

INTRODUCTION

The vibrant, multicultural mosaic of prewar Polish culture was destroyed during World War II. Poland lost more than six million inhabitants, almost 22 percent of the entire population. That number includes about three million Polish Jews, approximately 90 percent of Polish Jewry, who perished during the war in the ghettos and extermination camps built by Nazi Germany in occupied Polish territories.¹

In a dispute with several historians who argued that Polish anti-Semitism and the indifference of Polish “bystanders” determined the fate of the Jewish population, Lucy S. Dawidowicz declares in her book, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, that “the Germans used Poland as their gigantic laboratory for mass murder, not (as has sometimes been wrongly charged) because the Nazis counted on Polish anti-Semitism, but because that was where most of Europe’s Jews were concentrated and where the Germans expected to settle for a long time.”² James E. Young perceptively comments in a similar manner in his acclaimed book *The Texture of Memory*: “That the death camps were located on Polish soil suggests to the Poles not their national complicity, but their ultimate violation: it was one thing to be ravaged outside one’s land, another to be occupied and enslaved at home. In this view, the killing centers in Poland were to have begun with the Jews and ended with the Poles.”³ Today, there are probably no more than ten thousand Jews living in Poland, compared with 3.3 million before the war. Like other European countries, Poland was subsequently able to rebuild its economy and to redevelop its culture. With the war, however, as Eric Goldman writes, “Poland ceased to be one of the great centres of Yiddish life and culture; instead it became its burial ground.”⁴

Like members of other nations, Poles construct their own national memory. Also, as in any other nation, Poles mourn their dead differently. Similar to the Jews, Poles often see themselves as victims of history. In Polish historiography, World War II started with the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany on 1 September 1939, and its effects lasted for generations due to the Yalta agreement and Poland’s postwar occupation by the Soviets until the return of democracy in 1989. The murdered Polish Jews had been incorporated into the Polish collective memory of its citizens who were killed during the war; the Polish Jews became part of the Polish national martyrdom.

Nonetheless, every act of capturing memory, as Andrew Charlesworth observes, “can by its exclusivity push aside the claims of others or their own collective rights and identities.”⁵ Historian Piotr Wróbel fittingly emphasizes the presence of “double memory” in Poland—different memories of the same

event depending on the ethnicity of the witness.⁶ Journalist Konstanty Gebert also writes about the “two-sided nature of Holocaust memory in Poland,” providing the following explanation of the different, Polish and Jewish, memories of World War II atrocities:

For both Polish and Jewish nations, their very real suffering plays a major role in their self-images—in the very way they define themselves—and this influences the way they now see each other. If 3 out of the 6 million of Poland’s war dead were Jewish, the other 3 million were ethnically Polish. It is hard for the Poles to see a substantial difference between these two fates ... Whether consciously or not, the Poles have thus conflated the suffering of Poles and Jews, claiming the Holocaust as part of Polish heritage.⁷

Thus, we are dealing with two competing versions of history and two competing national memories, with two groups in a way claiming to be the true victims of history. In Polish historiography, the discourse of Poland as a European martyr country, often labeled the “Christ among Nations,” has a long tradition, which originated during the period of partition (1795–1918), when Poland was eliminated from the map of Europe by its powerful neighbors. The Polish romantic poets, in particular, made this image the most important element of the national identity of a stateless people.

The image of a martyr nation, victimized by the Germans, returned powerfully after 1945. For several decades, the Polish wartime experiences were subjected to a communist interpretation of history. The underground Polish nationalist forces, who distinguished themselves fighting the Germans and the Soviets, were physically persecuted after the war. In postwar communist history their role was either ridiculed or silenced, and is barely known abroad; for example, the role of the Council for Aid to the Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom*; code name *Żegota*), the only such institution in German-occupied Europe, is rarely recognized.⁸ The importance of the Polish left-wing underground, largely organized and controlled by the Soviets, was exaggerated and elevated to suit the dominant ideology. In an attempt to legitimize the communists’ leading political role, the Communist Party falsified history to create its own legend. In both versions of history, the nationalist and the communist, the occupation of Poland had been seen as a heroic armed struggle with the occupier(s), a period marked by resistance and martyrdom. There was no room for Jewish martyrology in that version of Polish national history.

