

Gross Chutzpah and Treason in the East

Princeton University historian, professor J.T.Gross, has been touring North America and Europe for some time now, promoting his publications and his point of view vis-à-vis the Polish-Jewish relations. He visited Ottawa in January 2009.

Two books written by professor Gross, “*Neighbors*”, published in 2001 and the more recent “*Fear*”, 2006, deal with a series of incidents of hostility and violence against Jews committed by Poles during and after the World War II. Gross claims that the essential background of these events has been anti-Semitism, either “irrational” (in Gross’s vocabulary: anti-Semitism without a tangible, coherent reason), or motivated by greed, supposedly common during and after the War. Otherwise, in his words, “*How could Polish society’s inability to mourn, or, less ambitiously, [how could] the absence of compassion among the Poles for their Jewish fellow citizens, be accounted for, when the Holocaust had been directly witnessed by millions of bystanders?*”

The books are a classic example of how history can be distorted by mixing facts, half-truths, calculated omissions and tendentious interpretation. The alleged Polish “irrational anti-Semitism” seems to exist only in Gross’s books and perhaps in other literature of the same category. Unfortunately, this literature does nothing to further a better understanding of history nor does it promote Polish-Jewish dialog. On the contrary, Gross’s books, intentionally, no doubt, contribute to exacerbating Polish -Jewish tensions.

Gross’s hypothesis is erroneous and dishonest. He acknowledges the well known fact that tens of thousands of ethnic Poles risked their lives helping Jews during the War, and that thousands died, doing so. Would an essentially anti-Semitic nation make such sacrifices? As a historian of the War, he is also aware of the massive murders and other acts of treason, committed by Jews on the Polish population, some of it in the early days of the War, under the Soviet occupation. These acts alone could explain, entirely rationally, almost any degree of anti-Jewish sentiment, not just the “inability to mourn” or “absence of compassion”. What could appear surprising to an observer would be the fact that, in spite of these crimes, many Poles continued helping Jews throughout the War.

Yet, Gross puts forward his absurd hypothesis. Why would he do so?

Jewish American historian Richard C. Lukas, in his article entitled “*Jedwabne and the Selling of the Holocaust*”, where he reviews Gross’s book “*Neighbors*”, explains:

*Selling of the Holocaust is a gigantic enterprise that has less to do with preserving the memory of Jewish victims than **exploiting the Holocaust** for political, ideological and economic purposes. The consequence is that history has become a major casualty.... Gross dismisses a critical fact - Jewish treason in eastern Poland, where Jedwabne is located, during the Soviet occupation.*

Another Jewish American scholar, Norman Finkelstein, expresses a similar opinion:

Gross's book is standard Holocaust industry literature. Two dogmas inform this literature: 1. The Holocaust marks a categorically unique historical event; 2. The Holocaust marks the climax of an irrational Gentile hatred of Jews. Neither dogma withstands scholarly scrutiny. Both, however, are politically useful: unique Jewish suffering confers unique Jewish moral entitlement; and, if Gentile hatred of Jews is irrational, Jews bear no responsibility for this animus.

Lukas and Finkelstein are among many historians and writers, Polish, Jewish, American, German and British, who have already convincingly demonstrated that much of what Gross is saying in his two books is false and intentionally misleading. Others include Norman Davies, Tomasz Strzembosz, Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Jerzy Robert Nowak, Mark Paul, Piotr Gontarczyk, Bogdan Musial.

I will not repeat here their critical appraisal of what Gross **does** say in his books, because that is readily available in libraries and on the internet. What I will point to is some of the things he chooses **not to say**, and what he, dishonestly, dismisses as insignificant.

After professor Gross’s February 26, 2009 lecture on “*Anti-Semitism After the Holocaust*” at the Zelikovitz Centre for Jewish Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa, I asked him why, in his book “*Fear*”, there was **not a single word** on the role of Jews in the terror against the Polish population, unleashed by the Soviets in eastern Poland on September 17, 1939, the day of the Soviet attack on Poland. This role must have had a fundamental impact on the relations between the two ethnic groups.

