

To what extent does Jan Gross' history Neighbours legitimise the distortion of Poland's WWII narrative within the nation's collective memory?

Discuss within the scope of the Jedwabne Massacre of 1941.

Poland's distorted and long-standing WWII narrative has been re-shaped by Polish-American historian Jan Gross' account of the 1941 Jedwabne Massacre¹, Neighbours². For 60 years following the massacre, the inscription of the Jedwabne memorial site read "*The place of destruction of the Jewish population. Here Gestapo and Nazi gendarmies burnt alive 1600 people on 10 July 1941*"³, clearly omitting Polish involvement, casting blame solely upon German forces⁴. However, following the democratisation of Polish society after its liberation from communism in 1989, Neighbours was published in 2001 establishing that "*In Jedwabne ordinary Poles slaughtered the Jews*"⁵ as Gross considered his work a "*challenge to standard historiography*"⁶ of WWII. Subsequently, Gross' historical account ignited a process of reshaping Polish Holocaust memory and historiography, interpreted within variant cultural, social and political contextual frameworks of historians. Those pertaining to the 'self-defensive'⁷ approach, including nationalist historians and Polish right wing politicians contended the legitimacy of Gross' thesis, stipulating that he greatly exaggerated Polish involvement in the massacre. However, historical evaluations based on revisionist approaches⁸,

¹ The Jedwabne Pogrom was a massacre throughout WWII on 10 July 1941 in Nazi-occupied Poland, where 1600 Jewish men, women and children were burnt alive, axed to death, stoned and drowned by their local Polish neighbours, previously portrayed as solely conducted by the NSDAP.

² J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.

³ See Appendix I

⁴ This is emblematic of Poland's martyrological narrative, centring upon events that showcase Polish resistance, such as the Warsaw Uprising, whilst excluding anti-Jewish acts.

⁵ J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p.8.

⁶ Ibid p.7.

⁷ The 'self-defensive' approach subscribes to the view of Poles as solely heroes and victims, considering the revelations in Neighbours as embarrassing and shameful with negative consequences for Poland, such as undermining the country's international position.

⁸ This is also referred to as the 'self-critical' approach, endorsing Gross' idea of a re-examination of the national self-image of Poles solely as victims and heroes.

alongside international perspectives presented more perceptive and astute attitudes towards Gross' account, recognising its profound importance in reshaping Poland's collective memory of the Holocaust. Alongside this, Gross' work prompted an official forensic murder investigation into the massacre, significantly confirming his thesis. As a result, Neighbours engendered a change in social awareness throughout the nation, prompting a recognition that the dominant narrative had severely distorted the historical truth.

Gross clearly establishes a “*concrete case of Polish involvement in the massacre*”⁹ through his use of court documentation and survivor's oral accounts, significantly challenging conventional historiography that portrays Poles as solely “*heroes and victims*”¹⁰. Primarily, Gross utilises the testimony of Samuel Wassertain¹¹ from the 1949 Lomza Trial¹² that was concealed by the Polish communist government until 1989. Wassertain establishes that “*even though the Germans gave the order, it was Polish hooligans who took it up and carried it out*”¹³, a clear counter-memory to the accepted canon. Gross characterises the immense Polish brutality as “*Jews carried the statue while being incessantly clobbered...they were beaten to death*”¹⁴ and “*finally they (Poles) arranged a last act – burning*”¹⁵. The incorporation of multiple other witness accounts¹⁶ that corroborate Wasserstein's claims further enhances the authenticity of his argument. As a result, Polish-Jewish historian Joanna Michlic¹⁷ accurately

⁹ Michlic, J. and A. Polonsky, *The neighbours respond: the controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004, p.45.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Samuel Wassertain was a Jewish survivor from Jedwabne who gave a deposition describing the pogrom at the 1949 Lomza Trial

¹² The trial convicted several Poles of participation in the events, however there were several acquittals and no death sentences were carried out.

¹³ J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p.20.

¹⁴ Ibid p.99.

¹⁵ Ibid p.9.

