



SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PART V - CONFERENCE:

Poles against the Slander

1st Session: The concept of Hecatomb

2nd Session: The scale of Holocaust

3rd Session: Dimensions of Polonophobia

4th Session: Is law a weapon?



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Cemetery of Poles shot by Germans in Palmiry near Warsaw PHOTOGRAPHER: RAFAŁ DZIUREK/ADOBE STOCK

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Question of honour

In the face of Almighty God and Saint Mary the Queen of the Polish Crown, I put my hands on this holy cross, a sign of passion and Salvation. I swear to remain faithful to my Homeland, the Republic of Poland, and promise to steadfastly protect its honor and fight for its liberation with all my strength, until the sacrifice of my life ..." - these words are the essence of the oath taken since 1942 by the soldiers joining the Home Army. „Until the sacrifice of my life..." - I recalled this phrase on the 29th of October this year, during a conference devoted to HECATOMB as a description of the sacrifice made by our nation during the Second World War. This sacrifice becomes darkened by a sinister shadow of Polonophobia that acts by fair means or foul.

In ancient Greece, Hecatomb was a great sacrifice offered to Zeus, and later to other gods as well. As the ages went by, it became "a great sacrifice to a cause that led to the death of many people". What was (is?) the cause worth the sacrifice of life, as stated in the Home Army's oath? It was the „honour" and „freedom". Not only Polish soldiers but also other Poles died for the right to maintain honor and for liberation - the victims also included women and children, killed only because they belonged to the Polish nation. Those considered by the German and Soviet occupants and other enemies to be the Polish elite - people who were the most diligent, idealistic, devoted to both the national and local community, willing to help other members of our society, were particularly persistently persecuted. We wrote about it in the previous four parts of the "Hecatomb of the Poles" series. We also wrote about accusing us as a nation of participation in horrible crimes committed by others - especially in the extermination of Jews - which is a great slander, and about law used as a weapon in the fight against libel published in the foreign historical policy statements.

Today's report from the conference "Polish Hecatomb and Fight against Polonophobia" ends that cycle and sums it up to a certain extent. Paweł Lisicki, editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy weekly, who opened that meeting of excellent historians and journalists, called the suffering inflicted on Poles a hecatomb. Suffering that was wrongly and intentionally marginalized. Referring to this, the Minister of Justice Zbigniew Ziobro compared, among others, the present situation resulting from the confusion that arose when the Lower Chamber of Polish Parliament attempted to impose statutory countermeasures against Polonophobia, to the situation in 2006, when a similar resolution of the Senate was adopted without any problems. Something happened during these years ... - he said, stating that fact. The situation is the more dramatic, the more the passivity towards the Holocaust, which we were accused of earlier, turns into accusation of its accomplishment. The Minister referred to the words of Professor Norman Davies, who recently recalled the speech of Professor Yehuda Bauer from the early '70s. We should notice that already then the Israeli historian proposed to carry out the Holocaust research based on a division into three elements: 1. the perpetrators, 2. the victims, 3. passive witnesses. The perpetrators were Nazis (not Germans!), victims were Jews, and Poles were passive observers.

Well, currently Holocaust researchers from Poland, who have creatively developed the Bauer's concept, and assign... Poles to the first category, make a career abroad! This was also discussed at the conference. It's worth knowing. ©©

Maciej Rosalak

15-17 4TH SESSION:

Is law a weapon?

Deliberate deterioration of the global image of Poland during the last war can lead to highly dangerous legal and financial consequences for our country

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PAWEŁ LISICKI

Poland's remembrance of the victims

Probably only few remember the first question asked by Andrzej Duda to Bronisław Komorowski, the then incumbent President of the Republic of Poland, during the presidential debate in 2015. It was quite surprising. The current President raised the question of a harmful statement made by the then President Komorowski, who, while addressing the participants of the celebration in Jedwabne at the beginning of his term of office, said that in the past, the Poles sometimes were "a nation of perpetrators".

Such words were nothing new. The infamous apology made by Aleksander Kwaśniewski in 2001 had a similar tone. Politicians' self-condemnation is the grist to the mill for Poland's enemies - all those, led by Jan Tomasz Gross, who try to prove that Poles as a nation were accomplices of the Holocaust, or, who like Jan Grabowski, hold Poles

perversion or denial of the tradition of the European Christianity, but as its culmination, almost complete and necessary. What started at the Calvary ended at Auschwitz - this is the basic principle of that reasoning. According to that way of thinking, the Holocaust is a universal symbol of human suffering, the sole and model crime.

Whoever thinks in this way will not be able to notice the autonomous, equally innocent and equally important suffering of other nations. The solidarity of the victims of totalitarian systems - Hitlerism and communism - disappears. Instead, we are dealing with a fierce battle for remembrance and for the final decision who suffered more and who suffered less. And what is worse, such universalization of the remembrance of the Holocaust is highly detrimental to the remembrance of other nations' suffering.

Thus, crimes against Poles can become a mere postscript to the Holocaust. Poles are judged on one criterion only: whether they have sufficiently counteracted German crimes against Jews. Hence, we have this endless discussion in which one party claims that Poles have done a lot and refers to the number of Polish trees planted for the Righteous Among the Nations, while the other party accuses and condemns, claiming that there was not enough Polish help and too many acts of denial and collaboration. Given the distribution of power in the media, the proponents of the first view are put in a lost position in advance. You could always do more, it is obvious. Particularly, if you evaluate these attitudes from the present, comfortable and safe perspective.

How to change that? How to provide protection from these constant allegations? Poland should first of all remember about its own victims. What we need is a serious approach to Polish martyrdom. Why not think about a Polish medal offered to courageous people of different

nationalities - Germans, Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews, who saved Poles? Why not think about one Polish name for the suffering of our nation? If the world knows the term Holocaust, why not make effort to introduce one concept covering all crimes against Poles? In June 2015, I suggested such term, namely, the Hecatomb. This is the best key term. When speaking of the Hecatomb, we would mean the fate of those Poles who lost their lives in 1937-1953 for being Poles. Those who were killed by the Soviets and those who were murdered by German Nazis and finally Ukrainian UPA slaughterers.

Two of the best-known modern examples of genocide are Medzjehghern, a mass crime against Armenians committed by Turks, and the Holocaust, a mass murder of Jews by the German Third Reich. In both cases, the perpetrator, the motives, and the timing can be clearly identified. The unique nature of the Polish experience arises from the fact that the executioners of Poles were both Soviet and Nazi criminals. Their ideological background was also different, although in each case, their intention was essentially to destroy the nation. Finally, unlike in the case of Armenians or Jews, crimes against Poles lasted longer and the scale of their severity varied. Soviets committed them secretly, while Germans in public. Poles died not as a persecuted minority, but as a group considered, as a rule, dangerous, rebellious, striving for sovereignty and independence.

