2/2018

ISBN 978-83-02-1743-7

Historia. Podręcznik. 6 **(History, Class 6)**

Autorzy/Authors: Igor Kąkolewski, Anita Plumińska-Mieloch

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr Marek Borucki, mgr Maria Kabacka, dr Dariusz Dziurzyński

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Wydanie/Edition: III (2022)

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 882/3/2019

ISBN 978-83-02-18125-2

Wiedza o społeczeństwie, Szkoła Podstawowa. **(Social Studies, Elementary School)**

<p>Autorzy/Authors: Urszula Radomska</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Jacek Piotrowski, mgr. Jerzy Wójcicki, dr Ewa Koziół Chrzanowska</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition II (2021)</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 924/2018</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-17521-3</p>
<p>Szkoła na tak!. Podręcznik. Kl. I cz. 2 <b>(Early school education, Class 1)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Danuta Kręcisz, Beata Lewandowska, Katarzyna Nowacka, Małgorzata Szczęsna, Malina Sarnowska, Bożena Drzycińska</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Agata Tatar, dr Katarzyna Kochan, dr hab. Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Level: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1160/1/2023</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-20958-1 (cz.2.)</p> <p>978-83-02-20961-1 (całość)</p>
<p>Szkoła na tak!. Podręcznik. Kl. I cz. 3 <b>(Early school education, Class 1)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Danuta Kręcisz, Beata Lewandowska, Katarzyna Nowacka, Małgorzata Szczęsna, Malina Sarnowska, Bożena Drzycińska</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Agata Tatar, dr Katarzyna Kochan, dr hab. Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition I</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1160/1/2023</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-20959-8 (cz.3.)</p> <p>978-83-02-20961-1 (całość)</p>
<p>Szkoła na tak!. Podręcznik. Kl. I cz. 4 <b>(Early school education, Class 1)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Danuta Kręcisz, Beata Lewandowska, Katarzyna Nowacka, Małgorzata Szczęsna, Malina Sarnowska, Bożena Drzycińska</p>

<p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Agata Tatar, dr Katarzyna Kochan, dr hab. Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition I</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1160/1/2023</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-20960-4 (cz.4.)</p> <p>978-83-02-20961-1 (całość)</p>
<p>Szkolni Przyjaciele. Podręcznik. Klasa II cz.4 <b>(Early school education, Class 2)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Schumacher, Irena Zarzycka, Kinga Preibisz-Wala</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Elżbieta Krystyna Michalak, dr hab. Ewa Skrzetuska, dr Marzena Kryszczuk</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition IV (2021)</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 813/4/2018</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-17405-6 (cz.4.)</p> <p>978-83-02-17406-3(całość)</p>
<p>Szkolni Przyjaciele. Matematyka. Podręcznik. Klasa III cz. 1 <b>(Early school education, Class 3)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Jadwiga Hanisz</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Elżbieta Krystyna Michalak, dr hab. Ewa Skrzetuska, dr Marzena Kryszczuk</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN//Registration number in the MEN list: 813/5/2019</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-18170-2 (cz.1.)</p> <p>978-83-02-18172-6(całość)</p>
<p>Szkolni Przyjaciele. Podręcznik Klasa III cz.2 <b>(Early school education, Class 3)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Schumacher, Irena Zarzycka, Kinga Preibisz-Wala</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Elżbieta Krystyna Michalak, dr hab. Ewa</p>

<p>Skrzetuska, dr Marzena Kryszczuk</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 813/5/2019</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-18113-9 (cz.2.) 978-83-02-18116-0(całość)</p>
<p>Szkolni Przyjaciele. Podrecznik.Klasa IIIcz.3(<b>Early school education, Class 3</b>)</p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Schumacher, Irena Zarzycka, Kinga Preibisz-Wala</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr Elżbieta Krystyna Michalak, dr hab. Ewa Skrzetuska, dr Marzena Kryszczuk</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 813/6/2019</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-18114-6 (cz.3.) 978-83-02-18116-0(całość)</p>
<p>Szkolni Przyjaciele.Podręcznik. KlasaIII cz.4(<b>Early school education,Class 3</b>)</p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Schumacher, Irena Zarzycka, Kinga Preibisz-Wala</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy: mgr Elżbieta Krystyna Michalak, dr hab. Ewa Skrzetuska, dr Marzena Kryszczuk</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: I</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN: 813/6/2019</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-18115-3 (cz.4.) 978-83-02-18116-0(całość)</p>
<p>Zamieńmy Słowo. Język polski. Podręcznik. Kl. 4 (<b>Polish language. Class.4</b>)</p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Izabella Bartol, Magdalena Biskupska, Jagoda Najmanowicz-Michalak</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: mgr. Rafał Janus, dr Gabriela Olszowska, dr Maciej Zweiffel</p>

