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**Working Papers on
Contemporary Anti-Semitism**

**KNOWLEDGE AND
REMEMBRANCE OF
THE HOLOCAUST
IN POLAND**

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis advocates public policy positions rooted in American democratic values and the perspectives of the Jewish heritage and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people Founded in 1906 it is the pioneer human relations agency in the United States

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FOREWORD

Jennifer Golub and Renae Cohen's *Knowledge and Remembrance of the Holocaust in Poland* is the twenty second in a series of Working Papers on Contemporary Anti-Semitism published by the American Jewish Committee

The Working Papers series seeks to enrich our understanding of contemporary anti-Semitism by inventorying current knowledge providing analytical perspectives and suggesting avenues for further research. Among the issues that call for analysis are the following: Is contemporary anti-Semitism a direct continuation of the Jew hatred of the past or is it in some sense a new phenomenon? Has the Holocaust finally delegitimated anti-Semitism or has it merely driven it underground? What are the images of Jews that currently circulate in society? Are there population subgroups that are especially susceptible to anti-Semitism? How has the reality of the State of Israel affected expressions of anti-Semitism?

Knowledge and Remembrance of the Holocaust in Poland reports on the seventh in a series of international surveys dealing with knowledge of the Holocaust, the phenomenon of Holocaust denial, and perceptions of the lessons and implications of the Holocaust. The results of the Polish survey are mixed. While Poles display strong factual knowledge about some aspects of the Holocaust, they are far less knowledgeable about other aspects. Moreover, while the vast majority of Poles strongly favor keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive, Poles see themselves as fully equal to Jews as victims of the Nazis.

David Singer *Director*
Department of Research and Publications

KNOWLEDGE AND REMEMBRANCE OF THE HOLOCAUST IN POLAND

The data reported here are from a public opinion survey conducted in Poland shortly before the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz. The survey brings together two streams of research that the American Jewish Committee has been conducting in various countries over the last several years. One such stream relates to knowledge and remembrance of the Holocaust, a theme that the AJC has examined in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Australia. A second stream focuses on attitudes toward Jews and other minorities; these have been explored in the United States, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Germany, Great Britain, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Argentina.

Among the themes probed in the current Polish survey are: factual knowledge about the Holocaust; the importance of Holocaust memory; the relative suffering of Poles and Jews at the hands of the Nazis; Polish behavior toward Jews in the context of the Holocaust; and attitudes toward Jews and other minorities in contemporary Poland.

The Polish survey was carried out for the American Jewish Committee by Demoskop, a leading public opinion organization based in Warsaw. In conducting the survey, Demoskop interviewed 1,145 respondents face to face between December 29, 1994, and January 5, 1995. Those interviewed constitute a representative national sample of Polish men and women 18 years of age and older. The findings can be reported for the sample as a whole, as well as by sex, age, education, and religious practice. The estimated sampling error for the total sample is plus or minus three percentage points.

Summary of Key Findings

1 The vast majority of Poles strongly favor keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive. Thus 85 percent of Poles feel that we should keep the remembrance of the extermination of the Jews strong even after the passage of time as against 10 percent who say that 50 years after the end of World War II it is time to put the memory of the Nazi extermination of the Jews behind us. Similarly 86 percent of Poles deem it essential (17 percent) or very important (69 percent) that Poles know about and understand the Nazi extermination of the Jews while 12 percent see it as only somewhat important (11 percent) or not important (1 percent). Moreover 68 percent of Poles disagree (mostly disagree 43 percent strongly disagree 25 percent) with the view that the Nazi extermination of the Jews is not relevant today because it happened almost 50 years ago. 28 percent agree (mostly agree 22 percent strongly agree 6 percent).

2 Poles stress their own suffering under the Nazis alongside that of Jews. Thus in response to the open ended question "In your view who was the main victim of the Nazis during the Second World War?" 28 percent answer Jews, 26 percent Poles, and another 28 percent Poles and Jews. Asked directly "Which group suffered more from Nazi persecution during the Second World War, Poles or Jews?" 29 percent indicate Jews, 28 percent Poles, and 40 percent both groups suffered about the same.

Poles take a largely positive view of Polish behavior toward Jews in the context of the Holocaust. Thus in response to the question "Did Poles do enough to help Jews during the Second World War or not?" 75 percent answer either "did enough" (49 percent) or "did as much as they could under the circumstances" (26 percent) while 15 percent respond "did not do enough." In addition 67 percent of respondents maintain that many Poles participated in rescuing Jews during the Second World War in contrast to 11 percent who see many Poles having participated in the persecution of Jews during the Second World War.