The creation of such single concept covering all crimes against Poles will not only facilitate the spreading of knowledge of the Polish experience, but will also form a more effective defense against attempts to distort history and against acts of Polonophobia.

This was perfectly demonstrated at the special conference "Polish Hecatomb and Fight against Polonophobia" organized by the Do Rzeczy weekly. ©©

When speaking of the Hecatomb, we would mean the fate of those Poles who lost their lives in 1937-1953 for being Poles.

liable for mass crimes against Jews.

The special place of the Holocaust in the memory of Western elites did not come out of nowhere. I wrote about it many times - it is the effect of hard work of some Jewish elites. From their point of view, to which they were able to convince global public opinion, the Second World War essentially boils down to the Holocaust. There is only one category of victims, all others are just classified aside. As the well-known Hungarian intellectual Ágnes Heller once tried to portray, humanity is divided into the descendants of Abel, Jews and descendants of Cain, and the rest of nations. Proponents of this vision consider the Holocaust - the mass killing of Jews by Germans - not as degeneration of history, not as

1ST SESSION:

The need for one common term



A frame from the movie "Miasto 44" showing the great Polish tragedy

PHOTOGRAPHER: OLA GROCHOWSKA



Piotr Włoczyk

Is it possible to define all Polish victims of the totalitarian systems in the 20th century with one term? Can such term become a permanent element of the historical consciousness of world elites? The participants of the first panel of the conference discussed these problems.

The idea of this conference was actually born in June 2015. It was when the headline "Hecatomb of Poles" written in large font appeared on our cover: The editorial staff of Do Rzeczy weekly suggested that one specific term should be used to describe all crimes com-

mitted against Poles in years 1937-53 - said the editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy when opening the conference "Polish Hecatomb and Fight against Polonophobia". - Crimes against Poles are perceived in the global consciousness as completely dispersed phenomena. Each time, all these events

must be discussed separately. We lack one specific term that, once heard, would make people immediately associate it with the Polish suffering - added **PAWEŁ LISICKI**, editor in chief.

- Another reason for which we intended to organize that conference was the feeling that the way in which Polish remembrance is now protected, considering the scale of dissemination of false information and lies, is insufficient. Of course, it is not easy to find a good method here, because we have two values that need to be reconciled: on one hand, the freedom of research, expression and opinion, and on the other hand, protection of image, memory and concern for national identity. How can we find the golden mean?

■ This is the topic we will discuss today - said Paweł Lisicki.

The foreword was also given by **ZBIGNIEW ZIOBRO**, the Minister of Justice and Prosecutor General, who co-organized the conference. - I would like to thank you for this idea, this initiative and for taking up an extremely important topic regarding historical awareness that we, Poles, have. I don't need to convince anyone in this group how important this question is. We need a debate on this subject given the processes that take place not only in our country, not only in the consciousness of us, Poles, but which also can be observed globally, within the scope of re-interpretation of what happened during the Second World War. What I mean in the first place is what can be read in this context about Poland and Poles in the global media, which often raises our justified emotions, objections, and moral protest - said Minister Zbigniew Ziobro.

- I am convinced that when it comes to this particular subject matter of today's conference, law is not the overriding sphere of rules to which we can refer and based on which we should create reality. On the contrary, it is the reality, expressed in the historical consciousness in the context of changes that take place, that has direct impact on the created law and is the force that actually dominates law - said Minister Zbigniew Ziobro, when recalling the example of international tensions caused by an amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance introduced at the beginning of 2018. In the further part of his speech, Minister Ziobro recalled that similar legal regulations aimed at protecting the reputation of Poland and the Polish nation were already adopted in 2006 (although they were later repealed by the Constitutional Tribunal for purely procedural reasons) and did not cause such controversy at that time.

- This made us, lawyers, aware that something fundamental happened over the past 10 years in the sphere of historical awareness ... Changes in law acceptable ten years earlier were totally unacceptable, with additional safeguards, after ten years. And what has actually happened? - asked Minister Zbigniew Ziobro. - We should discuss the question why for decades, the Polish state has not engaged itself in the process of defending the historical truth about Poland, even



A frame from the movie "Miasto 44"

PHOTOGRAPHER: OLA GROCHOWSKA

in exceptional situations. We must draw conclusions and consistently defend the historical truth - he added.

The discussion - moderated by Piotr Zychowicz - was attended by Professor Wojciech Roszkowski, Professor Bogdan Szlachta, Adam Hlebowicz and Rafał Ziemkiewicz.

- It is difficult to find a nation that experienced more suffering in the 20th century than Poles. We are looking for a common denominator that could capture all the tragic events our nation has witnessed - said **PIOTR ZYCHOWICZ**, the moderator of the first panel. - Armenians were murdered by Turks, Jews by Germans, Ukrainians by Soviets, and Tutsis were murdered by Hutu. Meanwhile, Polish experience is highly complex. First, the Polish Operation of the NKVD took place, and then we were murdered by Germans, Soviets and Lithuanians, for instance, in Ponary, Ukrainians, and, after the war, by communists.

How should such common denominator for the entirety of Polish victims of the totalitarian systems in the 20th century look like?

- Creation of one such term is very important. Perhaps, as the editorial staff of Do Rzeczy suggests, "Hecatomb" would be a good idea. It is a Greek word with specific connotations, and at the same time it is not used today in the context of other victims. Other proposals have also come up, e.g. the word "Polocaust", but I don't think it is a good choice. We should avoid repeating words that can be associated with another event - noted **ADAM HLEBOWICZ**, director of the Na-

tional Education Bureau at the Institute of National Remembrance.

The second speaker in the discussion was Professor **WOJCIECH ROSZKOWSKI**, who noted that some historians disapproved of the state's policy of remembrance, calling such actions "propaganda."

- We, historians, should not abandon the idea that in some cases a great synthesis, one specific term is needed to describe a given phenomenon. In our debate, we often rely on one symbol or concept. The term "Holocaust" is a great simplification in itself... Meanwhile, the term "Hecatomb" is an excellent proposal, not only because it has not been widely used in other contexts. First of all, it is not "occupied". Hence, we can "occupy" it and fill with our own content - said Professor Roszkowski.

The historian emphasized that this term assumes that the sacrifice of the Polish nation was not meaningless, but that Poles made it in the name of something supreme. - We should not perceive the sacrifices we have made in the past as senseless, wasted and unnecessary for anyone. All these victims were not in vain. Is it not so that we have such complicated identity after experiencing all those tragic events of the 20th century, and having suffered those enormous sacrifices? I consider it necessary to explain to myself and others what it means to be a Pole today in the context of both the pursuit of freedom and making sacrifice in the name of freedom. The word "hecatomb" fits perfectly here.