The return of democracy in 1989 has enabled filmmakers in Poland to freely explore areas that were taboo under the previous political order. The recovery of the common Polish-Jewish heritage and the incorporation of Jewish culture into Polish national memory necessitate the disturbing confrontation with the past. The recognition of Poland’s Jewish history and the struggle with the legacy of the Holocaust involves an unavoidable process of re-defining the Polish national character, of negotiating Polishness.

The post-1989 years have also brought unique opportunities, as well as challenges, for scholars and researchers. The end of the communist period has yielded a wealth of information and resources that were largely unavailable for nearly half a century. Polish scholars are no longer restricted in the scope or substance of their research regarding the Holocaust, and this has resulted in an unprecedented number of meticulously researched and thought-provoking academic studies.

For the purpose of this book, the Holocaust is defined as the premeditated murder of European Jews by Nazi Germany during World War II. A full exploration of the complexities of Polish-Jewish relationships before and after the Holocaust is outside of the scope of this book, although these matters are being, and have to be, taken into account. Several recently published studies perceptively address this issue, for example, *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* written by Michael C. Steinlauf, *Rethinking Poles and Jews*, edited by Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska, and *Imaginary Neighbors: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations after the Holocaust* edited by Dorota Glowacka and Joanna Zylinska.⁹

For a number of historians, the Holocaust has become the most important event of the twentieth century, an event that is traumatic, unique, inexplicable, and beyond representation. It tends to overshadow other aspects of World War II. “The Holocaust has been both repressed and ‘canonized’ in the recent past,” writes Dominick LaCapra.¹⁰ For many filmmakers and theorists, to represent the Holocaust is to attempt to represent the unrepresentable; visual images seem incapable of portraying its horror. Some of them seem to share Claude Lanzmann’s much-quoted concern that there are things that “cannot and should not be represented,”¹¹ or Elie Wiesel’s assertion that “Auschwitz cannot be explained nor can it be visualized.”¹² However, as historian Peter Novick notes, “the assertion that the Holocaust is unique—like the claim that it is singularly incomprehensible or unrepresentable—is, in practice, deeply offensive. What else can all of this possibly mean except ‘your catastrophe, unlike ours, is ordinary; unlike ours is comprehensible; unlike ours is representable.’”¹³

Despite the “unrepresentable” nature of the Holocaust, hundreds of films have been made thus far, and certainly more will be made. Some films undeniably present the Holocaust in a highly conventionalized form, and Polish cinema is no exception. Given the complexities of the Polish past, it comes as no surprise that memories of World War II have haunted Polish cinema, and, like many other traumatic experiences, these memories have returned powerfully on the screen. Polish filmmakers who initially confronted the theme of the Holocaust faced the same difficulties as filmmakers elsewhere: Is it better to speak or to remain silent? Is it possible to create a cinematic language

adequate to convey the enormity of human suffering, a language that will in no way trivialize the Holocaust?

Polish filmmakers also faced problems relevant to Poland's political situation after 1945, chiefly the pressure of the harsh political censorship. Willingly or not, they were serving the communist state; time and again their works were compromised by the dominant ideology and the propagandist goals of the communist authorities. Thus, Polish films about the Holocaust, and about Polish-Jewish relations in general, reflect the postwar political status quo and the changing historical and political circumstances more than historical truth. They reflect the changing policy of the Communist Party concerning Polish-Jewish issues as well as relations between Poland and Israel. As Bożena Szaynok puts it in the title of her perceptive study in Polish, this is a subject with history and Moscow in the background.¹⁴

Any book dealing with the representation of the Holocaust in any national cinema, especially if the country being studied was struggling with a communist system, has to take into account the political context. The present book is no exception. Another important factor has to do with the changing Holocaust memory worldwide, which also affected Polish films, especially after the return of democracy in 1989.

Despite the importance of the topic, the representation of the Holocaust in Polish cinema is still a domain which has not been the focus of systematic study, and awaits its historian. The present work is a contribution to this important though neglected field of study. Without venturing into theoretical debates concerning the issue of "Polish cinema," I have decided to adopt a functional definition of Polish film. I examine films that fulfill at least two of the following criteria: works made in Poland (with significant Polish involvement), in the Polish language, and by Polish filmmakers (regardless of their nationality).