¹⁶ These include Jedwabne survivors Edward Sleszynski who establishes “*Germans participated only in photographing*” and Boleslaw Ramotowski who asserts that “*I want to stress that Germans did not participate in the murder of the Jews; they just stood and took pictures of how Poles mistreated the Jews.*”

¹⁷ J. Michlic, *Coming to Terms with the Dark Past: the Polish Debate about the Jedwabne Massacre*, Jerusalem, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002.

upholds that Neighbours “*can be seen as a work bearing witness to the Jedwabne Jews and representing a voice of injustice*”¹⁸ through Gross’ conscientious use of survivor’s testimonies. Following Gross’ account, the Polish Institute of National Memory¹⁹ was impelled to conduct an official investigation into the massacre in 2001, confirming the historical truth. During this investigation, a mass grave of 300-400 Jedwabne victims was exhumed²⁰, clearly validating the legitimacy of the oral accounts employed in Neighbours. Alongside this, IPN scholar Andrzej Rzeplinski²¹ analysed Wasserstain’s testimony, concluding that it was a reliable source of information about the July 1941 killing as “*residents of Jedwabne and its environs, of Polish nationality, committed these acts*”²². Thus, Gross’ credible and cogent account instigated a formal recognition of the massacre, stipulating its profound importance in reformulating Poland’s WWII narrative.

Despite his pertinent thesis, Gross’ interpretation of the massacre and construction of evidence is undoubtedly underpinned by his personal agenda and contextual framework. Following an anti-Semitic campaign by the Polish communist government, Gross emigrated from Poland to the US in 1969. Upon this framework, Gross pertains that Neighbours was published as a means of “*invalidating the view that these two ethnic groups’ histories are disengaged*”²³, intending to disseminate a history for the consumption of Poland that countered the distorted metanarrative. Thus, as liberal Slavic historian Janine P. Holc²⁴ astutely sustains the purpose of Neighbours was to “*correct a cultural reluctance in Poland to acknowledge the extent of*

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ This is also referred to as ‘IPN’. This report revealed that Jedwabne was not an isolated event, uncovering sixty-one other post-war trials from the Bialystok court district where Poles were accused of involvement in killings of their Jewish neighbours.

²⁰ It concluded that the exact number of victims cannot be determined as the exhumation accommodated to Jewish religious sensibilities.

²¹ Andrzej Rzeplinski is a national Polish lawyer and human rights expert.

²² Andrzej Rzeplinski is quoted in: Michlic, J. and A. Polonsky, *The neighbours respond: the controversy over the Jedwabne massacre in Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004.

²³ J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p.9.

²⁴ J. Holc, 'Working through Jan Gross' Neighbors', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, p. 453.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/3090294?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (accessed 1 March 2020)

anti-Semitism in its history”²⁵. The confrontational images he presents such as “*Jakub Kac they stoned to death with bricks*”²⁶ are certainly an attempt to provoke discomfort and an emotional response from his audience. As a result, Holc accurately acknowledges that Neighbours “*never actually develops many of its themes*”²⁷, conducive to the dissenting interpretations of its legitimacy. However, interpretation is indisputably necessary for the continual fruition of the historical truth, as Gross intended for his audience to “*pose queries at the end of the story*”²⁸ and continue to investigate the massacre. Moreover, Neighbours has fostered crucial debate, allowing for the evolution of Polish historiography.

Polish conservative and nationalist historians have interpreted Neighbours within an overtly simplistic framework, focalising Gross’ historiographical discrepancies in order to sanitise his notions of Polish involvement. Right-wing politician and historian Wojciech Roszkowski²⁹ endorses this approach, contesting the legitimacy of Neighbours within an archaic lens, reinforcing the distorted narrative. He perpetuates that Gross over-exaggerates Polish involvement, proliferating that the massacre must be judged against a “*moral meaning by universal standards*”³⁰ since it is important to “*measure the scale of events*”.³¹ Whilst it is necessary to consider the context of the massacre, his apologetic stance impedes his ability to formulate a consistent counter-argument, postulating that it is “*unfair to blow these incidents out of proportion*”³². Roszkowski’s use of selective generalisations such as “*the figure of 1600*

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p.16.

²⁷ J. Holc, 'Working through Jan Gross' Neighbours', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, p. 453.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/3090294?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (accessed 1 March 2020)

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ W. Roszkowski, 'After Neighbours Seeking Universal Standards', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, p. 460, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3090295> (accessed 17 April 2020)