If the "Polish Hecatomb" is the right term that gives us a chance to reverse

the prevailing international narrative on the history of Poland during the Second World War, what should be our next steps? - I would like to make a request to the Polish state to do something about this question. We have governmental authorities that are remunerated for pursuing the Polish policy of remembrance. We can arrive at the conclusion that it's necessary to start using this term at every opportunity - I commit myself here and now that during interviews or scientific conferences, I will use it - but we have the State to deal with that question. It is the State that should start active promotion of this word - emphasized Professor Wojciech Roszkowski.

Professor **BOGDAN SZLACHTA**, a philosopher and lawyer, referred in his speech to the problems faced by Poland in connection with the amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance of 2018, despite the fact that no such controversy occurred in 2006.

- We should notice that now there are many different views of what has seemed to be unquestionable so far. Apart from this variety of opinions expressed both by academic and non-academic historians, another problem also arises, which is to a certain extent separate, namely, the multitude of historical policies pursued by particular states. This multitude of views makes it, to some extent, problematic to ask whether we are able to recognize reality and possibly, stand against various interpretations while protecting historical truth, or whether we are already losing such opportunity. Looking from this point of view, not only particular historians may have different opinions on particular events, but in addition, various narratives included in state policies may also diverge.

Can we sum up different experiences of Polish victims who lost their lives in years 1937-53 using one definition?

- However, do we really have to agree for juxtaposing in this context the representatives of the Jewish nation who are Polish citizens with the citizens of Poland having Polish nationality? Couldn't we rethink this issue and redefine the events that happened in years 1939-45 as a problem that affected representatives of the same state? The idea is to emphasize that the problem concerned two groups of citizens of the same state. In this way, this predominant and recurrent allegation that Poles collaborated during the Holocaust

of Jews would be, to a certain extent, withdrawn - noted Professor Bogdan Szlachta.

- Is it possible to introduce the term „Polish Hecatombs” based on an official decision issued by Polish authorities? - asked Piotr Zychowicz who was conducting the debate.

- When we talk about history, we not only refer to finding facts and truth, but also to mythology. The myth of the Second World War was consciously established after the war as the founding myth of the current global order. It was established upon the order of two winners: US and USSR. This myth was not questioned even during the most difficult period of the Cold War. It was a confrontation of good versus evil. All those who fought against Hitler were good - explained **RAFAŁ A. ZIEMKIEWICZ**.

Second World War was a battle of good and evil. The Second World War was a much more complicated process, where two ruthless bandits divided and shared the world between themselves. However, two years had passed, and it turned out that Stalin was playing unfairly and their alliance fell apart. What did Stalin do then? He found new allies who so to say took over Hitler's shares. In 1941, the West “bought” the shares of Ribbentrop from the Ribbentrop-Molotov company. We were a part of that transaction. If we allow calling it a battle of powerful evil with powerful good, then there is no room for us in this narrative, no matter how much money we spend on it. Nobody will mention the hecatomb of Poles then. While creating this myth we should not only formulate a concept but also emphasize



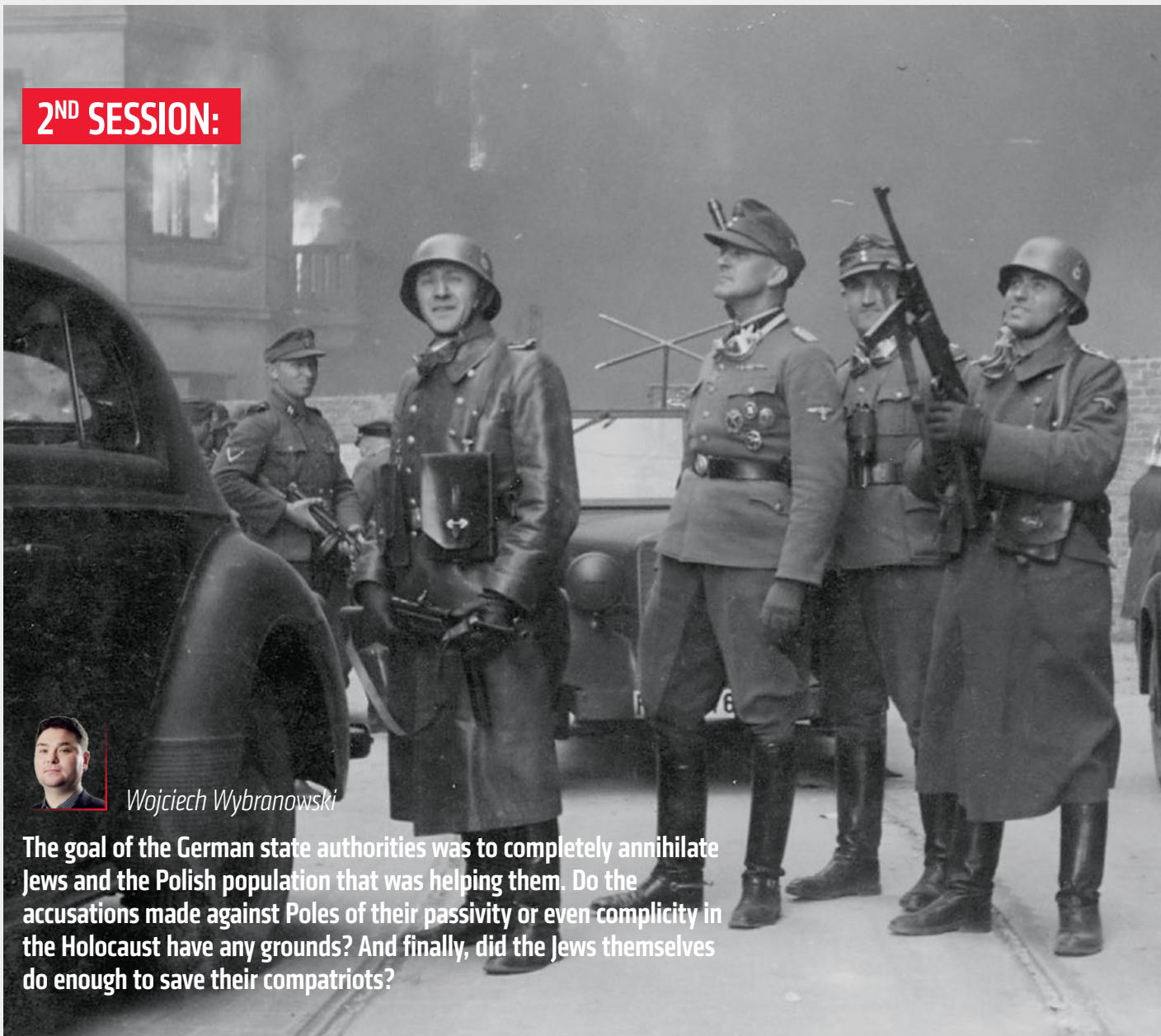
- If there is a myth of good and evil, it is very dangerous for us, because we had two enemies. And this myth does not recognize it. There is no room for a third party. When this myth was developing, we were not present. The Soviets spoke on our behalf and classified Poland as a state that before the war was actually a fascist country. Jews were the last to follow this Soviet-American narrative of the 1970s. After all, the Holocaust was not a topic for discussion during the whole 1960s! It wasn't until the 1970s that the Holocaust suddenly became important. What can we do in this situation? We must challenge the statements that are the foundation of this myth - said Rafał A. Ziemkiewicz. - We cannot agree to the statements that the

betrayal committed by the West. This is our biggest problem.