Tens of thousands out of some 1.5 million Polish Jews, who found themselves in eastern Poland at the time of the Soviet aggression, committed countless

criminal acts, including high treason, against the Polish state and the Polish population, by:

- forming armed militias and firing on, and attempting to disarm, retreating Polish soldiers,
- welcoming the Red Army, fraternizing with the enemy and voluntarily and massively joining the NKVD secret police (later called KGB) and the Soviet administration,
- robbing, terrorizing and killing members of the Polish population;
- participating in identifying, denouncing, arresting, interrogating, torturing, murdering and deporting hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens.

The culmination of this period of terror occurred during the last days of June 1941, just after the German attack on the Soviet Union. The NKVD, not having enough time to evacuate some of the prisons that were still full of detainees, simply tossed hand grenades into the cells, or mass executed prisoners with machineguns.

During that period of terror, around 100,000 Poles were murdered, and well over one million were arrested and deported to labor camps. Most of them never returned.

Many Polish Jews voluntarily collaborated with the Soviets and actively participated in all phases of the terror. Their acts of treason were carried out in full view of the Polish population of the region, with blatant satisfaction and mockery (“Soon there will be not a single Pole left here!”, “It’s the end of your Poland!”, etc.). Polish families mourned their dead or deported, and held the Jewish collaborators, often their neighbors or acquaintances, accountable for their misery and pain.

There can be no doubt that the treasonous behavior of so many Jews in eastern Poland towards the country and the Polish people influenced the attitudes of Poles towards Jews during the years of the War and later. It must have hardened the attitudes of some Poles towards the suffering of the Jewish population under the Nazi occupation, and contributed to some acts of vigilantism and retribution.

Yet in “*Fear*”, Gross doesn’t even mention these facts. Instead, he claims that “Jews were always loyal citizens” (page 62 of the English edition). Any fair review of the historical record must confirm that many were not loyal citizens and that a large number were guilty of **extreme disloyalty** and much worse.

Professor Gross responded by saying that my facts were wrong and that it wasn't like that at all. At that point, the meeting was quickly ended, closing off any possibility for further discussion.

However, in light of historical facts, testimonies of eye witnesses and scholarly analyses, of which Gross is, undoubtedly, well aware, my contention is justified. He himself, in his earlier book, *“War Through Children’s Eyes”*, described the situation in eastern Poland after the 17th of September 1939 in these words:

*Even before the Soviets entered, citizens’ committees or militias were spontaneously formed in many places to replace the local Polish administration, which had either fled or lost the ability to enforce order... These committees often acted as hosts to Red Army units... The Soviet commanders relied on such welcoming committees and militias... Their primary immediate tasks involved **ferreting out hiding Polish officers and policemen.***

*These first **militias** were a strange lot. In some areas, particularly in the larger towns, where the majority of the 1.7 mln. Jews, living in this territory, dwelt, they were **predominantly Jewish**, often organized by communist sympathizers. [my emphasis, SZ]*

By any definition, the actions of the collaborators constitute **high treason**. The Polish officers and policemen *“ferreted out”* by those *“predominantly Jewish”* militias were either executed on the spot, or murdered later in Katyn and other such places.

Mark Paul, in his publication *“Neighbors - On the Eve of the Holocaust - Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941”*, gives a specific example:

*Thousands of Poles, for the most part civilians and soldiers, perished at the hands—not of the Soviet invaders but—of their fellow citizens in the bloody month of September 1939 alone. A particularly heinous crime occurred in Brzostowica Mała near Grodno where **neighbor-on-neighbor violence**, which would escalate dramatically during the war, was pioneered. As many as fifty Poles were tortured and butchered in a paroxysm of violence by a Jewish-led band of local pro-Communist Jews and Byelorussians **before** the arrival of the Red Army.*

Aleksander Wat, a Polish-Jewish Communist intellectual, an eye witness and, after a period of collaboration, himself a prisoner of the NKVD in Lwow, says in his famous book *“My Century”*:

...At the time, however, the Jews constituted a certain class, not the ruling class, but a well-placed one in Russia.

In Lwow, there were jailers, denouncers, quite a few Jewish denouncers, a very large number.

Jews were more inclined to cooperate with the Soviet authorities. Many pre-war communists appeared on the scene, like mushrooms after a rain, and the pre-war communists, for the most part, were Jews.

In his major opus **“Poland’s Holocaust”**, Professor Thaddeus Piotrowski from the University of New Hampshire quotes another Polish-Jewish intellectual, Aleksander Smolar, who says:

In eastern Poland Jews were themselves viewed as collaborators. One should keep that in mind in any honest assessment of mutual [Polish-Jewish – SZ] relations.