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

victims is a guess not based on any material evidence”³³, blatantly ignores the substantial evidence prevalent in Neighbours, endorsed by the official IPN investigation. Regardless of the figures, Gross correctly sustains that the historical significance and moral issues associated with the massacre “remain exactly the same, no matter whether 400 or 1600 Jews were killed”³⁴ and such disparities are overall marginal and futile to the legitimacy of the primary argument which Gross propagates. Roszkowski’s national-conservative party³⁵ practices historical revisionism as a constitutive element of its political strategy to promote patriotic sentiments. The significant media attention that Neighbours garnered threatened these ideals, as Roszkowski attempts to control the narrative in order to glorify and exonerate Poles. Similarly, former Polish Minister of National Defence Antoni Macierewicz³⁶ flagrantly politicises Gross’ account, as his position is also threatened by the progressive ideologies of civic-nationalism presented in Neighbours. In order to protect his party’s political legitimacy he spitefully labels Gross’ history as a “campaign against the Polish nation by trying to burden Poles with blame for the Holocaust”³⁷, pertaining that Gross is “the author of the anti-Polish accusation”³⁸. However, Gross clearly contextualises the massacre within the framework of WWII acknowledging that “The Nazis and Soviets were indeed calling the shots”,³⁹ yet concedes that at Jedwabne “there were things they did not have to do but nevertheless did”.⁴⁰ Macierewicz’s deliberate and acrimonious indictments cynically undermine Gross’ posture as

³³ J. Gross, 'A response', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, p. 483.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3090298.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ac8ac3af87ff5bd941526021291e9b5a2> (accessed 23 May 2020)

³⁴ J. Gross, 'A response', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, p. 483.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3090298.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ac8ac3af87ff5bd941526021291e9b5a2> (accessed 23 May 2020)

³⁵ Also known as the ‘Law and Justice’ Party

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ J. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p.9.

⁴⁰ Ibid p.9.

a professional historian, palpably reflective of his anti-Semitic fervours.⁴¹ Other conservative Polish historians, including Bogdan Musial⁴² were sceptical of Gross' account since "*the methodology employed in Neighbours is flawed*"⁴³ repudiating his use of oral sources. Whilst survivor's testimonies certainly display inexorable limitations, Musial's dismissal of Gross' sources is certainly dysfunctional and problematic in the reconstruction of history. Musial is "*ignoring the fact that despite various weaknesses the testimonies nevertheless contain a truthful version of the massacre*"⁴⁴ as they were authenticated as a legitimate source by the official investigation. Thus, Neighbours has been grossly misrepresented by traditional Polish historians, aiming to reinstate the evidently distorted narrative.

International revisionist historians and left-leaning politicians have maintained the legitimacy of Gross' account, presenting a holistic approach that condones the credibility of his arguments. Self-critical American historian David Engel⁴⁵ is reflective of this sentiment, highlighting that "*it is not scientific precision that appears to be hanging in the balance...but the very image of the Polish people*"⁴⁶. Hence, Engel proliferates that the significance of Gross' history lies within its larger lessons and certainly not the futile discrepancies of numbers, as it prompted a revision of the distorted narrative. Contemporary British historian Dan Stone⁴⁷ reasserts this idea correctly arguing that apologist historians deliberately formed "*massive attention to minute details, burying the wider picture under a pile of supposed inaccuracies*".⁴⁸ Since these

⁴¹ He openly proclaimed in interviews that the anti-Semitic forgery "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" contains some truth

⁴² B. Musial, 'The Pogrom in Jedwabne: Critical Remarks about Jan T. Gross' Neighbours' in Michlic, J. and A. Polonsky (ed.), *The neighbours respond: the controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 304

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ J. Michlic, *Coming to Terms with the Dark Past: the Polish Debate about the Jedwabne Massacre*, Jerusalem, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002.

⁴⁵ D. Engel, 'Introduction to the Hebrew Edition of Neighbours' in Michlic, J. and A. Polonsky (ed.), *The neighbours respond: the controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 408

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ D. Stone, *Histories of the Holocaust*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

⁴⁸ Ibid

historians are contextually removed from the debate, they certainly present a more balanced argument. Alongside this, a revised history has emerged within Poland, gradually removing the lens of distortion that has pervaded the nation for over 60 years. In 2001, a new monument commemorating the crime was dedicated to the Jedwabne victims, extracting the notion of sole German participation within the massacre⁴⁹. Prominent public figures, including left-leaning Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski⁵⁰ attended the ceremony, endorsing Gross' historical account since it enhanced the legitimacy of his egalitarian policies. Kwasniewski's apology⁵¹ to the Jedwabne Jews is a pertinent reflection of the new democratised collective memory Neighbours has generated. The emergent perceptive approach to history amongst Polish liberal revisionists in response to Neighbours certainly reflects this nuanced narrative that is mitigating apologist voices. Contemporary Polish historian Dariusz Stola⁵² analysed Neighbours within this manner, sustaining that whilst it is unfeasible to "*responsibly state the names or number of perpetrators*"⁵³ this does not "*weaken Gross' impetus to revise rosy narratives about Polish-Jewish relations*"⁵⁴. Thus, Stola is representative of progressive ideologies emergent within Poland, diverging from stereotypical apologetic interpretations of Neighbours. Therefore, it is evident that Gross' account has certainly destabilised the predominance of the distorted narrative.