This book primarily considers Polish fiction films made after 1945 that deal with the Holocaust in a direct manner. Attention is also paid to major short films and documentary films pertaining to the topic, some of which are classic works outside of the context of Polish cinema. Films made before World War II, both in Polish and Yiddish, and sometimes analyzed in the spirit of Siegfried Kracauer as sensitive barometers of things to come, are outside the scope of this book. Several notable contemporary films, such as Jerzy Kawalerowicz's *Austeria* (aka *The Inn*, 1983) and Wojciech Jerzy Has's *Hospital under the Hourglass* (*Sanatorium pod klepsydrą*, 1973), both being evocations of the lost Jewish world, are not discussed at length in this book, but are taken into account.

Given my working definition of Polish film, this book does not offer an extensive commentary on films made by Polish diasporic filmmakers outside of Poland and without the involvement of the Polish film industry, for example Agnieszka Holland's German-made film *Angry Harvest* (*Bittere Ernte*, 1985) and *Europa, Europa* (1991, a French and German co-production). Excluded also are several foreign (mostly documentary) productions about the Holocaust

made on location in Poland, sometimes with noticeable Polish participation, as is the case, for example, of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993).

Although the occupied Polish territories were the site of a number of German concentration and extermination camps, it is surprising to learn that not a single book (in English or in Polish) has addressed the representation of the Holocaust in Polish cinema. Several problems of a cinematic, historical, and ethical nature have been, however, discussed in great depth by other scholars. For instance, readers may find discussion of a number of better known Polish films in books written by Annette Insdorf (*Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust*), Ilan Avisar (*Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable*), Omer Bartov (*The "Jew" in Cinema: From The Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust*), and Lawrence Baron (*Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema*), among others.¹⁵ Several articles in English were also written on this subject, for example by Paul Coates, Stuart Liebman, Elżbieta Ostrowska, and Michael Stevenson (see Bibliography). Although exemplary, these articles, however, do not offer broader historical and cultural perspectives of the problem due to their limited scope.

It has to be also stressed that, regrettably, several English anthologies dealing with the reception of various classic films on the Holocaust neither include texts written by the historians of Polish cinema nor pay any particular attention to the Polish historical and cultural contexts. For example, the renowned anthologies on the reception of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and Alan Resnais' *Night and Fog* (1955), albeit dealing with films partly made on location in Poland and referring to events that happened on Polish soil and witnessed by Poles, almost entirely overlook the Polish aspect of these films.¹⁶ Historian Omer Bartov in his insightful essay on "Eastern Europe as the Site of Genocide" thoroughly and eloquently addresses the problem of ignoring this very important (not only for Holocaust Studies) geopolitical context:

Eastern Europe is thus not merely the site of the Holocaust in the physical sense that most of Europe's Jews lived there and were murdered there. It was and remains the heart of the Holocaust in that it was where Jewish and Christian civilizations formed a long, though troubled, tradition of living side by side, and where that social and cultural fabric was ultimately shattered in World War II and the Holocaust.¹⁷

Polish Film and the Holocaust is the first book-length study on the subject. My goal is to present the most comprehensive and up-to-date discussion relying chiefly on Polish archival findings and published sources. As with my earlier book on *Polish National Cinema*,¹⁸ my hope is that more studies, possibly theoretically minded ones, focusing on selected filmic examples, will follow. The above goal explains my intention to take into account all relevant films, not only a few well-known selected examples, some of them already renowned outside of Poland.

During World War II, Poles witnessed mass murders committed on Polish soil and also were victims of unspeakable crimes. The Jewish diaspora in

Poland, a visible and important part of Polish society, vanished in front of their eyes. Given the uniqueness of the Polish experience of the Holocaust, it comes as no surprise to see that the majority of locally produced films depict the Holocaust through the prism of Polish-Jewish relationships. This distinctive feature of Polish films dealing with the Holocaust, part of coming to terms with the troubled past, delineates the difference between the treatment of the Holocaust in Polish and other national cinemas.