Abraham Sterzer, a Jewish doctor from Lwow wrote (from **“Poland’s Holocaust”**):

...But back in 1939, when the Red Army marched into Lwow and other cities of Western Ukraine, the Jews behaved as if Messiah had arrived. They flocked to sign up for various communist-front organizations, joined NKVD secret police, and helped the Russians oppress and fight legitimate Ukrainian nationalism. Today, when Russian imperialism is the mortal enemy of Jews and the Jewish state, it is difficult to believe. But (then), it was the gospel truth.

The quoted earlier Richard C. Lukas says:

There is a mountain of documentation which shows that in this area, occupied by the Soviets during 1939-1941, a significant number of Jews collaborated with the Soviets in the arrest, deportation and death of thousands of Poles. Jedwabne Jews were no exception.

Cast in the light of Jewish collaboration with the Soviets, it should not be too surprising that some Poles may have sought out Jewish traitors and tried to kill them.”

When the Soviets re-conquered the area from the Germans in 1944-1945, Jews again were prominently involved in the destruction of the Polish Home Army and the arrest and execution of Poles loyal to the Polish democratic government, then in exile in London. That process of Jewish involvement in the persecution, imprisonment and execution of Poles continued throughout the Stalinist era.

Even though in his earlier writings Gross had admitted Jewish complicity with Poland's enemy, he now conspicuously dismisses this aspect of Jewish behavior because to acknowledge it would depict Jews as victimizers of Poles, a contradiction of the prevailing Holocaust image that all Jews were victims.

In reference to Jedwabne, Lukas says:

It worked the other way too. Several hundred Poles, including women and children, were murdered by a Jewish-Soviet partisan unit in Koniuchy in 1944. One of the members of the unit was even honored by the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C.

Elsewhere, Lukas adds in reference to the period in question (quoted after **"Poland's Holocaust"**):

The Jews were involved in robbery, rape, and pillage. Often Poles were the victims.

Ben-Cion Pinchuk, Jewish writer, author of "Shtetl Jews Under Soviet Rule: Eastern Poland on the Eve of the Holocaust" (quoted after Piotrowski's **"Poland's Holocaust"**):

State, city and police archives were among the first institutions to be occupied and guarded by the new rulers. They were curious to discover the secrets guarded in the archives. Local collaborators translated from Polish and prepared detailed lists of suspects, to be used in the future. A fine net of informers was spread throughout the territories, in every institution, factory, enterprise and tenement. Local Communists and new recruits were included among the informers ... local Jewish Communists played an important role in locating former political activists and compiling the lists of "undesirables" and "class enemies." The NKVD tried, often with success, to recruit people who had previously been active in Jewish institutions and political organizations and thus created an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and fear among former friends and colleagues.

Piotrowski continues:

Among these "friends and colleagues" were a good number of Poles. Among them also were fellow Jews. Max Wolfshaut-Dinkes, a Jew who "never knew a non-Jewish communist" in his town of Przemyśl, wrote:

The Jews lived in fear, haunted by the prospect of expropriation and deportation to Siberia. They mistrusted one another and, above all, they feared the Jewish communists. These latter were fanatical supporters of the regime, zealous servants of the authorities. Faithful to

their 'duty,' they fought unscrupulously against the 'terrible' class enemy, composed of shopkeepers and craftsmen. (many of the "enemy" were, incidentally, Jews) I must confess that I found the conduct of the Jewish communists during the Soviet occupation terribly repugnant.

Piotrowski quotes a document from the Wladyslaw Sikorski Archives and Museum, where the editor of the statements made by people from various counties in the province of Lwow says:

I have not found a single entry attesting to a friendly disposition of the Jews to the Polish population. On the contrary, the testimonies indicate that, from the first moment of the Soviet occupation, the Jewish people greeted the occupant with enthusiasm, filled the ranks of the militia in great numbers, as well as every possible administrative post. The testimonies speak of the great suffering on the part of the Polish people because of the cooperation of the Jews with the Soviet authorities.

Piotrowski continues:

*In February 1940 the following report, entitled "**The Situation of the Jews in Territories Occupied by the USSR,**" was filed by Jan Karski [the famous Polish Underground officer and one of the brave couriers between the occupied Poland and the West], decorated in Israel after the war for his valiant attempt to warn the world about the Holocaust:*

... in most cities the Jews greeted the Bolsheviks with baskets of red roses, with submissive declarations and speeches, etc., etc....