The columnist of *Do Rzeczy* weekly explained that Poles should remind others how the West was passively watching the extermination of Jews. "We must reproach the West for that attitude. Jews don't do this because it is their price for becoming a part of the myth. We have no other choice than attacking that myth in its entirety."

Rafał A. Ziemkiewicz believes that our arguments can be accepted because "today's West is completely different from the West who created this myth. Today, the West accepts the blame for everything, so it can also take responsibility for what happened to Poland during the war." ©©

2ND SESSION:



Wojciech Wybranowski

The goal of the German state authorities was to completely annihilate Jews and the Polish population that was helping them. Do the accusations made against Poles of their passivity or even complicity in the Holocaust have any grounds? And finally, did the Jews themselves do enough to save their compatriots?

Passivity and obedience. Could the Holocaust have different scale?



April 1943. Germans enter the fighting Warsaw ghetto

PHOTO: PRESS MATERIALS

readers. At the same time, the opinions of historians specializing in the Holocaust, according to which the author was bending the narrative or omitted some facts, or many alleged events did not take place at all, were simply ignored. It refers to completely fraudulent parts of the story in which the author depicts Poles, inhabitants of Oświęcim town, who willingly worked in the extermination camp, and if they helped Jews, they did it for money and valuables.

By the way, these lies, as one might think, were not so much an expression of Morris Heather's bad will as simply lack of her knowledge. In one of the interviews, she "justified" Poles by saying that "they had to work somewhere". The writer from New Zealand never heard about the compulsory work enforced by the Nazi regime, about the area around the camp from which the Poles were displaced, or about the report of the Auschwitz commander - Rudolf Hoess, who wrote to his supervisor Richard Glucks about fanaticism of Poles and their "readiness for any action against SS-men".

POLISH FAULT OR INNOCENCE?

- In the West, people often ask "why didn't Poles help Jews", and if they helped, why did they do so little. And finally, "could the scale of the Holocaust be different"? - said Professor **BOGDAN MUSIAŁ**, a historian specializing in the 20th century history of Germany, Poland and Russia. - If we are to answer this question, we must first of all start with the German state and the German government, which was democratically elected, had democratic legitimacy and was supported by the vast majority of Germans. We must speak about the incredible determination of these authorities and this government in pursuing the goal of extermination of Jews" added the historian.

In his publications, including the recently published book "Who will help a Jew" Professor Musiał found German sources, legal acts and studies dating back to the Second World War referring to the extermination of Jews and Poles, who lost their lives for helping their fellow citizens of the Mosaic religion. He emphasized that both the civilians and the Polish Underground State could practically do little to counteract the system of extermination of the Jewish population organized by the German administrative authorities.

Professor **MAREK CHODAKIEWICZ**, an American historian of the Polish

origin, associated with the Institute of World Politics in Washington, specializing in the history of Polish-Jewish relations, the Holocaust, and the history of the Central and Eastern Europe of the 19th and 20th century, who sent a brief video recording for the conference, lasting a dozen minutes or so, tackled the question of national policy of the Third Reich and said that this policy was based on the national and socialist ideology inspired by the Marxist class conflict and the Darwinian-Spencer battle of the races. The ideology supported a very strict hierarchy that was visible at every stage of the nationality policy. According to the hierarchy, people were divided into Aryans and non-Aryans, or more specifically into those superior (Übermensch) and inferior (Untermensch).

- The national policy of the Third Reich was a result of ideology and circumstances. In general, its concept was to impose various duties and requirements on the conquered nations. The conquered could only react to what the Germans were doing - emphasized Professor Chodakiewicz.

The ruthless German legislation, strictly enforced by the Nazi regime in the occupied Poland, was also noted by Dr. **PIOTR GONTARCZYK**, a historian of the Polish Institute of Remembrance. - In the debate regarding this entire issue we have to remember that we are talking about the 20th century, where "comrade mauser had a say". It was the time of brutal occupation, where people who wanted to help Jews were treated without any scruples. Germans murdered entire families, burned down whole villages, executed recommendations issued by the German authorities" said Gontarczyk. - On the other hand, according to some counterarguments, it was often not the case, because Jews were indeed killed but the peasants who hid them were spared. All right, but were these peasants supposed to wait and see what would happen? As the Holocaust progressed, Germans understood that Poles were helping Jews, and the German policy towards Poles tightened - pointed out the historian.

During the discussion that took place at the conference, Dr. Gontarczyk noted that when debating and describing the phenomenon of the Shoah of Jews and pointing to the very frequent cases of saving Jewish compatriots by Poles, one cannot

This panel was attended by: Professor Marek Jan Chodakiewicz (with presentation given via broadcast), Professor Bogdan Musiał, Tadeusz Płuzański, Dr. Ewa Kurek, Dr. Tomasz Sommer, Dr. Piotr Gontarczyk, and Wojciech Wybranowski - as the moderator.

This winter, both in the United States and Western European countries, as well as early spring in Poland, a book by Heather Morris entitled "Tattooist from Auschwitz" hit the bookstores. It quickly became a global bestseller. The romantic and - as the writer claims - authentic story of love between Lali Sokolow, a tattooist from the Auschwitz camp and a prisoner named Gita, during the times when people were stripped of their dignity, moved the



Warsaw 1942. Jews at Umschlagplatz, from where they were transported to death camps

PHOTO: PRESS MATERIALS

Ignore, for the sake of honesty and historical truth, the cases of racketeering and betraying Jews to Germans, which happened in the villages, as he said.

- Besides, we have to take into account traditional cultural hostility towards Jews, the prevalence of a totally demoralized population of villages, as such element is always present. The problem is that Germans overturned even the fundamental order - said the historian. He also described an event that took place in 1941 in one of the villages near Białystok where people were hiding a Pole of the Jewish origin. Almost the entire population of the village knew that this man was hiding in various cottages, sometimes in one and sometimes in another. However, nobody reported him to the German authorities except one person - a man who had been punished many times for various crimes before the war. Residents of the village considered him an ordinary thug, but since Germany invaded Poland he has begun to "rule" the village. - German occupation caused reversal of the reality. The people in the village were afraid of the German thug because he was supported by the German state - said Gontarczyk.

Dr. **TOMASZ SOMMER**, the editor-in-chief of *Najwyższy Czas* weekly mentioned another potential reason for which Poles could not help the Jewish population more than they actually helped. - After 1939, the

Polish society has become totally disarmed. Sławoj Składkowski, Minister of the Interior, issued an ordinance No. 1, dated September 1, 1939, in which he ordered all people keeping weapons who were not soldiers to give it back by depositing it in specific locations. Afterwards, Poland was the most disarmed country in the world. - said Dr. Sommer. - Whether the Holocaust could have been a crime of a smaller-scale depends on the extent to which people understood that situation and were able to oppose the State - he added.