<p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1163/1/2023</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-20987-1</p>
<p>Słowa z uśmiechem. Nauka o języku i ortografia. Podręcznik. Kl.5 .</p> <p><b>(Polish language. Class.5)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Horwath, Anita Żegleń</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy: dr hab. Anna Cegieła, dr hab. Jolanta Fiszbak, dr hab. Jerzy Kaniewski</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of approval: 2018</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition I</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 861/4/2018</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-17474-2</p>
<p>Słowa z uśmiechem. Literatura i kultura. Podręcznik. Kl.5.</p> <p><b>(Polish language. Class.5)</b></p> <p>Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Horwath, Anita Żegleń</p> <p>Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr hab. Anna Cegieła, dr hab. Jolanta Fiszbak, dr hab. Jerzy Kaniewski</p> <p>Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II</p> <p>Rok Dopuszczenia/ Year of Approval: 2018</p> <p>Wydanie/Edition I</p> <p>Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 861/3/2018</p> <p>ISBN 978-83-02-17471-1</p>



Język Polski. Jutro pójdę w świat. Podręcznik. Kl. 6.

**(Polish language. Class.6)**

Autorzy/Authors: Hanna Dobrowolska, Urszula Dobrowolska

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Marek Ruszkowski, dr hab. Dorota Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak, mgr. Wacław Wawrzyniak

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list:  
868/3/2019

ISBN 978-83-02-18123-8

Słowa z uśmiechem. Literatura i kultura. Podręcznik. Kl. 6.

**(Polish language. Class.6)**

Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Horwath, Anita Żegleń

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr hab. Anna Cegieła, dr hab. Jolanta Fiszbak, dr hab. Jerzy Kaniewski

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Wydanie/Edition IV (2022)

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list:  
861/5/2019

ISBN 978-83-02-18104-7

Słowa z uśmiechem. Nauka o języku i ortografia. Podręcznik. Kl. 6.

**(Polish language. Class.6)**

Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Horwath, Anita Żegleń

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr hab. Anna Cegieła, dr hab. Jolanta Fiszbak, dr hab. Jerzy Kaniewski

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list:  
861/2/2019

ISBN 978-83-02-18106-1

Zamieńmy Słowo. Język polski. Podręcznik. Kl. 7

**(Polish language. Class.7)**

Autorzy/Authors: Agata Karolczyk-Kozyra, Magdalena Krajewska, Dorota Kujawa-Weinke, Agata Sieńczak

Rzeczoznawcy: mgr. Rafał Janus, dr Gabriela Olszowska, dr Maciej Zweiffel

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1163/4/2023

ISBN 978-83-02-20988-8

Myśli i Słowa. Literatura-Kultura-Język. Podręcznik do języka polskiego. Kl. 8

**(Polish language. Class.8)**

Autorzy/Authors: Ewa Nowak, Joanna Gawęł

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr Maria Romanowska, prof. dr hab. Marek Ruszkowski, dr Monika Szymańska

Etap edukacyjny/Educational stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018

Wydanie/Edition III (2021)

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 895/2/2018

ISBN 978-83-02-20988-8

Język polski. Gramatyka i stylistyka. Podręcznik.Kl. 8

**(Polish language. Class.8)**

Autorzy/Authors: Marek Ruszkowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Marek Ruszkowski, dr Wojciech Kaliszewski, mgr. Wacław Wawrzyniak

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II

Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018

Wydanie/Edition IV (2021)

Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 865/7/2018

ISBN 978-83-02-17477-3

Język polski. Świat w słowach i obrazach. Podręcznik. Kl. 8

**(Polish language. Class.8)**

Autorzy/Authors: Witold Bobiński  
Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Marek Ruszkowski, dr Wojciech Kaliszewski, mgr. Wacław Wawrzyniak  
Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: II  
Rok Dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2018  
Wydanie/Edition IV (2021)  
Numer Ewidencyjny w wykazie MEN/Registration number in the MEN list: 865/5/2018  
ISBN 978-83-02-17486-5

4. Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne - Etap edukacyjny III - Liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. (4) (j.polski, historia, wiedza o społeczeństwie)

Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Kl.1.  
**(History. High School. Class 1)**  
Autorzy/Authors: Michał Norbert Faszcza, Radosław Lolo, Krzysztof Wiśniewski  
Rzeczoznawcy: dr. hab Grzegorz Myśliwski, dr Anna Zielińska  
Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: III  
Typ szkoły/School type: szkoła ponadpodstawowa (liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum)  
Zakres kształcenia: podstawowy  
Wydanie/Edition II (2022)  
Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2021  
Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list: 987/3/2021  
ISBN 978-83-02-18090-3

Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Kl.2.

**(History. High School. Class 2)**

Autorzy/Authors: Jarosław Czubaty

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Grzegorz Kucharczyk, dr Jan Chańka, dr Agata Hąci

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Stage: III

Typ szkoły/School type: szkoła ponadpodstawowa (liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum)

Zakres kształcenia: podstawowy

Wydanie/Edition I

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1147/2/2023

ISBN 978-83-02-21134-8

Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Kl.3.

**(History. High School. Class 3)**

Autorzy/Authors: Jarosław Czubaty, Piotr Szlanta

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Grzegorz Kucharczyk, prof. dr hab. Andrzej Szwarca, dr hab. Grzegorz Ptaszek

Etap edukacyjny/Educational type: III

Typ szkoły/School type: szkoła ponadpodstawowa (liceum ogólnokształcące i technikum)

Zakres kształcenia/Educational type: podstawowy

Wydanie/Edition III (2021)

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2019

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list: 987/1/2019

ISBN 978-83-02-18090-3

Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Kl. 4.

**(History. High School. Class 4)**

Autorzy/Authors: Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: dr. Rafał Drabik, dr. Andrzej Szabaciuk, prof. dr. hab. Jerzy Podracki

Etap edukacyjny/Educational type: III

Typ szkoły/School type: szkoła ponadpodstawowa

Zakres kształcenia: rozszerzony

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2022

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list: 982/4/2022

ISBN 978-83-02-20545-3 - podręcznik w wersji elektronicznej; (flipbook)

5. Biały Kruk - 2 Etap edukacyjny III - Liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum.

1945 - 1979. Historia i Teraźniejszość. Podręcznik dla liceów i techników.

**History and the Present. A textbook for high schools and technical schools.1**

Autor/Author: Wojciech Roszkowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Wolsza, dr. Rafał Drabik, mgr. Klemens Stróżyński

Etap edukacyjny/Educational type: III

Typ szkoły/School type: szkoły ponadpodstawowe

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of approval: 2022

Wydanie/Edition I

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list: 1145/1/2022

ISBN 978-83-7553-347-7

1980 - 2015. Historia i Teraźniejszość. Podręcznik dla liceów i techników. 2.

**History and the Present. A textbook for high schools and technical schools.2**

Autor/Author: Wojciech Roszkowski

Rzeczoznawcy/Experts: prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Wolsza, dr. Rafał Drabik, mgr. Klemens Stróżyński

Etap edukacyjny/Educational Type: III



Typ szkoły/ School Type: szkoły ponadpodstawowe

Rok dopuszczenia/Year of Approval: 2023

Wydanie/Edition I

Numer ewidencyjny w wykazie MEiN/Registration number in the MEN list  
1145/2/2023

ISBN 978-83-7553-370-5

# Appendix: A Compilation of Textbook Scans

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## 1. Historical Depictions of Jews and the Concept of "Christ-Killers"