The unique Polish experience of the Holocaust undoubtedly invites approaches focusing on the traumatic impact of the past as well as on the traumatic aspect of the witnessing. It is not my goal, however, to engage in theorizing about the much-discussed, in recent years, concepts such as “trauma theory,” “posttraumatic cinema,” or “national memory.” They were eloquently elaborated by scholars such as Joshua Hirsch, Alan Mintz, and Janet Walker.¹⁹ Their sophisticated and nuanced monographs, however, refer to a relatively small number of films, and demonstrate depth rather than breadth as far as filmic examples are concerned. Instead of limiting the study to a few textual analyses, I prefer to discuss a wide range of Polish films chronologically, and to situate each film in the context of Polish historical and political circumstances that shaped the screen representation of the Holocaust in Poland.

This book’s first chapter discusses “Postwar Poland: Geopolitics and Cinema.” It summarizes the losses among Polish filmmakers (filmmakers of Jewish origin in particular), comments on the gradual Sovietization of Polish life after 1945, and stresses attempts by the communist regime to create a new national identity by rewriting Polish history from the communist perspective. The chapter also briefly outlines the postwar organization of the nationalized Polish film industry and comments on Polish-Jewish relations immediately after the war. In addition, this portion of the book also discusses films made by the Jewish cooperative Kinor. The chapter ends with a commentary on the first Polish narrative films that made reference to the Holocaust, such as Leonard Buczkowski’s *Forbidden Songs* (*Zakazane piosenki*, 1947).

The next two chapters deal with two classic films released in the late 1940s, Wanda Jakubowska’s *The Last Stage* (*Ostatni etap*, 1948) and Aleksander Ford’s *Border Street* (*Ulica Graniczna*, 1949), which established images discernible in later Holocaust narratives, and which also serve as examples of the Polish communist regime’s efforts to commemorate the war and the Holocaust. The chapter titled “Wanda Jakubowska’s Return to Auschwitz: *The Last Stage* (1948)” analyzes the film made by an Auschwitz survivor on location in Auschwitz-Birkenau. The focus is on the political, ideological, and cultural contexts of Jakubowska’s film, which was made in line with the ideological requirements of the time and Jakubowska’s own communist beliefs. Her film also reflects the

status of the postwar debates about Auschwitz. Although the leading character in the film is Jewish, the camp's largest group of victims is not the main focus. The film reflects the efforts of the communist government to internationalize Auschwitz and to make it a memorial to those who fought against fascism. The chapter ends with comments on three lesser-known films by Jakubowska, made after *The Last Stage*, in which she also returns to her camp experiences: *Meetings in the Twilight* (*Spotkania w mroku*, 1960), *The End of Our World* (*Koniec naszego świata*, 1964), and *Invitation* (*Zaproszenie*, 1985).

Chapter 3, "Commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in *Border Street* (1949)," addresses the cinematic portrayal of the 1943 uprising and Jewish-Polish relations in occupied Warsaw. Aleksander Ford's film accentuates the need for unity, common struggle, and heroism on both sides of the wall dividing the city, and it offers a heroic representation of the uprising. This segment of the book comments on Ford's background, his struggles to produce the film, and the government's pressure to make an ideologically correct film. The political context of the commemorations of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising is also in the center of this chapter. The premiere of Ford's film, along with the unveiling of memorials and the release of documentary films and literary works paying tribute to the ghetto insurgents, coincided with the suppression of any reference, not to mention official memorialization, pertaining to the 1944 Warsaw Rising and the nationalist Home Army (AK). The film's release in 1949 also corresponded to the beginning of "the struggle with Zionism" within the communist bloc.

The next chapter, "Images of the Holocaust during the Polish School Period (1955–1965)," discusses the most vibrant phase in the history of Polish cinema. The political thaw after 1956 enabled young filmmakers to move away from the dogma of socialist realism and to produce several well-known films about Poland's recent history. The revival of Polish cinema, helped by a number of organizational changes within the film industry, comprises also a number of films dealing with the Holocaust, including Andrzej Munk's psychological drama *The Passenger* (*Pasażerka*, 1963), Ewa and Czesław Petelski's *The Beater* (*Naganiacz*, 1964), and Andrzej Wajda's *A Generation* (*Pokolenie*, 1955) and *Samson* (1961). The chapter also discusses lesser-known films, such as *White Bear* (*Biały niedźwiedź*, 1959), directed by Jerzy Zarzycki, and films with references to the Holocaust and featuring characters of Jewish origin, such as Stanisław Różewicz's *Three Women* (*Trzy kobiety*, 1957).