...However, there are worse cases, where they denounce the Poles, Polish nationalist students, and Polish figures, when they direct the work of the Bolshevik police force from behind their desks or are members of the police force ...

In a 1944 conference with the representatives of the Polish Jews, General Wladyslaw Anders distinguished between the Jews from western Poland and those from the eastern borderlands.

The latter," he was reported to have said, "in the difficult days of Poland's downfall, sometimes behaved in the worst possible way. They disarmed Polish soldiers and tore off Polish eagles from their hats.

The well-known writer Ksawery Pruszyński, who kept the minutes of the meeting, continued:

The General told how in Lwow, despite the announcement of the capitulation agreement, the Soviet authorities gathered Polish soldiers in a certain place in order to deport them later. The Jewish people (a

group of about 1,500) showered abuses upon these prisoners of war. ...Such things do not remain without a trace.

The General issued orders to all his subordinates. He will not tolerate anti-Semitism, but he cannot prevent the possibility of this danger from occurring.

In response to allegations of anti-Semitism in his army, General Anders noted the reasons:

The tearing off of eagles and marks of military distinction by the Jews from off the uniforms of Polish soldiers after their arrest by the Soviet authorities, their participation in the Red militias, their denunciations of Poles, the placement of Jews in all important positions and their behavior toward the Poles, for example, in Brygidki prison in Lwow, ... the behavior of Jews in prisons and camps....

Jan Stanczyk, a socialist whom no one can accuse of anti-Semitism, stated to the representatives of Polish Jews in July 1943:

I do not want to hide that, among the people who returned from Russia as well as in the army, there is an anti-Semitic frame of mind. I confess this with a heavy heart, but one cannot remedy this by an order. The reason for all of this lies in the fact that when the Bolsheviks came to Poland, the Jewish militiamen walked around with lists and pointed out those to be deported from among the Poles. ...

According to a statement by Prime Minister General Wladyslaw Sikorski in a Polish government-in-exile meeting that took place in Angers, France, on January 9, 1940, only about 30 percent of the Jews identified with the communists in eastern Poland and engaged in provocations against the Poles; the other 70 percent "behaved decently." Yet 30 percent, or even 10 percent, of the over 1 million Jews in the eastern territories of Poland is still a very large number.

Piotrowski provides more examples of Jewish collaboration:

The following are but a few more of the thousands of testimonies that could be cited regarding this Jewish-Soviet collaboration.

The first passage comes from the Grodno area in north-eastern Poland, where a communist-inspired insurrection, led largely by "young Jews," was crushed by the Polish military. The second comes from the Lwow area in southeastern Poland. The speaker in the third passage is a Polish brigadier-general from Wolyn; he was subsequently deported to the Gulag. The fourth account comes from a small town called Gwozdzec,

located near Kolomyja in the province of Stanislawow. The fifth comes from Brzesc and the sixth from Molodow, near Pinsk.

[1] I lived in Grodno near Legionowa Street.... In the afternoon I went out with my aunt in order to buy something. Suddenly some shots rang out on Brygidzka Street. We look: on the balconies Jews with red armbands are shooting at people in the streets.... Near our home, someone said that the USSR had crossed our border.

[2] After several days of traveling by all feasible means toward the Romanian frontier, under incessant vicious attacks by low-flying Nazi planes, news reached us on September 17, 1939, that the Soviet forces had crossed the border and were racing toward the Romanian frontier to cut off that escape route. A rapid confirmation of this shattering news came soon from the skies, when a small flight of Soviet planes bombed the Polish columns. Faced with this we had to turn back and flee in the direction from which we had come - toward Lwow. For a while we traveled by train, but after the Ukrainians blew up the tracks, the remaining two-thirds of the journey had to be on foot.

As we approached... towns, we were shot at by the Jewish militia, armed with stolen Polish army rifles and wearing red arm bands. As we approached the outskirts of Lwow, we came upon a tragicomic spectacle: In a meadow beside the main road, about ten of the Jewish militiamen were guarding a sizeable squadron of one of the elite Polish cavalry regiments. Soviet tank forces had disarmed the Polish regiment and had assigned their new "allies," the Jews, to guard the Poles. I recall a feeling of pain and disgust that those who were Polish citizens should behave so treacherously.