3 Poles display strong factual knowledge about some aspects of the Holocaust but are far less knowledgeable about other aspects. Thus in response to two open-ended questions 91 percent of Poles identify Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka as concentration camps and 74 percent

of Poles cite yellow star or a variant as the symbol that Jews were forced to wear during the Second World War. At the same time only 34 percent of Poles in a multiple choice format select 6 million as the approximate number of Jews killed by the Nazis during the Second World War while 38 percent choose much lower figures and 22 percent respond "don't know." Still further when asked again in a multiple choice format what percentage of Polish Jews were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War only 13 percent of Poles correctly answer 80+ percent (historians agree that 90 percent of Polish Jews died in the Holocaust). 38 percent of Poles answer 50-79 percent, 31 percent say 10-49 percent, 3 percent respond less than 10 percent, and 15 percent "don't know." (It is important to note that while 48 percent of Poles respond "don't know" to the open ended question "What does the term 'the Holocaust' refer to?" this reflects nothing more than lack of usage of the English term "Holocaust" in Poland. In fact 99 percent of respondents are aware of the Nazi extermination of the Jews.)

4 A substantial majority of Poles acknowledge the reality of anti-Semitism in contemporary Poland. Thus when asked "Do you think that anti-Semitism in Poland is currently a very serious problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all?" 18 percent answer "very serious problem," 49 percent "somewhat of a problem," and 23 percent "not a problem at all." Moreover in looking ahead over the next several years 26 percent of Poles see anti-Semitism increasing (increase greatly 5 percent, increase somewhat 21 percent) and 42 percent remaining the same while only 13 percent see it decreasing (decrease somewhat 10 percent, decrease greatly 3 percent).

In terms of the respondents' own attitudes toward Jews (comparative data for other groups are shown in the tables) 30 percent prefer not to have Jews as neighbors, 16 percent see Jews as having too much influence in Polish society, and 13 percent think that Jews behave in a manner which provokes hostility toward them in our country. (In a 1991 survey conducted for the American Jewish Committee in Poland the respective figures for the same items were 40 percent, 26 percent, and 19 percent indicating a positive trend line over time.) Moreover 36 percent of respondents agree (strongly agree 13 percent, somewhat agree 23 percent) that "Now as in the past Jews are responsible for killing Christ." Finally 35 percent of respondents see it as good that there are now

many fewer Jews in Poland than there were before the Second World War

Subgroup Differences

In an examination of subgroup differences for some key items increased education emerges as the key variable associated with knowledge of the Holocaust a stress on Holocaust remembrance and a positive orientation toward Jews in contemporary Poland fewer consistent differences emerge for sex age and religious practice

Better-educated Poles are much more knowledgeable about the Holocaust than the less educated For example 96 percent of those in the highest education group (at least some college) know that Jews were forced to wear a yellow star/Jewish star during World War II as compared with 65 percent of those with an elementary school education In addition 55 percent of those in the highest education group know that approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis as compared with 26 percent of those in the lowest group

With regard to Holocaust remembrance 41 percent of those in the highest education group disagree strongly that the Holocaust is irrelevant today as compared with 21 percent of those in the lowest group and 31 percent of those in the highest group consider it essential for Poles to know about and understand the Holocaust as compared with 16 percent of those in the lowest group

Although better educated Poles are no likelier than the less educated to stress Jewish suffering during the Holocaust they are less likely to consider Poles the main victim of the Nazis (highest education group 11 percent lowest group 30 percent) and somewhat less likely to say that Poles suffered more than Jews from Nazi persecution (highest group 16 percent lowest group 28 percent) Regarding views of Polish behavior toward Jews during the Holocaust the best-educated Poles are somewhat likelier than the less educated to say that many Poles helped rescue Jews during World War II (highest group 79 percent lowest group 66 percent) and likelier to say that only a few Poles helped persecute Jews (highest group 78 percent lowest group 56 percent)

In addition the better educated show a more positive orientation toward Jews in Poland today than the less educated For instance only 13

percent of those in the highest education group would prefer not having Jewish neighbors as compared with 38 percent of those in the lowest group 13 percent of those in the highest group agree that Now as in the past Jews are responsible for killing Christ as compared with 44 percent of those in the lowest group and 28 percent of those in the highest group say it is good that there are fewer Jews in Poland than before World War II as compared with 40 percent of those in the lowest group

Polish men are somewhat better informed about the Holocaust than Polish women on a few items Thus 79 percent of men know that Jews were forced to wear a yellow star/Jewish star during the Second World War as compared with 70 percent of women and 39 percent of men know that approximately 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis as compared with 30 percent of women However strong differences do not consistently emerge between Polish men and women in their attitudes toward the Holocaust their views of Polish behavior during the Holocaust and of the relative suffering of Poles and Jews and their attitudes toward Jews in Poland today

Older Poles are likelier than those who are younger to say that Jews must answer for killing Christ (60 and over 46 percent 20 24 33 percent)¹ However consistent differences on the other items probing attitudes toward Jews and on the Holocaust related items do not emerge on the basis of age

Finally Poles who regularly practice their religion are somewhat likelier than those who practice irregularly to agree that Now as in the past Jews must answer for killing Christ (practice regularly 40 percent practice irregularly 32 percent) However noteworthy differences between the two groups do not emerge for the other questions asked in the survey

Comparisons Between 1991 and 1995 Surveys

The new survey included six items that were asked in the American Jewish Committee's 1991 survey in Poland—three probing attitudes toward Jews

The youngest age subgroup provided by Demoskop comprised those who were 18 19 years old This group is not included in the subgroup analysis because there are too few respondents in that age range

two addressing perceptions of anti-Semitism and one addressing support for remembering the Holocaust. The three questions about Jews show an improvement. At the same time, concern about anti-Semitism in Poland has increased. Results for the item about the Holocaust have not changed significantly.