LIE, LIE, LIE

All historians participating in the panel agreed that more and more frequent cases of accusing Poles of passivity or organized complicity in the Holocaust of Jews have an element of information warfare and are a historical lie.

- Unfortunately, the view prevailing in the West is that Poles were able to help but did not do it, and that any attempts to punish those talking about it reflect the intention to clear their name by means of enacting special laws. If we do not understand that this is a belief prevailing in the West, we will not overcome it - emphasized Professor Bogdan Musiał.

Dr. Piotr Gontarczyk noted that this "Holocaust narrative" showing reluctance to Poland, which is present in the West, is more and more often inspired

by the circles present also in Poland which falsify historical materials, manipulate data, or even create non-existent events for their own purposes (here, he made a clear reference to the book being full of anti-Polish manipulations written by Barbara Engelking and Professor Jan Grabowski: "Night without an end"). He also gave specific examples:

- The book "Night without an end" contains a study by Professor Grabowski, who, when describing the Węgrów powiat, literally omitted the role of the Jewish police that was supposed to watch Jews and prevent their leaving the ghettos. Instead he turned it into Polish police and the Polish population, writing that it were Poles who guarded Jews. Meanwhile, in original sources, the chairman of the local Judenrat is described as a person who escorted his own family on the first day to a train transporting Jews to the extermination camp, and then took part in subsequent deportations - said the historian. He also confirmed that on many occasions, he heard accusations made against Poles gathered by the Germans at the scene and witnessing the extermination of Jews, of their complicity in the murder by "not offering help".

How can we fight the spread of a similar anti-Polish bias in the Western world? According to Professor Bogdan Musiał, Poland must "join the European Holo-

caust debate" and describe the hecatomb of Poles so as to give no impression to the Jewish side that it is an attempt to confront the victims and compare their number: - Poland has an opportunity to change the way in which the Holocaust is presented but it must be a long process, a work started from the very foundations. We have to show that Poland was one of the pieces of the puzzle, and not the only victim - said the scientist, and summed up - It must be emphasized that Poles did not take part in the Holocaust. In Norway, Jews were caught by the Norwegian police. The situation looked similar in Hungary and Romania. And when speaking of this, instead of using the word "Nazis" one should systematically choose the words "Germans" and "German". It were Germans who developed that system. These were German officials and German officers.

Tadeusz Płużański, a historian and publicist, has a similar opinion. He thinks that when speaking about genocide during the Second World War one should stress that Poles became Hitler's first victims, and that the annihilation of the Polish nation was a part of the national socialist policy of the Third Reich. - We have to remember about the Pomeranian Crime, about the camp in Stuthoff, which was created on the 2nd of September, about the crime in Piaśnica forests, Palmiry, actions against the Polish intelligentsia, and about mass crimes committed by Germans against the Polish population. The Holocaust of Jews came much later, said Płużański.

PASSIVITY OR IMPOTENCE OF JEWS?

A part of the panel in which the speakers mentioned the difficult question of passivity to the Shoah, as well as the collaboration of the influential Jewish circles with Germany, which was often omitted by historians, aroused a lot of emotions, also among internet viewers watching the broadcasts from the conference, including particularly unfavorable comments of the journalists from *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily. Dr. **EWA KUREK**, a historian, when talking about ghettos in Warsaw, Otwock and Łódź, emphasized the controversial role played by officers of the Jewish Ghetto Police and the Jewish Council of Elders, i.e. the so-called Judenrat. Chaim Rumkowski, president of the Jewish Council of Elders in the Łódź ghetto was a model example of a collaborator of Germans.

- I would divide the issue of passivity and obedience of Polish Jews towards Germans into two categories. On the one hand, this passivity resulted from the attitude that had developed over the centuries in the case of Jews living in the diaspora, e.g. the principle adopted by them: do not interfere in the armed conflicts of the countries in which you live. Another reason was their absolute acceptance of power - said Dr. Ewa Kurek.

The historian also emphasized that historical aspects played a very important, negative role that, in her opinion, contributed to the passivity of Jews in the face of extermination of their fellow citizens. In this context, she reminded that in

of persons highly respected in Jewish circles were also made in case of several other ghettos; for example in Łódź.

- Parastatal organizations created by Germans, whose members were various Jewish groups are another important element. They were involved in the Holocaust on a large scale. The parastatal Jewish organization implemented the guidelines of the German state without any objections. There existed organizations whose task was to select Jews that were to be deported to the camps - agreed Dr. Tomasz Sommer.

Another stance regarding that issue was presented by Professor Bogdan Musiał, who tried to convince the audience



The editor W. Wybranowski (standing with the microphone) moderates the discussion during the 2nd panel

PHOTOGRAPHER: BARTEK MOLGA / WWW.MOLGA.EU

1920, Isaac Grünbaum, the activist of the Zionist movement, who represented the Union of Deputies of the Jewish Nationality at that time, demanded that Poland granted cultural, social and political autonomy to Jews living in Poland. The authorities of the Second Polish Republic considered this demand grotesque.

- If we want to properly understand the nature of ghettos, we need to analyze what, for example, Adam Czerniaków wrote (in years 1939-1942, he was the president of the Warsaw Judenrat). In September 1940, Czerniaków wrote in his diary that Germans had promised them independence and autonomy. May 1941 passed and Czerniaków added: "I became the mayor of the Jewish autonomy." - Dr. Ewa Kurek quoted. The historian said that similar declarations

that Jews, similarly to Poles, were not able to effectively counteract the armed apparatus of the German state administration. Hence, accusing them of being passive towards the Holocaust is, as he said, unfair. - It cannot be stated that Jews or their Council of the Elders agreed to and accepted German actions. Such actions were enforced. One cannot claim, as Mrs. Engelking does, that Polish village leaders were voluntarily engaged in extermination and neither can one say so about the Judenrats. In both cases, these people were forced to cooperate with Germany. And this is how we should talk about it - said Professor Musiał, and he concluded: - If we make effort trying to understand the attitudes and fate of Jews, it will be much easier for us to discuss such issues with them. ©

3RD SESSION:



A mobile banner sent to Germany with a protest against the lie of the ZDF television channel about the Auschwitz concentration camp

PHOTOGRAPHER: LUKASZ KOBUS/FORUM

Polonophobia

– sources, examples and range



Piotr Włoczyk

How can we define Polonophobia and effectively fight against it? This topic was discussed by the participants of the third conference panel.

This panel was attended by: Professor Andrzej Nowak, Paweł Lisicki, Piotr Gursztyn, and Leszek Żebrowski. The discussion was moderated by Karol Gac.