[3] On September 28 [1939] ... we received orders to "pack up" and leave our cells. In the prison yard we met up with most of the officers of our platoon and many others from various military formations. We were escorted in a column to the barracks by a civilian guard with red armbands and former Polish soldiers — unfortunately all of them were Polish Jews. We moved out.... Our escort consisted of the same (Jews) with armbands and Polish rifles.... After a time, a rabble of young Jews gathered on each side of our column, marching along with us on the sidewalks and shouting.... they soon began to spit at us and here and there pelted our column with rocks.

[4] Then came the unusually snowy and harsh winter of 1939-1940, and with it the tragic dawn of February 10, 1940 when entire Polish families, including children and the elderly, were loaded on cattle cars.

Order was maintained by local Jews and Ukrainians who not so long ago constituted, or seemed, a friendly contingent of our township community.

[5] I will never forget the sight of the handcuffed Polish policeman whom the militia was leading down Jagiellonska Street, and all around him Jews shrieking inhumanly, spitting on him, pelting him with garbage, rocks and abusing him terribly.

[6] I shall tell here a story from the circle of my own acquaintances. I knew very well Mr. Henryk Skirmunt, who was the chairman of the Catholic Action of the Roman Catholic diocese of Pinsk, a well known Polish Roman Catholic intellectual, author and social activist....When the Russian Army crossed the Polish frontier on 17th September 1939, Mr. Skirmunt and his sister —they were [the] only two on the spot — took a car and left their manor house, understandably not having the intention to be caught in their own home by the Soviets. But when passing through the nearby almost purely Jewish townlet of Motol, they were stopped and arrested by a Communist group of local Jews. There was no question of giving them help by people who were, after all, their neighbors. On the contrary, their Jewish neighbors prevented their escape. A few hours, or a few days afterwards they [were] both executed, I do not know exactly by whom, by the same local people who stopped them in the car, or by Soviet authorities to whom they were handed over. They were good people. The Motol Jews had certainly no grudges or complaints against them. Their only guilt was that they were Poles, aristocrats and reasonably rich.

The Polish historian of the Second World War, T.Srzembosz, in his review of **“Neighbors”** entitled **“The Ignored Collaboration”**, quotes numerous testimonies of the residents of Jedwabne found in the Hoover Institution Archives, recounting the days of the Soviet occupation between September ’39 and June ’41.

The recurring theme of all these testimonies is that of local Jews from Jedwabne joining the Communist militia and assisting the Soviets in identifying and arresting their Polish neighbors, subsequently killed or deported.

T.Srzembosz:

Apart from the Hoover Institution collection, known to Prof. Gross, and the accounts in my possession, there are other testimonies about the behavior of the Jedwabne Jews in the years 1939-1941. Danuta and Aleksander Wroniszewski in an article “Aby zyc” (“Just to survive”),

published in the "Kontakty" magazine on 19 July 1988, reproduced an account of an inhabitant of Jedwabne:

I remember when they were deporting Poles to Siberia, on each and every wagon there sat a Jew with a rifle. Mothers, wives, children knelt in front of them, begging for mercy. The last time it happened was on 20 of June.

The same day of 20 June 1941 in Lomza, just two days before the German attack on the Soviet Union, described by a nun from the Abbey of the Congregation of the Benedictine Sisters in Lomza, 20 km from Jedwabne, quoted after Strzembosz:

June 20. The Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The most terrible day for the Poles under the Soviet occupation. Mass deportations to Russia. From the early morning wagons carrying Polish families drove across the town toward the railroad station. Deported were the wealthier Polish families, families of nationalists, Polish patriots, the intelligentsia, families of prisoners in Soviet jails; it was difficult to understand exactly what categories had been deported. ...

... It is impossible to describe what the Poles are going through. A completely hopeless situation. And the Jews and Soviets loudly rejoice and threaten that soon they will deport all the Poles. This may as well turn out to be true because for the whole day of 20 June and the next day, June 21, they dragged people to the train station without interruption...

In the light of these atrocities it is not difficult to imagine what the eastern Poles, including the Polish residents of Jedwabne who survived the terror, felt towards the Jewish collaborators. Their betrayal, because it was so pervasive, discredited all Jews in Polish eyes and poisoned the Polish-Jewish relations for many years to come.