Thirty percent of respondents in the new survey would prefer not to have Jewish neighbors, as compared with 40 percent in the 1991 survey. 16 percent of those in 1995 say that Jews have 'too much influence in our society' as compared with 26 percent of those in 1991, and 13 percent of those in 1995 say that Jews behave in a manner which provokes hostility toward them in our country, as compared with 19 percent of those in 1991.

When asked about anti-Semitism in Poland, 18 percent of Poles in the new survey say it is a very serious problem, as compared with 10 percent of those in 1991. 49 percent call it 'somewhat of a problem' as compared with 29 percent of those in 1991, and 0 percent of those in 1995 volunteer that there is no anti-Semitism in Poland, whereas 20 percent of those in 1991 did so. Moreover, 26 percent of Poles in the current poll say that anti-Semitism in Poland will increase over the next several years, as compared with 17 percent of those in 1991.

Eighty-five percent of Poles in 1995 say that we should keep the remembrance of the extermination of the Jews strong even after the passage of time. 81 percent of those in 1991 expressed that view.

Comparisons with Other Countries

Many items in the new Polish survey can be compared with identical or similar items in American Jewish Committee sponsored polls in other countries.

In terms of basic facts about the Holocaust, no consistent pattern emerges when Poles are compared with others. Thus, when asked what Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka were, Poles are one of the best informed groups (concentration camps: Germany 92 percent, Poland 91 percent, France 90 percent, Australia 85 percent, Great Britain 76 percent, United States 67 percent). At the same time, Poles are one of the least knowledgeable groups with regard to the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust (6 million: Australia 47 percent, France 45 percent, United

States 44 percent, Great Britain 41 percent, Germany 36 percent, Poland 34 percent). Poles fall in the middle range for the item about the symbol that Jews were forced to wear during World War II (yellow star / Jewish star / star of David: Germany 91 percent, France 88 percent, Poland 74 percent, Australia 72 percent, Great Britain 56 percent, United States 42 percent).²

With regard to views of Holocaust remembrance, comparing Poles with other nationalities produces an ambiguous picture. Poles, together with the French, are the most likely to consider it either essential or very important for people in their country to know about and understand the Holocaust (France 88 percent, Poland 86 percent, United States 76 percent, Australia and Great Britain each 72 percent, Germany 68 percent). At the same time, Poles and Germans are the least likely to say essential (France 45 percent, United States 39 percent, Great Britain 33 percent, Australia 29 percent, Germany 18 percent, Poland 17 percent).

Or again, Poles fall in the middle range in disagreeing either strongly or mostly that the Holocaust is irrelevant today (Australia 80 percent, France 79 percent, Great Britain 73 percent, Poland 68 percent, United States 65 percent, Germany 53 percent). However, every group except Germans is much likelier than Poles to disagree strongly that the Holocaust is irrelevant (France 64 percent, Australia 57 percent, Great Britain 53 percent, United States 48 percent, Poland 25 percent, Germany 20 percent).

Poles are the least likely by far to have heard the claim of Holocaust deniers that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened (heard this claim: Australia 70 percent, France 67 percent, Germany 60 percent, Great Britain 50 percent, United States 49 percent, Poland 29 percent). Poles, Americans, and Australians were asked: Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, or do you feel certain that it happened? Nearly all respondents from each country—96 percent of Poles, 93 percent of Australians, and 91 percent of Americans—feel certain that the Holocaust happened.

It should be noted that both this item and the question about the concentration camps were asked in a multiple choice format in Australia, France, and the United States, and in the more difficult open-ended format in Poland, Germany, and Great Britain.

Table 1a

'From what you know or have heard what were Auschwitz Dachau and Treblinka? (OPEN ENDED) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Concentration camps/ death camps/ extermination camps	Other responses	Don't know
Total	91	8	1
Sex			
Male	94	6	0
Female	90	9	2
Age			
20-24	88	11	1
25-29	93	6	1
30-39	92	8	0
40-49	93	7	0
50-59	92	7	2
60+	90	8	3
Education			
Elementary	92	6	2
Vocational	93	6	1
Secondary	90	10	0
At least some college	90	10	0
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	91	8	1
Practice irregularly	94	6	1

Table 1b

'From what you know or have heard what were Auschwitz Dachau and Treblinka? (in percents)

Country	Concentration camps	Other responses	Don't know
Australia (1994)	85	4	13
France (1993)	90	4	6
Germany (1994)	92	3	5
Great Britain (1993)	76	4	20
Poland (1995)	91	8	1
United States (1994)	67	4	28
United States (1992)	62	11	27

Note: The question was closed-ended in the French, Australian, and American surveys and open-ended with coded responses in the Polish, British, and German surveys. Other responses were volunteered in the Australian survey.