- Hostility against Poland is very deeply rooted in history. I think that these roots can be divided into two categories. The first one is the rivalry for power and influence - not only political but also cultural - on the European continent resulting from neighborhood, especially with the players of that geopolitical game, who were stronger than Poland. Above all, it refers to the neighborhood with Germans - said Professor **ANDRZEJ NOWAK**, historian from the Jagiellonian University. - Germany is undoubtedly an older and stronger neighbor than Poland. This neighborhood with Germans is connected with the feeling of their superiority over the Slavs. Such attitude was summed up in the most concise way by the Czech chronicler Kosmas in the 12th century. He called it "Innata germanica superbia", which means the German innate pride. Pride is shown to the neighbors from the East who are considered worse, weaker, delayed, and who require civilizing.

Professor Nowak noted that even though Russia also had great "merits" in this area, for centuries Germany has played major role in developing Polonophobia, and contempt for Polishness.

- This universalistic concept became crystallized in the Age of Enlightenment when Voltaire's vision was promoted. It was all about the hierarchy according to which there were teachers in the West and recalcitrant students in the East. This concept was developed upon the order of the enemies of Poland - Catherine the Great and Frederick II. It was about Poles' Catholic identity, and about destroying the Catholic Church as a source of evil. The said concept has been transferred to the present times, and according to its present meaning, Poles are not able to rule in their own country being too deeply

immersed in tradition, they cannot keep up with progress, and need to be dealt with - said Professor Nowak.

In his opinion, however, there appeared considerable changes in this context recently. - This is no longer a teacher-student but rather a patient-therapist relation metaphor. We are to be cured of Polishness. I think this is a new stage of Polonophobia: fear of the Polish "disease" - noted the historian.

PAWEŁ LISICKI, the editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy weekly, agreed with the opinion that the main proponents of Polonophobia attacked the Catholic Church in Poland in the first place.

Then, he elaborated on that thought saying that in this analysis, indication of the role of Catholicism as one of the main sources of reluctance to Polishness is highly accurate. Why is it so? The powerful western neighbour of Poland was under the domination of the Prussian "enlightened Protestantism." The anti-Catholic element was almost embedded in the official ideology of the Wilhelmine and Bismarck Prussia. However, it can be stated that the same type of resentment was observed behind the eastern border, where Russia has been developing its power since the reign of Catherine the Great. It was linked to the statements made by Voltaire and Diderot according to whom Poland has become a symbol of a disobedient country, not able to rule itself, with an omnipresent chaos. And yet, if someone is disobedient, then we need people who will control that person ... - said Paweł Lisicki.

In the context of Polonophobia, the editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy reminded of more and more frequent accusations made by Western historians against the Catholic Church in the occupied Poland.

- In his book entitled "Black Earth", Timothy Snyder puts forward a thesis according to which if the Polish Catholic Church during the Second World War stood up to the task, it would write a pastoral letter condemning German actions. Meanwhile, everyone who has at least minimum knowledge of the scale of the German occupation in Poland is aware how completely absurd is such idea. Priests were, after all, killed more often than any other social group in Poland - emphasized Paweł Lisicki.

How can we explain the presence of such accusation?

- In my opinion, this cannot be justified by the lack of knowledge. Therefore, it can

only be based on the ideological factor - the willingness to adapt to that part of the debate about Poland that takes place abroad and to draw attention to the fact that the Polish Catholicism, being such an important element of the Polish identity, irritates many people - said the editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy.

KAROL GAC from the Dorzeczy.pl website, who was the moderator of the discussion, asked what were the reasons that Poland has become a "whipping boy" in the recent years and how we should formulate certain concepts during the debate to describe different types of measures targeted against Poland in the most accurate way.

- We should distinguish Polonophobia and anti-Polish bias from ordinary tensions between particular ethnic groups. For example, Polonophobia is present in German-Polish, Polish-Russian and partly Polish-Jewish relations. It seems to me that even in Polish-Ukrainian, Lithuanian-Polish and Belarusian-Polish relations, we are dealing with an element of ethnic hostility. However, there is no phobia here as a permanent element related to perception of the neighbor. Polonophobia is a systemic psychological and social phenomenon. For example, in Polish-Ukrainian relations, hostility was like a sinusoid - once it was visible, and then it disappeared. On the other hand, the attitude of Germans, marked by some disdain or contempt, and the attitude of Russians expressing hostile feelings against Poles are well-established phenomena - said **PIOTR GURSZTYN** from TVP.

LESZEK ŻEBROWSKI, a historical columnist, author of many books about the Polish Underground State, referred in his speech to the term "Polish Hecatomb" that was put forward at the conference, which would cover the entirety of Polish victims and suffering that were the outcome of confrontation with two totalitarian systems.

- The purpose of such meetings as the one we hold today is to organize terms, find a new category that could be used to describe this phenomenon. "Hecatomb" is a concept understandable in this room, but if we went to the campus of the Warsaw University and conducted a survey among a hundred randomly selected persons, I suppose that 80 percent of them would have no idea what that word means. Introducing a new concept into public consciousness would require several



Discussion during the 3rd panel. With the microphone - editor Piotr Gursztyn PHOTOGRAPHER: BARTEK MOLGA / WWW.MOLGA.EU

years of systematic teaching at all levels of education, as well as introducing it to mass culture - said Leszek Żebrowski.

- The groups that propagate Polonophobia are interested in making the image of Poland as bad as possible. This is a stage of preparations for the events that are ahead of us ... - said the columnist. - We must remember both about external and internal Polonophobia. It is expressed by certain Polish media and institutions financed from the state budget, on which the authorities have no influence - including Polin museum - emphasized Leszek Żebrowski, and recalled an event described by Professor Norman Davies, which took place in 1974 at the Israeli embassy in London. According to the accounts of Professor Davies, at a meeting with historians, Professor Yehuda Bauer, an Israeli historian, presented the history of the Holocaust in an extremely biased way, accusing Poles in gremio of "being passive observers" of the extermination of Jews.

„Germans are rarely spoken of collectively, based on stereotypes, unlike Poles. The word "Germans" was not used in that scheme. There were the Nazis and collaborators, victims, but only Jews, and those passive, that is Poles" - said Professor Davies in his interview for Dziennik Gazeta Prawna daily. The British historian said that when he protested against such depiction of history, he was called a "polonophile".

- It became an invective. A man who has a rather friendly attitude towards Poland and does not want to participate in defamiation of Poland is a "polonophile" - said Leszek Żebrowski.

Professor Andrzej Nowak pointed to the main, in his opinion, sources of Polonophobia in today's world. - I obviously

recognize different forms of Polonophobia, including those expressed in Lithuania and Ukraine, but Lithuanians or even Ukrainians - who are more numerous, more influential - do not create this image that is perceived negatively for the rest of the world. The main players on today's global scene of creating a black PR for Poland are Americans, including the Jewish lobby, as well as some European countries such as Germany or France, where also the Jewish lobby and the tradition of Voltaire occupy a very important place. It is also Russia, equipped with the tools for exerting global influence, for example, in the form of the extremely popular Russia Today television channel. In the US alone, it has 15 million regular viewers - said Professor Andrzej Nowak.