Chapter 5, "Years of Organized Forgetting (1965–1980)," deals with the period during which, due to the pressure of politics, only a small number of films were released about Polish-Jewish relations or the Holocaust. The chapter discusses the late 1960s in Poland, characterized by the gradual demise of Władysław Gomułka's communist faction and the rise of communist nationalists led by General Moczar. It takes into account the deterioration of relations between Poland and Israel following the Six-Day War in 1967, an open anti-Semitic campaign under the disguise of an "anti-Zionist" campaign, and,

as a result, a forced emigration of a number of Polish citizens of Jewish origin, among them several prominent filmmakers. The downfall of Gomułka in 1970 led to the appearance of the more pragmatic Silesian communists, led by Edward Gierek, who dominated the 1970s. The chapter looks at the period between 1965 and 1980 in Polish cinema, which is characterized by the “organized silence” regarding sensitive Polish-Jewish relations. The example of Janusz Nasfeter’s *The Long Night* (*Długa noc*, produced in 1967, released in 1989) is at the heart of this chapter. Other films include Jan Rybkowski’s *Ascension Day* (*Wniebowstąpienie*, 1969) and Wajda’s *Landscape after Battle* (*Krajobraz po bitwie*, 1970), among others.

The following chapter, “Return of the Repressed: ‘The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto’ (1981–),” analyzes films produced during the last decade of communist rule in Poland and films made after the return of democracy in 1989. It stresses the beginning of a national debate on the memory of the Holocaust that was propelled by the television screening of Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah* (1985) and the publication of an essay by Jan Błoński, “The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto,” which appeared in 1987 in the Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*.²⁰ This first part of the chapter focuses, among others, on three films released in 1984, *A Postcard from the Journey* (*Kartka z podróży*, 1984, Waldemar Dziki), *According to the Decrees of Providence* (*Wedle wyroków twoich*, 1984, Jerzy Hoffman), and *There Was No Sun That Spring* (*Nie było słońca tej wiosny* 1984, Juliusz Janicki). It also considers several documentary and television films, including the internationally known *Decalogue 8* (*Dekalog 8*, 1988) by Krzysztof Kieślowski. Liberated from the constraints of communist censorship, after 1989 Polish filmmakers produced a group of important films about Jewish-Polish history, including *Warszawa. Année 5703* (1992) by Janusz Kijowski, *Farewell to Maria* (*Pożegnanie z Marią*, 1993) by Filip Zylber, *Just Beyond this Forest* (*Jeszcze tylko ten las*, 1991) by Jan Łomnicki, *Deborah* (*Debora*, 1996) by Ryszard Brylski, and *Keep Away from the Window* (*Daleko od okna*, 2000) by Jan Jakub Kolski.

The final segment of chapter 6 deals with Roman Polański’s celebrated Holocaust drama, *The Pianist* (*Pianista*, 2002), based on the memoirs written by the Jewish-Polish composer and pianist Władysław Szpilman, and published for the first time in 1946. *The Pianist* is discussed as Polański’s first cinematic return to his own war-time childhood experiences in occupied Poland. In addition, this portion of the chapter also discusses an earlier attempt to adapt Szpilman’s story of survival, namely Jerzy Zarzycki’s postwar project called *The Warsaw Robinson* (*Robinson Warszawski*), which was mutilated by censors and released in 1950 as *Unvanquished City* (*Miasto nieujarzmione*), a film obeying the rules of socialist realist cinema.

