

**Prof. Jerzy Robert Nowak from 14**

Sovietization and the propaganda of universality - turned to Russification. Amongst Poles this brought about resistance based on nationality and religion. But it seems that among Jews the resistance was relatively minimal. Jews assimilating into communism were less sensitive than Poles to the loss of independence of the country and to the loss of Polish national traditions." (ref. A. Kainer, work cited, page 195). Kainer (Krajewski) addressed also the matter of a significant presence of Jews in the UB: "In reality, a considerable portion of the managerial positions in the MBP (Ministry of Public Security) during the time when Bierut was in power were occupied by Jews or people of Jewish descent. It is a fact that should not be pushed aside, a fact that is little known in the West and not readily spoken about by the Jews in Poland. Both parties would rather willingly not speak of this but speak more about the Stalin's anti-Semitism (in the case of the doctors etc)". (ref. work cited, page 196) which is exactly what Gross is doing today, trying to negatively minimize the role of Jews in the UB. Kainer recalls in his writing how: "a certain rabbi accused one of his torturers that was interrogating him in the Security Offices: 'It is because of people like you there will be pogroms in Poland' (...)" (ref. work cited, page 198). Continuing in this text A. Kainer stresses: "We must also remember, that towards creation of this atmosphere of Jewish-Polish relations there were other influencing factors such as Jewish association with Bolsheviks, and later on their association with the Soviet Armies. Jewish participation in the elite government positions and in the departments of repression, not having a truly honest attitude towards the Warszawa ghetto uprising and the Warszawa Rising, and towards various processes of atheization and Russification (associated with Jews, who in reality made fewer protests against the implementation of these goals), and finally not without Jewish participation in the incidents of attacks on the political branches of Polish right wing- nationalists (...)" (ref. work cited, page 198).

It is strange, that Stanisław Krajewski who knows the true situation which existed during the Stalinist era has so far not protested against these Gross anti-Polish slanders. Equally strange to me is the lack of public protest against Gross's lies about the attitude of the Catholic Church towards Jews during the war from at least one Adam Daniel Rotfeld. Let us recall that he (Rotfeld) the last Foreign Minister of the post-communist government, during the war was saved, thanks to being hidden in a cloister. He found the time to write an undignified letter attacking the current President of the Republic of Poland, but he somehow cannot find time to give his supporting testimony about those who saved his life during the war. And as a person engaged for tens of years in the international affairs and a former Minister of Foreign Affairs he truly knows what kind of damage to Poland's image is caused by these Gross's publicized aspersions.

Let us recall here the opinions contained in a book by a famous Jewish correspondent from the USA John Sack in his very important but so sadly ignored book about the deep Jewish self recriminating reckoning - "Eye for an Eye": "In places such as Gliwice, Poles would stand by the prison walls and the people from the Execution Department would tie them up to large iron rings, and say: 'Ready! Aim! Fire! They killed them and warned Polish guards: 'Keep silent! The guards, as Poles, were not very happy with this, but the Jakub's, Józef's and Pink's from the higher levels of UB remained loyal to Stalin, because they considered themselves as Jews, and not as Polish patriots. Thus, "The Good Witch Stalin" (...) employed all the Jews and placed them in the Office of Public Security, his own institution in the Polish Peoples Republic. And in 1945 Poles rebelled and fought against the UB, They started to kill Jews from the Intelligence Departments, Investigating and Prison Management. Jews came to a conclusion that, these Poles were anti-Semites, and Poles maintained, that they were not, that they were only anti-Security Department" (J. Sack, "Eye for an

Eye", Gliwice, pages 228-229). Sack also wrote: "why then did Stalin favor the Jews (...) By his order a certain Jew, whose father died in Treblinka, was to become the chief of the Security Department, and the chiefs of all the other Departments were to be Jews also, with a provision that their names were not to be Jewish, but those like 'General Romkowski' (Natan Grunspan [Grinszpan] Kikiel) or 'Colonel Rozański' (Józef Goldberg). In time these people would appoint all the leading personnel of the Security Offices in Poland".

For such as Gross, the whitewashers of the Jewish role in UB, and in the Stalinization of Poland it is worth to recall another, equally true and honest testimony of a Pole of Jewish descent Andrzej Wróblewski (who until 1940 used his family name Fejgin). Andrzej Wróblewski, distinguished theatrical critic, father of Andrzej Krzysztof Wróblewski, editor of *Polityk*, and grandfather of the chief editor of *Newsweek* Tomasz Wróblewski. With determination, he protested against the relativism of Jewish responsibilities for the actions of the UB. He very definitely stressed: "Proportionately there were more Jews in the ranks of torturers than in the ranks of victims. Even though not all of them were equally eager, but in an overall review their activities were visible. The before the war communists, frequently with prison experiences, were blinded with a belief that they are in reality taking part in the fight for a new and magnificent world. They did not realize, that by their behavior they will evoke the specter of anti-Semitism (...)" (ref. A. Wróblewski, "To Be Jewish" Warszawa 1993, page 181). In another place in his book Wróblewski lamented, that in the year 1968 "under the pretext of insults to personal dignity, Jews who served in the UB, who were judges or public prosecutors and who had their hands smeared up to their elbows in blood, left Poland".