Accordingly, it is evident that Gross has successfully disrupted the longstanding WWII narrative, whilst igniting an official investigation into the historical truth of the Jedwabne

⁴⁹ The new monument reads: "*In memory of the Jews of Jedwabne and surrounding areas, men, women, and children, fellow-dwellers of this land, murdered and burned alive at this site on 10 July 1941. Jedwabne, July 10, 2001.*"

⁵⁰ He served as the President of Poland from 1995 to 2005.

⁵¹ Kwasniewski stated: "in the name of those who believe that one cannot be proud of the glory of Polish history without feeling, at the same time, pain and shame for the evil done by Poles to others"

⁵² D. Stola, 'Jedwabne: Revisiting the evidence and nature of the crime', *Holocaust and genocide studies*, vol. 17, 2003, p. 9

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31087878_Jedwabne_Revisiting_the_Evidence_and_Nature_of_the_Crime (accessed 11 February 2020)

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Ibid

Massacre of 1941 that confirmed his pertinent thesis. Despite this, nationalist and conservative historians undermine and attempt to weaken the legitimacy of his arguments, misrepresenting his historical account. The lack of academic freedom in Poland⁵⁵ has inflicted incredible devastation on scholarship, reflected within the perpetual omission of Polish involvement of the Jedwabne massacre from the nation's collective memory. As a result, Jan Gross' astute and controversial history Neighbors, indisputably rendered Poland's conventional WWII narrative as immensely distorted.

Word Count: 2487

Appendix

Appendix I

Photograph of monument in Jedwabne, Poland dedicated to the victims of the Massacre



⁵⁵ Poland's recent 2018 'Holocaust Law' that outlaws the phrase 'Polish death camps' is emblematic of the continuous lack of free speech that pervades the nation in regards to the events of WWII and embedded distorted narrative.

Unannotated Bibliography

Aleksion, N., 'Polish Historiography of the Holocaust - Between Silence and Public

Debate', *German History*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2004, pp. 406-432,

<https://academic.oup.com/gh/article-abstract/22/3/406/579250> (accessed 22 April 2020)

Bacon, G., 'Holocaust "Triangles," Ambivalent Neighbours, and Historical Memory: Some Recent Notable Books on Polish Jewry', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 97, no. 2, 2007, pp. 289-303,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25470207.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aba9dae338712ca9ef35f1f2208a8ed3c> (accessed 2 March 2020)

Ball, K., 'Tales of affect, 'thick' and 'thin': On Distantiation in Holocaust

Historiography', *Holocaust studies*, vol. 20, 2014, pp. 179-218.

Chodakiewicz, M., *Research before conclusion: the problems of shock therapy in Jedwabne*, Warsaw, Fronda Publishers, 2002.

Connelly, J., 'Review: Poles and Jews in the Second World War: The Revisions of Jan T. Gross', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2002, pp. 641-658,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/20081864?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (accessed 23 November 2019)

Finder, G., 'Book Review: The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland', *European History Quarterly*, 2006,

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/026569140603600229?journalCode=ehqb> (accessed 23 November 2019)

Glowacka, D., and J. Zylinska, 'Imaginary Neighbours: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations After the Holocaust', *University of Nebraska Press*, 2007,

https://books.google.com.au/books?hl=en&lr=&id=-T7Ue0pEaZgC&oi=fnd&pg=PT7&dq=neighbours+jedwabne+&ots=7d01PJjW9K&sig=-yJxMZzdJUeRsADj5kREcfK16K8&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=neighbours%20jedwabne&f=false (accessed 26 November 2019)

Grabowski, J., *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German Occupied Poland*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2013.

Gross, J., *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Gross, J., 'A response', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, pp. 483-489,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3090298.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ac8ac3af87ff5bd941526021291e9b5a2> (accessed 10 February 2020)

Gutman, I., 'Them and us: In Reply to Professor Tomasz Strzembosz', *Yad Vashem studies*, vol. 30, 2002, pp. 77-93,

https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%204797.pdf (accessed 14 February 2020)

Gutow-Ellis, N., 'On writing and righting history: The stakes of Holocaust interpretation and remembrance in Poland and the United States', Honours Thesis, Colby College, 2019.

Haecker, D., 'A Theory of Historical Truth', *University of Arkansas Press*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1985, pp. 267-275,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/43153949.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aefea971c54342e94490d2e4e34bce370> (accessed 1 March 2020)

Halbwach, M., *The collective memory*, New York, Harper Colophon, 1980.