The book’s chapter 7, “Andrzej Wajda Responds,” is devoted to films by Wajda that left their mark on discussions about the screen portrayal of the Holocaust and gained international attention: *Korczak* (1990) and *Holy Week* (*Wielki Tydzień*, 1996). While acknowledging the controversies stirred by *Korczak* in

France, this chapter pays particular attention to the Polish context of the film and to Korczak's importance in both Polish and Jewish traditions. The chapter also discusses earlier attempts to portray his life in literary works and on screen. *Holy Week* continues Wajda's examination of Polish-Jewish relations during the war. It is based on a short novel written soon after the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by the prominent Polish writer Jerzy Andrzejewski, which is arguably the first literary attempt to examine the behavior of Poles facing the Holocaust.

Chapter 8, "Documentary Archaeology of the Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Past," offers a concise survey of documentary films that, without a doubt, warrants more scholarly attention and a separate study. The chapter discusses first postwar documentaries about the war atrocities and the Holocaust. It contains comments on documentary classics made during the Polish School period, such as *Requiem for 500,000* (*Requiem dla 500 000*, 1963) by Jerzy Bossak and Waclaw Kazmierczak. The chapter also briefly addresses the representation of the Holocaust in a number of significant documentary films made in recent years, for example *Birthplace* (*Miejsce urodzenia*, 1992, Pawel Łoziński), *Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising according to Marek Edelman* (*Kronika powstania w getcie warszawskim wg Marka Edelmana*, 1993, Jolanta Dylewska), and *Photographer* (*Fotoamator*, 1998, Dariusz Jabłoński).

The book ends with a short Afterword, Filmography of Polish films dealing with the Holocaust, as well as with a Bibliography of works in English and Polish.

Notes

1. The estimated figures concerning Polish and Jewish losses during World War II differ slightly in various historical accounts. The majority of historians write about six million deaths, including three million Polish Jews. For example, this is the figure provided by Lucy S. Dawidowicz in her *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 6–7. M. B. Biskupski provides the same figures in his concise *The History of Poland* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 108.
2. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, 92–93.
3. James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 123.
4. Eric A. Goldman, *Visions, Images, and Dreams: Yiddish Film Past and Present* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 109.
5. Andrew Charlesworth, "Contesting Places of Memory: The Case of Auschwitz," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994): 579.
6. Piotr Wróbel, "Double Memory: Poles and Jews after the Holocaust," *East European Politics and Societies* vol. 11, no. 3 (1997): 560–574.
7. Konstanty Gebert, "The Dialectics of Memory in Poland," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, ed. James E. Young (New York: Prestel, 1994), 121.
8. See Irene Tomaszewski and Teczka Werbowska, "*Żegota*": *The Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–45* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1994). New, 2010 edition by Praeger is entitled *Code Name: Żegota. Rescuing Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945*.
9. Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead. Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska, eds., *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield,

- 2007); Dorota Głowacka and Joanna Zylinska, eds., *Imaginary Neighbors: Mediating Polish-Jewish Relations after the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
10. Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), xi.
 11. Claude Lanzmann, "Why Spielberg Has Distorted the Truth," *Guardian Weekly* (April 9, 1994): 14–15.
 12. Elie Wiesel quoted in Libby Saxton, *Haunted Images: Film, Ethics, Testimony and the Holocaust* (London: Wallflower Press, 2008), 6. Originally published in 1978 in *New York Times*.
 13. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 9.
 14. Bożena Szaynok, *Z historią i Moskwą w tle. Polska a Izrael 1944–1968* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2007).
 15. Annette Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and the Holocaust* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Ilan Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust: Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Omer Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema: From The Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Lawrence Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).
 16. Yosefa Loshitzky, ed., *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Ewout van der Knaap, ed., *Uncovering the Holocaust: The International Reception of Night and Fog* (London: Wallflower Press, 2006). The book on Alain Resnais's classic film, for example, deals with this film's reception in France, Germany, Israel, Britain, the Netherlands, and the USA.
 17. Omer Bartov, "Eastern Europe as the Site of Genocide," *Journal of Modern History* vol. 80, no. 3 (2008): 593.
 18. Marek Haltof, *Polish National Cinema* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002).
 19. Joshua Hirsch, *Afterimage: Film, Trauma, and the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), Alan Mintz, *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), and Janet Walker, *Trauma Cinema: Documenting Incest and the Holocaust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
 20. Jan Błoński, "Biedni Polacy patrzą na getto," *Tygodnik Powszechny* vol. 41, no. 2 (11 January 1987): 1 and 4.