Table 2a

Approximately how many Jews were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	25 000	100 000	1 mil lion	2 mil lion	6 mil lion	20 mil lion	Don t know
Total	1	2	10	25	34	6	22
Sex							
Male	1	1	9	28	39	7	15
Female	1	2	11	22	30	6	28
Age							
20-24	1	4	10	30	25	4	27
25-29	1	2	11	25	39	7	16
30-39	2	1	11	24	37	6	20
40-49	1	2	6	30	40	7	14
50-59	0	1	12	27	31	6	24
60+	2	1	10	20	31	7	29
Education							
Elementary	1	2	11	23	26	7	30
Vocational	2	2	10	28	30	8	20
Secondary	0	1	9	25	44	5	15
At least some college	0	1	6	26	55	3	9
Religious practice							
Practice regularly	1	1	11	24	31	7	25
Practice irregularly	1	2	9	26	38	5	19

Table 2b

Approximately how many Jews were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War? (in percents)

Country	25 000	100 000	1 mil lion	2 mil lion	6 mil lion	20 mil lion	Don t know
Australia (1994)	2	9	12	10	47	6	14
France (1993)	2	4	11	14	45	12	12
Germany (1994)	2	5	13	15	36	8	21
Great Britain (1993)	2	4	5	9	41	13	26
Poland (1995)	1	2	10	25	34	6	22
United States (1994)	1	5	6	9	44	7	28
United States (1992)	1	4	7	13	35	10	30

Note: Respondents in every country except Poland were asked about the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust

Table 3a

'Many Jews in Europe were forced to wear a symbol on their clothes during the Second World War What was it? (OPEN ENDED) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Yellow star/ Jewish star/ star of David	Other responses	Don't know
Total	74	8	18
Sex			
Male	79	8	13
Female	70	7	23
Age			
20-24	69	6	26
25-29	79	5	16
30-39	75	10	16
40-49	80	7	14
50-59	72	6	21
60+	75	9	17
Education			
Elementary	65	9	26
Vocational	74	9	18
Secondary	84	6	10
At least some college	96	1	3
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	72	7	20
Practice irregularly	74	9	17

Table 3b

'Many Jews in Europe were forced to wear a symbol on their clothes during the Second World War What was it? (in percents)

Country	Yellow star/ Jewish star / star of David	Other responses	Don't know
Australia (1994)	72	17	12
France (1993)	88	9	3
Germany (1994)	91	1	8
Great Britain (1993)	56	9	34
Poland (1995)	74	8	18
United States (1994)	42	24	33
United States (1992)	42	30	29

Note: This question was closed ended in the French, Australian, and American surveys and open ended with codes in the Polish, British, and German surveys.

This response was not included in the Australian, French, and American questionnaires.

Table 4a

As far as you know what does the term the Holocaust refer to?
(OPEN ENDED) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Extermination/ murder/ persecution/ treatment of Jews by Hitler/Nazis/ Germans	Extermination/ murder/ persecution of Jews	Other relevant responses	Others	Don't know
Total	3	32	6	11	48
Sex					
Male	3	39	6	12	40
Female	3	24	6	11	56
Age					
20-24	3	31	4	8	54
25-29	2	37	6	12	43
30-39	5	32	7	12	44
40-49	3	33	4	15	44
50-59	3	29	10	13	45
60+	3	27	4	9	57
Education					
Elementary	2	19	4	11	65
Vocational	2	27	4	13	54
Secondary	5	47	10	11	27
At least some college	11	64	11	8	6
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	3	28	6	10	53
Practice irregularly	3	33	5	14	44

Table 4b

As far as you know what does the term the Holocaust refer to?
(OPEN ENDED) (in percents)

Country	Extermination/ murder/ persecution/ treatment of Jews by Hitler/ Nazis/ Germans	Extermination/ murder/ persecution of Jews	Other relevant responses	Others	Don't know
Australia (1994)	39	17	17	15	12
France (1993)	35	21	12	12	20
Germany (1994)	59	23	5	3	10
Great Britain (1993)	33	18	5	35	18
Poland (1995)	3	32	6	11	48
United States (1994)	24	35	9	12	19
United States (1992)	24	30	7	10	28

Note: In the French and American surveys if an incorrect response was given respondents were told 'To be precise the Holocaust was the Nazi extermination of Jews during the Second World War'. In the Australian survey all respondents were so informed. In the British survey multiple answers were allowed. 'Other relevant responses' may include concentration camps, German death camps, Hitler, Nazis, Germans, World War II and the 1940s. 'Others' may include death/murder/ slaughter, destruction/disaster/tragedy, war/nuclear war, cataclysm, the end of the world, starvation, or other answers.