Probably the most famous Polish artist of Jewish descent, Leopold Tyrmand wrote in 1972 in his excellent, but up to this day, so sadly ignored in Poland, a book titled "Communist Civilization": "American Universities today gather Jews with open arms, (Jews) who for almost 25 years of their service in political police of Eastern Europe vigorously persecuted people - including other Jews- (people) who were fighting for the right of independent mind. Today these Jews are hiding behind this so conveniently forgotten in the past, their Jewishness. It is a fact that in 1968 in Poland, they were suddenly and brutally reminded that they were Jews, this is a terrible and repulsive fact, demanding censure and condemnation. But this does not make those Jews into people worthy of respect, or sympathy, and surely it does not gain them the approval to be in solidarity with them. (...) These people do not have the moral right to self defense, mostly because they were the untiring architects of this reality, in which after 25 years there could come about such a distorted degeneration of thought and understanding, they were the engineers of this structure, in which monstrous lies can so easily be made to be the truths of life. It is difficult to forget their fanatical belief in evil, which they promoted in the communist newspapers, books, articles, films (...)" (ref. L. Tyrmand, "Communist Civilization", London 1972, pages 220-221).

A well known writer of Jewish descent Kazimierz Brandys, in other writings prone to generalizations in the spirit of anti-Polonism, wrote on the pages of Parisian *Kultura* in 1983: "In post war Poland there were no Jews. Scarce numbers of them survived in Soviet Russia. After returning to Poland these lost, poor people committed a grave mistake. They allowed themselves to be used as tools of Stalinism. They paid a terrible price for this. There was no anti-Semitism in the then Polish society, but instead anti-Semitism surfaced in the ruling party. The fate hanging over the Jewish people made itself known in the new political system whose main creators according to the opinion of the World were precisely the Jews. Maybe no one cried over the murdered Jews because they were replaced by Jews who came with a foreign army, to arrest and rule? On the cemeteries there remained fragments of the stone

monuments, but it was not the Jewish ghosts that wandered in towns, but the news that Russians brought in new Jews disguised in new suits with changed names. Jews who removed the crown from the White Eagle and ordered posters to be put in the market places, "AK - spit-soiled mannequin of the reactionaries". Well then maybe the fear and hate replaced the compassion". (ref. K. Brandys, Months, *Kultura* 1983, nr. 6, pages 80-81).

And one more, even more unbiased look at these same matters from the Jewish point of view, as shown in Rira Pragier's book in a statement by a fine arts painter Irena Molga. In answer to Rita Pragier's question, as to why so many Jews stayed in the UB, Molga said: "A large number of them-they were dolts. They did not have a grasp on reality. When they were told by someone, that a person is a bandit - they believed. Boys without educations! They were trained only for one purpose. Before the war and during the war they were lied to and humiliated. And suddenly such a person was given a rank of an officer! Power over people! And a store behind yellow curtains" (ref. R. Pragier, "Jews or Poles", Warszawa 1992, page 147). (During the Stalinist regime there were stores behind the yellow curtain, reserved only for the faithful sons of the regime. In these stores they could get all kind of goods, the lack of which was severely felt by the gray mass of the common Poles)

Let us refer to a significant opinion of Czesław Miłosz, whom it is difficult to accuse of anti-Semitism. The same Miłosz, to whose poem Gross so willingly makes references in his anti-Polish generalizations. Well C. Miłosz stated in this (almost unknown in Poland other than my texts) interview given to a USA Jewish periodical *Tikkun* (Hebrew- to heal, to repair the world - issue No.2, 1987) when speaking about Jewish communists: "They occupied all the top positions in Poland and also in the very cruel security police, because they were more reliable, simply, than the local population". This is an actual English quote from the source. In this statement Miłosz visibly exaggerated, for there were also non-Jewish persons at the top... in the Party as well as in the UB (if only for Bierut and Radkiewicz). But in general Miłosz truly assessed the exceptional and dominating role of communists of Jewish descent in the Stalinization of Poland. Let's look at another statement by Miłosz: "The first squads of the Polish Communist Party in 1945 consisted of people in uniforms, and to a large proportion they were intellectuals of Jewish descent. Russians treated them as the most infallible tool in the realization of Soviet plans, believing, that they would be less likely to be leaning towards Polish patriotism because of the discrimination that they were subjected to before the war by the Polish political right party "(cited from S. Kirshner, "Circumstances Surrounding 1946 Pogrom Remain a Mystery", *The Canadian Jews News* July 4, 1996).