In his opinion, the idea of promoting the term "Polish Hecatomb" will not prove successful. Why? - The level of modern education is so low that this concept is completely incomprehensible for today's young recipients. I am afraid that the Polish state does not have any means to embed the concept of "Hecatomb" in the global consciousness. A fundamental problem arises here, namely, can we undertake an act of sabotage in the language that is used in the global discourse? Can we impose our own narrative, a counter-language, on this global perception of history? Or will we attempt to carry out a kind of sabotage as part of the existing global "commonly accepted" language? This is the most important strategic choice that has to be made - said Professor Andrzej Nowak.

- I think that if we adopt the first variant, then the word 'independence' will be the key to the tale of the Polish history - he added. The late Russian writer, Iosif Brodski, who was a friend of Poland, described it

with beautiful words during the ceremony of receiving the honorary doctorate of the University of Silesia. He said that if he was looking for a definition of Polishness, there was one word that came to his mind. It was a word that contorted our face in a grimace of disagreement: "Independence." The particle "in" at the beginning of the word is very clearly marked. This Polish word "Niepodległość" translated into English as "Independence" is recognized all over the world. Let's be independent. Let's call for independence. Independence from what? From Google, from Facebook. We should not be afraid of protesting against this system of enslavement. It can be understood by those being rebellious, by people who are fed up with global lies, global apparatus of political correctness that is increasingly obstructing the freedom of thought.

We should make a reference to Polish traditions - independence, demolition of imperialist structures that were lost in the Polish "black hole". This reasoning is justified - you can utter that word emphasizing the initial "in", contort your face in a grimace of opposition against the system of common enslavement, which today takes different forms than in the times of Hitler and Stalin, but captivates the thoughts even "more effectively" than in the past.

According to Professor Nowak, an alternative would be to accept the global language of history, i.e. to make an attempt to "extend" the concept of "the Holocaust" so as to cover Poles. According to the historian, however, a more effective solution would be to focus on portraying Poles as a nation that is ready to give everything for independence.

Finally, editor Paweł Lisicki started a polemic with Leszek Żebrowski, who stated that the concept of "Hecatomb" is not understandable enough.

- If we conducted a survey at the University of Princeton in the 1960s and asked students what was the Holocaust, nobody would answer. The effectiveness of the state policy combined with information spread by the media and the conscious will of the nation to deal with such an important topic shows that it is possible to change human mentality on a massive scale. I am aware that we are not Israel and we do not have such influence. Therefore, the introduction of that term describing the crimes against Poles into the global language will be difficult and will last longer, but I think that that the game is worth the candle. ©

4TH SESSION:

Late Karol Tendra (in the foreground) and attorney Lech Obara during the trial against ZDF PHOTOGRAPHER: JACEK BEDNARCZYK

Law and Polish remembrance



Piotr Włoczyk

Does law sufficiently protect Polish remembrance? The participants of the last panel, i.e. the 4th Session of the conference "Polish Hecatomb and Fight against Polonophobia" tried to answer this question.

The panel was attended by: Professor Maciej Szymanowski, attorney Lech Obara, editor Grzegorz Górny, attorney Jerzy Kwaśniewski, and editor Paweł Lisicki, who was the moderator.

- The first and obvious answer to such a question is simple: probably the law does not sufficiently protect Polish remembrance. Minister Zbigniew Ziobro talked about it at the very beginning of the conference, when he mentioned the origin of the idea of amending the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, and recalled everything that happened later

starting from early 2018. We all remember that six-month long discussion - said **PAWEŁ LISICKI**, editor, who was the moderator of the panel. - As you know, the government eventually withdrew from this draft amendment in its original shape, removing those elements that aroused the greatest objections. Does this withdrawal mean that no additional forms of protection are needed here? It is not only about the law, but about the methods that give people the possibility to react to obvious distortion of Polish history. Don't we need some new solutions and new methods of action? - asked the editor-in-chief of *Do Rzeczy* weekly.

The first speaker was attorney **JERZY KWAŚNIEWSKI** from *Ordo Iuris*. - I remember that in 2017, when the amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance was at the early stage of discussions, members of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS) were working on a statement against the Polish government. According to that statement, Poland was a passive observer of the Holocaust, co-responsible for crimes and as such, it could not enact legal provisions on a local, domestic, scale, i.e., amend

the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, as it would in fact lead to falsification of history and to a situation where the false version of history is approved by the system of criminal law - said Mr. Kwaśniewski.

- At that time, we sent an analysis of the amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance conducted by Ordo Iuris to the IAGS management. As a member of that association, I talked to the directors of IAGS and it turned out that they did not have elementary knowledge about the history of coexistence of Poles and Jews in the Second Republic of Poland. They did not have any knowledge about how the Jewish community functioned in Poland, or about the history of the cooperation of partisans during the war, attempts to protect the Jewish community, or about the death penalty for serving a slice of bread to the hungry ones. As a result of presentation of these basic facts, the statement against the Polish government has never been sent. Of course, we failed to persuade them [members of the IAGS association - ed.] to support this project [amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance - ed.] and to make them acknowledge obvious things, such as the fact that in Israel, Austria, Germany, France and in many other countries, there are provisions that prohibit spreading lies concerning the Holocaust.

"INVESTMENT" IN ANTI-POLISH BIAS

As emphasized by the expert from Ordo Iuris, purposeful distortion of Poland's image on the international stage during the Second World War may lead to legal consequences that will be very dangerous for our country, and, as a result, also financial ones. Mr. Kwaśniewski explained how the implementation of this strategy by foreign entities concerned looked like.

- Professor Karol Wolfke, an outstanding Polish expert in the field of international common law, said that an international standard of common law is created when a certain practice becomes well established on the international level to the extent that it can be regarded as accepted either through direct consent or through passive consent given by all interested countries. Therefore, we have started examination of the extent to which certain conclusions arising from



Editor Paweł Lisicki moderating the discussion during the 4th conference session PHOTOGRAPHER: BARTEK MOLGA / WWW.MOLGA.EU

the accusation of Poland of its complicity in the crime of the Holocaust should lead on the international level to unanimous recognition that - for example - Poland should provide or participate in the compensation for that crime - explained Mr. Jerzy Kwaśniewski. - The next step is to examine whether there is any evidence that a legend of Polish complicity has evolved on the international level in the recent years, that not only there is an agreement that perhaps one should accept the position taken by organizations like IAGS, which may require that Poland should humble itself towards the victims of the Holocaust. We should also examine if there exist grounds based on which Poland may be obliged to provide certain benefits ...