The low figure for correct/partially correct responses in Poland is due to lack of usage of the English term 'the Holocaust'.

Table 5a
Have you learned about the Nazi extermination of the Jews from [SOURCE]? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Your own experience that of a family member or people you know	Mass media TV radio newspapers magazines movies	Books	School	Church	This is the first I've heard of the Nazi extermination of the Jews
Total	47	92	75	67	29	1
Sex						
Male	46	93	74	67	26	1
Female	48	91	75	66	31	1
Age						
20-24	20	94	82	90	30	0
25-29	28	92	83	80	26	0
30-39	35	95	84	79	29	1
40-49	45	93	77	72	33	1
50-59	57	92	70	58	27	3
60+	81	86	58	34	27	1
Education						
Elementary	61	89	58	49	27	2
Vocational	34	93	80	81	35	1
Secondary	38	94	89	78	26	1
At least some college	49	96	98	78	25	0
Religious practice						
Practice regularly	54	91	73	63	34	1
Practice irregularly	37	93	77	72	24	1

Table 5b
'Have you learned about the Nazi extermination of the Jews from [SOURCE]? (in percents)

Response	Poland 1995	Australia 1994	United States 1994	United States 1992*
Books	75	68	43	42
Television	—	82	58	50
The movies	—	62	33	24
Newspaper and magazine articles	—	73	35	31
Mass media TV radio newspapers magazines movies	92	—	—	—
School	67	44	48	37
Churches/synagogues	—	9	15	10
Church	29	—	—	—
People I know	—	43	26	20
Your own experience that of a family member or people you know	47	—	—	—
Other (SPECIFY)	—	—	4	5
This is the first I've heard of the Nazi extermination of the Jews	1	1	4	6
Don't know	—	—	4	5

Note: Australian and Polish respondents were asked to answer 'yes' or 'no' for each response. American respondents were asked to specify their responses from the list.

* In Australia and the United States, respondents were asked where they had heard of 'the Holocaust'.

Table 6a

Some people say that 50 years after the end of World War II it is time to put the memory of the Holocaust, Hitler's extermination of the Jews behind us. Others say that we should keep the remembrance of the extermination of the Jews strong even after the passage of time. Which opinion comes closer to your opinion? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Put memory behind us	Keep remembrance strong	Don't know
Total	10	85	5
Sex			
Male	11	84	5
Female	9	86	5
Age			
20-24	12	81	7
25-29	11	86	3
30-39	8	88	4
40-49	12	83	5
50-59	10	86	5
60+	10	84	5
Education			
Elementary	11	82	6
Vocational	9	86	4
Secondary	9	88	3
At least some college	9	88	4
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	10	86	4
Practice irregularly	9	86	5

Table 6b

Some people say that 50 years [45 years] after the end of World War II it is time to put the memory of the Holocaust, Hitler's extermination of the Jews behind us. Others say that we should keep the remembrance of the extermination of the Jews strong even after the passage of time. Which opinion comes closer to your opinion? (in percents)

Country	Put memory behind us	Keep remembrance strong	Don't know
Czechoslovakia (1991)	21	71	9
Czechs	18	73	8
Slovaks	26	66	9
Hungary (1991)	28	61	10
Poland (1991)	13	81	6
Poland (1995)	10	85	5

Table 7a

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree. The Nazi extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is not relevant today because it happened almost 50 years ago (Poland, in percents)

Subgroup	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Total	6	22	43	25	4
Sex					
Male	6	23	41	26	4
Female	5	22	44	24	5
Age					
20-24	12	28	38	18	4
25-29	7	16	50	23	4
30-39	5	21	42	28	4
40-49	6	30	36	24	4
50-59	5	22	49	18	5
60+	3	21	42	30	4
Education					
Elementary	4	27	43	21	6
Vocational	8	20	47	21	4
Secondary	6	20	41	30	3
At least some college	4	16	35	41	4
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	4	23	44	25	4
Practice irregularly	7	21	43	24	4

Table 7b

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree, or strongly disagree. The Nazi extermination of the Jews during the Second World War is not relevant today because it happened almost 50 years ago (in percents)

Country	Strongly agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Austria (1994)	7	9	23	57	4
France (1993)	8	12	15	64	1
Germany (1994)	11	26	33	20	10
Great Britain (1993)	5	13	20	53	9
Poland (1995)	6	22	43	25	4
United States (1994)	8	13	17	48	14
United States (1992)	8	13	17	46	15

Note: Respondents in every country except Poland were asked about the relevance of the Holocaust