Rather than citing more testimonies, I would refer the reader to Mark Paul's "***Neighbors - On the Eve of the Holocaust***" (350 pages of text, in it some 600 items of "Select Bibliography") and Thaddeus Piotrowski's "***Poland's Holocaust***" (in Chapter 3, entitled "*Jewish Collaboration*", Piotrowski makes 210 footnotes and references to various documents, and at the end of his book he lists over 20 archives, over 50 newspaper reports, and several hundred books and articles that he used in his research).

Another source of information about Polish-Jewish relations during the 2nd World War is Charles C. Lukas's book "***The Forgotten Holocaust***". There are also many articles on the topic by the same author.

Much more extensive historical literature, covering the period in question, exists in the Polish language.

It is impossible for Prof. Gross not to know these facts and documents. Yet, he now completely ignores and even denies that evidence in what appears to be an attempt to represent Poles as criminals and Jews as their innocent victims. In eastern Poland the opposite was actually true. It was Jewish criminals and traitors who participated in the persecution and murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent Poles.

One hopes that, in spite of Gross's pre-emptive misrepresentations, the full story of the Soviet terror between 1939 and 1941 in Poland and of the role of the Jewish collaborators in it will, one day, be known. It is a story of treason, of bloody and massive persecutions and of the destruction of the Polish patriotic elite.

Mark Paul states in his quoted earlier essay:

*... there will be no improvement in Polish-Jewish relations until such time as the events that occurred in Eastern Poland in 1939–1941, during the occupation by the Soviet Union, Hitler's erstwhile ally, are **acknowledged and condemned openly by Jews themselves.** A proper understanding of those times will continue to elude the North American public until the events in question become part of mainstream Holocaust literature and the school curriculum.*

Jewish crimes in eastern Poland were taboo in the People's Republic of Poland and remained so even after its demise in 1989. If there is a redeeming feature to Gross's propaganda, it lies in the fact that he, unwittingly, has broken the taboo. This has revived the interest among Polish historians and members of the public in the period of the "first Soviet occupation" of eastern Poland 1939 – 1941 as well as in the period of Soviet domination of Poland after 1944. This renewed interest will, undoubtedly, spur historians to undertake additional research and cover these still rather blank pages of history with a lot of ink.

The truth about the wartime events in eastern Poland should be honestly and openly discussed, in Poland and in the West. Above all, it should get through to the American and European Jews who seem to be, in the main, unaware of it, which was quite evident in the reactions of the predominantly Jewish audience of the Ottawa meeting with professor Gross. For this reason, I am addressing this article mainly to Jews in the West.

On the Avenue of the Righteous Among the Nations at the Yad Vashem memorial in Israel are listed Gentiles who helped Jews survive the Holocaust. Seven thousand of them (some 30% of the total) are Polish men and woman, among them two of my relatives. These are only the cases documented by the Museum, based on voluntary evidence given by survivors, consequently only a small fraction of the total. The actual number is estimated at more than 100,000, despite the fact that the penalty for helping Jews in Poland was death for the entire household, a risk most would find unacceptable.

Helping Poles under the Soviet occupation did not entail such a risk, it was a far less dangerous task. Should someone in Poland undertake to create an avenue of the righteous among Jews, who saved Poles from the Soviet terror, how long would that an avenue be?

Stanislaw Zaborowski

Ottawa, April 29, 2009

Recommended supplementary reading:

Mark Paul, *“Neighbors - On the Eve of the Holocaust - Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941”*;

T.Srzembosz, review of *“Neighbors”* entitled *“The Ignored Collaboration”*,

Thaddeus Piotrowski, *“Poland’s Holocaust”*, (Chapter 3, *Jewish Collaboration*, is partly accessible through google.books);

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz: *“Research Before Conclusion”*, *“Ordinary Terror”*;

Richard C. Lukas, *“The Forgotten Holocaust”*; also several articles on Polish – Jewish relations, including *“Jedwabne and the Selling of the Holocaust”*;

Stefan Korbonski, *“The Jews and the Poles in World War II”*;

Norman G. Finkelstein, *“Goldhagen for Beginners: A Comment on Jan T. Gross’s Neighbors”*;

Piotr Gontarczyk, *“Far From Truth”*;