Hoare, L., *How Poland is Targeting Holocaust Scholar Jan T. Gross for the Sin of Remembering*, [website] 2016, <https://forward.com/opinion/339141/how-poland-is-targeting-holocaust-scholar-jan-t-gross-for-the-sin-of-rememb/> (accessed 23 November 2019)

Holc, J., 'Working through Jan Gross' *Neighbours*', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, pp. 453-459, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3090294?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents (accessed 1 March 2020)

Hirt-Manheimer, A., *Jewish life around the world Poland - in the shadow of memory*, [website] 2001, <https://reformjudaism.org/poland-shadow-memory> (accessed 1 March 2020)

Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, *ISGAP Seminar with Speakers Professor Antony Polonsky and Professor Jan T. Gross*, [website] 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q4DaxL8c_IM (accessed 23 November 2019)

Kramer, M., *Transitional Justice and the Former Soviet Union*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Kuhiwczak, P., 'Buried in Translation', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2002, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42967803.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_SYC-4802%2Ftest1&refreqid=search%3A3d1a84c40a7a0eff198a1854478d2cbc (accessed 23 November 2019)

Levintova, E., 'Good Neighbours: Dominant Narratives about the 'Other' in Contemporary Polish and Russian Newspapers', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, no. 10, 2010, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20787629.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_SYC-4802%2Ftest1&refreqid=search%3A3d1a84c40a7a0eff198a1854478d2cbc (accessed 4 November 2019)

Macierewicz, A., 'The revolution of Nihilism', *Tygodnik Glos*, 3 February 2001,
<https://books.google.com/ebooks/app#reader/AfeGB5yz0ooC/GBS.PA93> (accessed 15
February 2020)

Michlic, J. and A. Polonsky, *The neighbours respond: the controversy over the Jedwabne massacre in Poland*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004.

Michlic, J., *Coming to Terms with the Dark Past: the Polish Debate about the Jedwabne Massacre*, Jerusalem, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002.

Nora, P., 'General introduction: Between memory and history', *Realms of memory: the construction of the French Past*, vol. 1, 1997, pp. 13-25.

Nowak, J., 'Who falsifies history?', *Nasz Dziennik*, 13 May 2000,
<https://www.ampugi334f.com/pph1aeaj?key=7a7c3779889805e2058addec7e13424&psid=13729932> (accessed 15 February 2020)

Rossino, A., *Polish "Neighbors" and German Invaders*, [website], 2003,
<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/polish-neighbors-and-german-invaders> (accessed 28
February 2020)

Roszkowski, W., 'After Neighbours Seeking Universal Standards', *Slavic Review*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2002, pp. 460-465, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3090295> (accessed 17 April 2020)

Stola, D., 'Jedwabne: Revisiting the evidence and nature of the crime', *Holocaust and genocide studies*, vol. 17, 2003,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31087878_Jedwabne_Revisiting_the_Evidence_and_Nature_of_the_Crime (accessed 11 February 2020)

Stone, D., *Histories of the Holocaust*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

Strzembosz, T., *Jedwabne, 1941*, Footscray, Strzelecki Holding, 2001.

Sulek, A., 'A sociologist looks at Neighbours', *Polish Sociological Review*, no. 137, 2002, pp. 71-89,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/23292878.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A54e26f08ad2c7f1a744b54e46d146ea2> (accessed 26 April 2020)

Szmagalska, K., 'The Refusal to Mourn: Confronting the facts of destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne', *Diaspora and Memory*, 2006,

<https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789401203807/B9789401203807-s011.xml> (accessed 25 April 2020)

TVNiezaleznaPolonia Canada, *Jedwabne a Witness of History*, 2015,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MhzeRKskw4s> (accessed 20 November)

University of Haifa, *Prof. Jan Gross, Princeton University talks to students about his*

research, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GKYgyLGvzP8> (accessed 25 November 2019)

Wolentarska-Ochman, E., 'Collective Remembrance in Jedwabne: Unsettled Memory of World War II in Postcommunist Poland', *History and Memory*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2006, pp. 152-178,

https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.2979/his.2006.18.1.152.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_expensive%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3Aa1698a2609359fce2b55de25a25f2630 (accessed 23 November 2019)

Yaffe, D., *Moral Provocateur*, [website], 2016,

<https://paw.princeton.edu/article/%E2%80%98moral-provocateur%E2%80%99> (accessed 21 November 2019)

Zebrowski, R., *Anniversary of the Jedwabne pogrom*, [website] 2018,

<https://www.jhi.pl/en/blog/2018-07-10-anniversary-of-the-jedwabne-pogrom> (accessed 24

November 2019)