Table 8a

In your view how important is it for Poles to know about and understand the Nazi extermination of the Jews during the Second World War — is it essential very important, only somewhat important, or not important? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Essential	Very important	Only somewhat important	Not important	Don't know
Total	17	69	11	1	3
Sex					
Male	19	65	15	0	2
Female	15	72	7	1	4
Age					
20-24	7	70	18	2	3
25-29	11	81	6	1	1
30-39	19	68	11	0	2
40-49	19	64	13	1	3
50-59	14	72	12	1	2
60+	23	65	6	0	5
Education					
Elementary	16	67	11	1	5
Vocational	16	68	14	0	2
Secondary	16	74	8	1	1
At least some college	31	60	6	0	3
Religious practice					
Practically regularly	19	67	10	0	4
Practically irregularly	14	72	10	1	2

Table 8b

In your view how important is it for Poles [for Australians/for the French/for Germans/for the British/for all Americans] to know about and understand the Nazi extermination of the Jews during the Second World War — is it essential very important only somewhat important or not important? (in percents)

Country	Essential	Very important	Only somewhat important	Not important	Don't know
Australia (1994)	29	43	23	3	2
France (1993)	45	43	11	1	0
Germany (1994)	18	50	19	7	7
Great Britain (1993)	33	39	20	4	4
Poland (1995)	17	69	11	1	3
United States (1994)	39	37	12	2	11
United States (1992)	33	39	13	2	13

Note: Respondents in every country except Poland were asked about the Holocaust

Table 9
What percent of Poland s population before the Second World War was Jewish? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Less than 2 percent	2-9 percent	10-19 percent	20-29 percent	30-49 percent	50+ percent	Don't know
Total	1	10	26	29	17	3	15
Sex							
Male	1	12	27	29	19	2	10
Female	1	8	24	28	15	3	20
Age							
20-24	1	10	27	26	15	4	17
25-29	2	10	33	26	18	2	10
30-39	1	12	21	33	15	2	16
40-49	0	11	25	30	17	4	12
50-59	1	8	29	29	18	2	14
60+	0	11	24	25	18	3	18
Education							
Elementary	1	8	23	28	18	4	18
Vocational	2	11	24	28	19	2	15
Secondary	1	12	32	28	13	1	13
At least some college	0	19	23	34	15	3	8
Religious practice							
Practice regularly	1	10	24	30	16	3	17
Practice irregularly	1	11	26	29	18	2	13

Note: Historians agree that Jews constituted 10 percent of Poland s population prior to the Second World War

Table 10
What happened to most Polish Jews during the Second World War? (OPEN ENDED) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Killed	Emi- grated	Some killed, some emi- grated	Sur- vived	Other	Don't know
Total	77	3	13	1	4	2
Sex						
Male	78	3	13	1	4	2
Female	76	3	13	1	4	3
Age						
20-24	86	2	9	0	0	4
25-29	75	4	15	0	4	2
30-39	75	5	14	0	4	2
40-49	74	4	14	1	5	2
50-59	77	2	12	1	6	2
60+	77	2	14	1	3	2
Education						
Elementary	76	3	12	1	4	3
Vocational	81	3	11	0	2	3
Secondary	75	5	14	0	5	1
At least some college	71	5	16	0	5	0
Religio s practice						
Practice regularly	77	3	13	1	4	2
Practice irregularly	77	2	14	0	5	2

Table 11
'What percent of Polish Jews were killed by the Nazis during the Second World War?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Less than 10 percent	10-49 percent	50-79 percent	80+ percent	Don't know
Total	3	31	38	13	15
Sex					
Male	2	30	44	15	9
Female	4	31	32	12	21
Age					
20-24	2	37	29	10	22
25-29	4	30	42	12	12
30-39	4	33	39	13	11
40-49	2	36	39	13	11
50-59	2	33	39	13	13
60+	3	21	35	17	24
Education					
Elementary	2	27	38	13	20
Vocational	4	33	38	10	16
Secondary	2	34	38	15	11
At least some college	4	33	35	21	8
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	2	30	36	13	18
Practice irregularly	4	30	39	13	13

Note: Historians agree that 90 percent of Polish Jews died in the Holocaust.

Table 12
In your view who was the main victim of the Nazis during the Second World War? (OPEN ENDED)
(Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Poles/ Poland	Jews	Poles/ Poland and Jews	Russians/ Russia	Europeans/ several nations	Everyone/ every country about same	Other	Don't know
Total	26	28	28	1	2	5	7	3
Sex								
Male	25	27	28	2	2	6	8	2
Female	27	28	28	1	1	4	7	4
Age								
20-24	32	31	19	1	0	7	6	4
25-29	20	34	31	1	2	3	6	3
30-39	19	28	29	3	1	8	11	1
40-49	30	26	26	2	3	2	7	3
50-59	26	29	28	1	3	3	6	3
60+	33	23	30	0	0	5	6	2
Education								
Elementary	30	22	32	1	1	4	6	5
Vocational	30	32	23	1	1	3	6	3
Secondary	20	33	26	2	2	7	9	1
At least some college	11	26	30	1	6	9	16	0
Religious practice								
Practice regularly	29	27	28	1	1	4	7	4
Practice irregularly	23	30	30	2	2	5	7	3