Finally Mr. Kwasniewski referred to the Terezin Declaration, which has been widely discussed recently due to the passing of the 447 Act by the American Congress.

- As we know, ten years ago in Prague, a conference entitled "Holocaust Era Assets Conference" was held. Its outcome was the Terezin Declaration. The conference was attended by the Secretary of State of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, described in the conference documents as the representative of the Polish Prime Minister for international dialogue, namely, Mr. Władysław Bartoszewski. Obviously, he did not talk about Poland's obligations to satisfy any claims, but nevertheless he participated in the conference, whose conclusions, in the

form of the Terezin Declaration, confirm that there were certain claims whose satisfaction can be demanded, said Mr. Kwaśniewski.

- When we are talking about Polonophobia and anti-Polish bias, we understand these phenomena primarily as a very specific and current tendency: it boils down to attributing complicity in the Holocaust to Poles and their benefiting from the crimes related thereto. We must be aware that it leads to very specific conclusions within the scope of very specific benefits that can be gained by those who are now expressing such statements. In our discussions concerning Polonophobia and anti-Polish bias we often focus on culture, journalism, and filmmaking, but it all has definitely further reaching effects - stated Jerzy Kwaśniewski from Ordo Iuris.

The second speaker in the debate was **LECH OBARA**, who has been dealing with defense of Poland's positive image before the courts for many years. Mr. Obara provided legal advice, among others, to Karol Tender, a prisoner of the Nazi concentration camps, who sued ZDF, the German television station, for using the phrase "Polish death camps".

- I treat legal measures as subsidiary, complementary to all other measures used to combat anti-Polish bias and historical lies, which should be undertaken by both diplomatic services and public diplomacy, i.e. social organizations. The phrase "Polish death camps" is being imprinted in the consciousness

of recipients, and creates a false image of Poland as an accomplice in the crimes committed during the Second World War - said Lech Obara. He also noted that the actions aimed at counteracting falsification of Polish history on various levels bring measurable effects. For example, in 2015, Polish diplomatic services raised protest in 177 of such cases. In 2018, this number decreased by almost one-third. According to Mr. Obara, the lawsuits brought by the Patria Nostra association against the largest media companies, including Axel Springer, changed the situation for the better.

- As a result, now we no longer hear such descriptions from this company, which is definitely a reason to be optimistic: the combination of various tools can bring success - emphasized Lech Obara.

DRIVING FORCE

In the further part of the discussion, Paweł Lisicki asked about the methods of fighting against false opinions about the attitudes of Poles during the Second World War, which are not as openly falsified and not as easy to verify as the phrase "Polish death camps". - How should we fight against these other false opinions, because legal regulations are probably not sufficient in this case? - asked the editor-in-chief of Do Rzeczy.

- Indeed, the law here is not sufficient and I think that from the point of view of our discussion, the concept of "the driving force of the State" is crucial. Law is one of the instruments in the hands of the State but it is not the only one and it is not the most important. The State has many tools to initiate that driving force, said Mr. GRZEGORZ GÓRNY, and recalled his own experience of how the Polish institutions implemented the policy of remembrance. When he started writing a book, a decade ago, about Poles who saved Jews, he asked the state institutions for help. As Mr. Górny mentioned, officials replied that they would help finance the project, provided, however, that the book would describe ... racketeers in the same proportion as it described the righteous ones.

- As a result, the book was published thanks to a group of several Polish entrepreneurs and managers. Each of them invested about 10,000 Polish zlotys and thus, a richly illustrated book

appeared on the market. The English translation was in turn financed by the owner of the fishing boat - said Grzegorz Górny. He added: - When the crisis related to the statement made by the Prime Minister Morawiecki broke out much later and the head of government took foreign journalists to Markowa [where the Ulma Family Museum of Poles Saving Jews during the Second World War is located - editor's note], this was the only English-language book he could show them regarding that issue.

- The fact that we are accused of anti-Semitism, racketeering, plunder of Jewish property and Holocaust complicity is not a matter of neglect. This is the result of efforts made by many people for several decades. This driving force of the State as pointed in a completely different direction - emphasized the editor Grzegorz Górny. He added: - It was only a month ago that the first institution of historical diplomacy was established outside of Poland. I am talking about the Berlin branch of the Pilecki Institute, which has its seat a hundred meters away from the Brandenburg Gate. We had to wait almost thirty years after the fall of communism for the establishment of such institution. What is more, it turns out that now law needs to be changed because there were no regulations that would allow such institutions to operate abroad. For example, the institute cannot sell publications because the law does not allow this. So how is it supposed to reach the public if it can't run a bookstore, sell records, etc.? It shows the amount of work that still is to be performed. If we talk about the driving force of the State, it seems to me that no state strategy has been developed in this field. I think that it is necessary to establish a team, present a diagnosis of the situation, establish a plan of action, and implement it consistently. Unfortunately, nothing like that has happened so far. We must be aware that the opponent is powerful. The Catholic Church is a more efficient institution than the Polish State, and yet Pius XII has been called Hitler's collaborator and it still works today. The Catholic Church is not able to fight it ...

"RAPID RESPONSE FORCES"

Mr. Grzegorz Górny stated that if Poles are pigeonholed as perpetrators rather than victims of the Second World

War, Poland will be in the lost position with respect to two issues.

- First, as far as war reparations from Germany are concerned, it will be difficult to demand them if the demanding party will be perceived as the perpetrator, not the victim. The second question is the restitution of heirless property to the Jews. The same argument can be used here. All the more so, the Polish state should be careful as regards this issue and create "rapid response forces" to tackle these matters.

- Why so little is happening in these matters? - Paweł Lisicki asked Professor **MACIEJ SZYMANOWSKI**, director of the Waclaw Felczak Institute of Polish-Hungarian Cooperation. Professor Szymanowski responded that since 2015 there have been major changes in this area, including activities of the Pilecki Institute and a joint declaration of the Prime Ministers of Poland and Israel in 2018. In his speech, he also referred to the conference organized in 2004 by the Batory Foundation, where the thesis that the State was not allowed to pursue historical policy was promoted.

- I think that we will not be able to once again enact the above-mentioned amendment to the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, because we already know that we cannot release "tanks" if we do not have "infantry" - said Professor Szymanowski.

What tools should the Polish State use to push through the truth about Poland's history during the last war on the international stage?

- If the Federal Republic of Germany can award 200 scholarships per year to doctoral students and holders of Ph.D from American universities who study the history of Germany and Central Europe, then I see no reason why Poland could not fund at least 100 similar scholarships in the USA and one hundred more in Germany - said Professor Szymanowski. Director of the Waclaw Felczak Institute of Polish-Hungarian Cooperation also reminded of an initiative presented by the Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki, which he believes should definitely be implemented.

- A tree of the Righteous should be planted for Poland as a nation. I see no reason why the Danish nation has such a tree, while in the case of Poland there are only trees planted for individual persons - said Professor Szymanowski. ©©