- Fig. 1. Grzegorz Wojciechowski, *Wczoraj i dziś. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy piątej szkoły podstawowej*, Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023 Klasa 5, (Warszawa: Nowa Era, 2021), 96. History (5th Grade)
- Fig. 2. WSiP, Krzysztof Kowalewski, Igor Kąkolewski, Anita Plumińska-Mieloch, *Historia. Podręcznik. 5* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolenie i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 82. History (5th Grade)
- Fig. 3. Ryszard Kulesza, Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 217-218. History High School (1st Grade)
- Fig. 4. Michał Norbert Faszczka, Radosław Lolo, Krzysztof Wiśniewski, *Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 1*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 128. History High School (1st Grade)
- Fig. 5. Ryszard Kulesza, Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 217. History High School (1st Grade)
- Fig. 6. Krzysztof Kowalewski, Igor Kąkolewski, Anita Plumińska-Mieloch, *Historia. Podręcznik. Klasa 5*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 81. History (5th Grade)
- Fig. 7. Michał Norbert Faszczka, Radosław Lolo, Krzysztof Wiśniewski, *Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 1*, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 128. History High School (1st Grade)

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- Fig. 8. Ryszard Kulesza, Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 522. History High School (1st Grade)
- Fig. 9. Paweł Klint, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 2*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2023), 99. History High School (2nd Grade)
- Fig. 10. Paweł Klint, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 2*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2023), 257. History High School (2nd Grade)

- Fig. 11. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, Tomasz Maćkowski, *Dzis i Jutro. Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 121. Social studies, Elementary school. (8th Grade).
- Fig. 12. Urszula Radomska, *Wiedza o społeczeństwie. Podręcznik. Szkoła Podstawowa*. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 89. Social studies, Elementary school (8th Grade).
- Fig. 13. Urszula Radomska, *Wiedza o społeczeństwie. Podręcznik. Szkoła Podstawowa*. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 82. Social studies, Elementary school (8th Grade).
- Fig. 14. Jarosław Czuby, Piotr Szlanta, *Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 3*. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 343. History High School (3rd Grade)
- Fig. 15. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 132. History High School (4th Grade)

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- Fig. 16. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4*. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 233. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 17. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 74. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 18. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 120. History High School (4th Grade)

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- Fig. 19. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4*, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 76 - 77. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 20. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, *Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4*. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 112. History High School (4th Grade)

- Fig. 21. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 114. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 22. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 125-126. History High School (4th Grade)

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- Fig. 23. Grzegorz Wojciechowski, Wczoraj i dziś. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy piątej szkoły podstawowej, Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023 Klasa 5, (Warszawa: Nowa Era, 2021), 29. History (5th Grade)
- Fig. 24. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, Tomasz Maćkowski, Dzis i Jutro. Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 213. Social studies, Elementary school (8th Grade).
- Fig. 25. Iwona Janicka, Arkadiusz Janicki, Aleksandra Kucia-Maćkowska, Tomasz Maćkowski, Dzis i Jutro. Podręcznik do Wiedzy o Społeczeństwie dla szkoły podstawowej. Nowa Edycja 2021 - 2023, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2021), 215. Social studies, Elementary school (8th Grade).
- Fig. 26. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 323. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 27. Jolanta Choinska-Mika, Piotr Szlanta, Andrzej Zawistowski, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony. Klasa 4. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2022), 318. History High School (4th Grade)
- Fig. 28. Ryszard Kulesza, Krzysztof Kowalewski, Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 1, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 53-54. History High School (1st Grade)
- Fig. 29. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 243. History High School (4th Grade)

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- Fig. 30. Robert Śniegocki, Agnieszka Zielińska, Zrozumieć przeszłość. Podręcznik do historii dla liceum ogólnokształcącego i technikum. Zakres rozszerzony, Klasa 4, (Warsaw: Nowa Era, 2022), 290. History High School (4th Grade)
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- Fig. 32. Agata Karolczyk-Kozyra, Magdalena Krajewska, Dorota Kujawa-Weinke, Agata Sieńczak, Zamieńmy Słowo. Język polski. Podręcznik. Kl. 7. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2023), 96. Polish Language (7th Grade)
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- Fig. 37. Jarosław Czubaty, Piotr Szlanta, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 3. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 191. History High School (3rd Grade)

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- Fig. 39. Jarosław Czuby, Piotr Szlanta, Historia. Podręcznik. Liceum i technikum. Zakres podstawowy. Klasa 3. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2021), 162. History High School (3rd Grade)