Table 13

Which group suffered more from Nazi persecution during the Second World War Poles or Jews? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Poles	Jews	Both about same (vol)	Other responses (vol)	Don't know
Total	28	29	40	1	3
Sex					
Male	30	29	37	1	2
Female	25	28	43	1	3
Age					
20-24	30	27	33	2	8
25-29	32	25	39	1	2
30-39	25	34	37	1	2
40-49	30	27	41	1	2
50-59	31	23	43	1	2
60+	25	30	43	0	2
Education					
Elementary	28	25	43	1	2
Vocational	32	30	34	0	4
Secondary	25	32	39	1	2
At least some college	16	30	48	3	4
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	28	28	42	1	2
Practice irregularly	26	29	40	1	4

Table 14

'Did Poles do enough to help Jews during the Second World War or not?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Did enough	Did not do enough	As much as could under circumstances (vol)	Other (vol)	Don't know
Total	49	15	26	1	8
Sex					
Male	52	15	25	0	7
Female	47	15	27	2	9
Age					
20-24	54	18	14	1	12
25-29	42	17	30	2	10
30-39	46	21	24	1	8
40-49	49	15	27	1	8
50-59	54	9	32	1	5
60+	54	7	28	3	8
Education					
Elementary	53	10	27	1	8
Vocational	50	19	20	1	10
Secondary	43	20	26	1	9
At least some college	48	10	40	0	3
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	50	13	27	2	8
Practice irregularly	49	17	24	0	9

Table 15

'Were there any Poles who participated in rescuing Jews during the Second World War or not?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Many	Few	None	Don't know
Total	67	28	0	5
Sex				
Male	68	27	0	5
Female	66	28	0	5
Age				
20-24	64	30	0	7
25-29	60	32	2	7
30-39	69	26	0	5
40-49	67	28	1	5
50-59	65	32	0	2
60+	73	22	0	4
Education				
Elementary	66	28	0	5
Vocational	61	31	1	8
Secondary	71	26	0	2
At least some college	79	20	0	1
Religious practice				
Practice regularly	70	26	0	4
Practice irregularly	63	31	1	6

Table 16

'Were there any Poles who participated in the persecution of Jews during the Second World War or not?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Many	Few	None	Don't know
Total	11	62	14	13
Sex				
Male	11	62	15	12
Female	10	62	14	13
Age				
20-24	14	63	12	10
25-29	15	66	12	7
30-39	10	68	11	11
40-49	11	63	12	14
50-59	11	58	18	12
60+	8	55	21	17
Education				
Elementary	9	56	19	15
Vocational	11	60	14	14
Secondary	13	69	9	9
At least some college	8	78	9	6
Religious practice				
Practice regularly	10	62	14	14
Practice irregularly	10	62	15	13

Table 17a
'Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?' (Poland, in percents)

Subgroup	Heard this claim	Have not heard this claim	Don't know
Total	29	70	2
Sex			
Male	32	66	2
Female	25	73	2
Age			
20-24	30	66	5
25-29	29	71	0
30-39	32	66	1
40-49	32	66	1
50-59	27	72	2
60+	23	74	3
Education			
Elementary	20	78	2
Vocational	24	73	2
Secondary	38	61	1
At least some college	58	40	3
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	26	72	2
Practice irregularly	27	71	2

Table 17b
Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim or not? (in percents)

Country	Heard this claim	Have not heard this claim	Don't know
Australia (1994)	70	28	3
France (1993)	67	33	0
Germany (1994)	60	30	9
Great Britain (1993)	50	46	4
Poland (1995)	29	70	2
United States (1994)	49	44	7
United States (1992)	38	54	8

Table 18a

'Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, or do you feel certain that it happened?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Seems possible it never happened	Feel certain it happened	Don't know
Total	1	96	2
Sex			
Male	1	97	2
Female	2	96	3
Age			
20-24	1	95	4
25-29	2	96	2
30-39	2	96	2
40-49	1	98	1
50-59	1	95	4
60+	0	98	2
Education			
Elementary	1	96	3
Vocational	2	95	2
Secondary	1	97	2
At least some college	1	97	1
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	1	96	2
Practice irregularly	1	97	2

Table 18b

'Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened or do you feel certain that it happened?' (in percents)

Country	Seems possible it never happened	Feel certain it happened	Don't know
Australia (1994)	4	93	3
Poland (1995)	1	96	2
United States (1994)	1	91	8