Let us also recall, what a famous publicist of Jewish descent Alina Grabowska wrote years ago, who after 1989 "covered herself with glory" as a tracker of apparent Polish anti-Semitism. In 1969 she wrote in the Parisian *Kultura*: "In the first post war years (and even later) unfortunately, a significant great number of UB workers were Jews" (A. Grabowska, "Paradise Lost - Paradise Regained", *Kultura* 1969, nr. 12, page 127). Norman Davies, a famous expert on Polish history wrote an eloquent statement: "Thousands of Polish Jews lost honor and respect by associating themselves with the post-war cruel Stalinist regime" (ref. text. N. Davies in "The New York Review of Books", November 20, 1986).

We could review many similar evaluations of the role of Jews in the UB and in Polish public life. Here for example is a testimony by one of the probably more distinguished Polish writer from that era Maria Dąbrowska, written in her diary on the date of 17 of June 1947: "UB and the Judiciary are totally in Jewish hands. During the past two years not a single Jew was tried in a political trial. Jews judge Poles and send them to executions." And nearly nine years later - 27 of May 1956 - this same Dąbrowska wrote in (*Post-war diaries*, Warszawa 1996, vol. I, page 147): "With the

exception of Anna Boguś, I spent the last few weeks in Nieborów in mostly Jewish company. They frequently talked about the increasing anti-Semitism for which Jews themselves are partially responsible, because in the life of Poland you cannot occupy all the 'key positions' in the areas of public defender, publishing, ministries, party executive, editorials, film industry, radio and so on."

Very similar in their eloquence, even though from a later date, were the notes made by Stefan Kisielewski. In his diary under the date of 18 of October 1968, he wrote: "20 years ago I said to Wazka, that what the Jews are doing will bring its own grievous revenge on them. They brought communism to Poland in the time of Stalin when very few 'goys' were willing to do so." On 4 of November, Kisielewski wrote in his Diary: 'After the war a group of communist Jews arrived from Russia (Jews always loved communism) and were given the full power to operate the UB, Judiciary, Military, because there were almost no non-Jew communists, and if there were, Russia was afraid of them. These Jews carried out the terror as Stalin told them to do.'"

Known Catholic intellectual Bohdan Cywiński wrote the following evaluation of the role played by Jews in the Stalinization of Poland in the pages of the underground periodical *Głos* in April 1985: "Manifestation of factual support for the communist regime by Jews right after the war, excessive congregation of persons of Jewish descent in the running of government departments, especially in the most hated departments of security and propaganda and the multitude of examples of their hostility towards any display of Polish respect for the national traditions - all of this to some respect was retained in the consciousness of the elder generations, causing very understood resentment".

Another famous Catholic intellectual on emigration Father Józef M. Bocheński stated in the pages of Parisian *Kultura* (nr. 7-8, 1986): "Right after the Soviet Army occupied Poland it was well known that the governing power was in Jewish hands especially where certain Jews controlled the security police. This authority and this police are responsible for the murder of a great many from amongst the best of Polish people. It is my opinion that Poles have a much greater right to speak about the Pogrom of Poles by Jews than Jews about the pogrom by Poles." And one more example from the pen of a famous emigration publicist Aleksandra Stypułkowska: "The security forces posts - especially in the darkest times - were occupied by communists of Jewish descent" (A. Stypułkowska, "Burning issues" London *Wiadomości*, May 26, 1968).

At the end of these testimonies we should recall a truly grotesquely-pitiful, almost worthy of Gross, attempt to justify the role of Jews in the UB, as made by this dogmatic Jewish historian Artur Eisenbach. It was printed in the previously mentioned book by R. Pragier, "Jews or Poles". There on page (50) in his expressions Eisenbach stated that among others: "You could get a job anywhere, even the Army or Ministry, and in the UB. Oh yes! Jews were everywhere. And so why when someone is a Jew he should climb in to a mice hovel and wait in there? (...) Why have they stayed in these positions during the Stalin's era? Everyone who got some sort of a position wanted to keep it and not leave" And speaking about the changing circumstances in 1956, Eisenbach stated: "The attitudes then became pogrom like. (...) People opened their mouth. The page has turned. And those who so far were silent started to speak. People who were wronged - like the AK! Also the political right and dark forces."

And this way in one breadth Eisenbach was able to link the political right with the dark forces, clearly lamenting that the political right was also speaking. □