Note: In Australia the question was asked of a half sample

Table 19

What percent of Poland's population today is Jewish? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Less than 2 percent	2-9 percent	10-19 percent	20-29 percent	30-49 percent	50+ percent	Don't know
Total	24	37	15	4	1	0	19
Sex							
Male	28	38	17	4	1	0	12
Female	21	36	14	4	0	0	26
Age							
20-24	20	39	15	6	1	0	19
25-29	30	36	16	3	1	0	14
30-39	26	37	16	5	1	0	15
40-49	23	39	19	5	1	0	13
50-59	17	41	17	5	1	0	18
60+	26	31	11	1	0	0	31
Education							
Elementary	22	35	14	3	0	0	26
Vocational	21	33	20	7	1	0	18
Secondary	27	43	14	3	1	0	12
At least some college	34	36	18	5	0	0	8
Religious practice							
Practice regularly	24	34	13	4	0	0	24
Practice irregularly	24	39	18	4	1	0	13

Note: Jews constitute far less than 1 percent of Poland's current population

Table 20

There are now many fewer Jews in Poland than there were before the Second World War. Is this good for the country, bad for the country, or neither? (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Good	Bad	Neither	Other	Don't know
Total	35	5	51	1	8
Sex					
Male	39	4	49	1	7
Female	31	6	54	1	8
Age					
20-24	45	3	44	2	7
25-29	25	5	57	4	9
30-39	31	6	54	1	8
40-49	28	6	58	0	8
50-59	45	6	42	2	6
60+	39	5	48	0	8
Education					
Elementary	40	4	47	0	9
Vocational	33	6	51	2	8
Secondary	29	6	55	2	8
At least some college	28	4	64	0	5
Religious practice					
Practice regularly	34	5	51	1	9
Practice irregularly	34	6	50	1	8

Table 21

'Do you personally know anyone who is Jewish?' (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Yes	No	Don't know
Total	25	72	2
Sex			
Male	29	69	3
Female	22	76	2
Age			
20-24	12	84	4
25-29	18	82	0
30-39	23	75	3
40-49	29	68	3
50-59	34	66	1
60+	33	65	3
Education			
Elementary	24	74	2
Vocational	21	78	2
Secondary	26	72	2
At least some college	48	49	4
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	23	75	2
Practice irregularly	27	71	2

Table 22a

How do you feel about having [GROUP] in your neighborhood? Would you like to have some [GROUP] neighbors wouldn't it make any difference to you or would you prefer not to have any [GROUP] neighbors? (Poland in percents)

Group	Like to have	Wouldn't matter	Prefer not	Don't know
Germans	11	61	26	2
Belarusians	3	56	36	4
Gypsies	2	30	65	2
Arabs	2	39	51	8
Ukrainians	2	40	55	3
Jews	6	60	30	3
Romanians	2	34	61	4
Russians	4	50	43	3
African	5	51	38	6

Table 22b

How do you feel about having [GROUP] in your neighborhood? Would you like to have some [GROUP] neighbors wouldn't it make any difference to you or would you prefer not to have any [GROUP] neighbors? (Jews) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Like to have	Wouldn't matter	Prefer not	Don't know
Total	6	60	30	3
Sex				
Male	5	63	28	3
Female	8	57	32	3
Age				
20-24	3	60	34	3
25-29	6	71	21	2
30-39	5	69	24	2
40-49	8	62	25	5
50-59	8	51	36	5
60+	8	49	40	3
Education				
Elementary	7	51	38	4
Vocational	6	61	30	2
Secondary	7	68	22	4
At least some college	4	81	13	3
Religious practice				
Practice regularly	6	57	33	3
Practice irregularly	5	64	28	3

Table 23a

Do any of the following groups behave in a manner which provokes hostility toward them in our country? (Poland in percents)

Group	Yes	No	Don't know
Germans	17	73	10
Belarusians	21	62	16
Gypsies	51	39	11
Arabs	15	62	23
Ukrainians	44	45	12
Jews	13	74	14
Romans	54	36	10
Russians	43	48	10
Africans	7	76	17

Table 23b

Do any of the following groups behave in a manner which provokes hostility toward them in our country? (Jews) (Poland in percents)

Subgroup	Yes	No	Don't know
Total	13	74	14
Sex			
Male	12	76	12
Female	13	72	15
Age			
20-24	12	79	9
25-29	9	81	10
30-39	11	77	12
40-49	10	73	16
50-59	15	68	17
60+	17	68	15
Education			
Elementary	14	69	16
Vocational	11	74	15
Secondary	11	80	9
At least some college	15	78	8
Religious practice			
Practice regularly	13	72	15
Practice irregularly	12	75	13

Table 24a

Do you feel that the following groups have too much influence, too little influence or the right amount of influence in our society? (Poland in percents)

Group	Too much	Too little	Right amount	Don't know
Businessmen	43	14	27	16
Labor unions	12	49	24	15
The media	32	12	48	8
Banks	29	14	37	21
Americans	27	15	33	25
Germans	27	10	40	23
The Church	53	7	35	4
Jews	16	10	40	34